ABSTRACT

LOZADA, FANTASY TAINA. African American Mothers' Racial Discrimination Experiences and Beliefs, Racial Socialization Behaviors and Third-grade Children’s Socioemotional Competence. (Under the direction of Dr. Amy Halberstadt.)

This study examines African American mothers’ experience with racial discrimination, belief that their children will experience racial discrimination in the future, racial socialization strategies, and their third-grade children’s socioemotional competence in a sample of 104 mother-child dyads. My first goal was to examine African American mothers’ experiences with racial discrimination and beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination experiences as antecedents of four racial socialization strategies: racial pride messages, racial socialization behaviors, racial barrier messages, and egalitarian messages. My second goal was to examine African American mothers’ racial socialization messages and strategies in relationship with their third grade children’s socioemotional competence with peers in the classroom. Mothers completed a questionnaire on their discrimination experiences and were interviewed about the role of discrimination in their child’s future. Teachers reported on children’s socioemotional competence in the classroom. Results indicate that mothers’ racial discrimination experiences were unrelated to their belief that their children will experience racial discrimination in the future, however, the two constructs interacted to impact variation in mothers’ egalitarian messages. Further, mothers’ racial socialization behaviors predicted children’s social skills in the classroom. The findings of this study contribute to our understanding of parental correlates of racial socialization and the contribution of parents’ racial socialization behaviors to the positive development of minority children.
DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to God, my family, friends, and sisters who stood by my side throughout my entire graduate career and who never allowed me to doubt myself or my goals. To my Mom, Sheila, who continually told me how much she admired the path I had chosen and who was never further than a phone call away with encouraging words. I love you Mom. Always remember that you inspired me to keep pursuing my goals no matter how challenging the road became and even though you thought I handled it all on my own, it was your belief in me that kept me going. To my Dad, Freddie, who encouraged me to stand up after every fall and to keep forging ahead. Dad, you always remind me that I will always be your little girl and I will always remind you that although I am an independent woman these days, you are right; I will always be your little girl. To my brothers, John and Justin, who always reminded me that they were proud of anything I did. Thank you for your constant encouragement. To my love, Mychal, whose encouragement of my career and passions is invaluable and whose challenge to do better than my best is a driving force in my pursuit of knowledge. Mychal, I became even more alive personally and academically since I met you, I look forward to many more years of love, laughter, and happiness. To my best and oldest friend Amanda, who kept me grounded throughout my entire graduate career and reminded me that there was more to life than work and school. Amanda, thank you for always being there for me, listening to my failures and triumphs with concern and empathy, and for being the sister that I was always meant to have. Here’s to a friendship that weathers every change, distance, and storm; I love you dearest! To my sisterhood, Lambda Theta
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BIOGRAPHY

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Introduction

The familial context is widely recognized as the primary socializing agent for children (e.g., Dix, 1991; Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998) and exerts substantial impact on children’s competencies and development (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, & Chan, 1990). Parents from all backgrounds share common goals in ensuring their children’s safety, providing economic security, and socializing and preparing their children to be contributing members to society. These goals, however, are balanced within the contexts of the opportunities and demands of the cultural and historical environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; LeVine, 1988). Within the context of African American parenting, for example, historical experiences of enslavement and second-class citizenship, and continued experience with discrimination and prejudice have pervasive effects on African American parenting goals and practices (Peters, 1981; Smetana, 2011; Spencer, 1983).

Over the past two decades, researchers have shown increasing interest in the cultural assets (e.g., racial socialization, involvement in the community and church, etc.) in African American life. These assets are thought to help African American parents to successfully manage their parenting goals while negotiating the difficulties of prejudice and discrimination (e.g., Hughes et al., 2006; Peters, 1981, 1985; Stevenson, 1994; Thornton, Chaters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990) and are also thought to support children’s and adolescents’ outcomes. Parents’ racial socialization is one of the most widely studied constructs within African American families (Hughes et al., 2006). Nevertheless, we still know little about the parental experiences and internal processes that guide African American parents’ racial
socialization practices and their children’s subsequent outcomes. The purpose of the current study is to empirically test the relationships between parental experiences with and beliefs about racial discrimination, parents’ racial socialization practices, and children’s socioemotional competence. Below, I describe racial socialization, possible predictors and antecedents of racial socialization, and associations between racial socialization and children’s socioemotional development. Finally, I discuss my hypotheses in the context of the current study which investigates these relationships in a sample of African American mothers of varying socioeconomic backgrounds and their third-grade children.

**Racial Socialization**

Racial socialization is defined as the developmental process by which race-related beliefs, values, and behaviors are transmitted to children (Rotheram & Phinney, 1986) and through which children develop an understanding of race in terms of self and others as part of racial groups (Stevenson, 1994; Thornton et al., 1990). Racial socialization messages can be transmitted explicitly through discussion or implicitly through behaviors and actions (Stevenson, 1994).

Multiple theoretical and empirical articles identify five content-related domains of racial socialization: cultural socialization, preparation for bias or discrimination, promotion of mistrust, egalitarianism, and negative views of own racial group (see Hughes et al., 2006 for a review). Cultural socialization, also sometimes referred to as ‘racial pride’ messages, involves messages that promote pride in one’s racial group while transmitting knowledge of group heritage and feelings about group unity (Hughes et al., 2006; Scottham & Smalls,
Preparation for bias, also sometimes referred to as “racial barrier” messages, involves messages that discrimination exists and that group members may receive differential treatment because of their skin color or other phenotypic characteristics (Hughes et al., 2006; Scottham & Smalls, 2009; Stevenson et al., 2002). Promotion of mistrust messages emphasize that neither members of other racial groups nor interactions between racial groups should be trusted (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Hughes et al., 2006). Egalitarian messages emphasize that all racial groups are equal and that race is not a defining characteristic of who a person is (Hughes et al., 2006). Finally, negative messages about one’s own racial group reflect disparaging beliefs about in-group members (White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010). These racial socialization messages are thought to be the primary ways in which African American parents teach their children about the relevance of race in their social lives.

Middle childhood may be an important time during which children begin to understand racial socialization messages more deeply. During middle childhood, children are beginning to incorporate messages and stereotypes about social groups into their understanding about self and others (Swanson, Cunningham, Youngblood, & Spencer, 2009). Further, as children’s social relationships become more peer focused in middle childhood (Eccles, 1999), and their understanding that others have different perspectives than their own increases (Eccles, 1999; Selman, 1980), they are likely incorporating the messages they have received from their parents about future social interactions into their own day to day
experiences. Further, children in middle childhood may be integrating racial socialization messages in ways that have consequences for their social interactions.

The variety of racial socialization messages reflects the heterogeneity in minority parents’ race-related beliefs (Stevenson, 1994); these messages are also commonly expressed in minority families. For example, the majority of African American parents give messages of cultural socialization (81.3 – 94.7%) and preparation for bias (81.3 – 91.6%), but fewer messages of promotion of mistrust (18.9%; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). African American parents also give multifaceted messages that reflect the use of almost all the racial socialization messages mentioned above (e.g., Neblett et al., 2008; White-Johnson et al., 2010). Thus, racial socialization messages are a prevalent aspect of African American parenting and children’s development.

African American parents’ racial socialization varies by parental characteristics. For example, older parents (White-Johnson et al., 2010), parents with high incomes and more years of education (Caughy, Randolph, & O’Campo, 2002; McHale et al., 2006; White-Johnson et al., 2010), and parents with professional or managerial jobs provide more frequent cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages than other parents. Further, parents who report experiencing frequent discrimination give their children more preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; White-Johnson et al., 2010), egalitarian, and negative messages about African Americans (White-Johnson et al., 2010) than parents who do not report experiencing frequent discrimination. Thus, there is substantial evidence to suggest that African American parents’ racial socialization is
influenced by parents’ ideas about the appropriate race-related messages to give their children in terms of their personal experiences of status and discrimination.

Despite the growth in literature on sociodemographic contexts and antecedents of parents’ racial socialization practices, we are still limited in knowledge of how parents’ experiences with and cognitions about race and discrimination impact their racial socialization choices. The impact of parental cognitions on socialization behaviors is considered in other domains (e.g., emotion socialization; see Lozada, Halberstadt, Craig, & Dunsmore, 2013; McGillicuddy-De Lisi & Sigel, 1995 for a review), yet outside qualitative studies and interviews (e.g., Spencer, 1983; Suizzo, Robinson, & Pahlke, 2008), this assumption has not been adequately tested within racial socialization discourse. Thus, the first goal of the current study is to test the relations between parents’ own experiences with racial discrimination, their beliefs about the role of racial discrimination in their children’s lives, and their racial socialization strategies. Below, I discuss parents’ experiences with racial discrimination, their concerns or expectations for children’s experiences with racial discrimination and how these constructs may be related to parents’ racial socialization strategies.

**African American Parents’ Experiences with Racial Discrimination and Beliefs about Children’s Future Experiences with Racial Discrimination**

Racial discrimination is a prevalent experience among racial minorities. Depending on the population and measure, estimates indicate that 60 to over 90 percent of African Americans experience discrimination throughout their lives (Gibbons, Gerrard, Cleveland,
Racial discrimination experiences are often conceptualized within the stress and coping framework of Lazarus and Folkman (1984). This framework suggests that race-related stress emerges from the interaction between an individual and the environment as a result of racism, which is perceived as exceeding or overwhelming the individual’s resources (Harrell, 2000). These racial discrimination stressors can occur infrequently as race-related life events (e.g., being rejected for a loan, being harassed by a police officer) or can occur daily in the form of constantly occurring irritations or slights (e.g., being followed in stores, being overlooked while waiting in line for a service; Essed, 1991; Harrell, 2000). Although racial discrimination may seem to be a common experience for African Americans, there are individual differences in the extent to which people attribute a negative situation as discriminatory (see Major, Quinton, & McCoy, 2002 for a review). Similarly, in the context of parenting, there may be differences in African American parents’ beliefs that their children will experience racial discrimination in the future.

Concerns about one’s own children experiencing racial discrimination may be just as common to African American parents as their personal experiences of racial discrimination. Concern that their children will experience racism in the future is a distinct stressor among African American mothers, with up to 70% of mothers in one sample indicating concerns with regard to their children experiencing institutional racism (e.g., being harmed or harassed by the police or stopped in a predominately White neighborhood; Vines & Baird, 2009).
Although there is some evidence that parents’ racial discrimination experiences are positively related to their concerns for their children’s experience of racial discrimination (Vines & Baird, 2009), there is likely variability in whether African American parents believe that racial discrimination will be a problem for their children in the future. That is, some parents may believe that their children will have the same racialized experiences that they have had, whereas others may believe that race relations in the United States have improved and therefore it is unlikely that their children will have to deal with interpersonal experiences of racial discrimination. Other parents may not have experienced racial discrimination themselves but may have concerns about their children experiencing racial discrimination, perhaps due to a difference in the racial makeup of the neighborhood or the school that the child is attending. How parents’ experiences with and beliefs about racial discrimination work together to guide their parenting strategies is unknown. Thus, the first goal of my dissertation is to examine how parents’ experiences are related to their beliefs about their children’s future experiences with racial discrimination and how the two of these constructs may work together to vary the ways in which they socialize their children with regard to race.

**Racial Socialization and Child Correlates**

African American parents’ racial socialization messages also vary by child characteristics and relate to a myriad of outcomes throughout childhood and adolescence. Parents of older children (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009; McHale et al., 2006), boys (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thomas & Speight, 1999), and parents of children who have experienced discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1997;
Miller & MacIntosh, 1999; Stevenson, McNeil, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2005; White-Johnson et al., 2010) talk about and prepare their children for discrimination, whereas parents of girls are more likely to discuss cultural socialization and pride (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Thomas & Speight, 1999). Older children also receive frequent cultural socialization messages and socialization behaviors, but fewer negative messages about African Americans, compared to younger children (White-Johnson et al., 2010).

Racial socialization discourse has focused on a variety of childhood outcomes from early childhood to adolescence, with the majority of studies occurring in the adolescent time period. During early and middle childhood, African American parents’ frequent racial awareness and/or cultural socialization messages are related to children’s advanced ethnic identity (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Marshall, 1995; Murry, Berkel, Brody, Miller, & Chen, 2009), adaptive coping strategies (Johnson, 2001), high feelings of locus of control (McHale et al., 2006), few depressive symptoms (McHale et al., 2006), low anxiety (Bannon, McKay, Chacko, Rodriguez, & Cavalieri, 2009), high reading comprehension scores (Banerjee, Harrell, & Johnson, 2011), and few internalizing/externalizing behaviors (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002). Similarly, parents who provide homes rich with African American cultural items have children with greater amounts of factual knowledge and better problem solving skills (Caughy, O'Campo, et al., 2002) than parents who provide homes with no or few African American cultural items. During adolescence, African American parents’ frequent cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages are related to advanced ethnic identity development, positive in-group attitudes, and group ethnic behaviors (Bennett,
2006; Demo & Hughes, 1990; O'Connor, Brooks-Gunn, & Graber, 2000; Stevenson, 1995; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000), high self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Dotterer, McHale, & Crouter, 2009; Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007; Hughes et al., 2009), adaptive coping in response to discrimination (Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Scott, 2003), positive academic achievement and academic-related competencies (Bowman & Howard, 1985; T. L. Brown, Linver, Evans, & DeGennaro, 2009; Dotterer et al., 2009; Hughes et al., 2009; Neblett, Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006; Smalls, 2009; Wang & Huguley, 2012), and positive mental health outcomes (Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Neblett et al., 2008). These findings hold even when controlling for the effects of income, income-to-needs ratio, neighborhood economic disadvantage, and parental education.

All of the above outcomes suggest the advantages of cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages. However, not all relations between parents’ racial socialization messages and children’s outcomes are positive. For instance, racial socialization has been related to lower academic grades (T. L. Brown et al., 2009; Marshall, 1995; Neblett et al., 2006), and messages that focus on mistrust or discrimination without strategies to cope with those experiences have been related to low feelings of locus of control (McHale et al., 2006), feelings of stigma (Brega & Coleman, 1999), and low self-efficacy and self-esteem (Hughes et al., 2009; Ogbu, 1974). Similarly, adolescents who receive negative messages about African Americans from their parents showed less persistence in the face of academic
challenges (Neblett et al., 2006), high levels of depressive symptoms, elevated stress, frequent problem behaviors, and poor well-being (Neblett et al., 2008).

Although we now know more about the impact of parents’ racial socialization on youth outcomes, no study has examined how racial socialization impacts youth’s social skills with peers in the classroom (e.g., self-control, cooperation, and assertiveness). Further, few studies consider the impact of racial socialization on children as young as third grade (see Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Caughy, Nettles, O’Campo, & Lohrfink, 2006; Marshall, 1995 for exceptions). Thus, the second goal of the current study is to contribute further to the discourse on the impact of African American mothers’ racial socialization strategies, by examining these strategies in relation to third-grade children’s socioemotional competence with peers in the classroom.

Parents’ racial socialization gives children information about the self and others in the context of race and thus may impact the way that children interact with their peers and demonstrate their socioemotional skills. By investigating links between parents’ experiences with racial discrimination with their expectations of their children’s future experiences with racial discrimination, I hope to inform future work on the parental characteristics that guide parenting practices with regard to race. Also by examining the interrelations of parental experiences, beliefs, and behaviors and their associations with children’s socioemotional skills, I hope to ultimately identify the mechanisms by which racial socialization messages impact children’s outcomes. With these goals in mind I describe the present study.

The Present Study
The primary objective of the present study is to examine African American mothers’ experiences of racial discrimination and their beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination experiences as antecedents of four racial socialization strategies: (1) instilling feelings of pride in racial heritage (racial pride messages), (2) engaging in behaviors that immerse children in racial culture (racial socialization behaviors), (3) preparing children for racial bias or barriers to success (racial barrier messages) and (4) teaching children that interracial interactions are beneficial and that people from all races can achieve (egalitarian messages). I first hypothesize that African American mothers’ experiences with discrimination will be associated with the belief that their children will also experience discrimination (Hypothesis 1a). The link between mothers’ own experiences of racism and concerns for their children’s experiences with racism has been previously supported (Vines & Baird, 2009); thus, I expect to replicate this finding.

Second, I hypothesize that African American mothers’ racial discrimination experiences and also their beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination will result in differing frequencies of racial pride messages, racial socialization behaviors, egalitarian messages, and racial barrier messages with their third grade children (Hypotheses 1b & 1c, respectively). Finally, I hypothesize that the relationship between mothers’ racial discrimination experiences and racial socialization strategies is moderated by mothers’ beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination (Hypothesis 1d). The relationship between experiences with discrimination and racial socialization messages of promotion of mistrust and preparation for bias has been established with parents of children who are as
young as 10 years of age (e.g., Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997). However, the addition of examining parents’ experiences in conjunction with their expectations for their children’s future experiences and the examination of additional, more positive racial socialization components (e.g., racial pride messages, racial socialization behaviors, and egalitarian messages) is new.

The second objective of the present study is to examine the impact of African American mothers’ racial socialization messages and strategies on their third grade children’s socioemotional competence with peers in the classroom. By third grade, children’s understanding of race and ethnicity reflect a literal understanding of both the stability of heritage and ancestry, and the internal and psychological aspects of racial groups (Quintana, 1998). Because racial socialization messages reflect race in relation to self and others, and prepare children emotionally and socially for responses to challenging situations (e.g., discrimination), exposure to these messages in third grade may result in increased socioemotional competence and social problem solving (Umaña-Taylor, Vargas-Chanes, Garcia, & Gonzales-Backen, 2008). Further, children’s social relationships and roles change as their peer interactions in school increase. Thus as children begin integrating messages about race with their increased awareness of self and others as part of racial groups and perceive differences in others’ knowledge and perspectives with regard to racial preferences and stereotypes this may have consequences for their interaction with others (Eccles, 1999). Third grade is a valuable time to explore these relationships as this cognitive shift and integration may be just beginning to be manifested in social behaviors.
Children’s socioemotional competence with peers in the classroom is assessed in many ways. The constructs considered most often include: social skills including assertiveness, cooperation, and self-control. In the context of this study, because I don’t have different hypotheses for these competencies, I include the combined measurement of all these variables. In addition, I include social problems in the classroom, such as externalizing, internalizing, and hyperactivity, as a combined instantiation of what socioemotional competence is not.

I have four hypotheses regarding the relationships between the four socialization messages and children’s outcomes. Overall, I hypothesize that African American mothers’ racial socialization messages will be associated with children’s socioemotional competence (Hypothesis 2). Specifically, I predict, first, that African American mothers’ frequent racial pride messages will be positively related with children’s socioemotional competence (e.g., overall social skill; Hypothesis 2a). Second, I predict that mothers’ greater engagement in racial socialization behaviors (e.g., taking children to Black cultural events, buying books about Black people) will be positively associated with children’s socioemotional competence (Hypothesis 2b).

Third, I hypothesize that African American mothers’ use of racial barrier messages will be negatively associated with children’s socioemotional competence (Hypothesis 2c). Racial barrier messages teach children that other people will treat her/him differently because of their race and skin color and that they will experience hard work and difficulties because of that treatment; such messages may encourage children to shy away from social
interactions particularly if these interactions are with members of other races. Finally, I hypothesize that African American mothers’ use of egalitarian messages will be positively associated with children’s greater socioemotional competence (Hypothesis 2d). Egalitarian messages specifically teach children about the benefit of social interaction and thus may encourage children to approach and value social interaction with a variety of peers. The link between parents’ racial socialization and children’s problem behaviors has been established with preschool age children (e.g., racial pride messages; Caughy, O'Campo, et al., 2002) and adolescents (e.g., egalitarian messages; Neblett et al., 2008), yet these studies only took into account problem behaviors, such as aggression towards others or non-compliance. The addition of children’s social skills and a more global, inclusive measure of social problems during middle childhood in the current study is new and will add to our understanding of how racial socialization contributes to socioemotional outcomes across childhood.

In all analyses of African American mothers’ experiences with racial discrimination, beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination, racial socialization, and children’s socioemotional competence I control for parent and child demographic variables of socioeconomic status (SES) and child gender when they contributed significantly to the specified model. As described earlier, these factors have shown relations with parents’ racial socialization practices in previous studies.

The hypotheses were tested in two models. In model 1, I examine the moderating effect of mothers’ beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination on the relationship between mothers’ racial discrimination experiences and their racial socialization messages.
In model 2, I examine the predictive relationship of mothers’ racial socialization messages on children’s socioemotional competence (see Figure 1).

**Method**

**Participants**

Participants were 117 self-identified African American mother-child dyads participating in a larger longitudinal study (53.8% female; Halberstadt & Garrett-Peters, 2013). Data on mothers’ racial socialization and personal experiences of discrimination were collected from the entire sample of African American mothers; additionally 67 of these mothers were interviewed for their beliefs about their child’s future experience of discrimination. The interview was added after the first 50 mothers had participated, and interview status did not vary by child age or family income, but mothers interviewed did have slightly more education ($M_{\text{Education}} = 14.02$) than mothers not interviewed ($M_{\text{Education}} = 13.22$).

The children’s 3rd grade teachers were also invited to provide reports on children’s academic achievement and behavior in the classroom; 95 African-American children had teachers who participated (81%). The final sample ($N = 104$) included mother-child dyads who had either the maternal interview about children’s future discrimination or the teacher questionnaires or both.

For this final sample of 104 African American mother-child dyads, children ranged in age from 7 – 9 years ($M_{\text{age}} = 8.71; 54.8\%$ daughters). Mothers’ years of education ranged from 9 to 16 years ($M_{\text{years}} = 13.73$). Total family income ranged from $16,000 - $176,000
(M_{income} = $61,377). Mothers’ reports of marital status indicated that 48.7% were married, 23% were unmarried (e.g., separated, divorced, widowed, cohabitating but unmarried), and 28.3% were single/never married.

**Procedure**

Mother-child dyads were invited into the lab to complete questionnaires, interviews, and dyadic tasks. Following mothers’ consent and children’s assent, mothers completed several independent measures via computer in a separate room with the supervision of a research assistant, while children completed independent assessments with a separate research assistant in an adjacent room. Mothers and children were then asked to participate in dyadic tasks, followed by more independent assessments. Finally, mothers participated in an additional interview. Mothers were also asked permission to invite teachers’ participation, and volunteered teachers’ names if they were willing to consent to this part of the study. Finally, demographic information was collected from mothers via computer at the end of the entire protocol. Both mothers and children were thanked for their participation in the study. Mothers were compensated $50 for their time and reimbursed for their travel expenses to the lab. Children were invited to select a toy for their participation.

Teachers were invited to participate in the study in the spring of third grade, to ensure teacher familiarity with the child being assessed. Teachers were sent a packet of questionnaires with a self-addressed envelope via mail. Teachers who completed and returned the questionnaires were sent $25 as compensation for their participation.

**Measures**
Racial Socialization Questionnaire-Parent Version (RSQ-P; Lesane-Brown, Scottham, Nguyêń, & Sellers, 2009). The RSQ-P (see Appendix A) is a 26-item, parental self-report measure that assesses the frequency with which parents give the target child race-related messages. The four subscales, with sample items and internal reliabilities for the current sample are: Racial pride messages (4 items; “Told your child that s/he should be proud to be Black”; \( \alpha = .59 \)), Behavioral socialization (5 items; “Bought your child books about Black people”; \( \alpha = .76 \)). Racial barrier messages (4 items; “Told your child that some people think they are better than him/her because of their race”; \( \alpha = .77 \)), and Egalitarian messages (4 items; “Told your child that Blacks and Whites should try to understand each other so they can get along”; \( \alpha = .76 \)). Parents rated items on a 3-point scale including 1 (never), 2 (once or twice), and 3 (more than twice). The RSQ was previously used with African American mothers of adolescents and has demonstrated similar internal consistency to the internal reliability reported for the current study (Scottham & Smalls, 2009; White-Johnson et al., 2010). Two other subscales, Self-Worth messages and Negative messages were omitted because of time constraints and their low variability; pilot testing indicated most mothers reported giving their child Self-Worth messages “more than twice” per year (64%) and “never” giving their child Negative Messages (88%).

Perceived Discrimination Questionnaire. This 16-scenario questionnaire was adapted from two previously validated questionnaires (see Appendix B): the Everyday Discrimination (ED) questionnaire (Williams et al., 1997) and the Daily Life Experiences of Racism (DLER) questionnaire (Harrell, Merchant, & Young, 1997). Both questionnaires
have shown high internal consistency in African Americans (see Lewis et al., 2006; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Williams et al., 1997); the ED questionnaire has demonstrated internal consistency specifically with African American mothers (Siefert, Finlayson, Williams, Delva, & Ismail, 2007). These questionnaires were combined so as to cover a wide variety of discrimination experiences that might be encountered in everyday life, and to maximize information about those discrimination experiences. First, mothers indicated the frequency with which they experienced a particular type of discrimination (e.g., “You are treated with less respect than other people”, “People act as if they think you are dishonest”), using a 5-point scale including 0 (not at all), 1 (a few times a year), 2 (a few times a month – 1 to 3 times a month), 3 (at least once a week – 1 to 3 times a week), and 4 (almost every day – 4 or more times a week). Second, mothers indicated the reasons they believed they experienced the particular event (i.e., race/ethnicity, gender, physical appearance, age, other). The ‘other’ category was further subdivided into reasons related to the participant and reasons related to the situation or other person in the situation. Third, participants indicated how much the particular event bothered them, using a 5-point scale from 1 (doesn’t bother me at all) to 5 (bothers me extremely). The questionnaire yielded the following scores: the mean frequency of discrimination across categories and for each individual category (e.g., overall discrimination, racial discrimination, gender discrimination, physical appearance discrimination, age discrimination, and “other” discrimination), the level of discomfort experienced in response to discrimination (mean score across all 16 items), and the sum of total discrimination events experienced across categories and for each individual category.
To assess mothers’ experiences of racial discrimination, I calculated the mean frequency from only the scenarios in which mothers indicated that the reason they believed they experienced the event was because of their race/ethnicity. Internal reliability for the current sample was assessed for the 16 items for the frequency of discrimination events; $\alpha=.86$.

**Children’s Future Discrimination Interview with Mothers.** The Future Discrimination interview, designed for this study, is a semi-structured interview that captures parents’ beliefs about their children’s current and future experiences with discrimination. After completing the perceived discrimination questionnaire, mothers were first asked to review the 16 scenarios of discrimination and then report which experiences they believed their child would likely encounter in the future, if any. Mothers were also told that they did not have to be limited by the scenarios from the perceived discrimination questionnaire and could discuss any other discriminatory experiences her child might experience. If the mother reported that she did not expect her child to have any discriminatory experiences, then the interview ended. However, if the mother reported that her child would experience discrimination or differential treatment, a series of follow up questions were asked to explore the nature of mothers’ beliefs about those experiences. Follow-up questions probed for the following information: if the child had already been or was currently exposed to discrimination; the age of discrimination onset (current or future); causes or reasons for child’s discrimination experiences; and maternal methods communicated to child for preparation for or coping with discrimination (current or future). The interview ended when
the mother indicated that she had nothing more to share about her child’s current or future experience with discrimination.

All interviews were video recorded, transcribed, and then coded by the author (see Appendix C for coding manual). Initial inter-rater reliability was assessed by an African American undergraduate after coding training and was at or exceeded \( \kappa \geq 0.80 \). Final inter-rater reliability, based on a 37.3% overlap, was deemed acceptable for all codes and is reported with the coding description below. Discrepancies in coding were resolved by the author. The variables coded and reliability across coders were: the mother believes the child will experience discrimination in the future (yes or no; \( \kappa = 0.98 \)), the mother believes the child was currently experiencing discrimination (yes or no; \( \kappa = 0.97 \)), and mothers’ reports of type of discrimination the child might experience (e.g., racial, gender, disability, age, and/or other; \( \kappa = 0.99 \)). The coding manual is available from the author. These codes were then used to distinguish mothers who believed that her child would experience racial discrimination in the future and mothers who did not believe that her child would experience racial discrimination in the future.

**Social Skills Rating System Teacher Version (SSRS-T; Gresham & Elliot, 1990).**

The SSRS-T (see Appendix D) is a teacher report measure assessing two domains of the target child’s social behavior with peers in the classroom (Social Skills and Problem Behaviors) and one domain of academic competence. The Social Skills and Problem Behaviors were used for the present study. The Social Skills domain is comprised of three subscales with 10 items each. Using a 3-point scale (0 = never, 1 = sometimes, 2 = very
often), teachers report on children’s frequency of: Assertion (e.g., initiating social behaviors, asking others for information, introducing oneself, responding to actions of others; \( \alpha = .89 \)), Cooperation (e.g., helping others, sharing materials, complying with rules/directions; \( \alpha = .93 \)), and Self-control (e.g., appropriate responses to teaching, turn-taking, compromise; \( \alpha = .93 \)). To assess the child’s total social skills score, the mean is taken of all 30 items across the three domains (\( \alpha = .93 \)). The Problem Behaviors domain is comprised of three subscales, with 6 items each: Externalizing (e.g., peer conflict, outbursts of anger; \( \alpha = .94 \)), Internalizing (e.g., low self-esteem, loneliness, anxiety in groups; \( \alpha = .88 \)), and Hyperactivity (e.g., impulsivity, disruptive behavior, succumbs to distraction; \( \alpha = .89 \)). To assess the child’s total problem behaviors score, the mean was taken of all 18 items across the three domains (\( \alpha = .92 \)). The SSRS has demonstrated evidence of internal consistency, test-retest reliability, and construct validity (Burchinal, Roberts, Zeisel, & Rowley, 2008; Gresham & Elliot, 1990) and invariance for African American and European American populations (Decker, Dona, & Christenson, 2007).

**Sociodemographic variables.** Child gender was collected during participant screening via mothers’ reports. Mothers’ years of education and family income were collected via electronic questionnaire at the end of the lab visit before compensation. Mothers’ years of education and family income were standardized and combined to derive a socioeconomic status variable which reflects the contribution of maternal and overall family status contexts. This standardized SES score ranged from 1 (low) to 10 (high; see Wang & Huguley, 2012 for an example).
Results

Preliminary Analyses

I begin by providing descriptive results of mothers’ SES, racial discrimination experiences, racial socialization strategies, and beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination. Means, standard deviations, and variable ranges are presented in Table 1. With regard to mothers’ racial discrimination experiences, 46.2% of African American mothers (n=31) indicated that they had not experienced any racial discrimination in the past year; 53.7% of mothers (n=36) indicated that they had experienced one or more discriminatory incidents in the past year (see Table 2). Because my analytical strategy was to use MANCOVA to maximize analysis of this small sample, and because almost half of the sample indicated that they had not experienced racial discrimination in the past year, the frequency of racial discrimination variable was dichotomized into mothers who experienced no racial discrimination in the past year (1) and those who had experienced some discrimination in the past year (2). Similarly African American mothers varied in their beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination in that 46.2% of mothers did not indicate that racial discrimination would be a problem for their children in the future; 53.7% of mothers reported that their children will experience racial discrimination in the future.

Mothers’ racial socialization variables (e.g., racial pride messages, racial socialization behaviors, racial barrier messages, and egalitarian messages) were highly skewed and thus, were transformed using logarithmic transformation to correct the skew of the variables. The
zero-order correlations for the transformed racial socialization variables with other key study variables are presented in Table 3.

The zero-order correlational analyses indicated that, mothers’ racial socialization messages were all positively and significantly intercorrelated. Mothers who reported frequent engagement in one type of racial socialization strategy also reported frequent engagement in all other types of racial socialization strategies. Relationships between SES and racial socialization indicated that mothers of higher SES engaged in more frequent racial pride messages, racial socialization behaviors, and racial barrier messages. Child gender was significantly related to mothers’ racial pride messages and racial socialization behaviors; mothers of girls reported more frequent racial pride messages and racial socialization behaviors than mothers of boys.

Mothers’ experiences with racial discrimination and their beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination were both significantly and positively related to their racial barrier messages. Mothers who reported that they had experienced racial discrimination in the past year and mothers who believed that their child would experience racial discrimination in the future reported giving more frequent racial barrier messages to their child. However, mothers’ experiences of racial discrimination were unrelated to mothers’ belief that children would experience racial discrimination in the future. Thus, hypothesis 1a was not supported. Mothers’ reports of their racial discrimination experiences did tend to be related to their racial socialization strategies in the correlational analyses. Mothers who reported they had experienced racial discrimination tended to report more frequent racial
pride messages, racial socialization behaviors, racial barrier messages, and egalitarian messages as shown in Table 3.

With regard to teachers’ reports of children’s socioemotional competence, SES and child gender were both related to children’s social skills and social problems. Specifically, families with higher SES had children who were rated as exhibiting more frequent social skills and less frequent social problems. Girls were rated as showing more frequent social skills and less frequent social problems than boys. Finally, mothers’ racial socialization strategies were related to children’s social skills and social problems. Specifically, mothers who engaged in frequent racial socialization behaviors had children who were rated as more frequently exhibiting social skills and less frequently exhibiting social problems in the classroom. Further, mothers who reported giving more frequent racial barrier messages had children who were rated as more frequently exhibiting social skills in the classroom. Trend level relationships indicate that mothers who reported giving more frequent racial pride messages and racial barrier messages had children who tended to exhibit less frequent social problems in the classroom. Teachers’ ratings of children’s social skills and social problems were highly correlated.

**Model 1: Moderation of Mothers’ Racial Discrimination Experiences and Racial Socialization Strategies by Mothers’ Beliefs about Children’s Future Racial Discrimination**

To examine the moderating effect of mothers’ beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination on the relationship between mothers’ racial discrimination and their racial
socialization strategies (e.g., racial pride messages, racial socialization behaviors, racial barrier messages, and egalitarian messages), I conducted a two-way (mothers’ racial discrimination and mothers’ beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination) multivariate analysis of variance controlling for SES (MANCOVA). Table 4 shows that the two-way MANCOVA revealed no significant multivariate main effects for mothers’ racial discrimination, Wilks’ $\lambda = .91$, $F(4, 53) = 1.89$, $p = .291$, or mothers’ beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination, Wilks’ $\lambda = .93$, $F(4, 53) = 0.94$, $p = .447$, nor an interaction of mothers’ racial discrimination and beliefs on mothers’ racial socialization strategies, Wilks’ $\lambda = .89$, $F[4, 53] = 1.68$, $p = .168$. Mothers’ racial socialization strategies did not vary as a function of their racial discrimination experiences or their beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination, which did not support hypotheses 1b and 1c. Finally, the relationship between mothers’ racial discrimination experiences and their racial socialization strategies did not vary as a function of mothers’ beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination. Thus this model did not support hypothesis 1d.

Due to the potential for multi-collinearity issues caused by the moderately high correlation for racial pride messages with racial socialization behaviors ($r = .65$), I re-analyzed the two-way (mothers’ racial discrimination and mothers’ beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination) MANCOVA to test the moderating effect of mothers’ beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination on the relationship between mothers’ racial discrimination and their racial socialization strategies (see Table 5). I continued to control for SES, however, I excluded racial pride messages. The post hoc two-way MANCOVA
revealed no significant multivariate main effects for mothers’ racial discrimination, Wilks’ $\lambda = .91$, $F(3, 54) = 1.69$, $p = .180$, or mothers’ beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination, Wilks’ $\lambda = .93$, $F(4, 54) = 1.28$, $p = .292$. Mothers’ racial socialization strategies did not vary as a function of their racial discrimination experiences or their beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination. However, there was a trend-level multivariate effect of the interaction of mothers’ racial discrimination and beliefs on mothers’ racial socialization strategies, Wilks’ $\lambda = .89$, $F(3, 54) = 2.25$, $p = .092$. Table 6 displays the post hoc univariate tests. For racial socialization behaviors, the univariate test was not significant, $F(1, 56) = 0.13$, $p = .723$. For racial barrier messages, the univariate test was not significant, $F(1, 56) = 2.68$, $p = .108$. For egalitarian messages, however, the univariate test was significant, $F(1,56) = 5.23$, $p = .026$. As shown in Table 7, mothers did not differ in the frequency of racial socialization behaviors or racial barrier messages regardless of their own racial discrimination experiences or their beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination. However, mothers’ who had experienced some racial discrimination in the past year and believed that their children would experience racial discrimination in the future reported giving more egalitarian messages than mothers who experienced some racial discrimination but did not believe that their children would experience racial discrimination in the future or mothers who had experienced no racial discrimination (regardless of their beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination). Thus, the post hoc analysis partially supported hypothesis 1d.
Model 2: Mothers’ Racial Socialization Strategies Predict Children’s Socioemotional Competence

To examine mothers’ racial socialization strategies as predictors of children’s socioemotional competence, I conducted separate hierarchical linear regressions for children’s social skills and social problems. In the first step, I included mothers’ SES and child gender as control variables. In the second step, I entered in mothers’ racial socialization strategies (e.g., racial pride messages, racial socialization behaviors, racial barrier messages, and egalitarian messages).

For children’s social skills, the overall model was significant, $F(6, 81) = 5.78, p < .001, R^2 = .30$ (see Table 8). Both mothers’ SES and child gender were significant at Step 1 and remained significant after the addition of the racial socialization variables. The addition of mothers’ racial socialization strategies accounted for an additional 5% of the variance in children’s social skills. However, this addition of the racial socialization variables did not result in a significant change, $F\Delta = 1.58, p = .189$. Mothers’ racial socialization behaviors significantly predicted children’s social skills above and beyond the effects of mothers’ SES, child gender, and other racial socialization strategies. Consistent with hypothesis 2b, mothers’ use of racial socialization behavior was associated with children’s social skills in the classroom. No other racial socialization strategy emerged as a unique and significant predictor of children’s social skills. Thus, with regard to children’s social skills, hypothesis 2 was partially supported.
For children’s social problems, the overall model was significant, $F(6, 81) = 5.25, p < .001, R^2 = .28$ (see Table 9). Both mothers’ SES and child gender were significant at Step 1 and remained significant after the addition of the racial socialization variables. The addition of mothers’ racial socialization strategies accounted for an additional 4% of the variance in children’s social problems, but did not result in a significant change, $F_\Delta = 1.18, p = .328$. None of the racial socialization variables were uniquely predictive of children’s social problems. With regard to children’s social problems, hypothesis 2 was not supported.

**Discussion**

The current study investigated African American mothers’ racial socialization practices in the context of their own racial discrimination experiences and their beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination. The current study also examined African American mothers’ racial socialization practices as predictors of their children’s socioemotional competence in third grade. Although scholars have increasingly recognized the importance of examining how parents’ characteristics and experiences relate to their racial socialization practices, few studies have examined how parents’ own experiences of discrimination and their beliefs about their children’s future discrimination relate (see Vines & Baird, 2009 for an exception) or how parents’ racial discrimination experiences interact with these beliefs to influence their racial socialization strategies. Further, although there is increasing recognition in the importance of racial socialization as a contributor to minority children’s development, no studies have examined the impact of racial socialization on children’s socioemotional competence with peers. Finally, even though scholars note that
racial socialization can begin as early as preschool (e.g., Caughy, O'Campo, et al., 2002; Caughy, Randolph, et al., 2002), there is still little work examining the impact of racial socialization before adolescence, particularly in the period of middle childhood (see Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Johnson, 2001 for exceptions).

As predicted, both African American mothers’ racial discrimination experiences and beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination were related to mothers’ racial socialization strategies. These were distinct and separate constructs, however, and demonstrated their own independent pathways to racial socialization patterns in that mothers’ racial discrimination experiences had no significant impact on their beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination. Also, the relationship between mothers’ racial discrimination and socialization strategies was to some degree moderated by their beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination. Specifically, mothers who reported experiencing some racial discrimination and believed that their children would experience racial discrimination in the future gave more egalitarian messages than mothers who experienced some racial discrimination but did not believe that their children would experience racial discrimination in the future or mothers who had experienced no racial discrimination (regardless of their beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination).

Finally, as hypothesized, African American mothers’ racial socialization behaviors uniquely predicted children’s social skills, as rated by the children’s teachers, and when controlling for both SES and gender, but not their social problems; other messages, however, did not predict
either children’s social skills or problems in school. Below I discuss the implications of these findings further.

It is interesting to note the strong positive relationships among the racial socialization messages, suggesting the multiplicity of messages that mothers are conveying, even with third-grade children. These results, in conjunction with similar findings of mothers’ racial socialization messages with adolescents (e.g., Neblett et al., 2008; White-Johnson et al., 2010), suggest that mothers who are talking about racial barriers are also likely discussing racial pride and communicating egalitarian messages. Thus, mothers do not seem to be sharing highly negative messages about poor race relations without also describing messages about how members of different races should get along with one another, nor are they providing overly positive views of a racialized society which may not match the reality that is not yet present in their children’s lives. Instead, mothers seem to be sharing fairly complicated and sophisticated thoughts with their children, which may also prepare them more completely for their future experiences.

The positive relationship between African American mothers’ racial discrimination experiences and the frequency of their racial barrier messages is also consistent with previous findings (e.g., Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; White-Johnson et al., 2010), suggesting that parents draw from their own experiences with racial discrimination in determining whether to talk to their children about unfair treatment due to race by third grade. The positive relationship between mothers’ beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination and the frequency of their racial barrier messages is consistent with work that
African American parents give more frequent preparation for bias messages when they report that their children are currently experiencing discrimination (Hughes & Johnson, 2001).

The interaction effect of mothers’ racial discrimination experiences and their beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination on the frequency of mothers’ egalitarian messages showed that mothers who had experienced racial discrimination and believed that racial discrimination would be a problem for their child in the future gave more frequent egalitarian messages. Although the multivariate test for mothers’ racial barrier messages was not significant, it should be noted that this same trend was apparent in post hoc analyses of the means, in which mothers who had previously experienced racial discrimination and believed their children would experience racial discrimination in the future reported giving the most frequent racial barrier messages across all four groups. The relationship of mothers’ racial discrimination experiences to both racial barrier and egalitarian messages is found in other work (White-Johnson et al., 2010), but the addition of mothers’ beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination highlights that the more salient race is for a parent, the more likely that they will give messages to their children that relate to interracial interactions.

In fact, African American parents’ high racial centrality in the context of racial identity (the extent to which one feels race is an important part to one’s identity; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998) is also related to more concern that their children would experience racial discrimination (Rowley, Varner, Ross, Williams, & Banerjee, 2012) and frequent racial barrier messages (White-Johnson et al., 2010).
These findings suggest that parents’ own experiences and expectations for their children’s experiences with racism prompts parents to start discussing the possibility of racial discrimination with their children even in middle childhood. Thus, in light of the positive relations between racial socialization strategies found in the present study it appears that if race is salient for mothers, they will discuss it with their children in a variety of ways and expose them to activities that may make race a salient topic. The majority of racial socialization research focuses on parents’ racial barrier or preparation for bias messages during adolescence, in which it is assumed that racial discrimination becomes a salient issue during this period. However, African American children are not only reporting expectations for racial discrimination in interracial interactions by third grade (Rowley, Burchinal, Roberts, & Zeisel, 2008), they are also reporting experiences of racial discrimination from both peers and adults (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). The current study adds to the literature by showing that parents’ experiences with and beliefs about racial discrimination together relate to their race-related parenting practices in middle childhood.

When African American mothers’ racial socialization strategies were examined as predictors of children’s social skills and social problems, mothers’ racial socialization behaviors (i.e., buying children books about Black people or taking children to Black cultural events) were positively related to children’s social skills in the classroom, even when SES and child gender were controlled for. That mothers’ racial socialization behaviors seemed to matter the most for children’s socioemotional competence in the classroom is not surprising given the developmental period of children in third grade. Because abstract thinking is not
yet well developed by this period (Piaget, 1954), it may be that an abstract concept like race becomes tangible for African American children during this time period when they are provided with real life examples of how people who look like them are important and valued in society. Mothers’ racial socialization behaviors may have particular consequence for their children’s social competence because involving children in activities that promote racial awareness and pride in African Americans may give children implicit messages about race, which children may begin to incorporate with their literal understanding of race and ethnicity (Quintana, 1998), their perceptions of the value of particular racial groups (Murray & Mandara, 2002), and their increased understanding of self and other in the context of their social interactions (C. S. Brown & Bigler, 2005; Eccles, 1999). That mothers’ racial socialization behaviors are related to more frequent displays of social skills in the classroom may reflect that racial socialization behaviors contribute to a child’s overall self-worth in a way that relates to their social functioning. In fact, multiple studies have established the link between parents’ racial socialization messages that reflect pride and knowledge of African American culture and youth’s self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Stevenson, Reed, Bodison, & Bishop, 1997), as well as the link between self-worth and positive social functioning in middle childhood (Easterbrooks & Abeles, 2000). Future work should examine children’s self-esteem and self-worth as a pathway by which mothers’ racial socialization impacts children’s social functioning.

Although the current study contributes to our understanding of both parent and child correlates of African American mothers’ racial socialization practices, there are some
limitations that should be noted. First, the sample size, although similar in size to other studies that have investigated these constructs (e.g., Frabutt, Walker, & MacKinnon-Lewis, 2002; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Scott, 2003), is relatively small. Thus, many of the trend-level findings from the group comparisons of mothers’ racial discrimination experiences and beliefs may be significant within a larger sample. Second, in this sample only a little over half of the mothers in the sample indicated that they had experienced racial discrimination in the past year, which is a low estimate in comparison to other studies (e.g., Gibbons et al., 2004). Future research should use semi-structured interview questions that assess beliefs about the salience of race and racial discrimination in addition to more broad or general definitions of discrimination. Third, the current study used mixed race coding teams (e.g., African American and European American) to serve as research assistants during data collection. Although the racial socialization and perceived discrimination measures were collected via computer input by the participant, in many cases, the African American mothers were interviewed about their children’s future discrimination experiences by European American research assistants. It is possible that African American mothers may not have felt comfortable expressing their honest opinions about the role of discrimination in their children’s lives to European American interviewers, and some data may have thus been suppressed, adding noise to the data. Having research assistants and participants matched on race may result in more robust relationships between African American parental beliefs about discrimination, perceptions of discrimination, and racial socialization strategies.
Fourth, although the current study sought to examine the impact of racial socialization on children’s socioemotional competence, the study is unable to address the specific mechanism by which parents’ racial socialization practices exert influence over children’s competence. For example, some racial socialization messages (e.g., racial pride) may act on children’s socioemotional competence by promoting children’s positive self-perceptions and subsequently positive socioemotional adjustment. However, other racial socialization messages (e.g., racial barriers) may impact children’s interpretation of ambiguous social interactions and thus will prompt children to engage in less prosocial behavior during peer interactions. Racial barrier messages may also impact children’s perspective taking skills by fostering an early understanding of others’ thoughts versus their own thoughts about African Americans or by precluding openness to a variety of messages European Americans might be sending. Future work should examine differing pathways and mechanisms by which African American parents’ messages about race influence their children’s social skills. Finally, the current study can only elucidate concurrent relationships among African American parents’ cognitions about race, racial socialization practices, and children’s socioemotional competence. Longitudinal work is needed to have a better understanding of how messages in early and middle childhood impact socioemotional functioning in adolescence.

Despite these limitations, the current study also demonstrates distinctive strengths. First, the current study used mixed methods to investigate parental correlates of racial socialization. Specifically, semi-structured interviews were used to investigate the nature of
mothers’ beliefs about their children’s future discrimination and thus mothers could talk freely about their own experiences and the experiences of their children. It was clear from examining the interviews that some mothers had not previously thought about discrimination with regard to their children by third grade; others had well-mapped out ideas about the potentiality or reality of discriminatory experiences for their children. Second, children’s social skills and social problems were reported by the children’s teachers instead of using parental report. The use of teacher instead of parent report may result in more accurate estimations of the relation between mothers’ socialization and child’s behavior simply because the reports come from different individuals. The use of teacher report also gives us a better understanding of how processes that occur in the family context may impact more distal processes and events occurring within the school context. Finally, the current study considers the correlates of racial socialization among African Americans as opposed to a comparative approach across racial groups. The importance of within-group samples has been increasingly noted (e.g., Phinney, 1996) and has provided the field with a better understanding of the heterogeneity of race-related experiences.

In sum, I examined the relationship between African American mothers’ racial discrimination experiences, their beliefs about their children’s future racial discrimination, their racial socialization strategies, and their children’s socioemotional competence. The findings suggest that African American mothers’ own experiences of discrimination and their concerns for their children’s potential experience of discrimination are separate contributors to their use of racial socialization messages. Additionally, their racial socialization egalitarian
messages vary by their own experiences and their beliefs about their children’s discrimination experiences, and that, to some degree, variation in their racial socialization behaviors predicts children’s social skill in school. Because mothers’ racial socialization strategies are important contributors to minority children’s development (Hughes et al., 2006; McHale et al., 2006) and academic achievement (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Dotterer et al., 2009), it is important to identify parenting factors that influence their racial socialization messages and behaviors. Understanding these parenting factors may help to inform our conceptualization of the racial socialization process and the malleability of parental messages to improve children’s developmental and academic competencies.
References


Figure 1

*Conceptual Model and Variables*
Table 1

*Descriptive Statistics for Study Variables*

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Table 2

*Frequency of Mothers’ Racial Discrimination Experiences and Beliefs about Children’s Future Racial Discrimination by Child Gender*

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### Table 3

**Zero-Order Correlations of Study Variables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sociodemographics</th>
<th>Racial discrimination</th>
<th>Racial socialization</th>
<th>Children’s socioemotional competence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 SES</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Child gender</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.18†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Mothers’ racial discrimination</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.19*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Mothers’ beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.24*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Mothers’ racial pride messages</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.65***</td>
<td>.54***</td>
<td>.58***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Mothers’ racial socialization behaviors</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.50***</td>
<td>.42***</td>
<td>.32**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Mothers’ racial barrier messages</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.48***</td>
<td>.21*</td>
<td>-.19†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Mothers’ egalitarian messages</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Children’s social skills</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.83***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Children’s social problems</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

†p < .10. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.
Table 4

**Multivariate Effects of Mothers’ Racial Discrimination and Beliefs about Children’s Future Racial Discrimination on Mothers’ Racial Socialization Strategies Controlling for SES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Wilks’ $\lambda$</th>
<th>$F$</th>
<th>$df_1$</th>
<th>$df_2$</th>
<th>$\eta_p^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers’ racial discrimination</td>
<td>.91</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers’ beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>.94</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers’ racial discrimination X Mothers’ beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>1.68</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5

*Posthoc Multivariate Effects of Mothers’ Racial Discrimination and Beliefs about Children’s Future Racial Discrimination on Mothers’ Racial Socialization Strategies Controlling for SES, with Racial Pride Omitted*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Wilks’ $\lambda$</th>
<th>$F$</th>
<th>$df_1$</th>
<th>$df_2$</th>
<th>$\eta^2_p$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>2.34†</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers’ racial discrimination</td>
<td>.91</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers’ beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers’ racial discrimination X Mothers’ beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>2.25†</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

†$p < .10$. 
Table 6

Posthoc Univariate Tests of Mothers’ Racial Discrimination and Beliefs about Children’s Future Racial Discrimination on Mothers’ Racial Socialization Strategies Controlling for SES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial socialization strategy</th>
<th>Effect</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>( F )</th>
<th>( df_1 )</th>
<th>( df_2 )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Racial socialization behaviors</td>
<td>SES</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.29†</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mothers’ racial discrimination</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>1.68</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children’s future racial discrimination</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mothers’ racial discrimination X Children’s future racial discrimination</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial barrier messages</td>
<td>SES</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mothers’ racial discrimination</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>4.29*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children’s future racial discrimination</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>3.41†</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mothers’ racial discrimination X Children’s future racial discrimination</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egalitarian messages</td>
<td>SES</td>
<td></td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mothers’ racial discrimination</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Children’s future racial discrimination</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mothers’ racial discrimination X Children’s future racial discrimination</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>5.23*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

†\( p < .10 \). *\( p < .05 \).
Table 7

*Posthoc Means of Racial Socialization Strategies by Racial Discrimination, Beliefs about Children’s Future Racial Discrimination, and Interaction*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mothers’ racial discrimination experiences</th>
<th>Beliefs about children’s future racial discrimination</th>
<th>Experiences x Beliefs about children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No discrimination</td>
<td>Some discrimination</td>
<td>Will not experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial socialization behaviors</td>
<td>2.25&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2.42&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2.32&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Racial barrier messages</td>
<td>1.68&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1.98&lt;sup&gt;b∗&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Egalitarian messages</td>
<td>2.28&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2.55&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>†</sup><sub>p < .10</sub>.  <sup>∗</sup><sub>p < .05</sub>.  
Note: <sup>a</sup> Indicates that the means are not significantly different across groups within a racial socialization strategy.  <sup>b</sup> Indicates that the means are significantly different across groups within a racial socialization strategy.
Table 8

*Hierarchical Regression Model Predicting Children’s Social Skills*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor variables</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE (B)</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>.25*</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.37***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.30**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>.30*</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.35**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.27**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial pride messages</td>
<td></td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial socialization behaviors</td>
<td></td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.26*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial barrier messages</td>
<td></td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egalitarian messages</td>
<td></td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

†$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$
Table 9

*Hierarchical Regression Model Predicting Children’s Social Problems*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor variables</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE (B)</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>.24*</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.38***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.28**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>.28*</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.39***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
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<td>-.14</td>
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<td>-.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egalitarian messages</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.36</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>-.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*†p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001*
APPENDICES
### APPENDIX A

**Racial Socialization Scale**

The following are messages and activities that parents may or may not share or engage in with their children. Please rate on the scale given below, the frequency with which you have given your child these messages or participated in these activities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOW OFTEN HAVE YOU:</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Once or twice</th>
<th>More than twice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Told your child that Blacks and Whites should try to understand each other so they can get along.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Told your child that learning about Black history is not that important.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Told your child that some people try to keep Black people from being successful.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Been involved in activities that focus on things important to Black people.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bought your child Black toys or games.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Told your child that some people think they are better than him/her because of their race.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Told your child it is best to act like Whites.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Gone with your child to Black cultural events (i.e. plays, movies, concerts, museums).</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Told your child that because of opportunities today,</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hardworking Blacks have the same chance to succeed as anyone else.

10. Told your child that s/he is somebody special, no matter what anyone says. 0 1 2

11. Told your child that s/he should try to have friends of all different races. 0 1 2

12. Told your child that Blacks have to work twice as hard as Whites to get ahead. 0 1 2

13. Told your child to be proud of who s/he is. 0 1 2

14. Told your child that skin color does not define who s/he is. 0 1 2

15. Gone with your child to cultural events involving other races and cultures (i.e. plays, movies, concerts, museums). 0 1 2

16. Told your child that being Black is nothing to be proud of. 0 1 2

17. Talked to your child about Black history. 0 1 2

18. Told your child s/he can be whatever s/he wants to be. 0 1 2

19. Went with your child to organizational meetings that dealt with Black issues. 0 1 2
20. Told your child that s/he should be proud to be Black. 0 1 2
21. Told your child that s/he can learn things from people of different races. 0 1 2
22. Told your child White businesses are more reliable than Black businesses. 0 1 2
23. Told your child that some people may dislike him/her because of the color of his/her skin. 0 1 2
24. Told your child Blacks are not as smart as people of other races. 0 1 2
25. Told your child never to be ashamed of his/her Black features (i.e. hair texture, skin color, lip shape, etc.). 0 1 2
26. Bought your child books about Black people. 0 1 2
**APPENDIX B**

**Perceived Discrimination Questionnaire**
(Adapted from Williams et al., 1997 and Harrell et al., 1997)

During the last year, in your day-to-day life, how often have any of the following things happened to you?

1 = Not at all
2 = A few times a year
3 = A few times a month (1-3 times a month)
4 = At least once a week (1-3 times a week)
5 = Almost every day (4 or more times a week)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1a. You are treated with less courtesy than other people.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If more than “not at all”:

1b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?
   1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin
   2 = Your gender
   3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance
   4 = Your age
   5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): __________________
   6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day for that person)

1c. How much did it bother you?
   1 = doesn’t bother me at all
   2 = bothers me a little
   3 = bothers me somewhat
   4 = bothers me a lot
   5 = bothers me extremely

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2a. You are treated with less respect than other people.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If more than “not at all”:

2b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?
   1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin
   2 = Your gender
   3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance
   4 = Your age
   5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): __________________
6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day for that person)

2c. How much does this bother you?
1 = doesn’t bother me at all
2 = bothers me a little
3 = bothers me somewhat
4 = bothers me a lot
5 = bothers me extremely

3a. You receive poorer service than other people at restaurants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
If more than “not at all”:
3b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?
1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin
2 = Your gender
3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance
4 = Your age
5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): __________________
6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day for that person)

3c. How much does this bother you?
1 = doesn’t bother me at all
2 = bothers me a little
3 = bothers me somewhat
4 = bothers me a lot
5 = bothers me extremely

4a. People act as if they think you are not smart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
If more than “not at all”:
4b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?
1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin
2 = Your gender
3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance
4 = Your age
5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): __________________
6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day for that person)
4c. How much does this bother you?
   1=doesn’t bother me at all
   2=bothers me a little
   3=bothers me somewhat
   4=bothers me a lot
   5=bothers me extremely

5a. People act as if they are afraid of you.
   1  2  3  4  5

   If more than “not at all”:
   5b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?
       1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin
       2 = Your gender
       3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance
       4 = Your age
       5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): __________________
       6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day
   for that person)

5c. How much does this bother you?
   1=doesn’t bother me at all
   2=bothers me a little
   3=bothers me somewhat
   4=bothers me a lot
   5=bothers me extremely

6a. People act as if they think you are dishonest.
   1  2  3  4  5

   If more than “not at all”:
   6b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?
       1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin
       2 = Your gender
       3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance
       4 = Your age
       5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): __________________
       6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day
   for that person)
6c. How much does this bother you?
   1 = doesn’t bother me at all
   2 = bothers me a little
   3 = bothers me somewhat
   4 = bothers me a lot
   5 = bothers me extremely

7a. People act as if they are better than you.
   1  2  3  4  5

If more than “not at all”:
   7b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?
      1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin
      2 = Your gender
      3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance
      4 = Your age
      5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): __________________
      6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day
for that person)

7c. How much does this bother you?
   1 = doesn’t bother me at all
   2 = bothers me a little
   3 = bothers me somewhat
   4 = bothers me a lot
   5 = bothers me extremely

8a. You are called names or insulted.
   1  2  3  4  5

If more than “not at all”:
   8b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?
      1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin
      2 = Your gender
      3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance
      4 = Your age
      5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): __________________
      6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day
for that person)

8c. How much does this bother you?
   1 = doesn’t bother me at all
   2 = bothers me a little
9a. You are threatened or harassed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| If more than “not at all”:
9b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?
   1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin
   2 = Your gender
   3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance
   4 = Your age
   5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): ________________
   6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day for that person)

9c. How much does this bother you?
   1 = doesn’t bother me at all
   2 = bothers me a little
   3 = bothers me somewhat
   4 = bothers me a lot
   5 = bothers me extremely

10a. You are followed around in stores.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| If more than “not at all”:
10b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?
   1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin
   2 = Your gender
   3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance
   4 = Your age
   5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): ________________
   6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day for that person)

10c. How much does this bother you?
   1 = doesn’t bother me at all
   2 = bothers me a little
   3 = bothers me somewhat
   4 = bothers me a lot
5=bothers me extremely

(ITEMS 11-16 BELOW adapted from Daily Life Experiences of Racism (Harrell et al., 1997) unpublished ms.)

### 11a. People ignore your ideas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

If more than “not at all”:

#### 11b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?

1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin  
2 = Your gender  
3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance  
4 = Your age  
5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): __________________  
6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day for that person)

#### 11c. How much does this bother you?

1=doesn’t bother me at all  
2=bothers me a little  
3=bothers me somewhat  
4=bothers me a lot  
5=bothers me extremely

### 12a. People expect your work to be inferior (not as good as others).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

If more than “not at all”:

#### 12b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?

1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin  
2 = Your gender  
3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance  
4 = Your age  
5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): __________________  
6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day for that person)

#### 12c. How much does this bother you?

1=doesn’t bother me at all  
2=bothers me a little  
3=bothers me somewhat
4 = bothers me a lot  
5 = bothers me extremely

13a. People don’t take you seriously.

If more than “not at all”:
13b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?
   1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin
   2 = Your gender
   3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance
   4 = Your age
   5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): __________________
   6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day for that person)

13c. How much does this bother you?
   1 = doesn’t bother me at all
   2 = bothers me a little
   3 = bothers me somewhat
   4 = bothers me a lot
   5 = bothers me extremely

14a. You get left out of conversations or activities.

If more than “not at all”:
14b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?
   1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin
   2 = Your gender
   3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance
   4 = Your age
   5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): __________________
   6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day for that person)

14c. How much does this bother you?
   1 = doesn’t bother me at all
   2 = bothers me a little
3=bothers me somewhat  
4=bothers me a lot  
5=bothers me extremely  

15a. You are treated in an “overly” friendly or superficial way.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If more than “not at all”:

15b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?
   1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin
   2 = Your gender
   3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance
   4 = Your age
   5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): ________________
   6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day for that person)

15c. How much does this bother you?
   1 = doesn’t bother me at all
   2 = bothers me a little
   3 = bothers me somewhat
   4 = bothers me a lot
   5 = bothers me extremely

16a. People avoid you.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If more than “not at all”:

16b. What do you think was the main reason for (this/these) experience(s)?
   1 = Your race, ethnicity, ancestry, or origin
   2 = Your gender
   3 = Your height, weight or some other aspect of your physical appearance
   4 = Your age
   5 = Other reason related to you (SPECIFY): ________________
   6 = Other reason related to other person/other situational factors (i.e. bad day for that person)

16c. How much does this bother you?
   1 = doesn’t bother me at all
   2 = bothers me a little
   3 = bothers me somewhat
   4 = bothers me a lot
   5 = bothers me extremely
APPENDIX C

Future Discrimination Interview
Coding Manual

The purpose of these codes is to capture parents’ impressions of their child’s future experience with discrimination by examining:

1. Parent’s report of child’s future experience of discrimination (e.g., type of discrimination, setting of discrimination, age of onset of discrimination)
2. Parent’s report of child’s current or past experience of discrimination (e.g., type of discrimination, setting of discrimination)
3. Parent’s methods of preparing their child for the experience of discrimination
4. Parent’s advice to children on how to cope with the experience of discrimination
5. Parent’s beliefs about the nature of discrimination
6. Parent’s beliefs about children’s understanding of race

Initial Coding Procedure

1. Coders must follow the lab procedures to download and save ALL coding documents.
2. Coders must **read through the transcript one full time** before beginning to code.
3. Coders will then read through the transcript a second time and begin coding by using the *New Comment* function on Microsoft Word.
   a. Coders will then record these codes in a separate Future Discrimination Coding Sheet (File name: FutureDiscrimination_Coding Sheet) and save it with the procedure described above.
   b. As you are adding comments to the transcript via Microsoft Word, make sure that you put any justification, explanation, or summary of why you chose a certain code if you don’t think it is clear. (This is especially relevant for codes that are associated with parents’ prepare for discrimination, cope for discrimination, beliefs about discrimination, and children’s understanding of race codes.)

Initial Codes

*Will the child experience discrimination in the future? (Will Experience Discrimination?)*

Record whether or not the parent believed their child would experience discrimination in the future, regardless of the type of discrimination.

- 0=no
- 1=yes

***The following codes will be used if the parent reports that YES their child will experience discrimination.***
What type of discrimination will the child experience? (Future Discrimination Type):

- **1=racial**: The parent describes that the child experiences any type of discrimination from either same or other race individuals and can encompass but is not limited to comments about hair texture, skin tone, racial/ethnic characteristics, etc.
- **2=gender**: The parent describes that their child will be treated differently because of their gender.
- **3=disability**: The parent describes that their child will be treated differently because of their disability.
- **4=age**: The parent describes that their child will be treated differently at some point because of their age (e.g., child not getting enough respect at their job when they are working and could be younger than other employees that they are in charge of).
- **Other=type in**: This is used in the case that the parent mentions a type of discrimination that is not listed in the coding. The code will include the word “other” + the type of discrimination. Example: Other: Weight.

Where will the child experience this discrimination? (Where Future Discrimination)

- **1=School/Academic Setting**: The parent describes that their child will be treated differently or with discrimination in the school, playground, classroom, after school program setting, etc.
- **2=Non-School/Academic Setting**: The parent describes that their child will be treated differently or with discrimination or differentially in non-school settings (e.g., girl/boy scouts, camp, neighborhood, etc.). This WILL NOT include if the parent says that the child will experience discrimination in the workplace during the future.
- **3=Workplace Setting**: The parent describes that their child will be treated differently or with discrimination at work or when they enter the job marked in the future.
- **Other=type in**: This is used in the case that the parent mentions a location/setting in which discrimination may occur that is not listed in the coding. The code will include the word “other” + the location of discrimination. Example: Other: When the child goes overseas.

Who will discriminate against the child? (Who Will Discriminate - Future)

- **1=children**: The parent describes that the child will be treated differently or discriminated against by other children. This response is appropriate if the parent is describing any time period from elementary school through high school.
- **2=adult**: The parent describes that the child will be treated differently or discriminated against by adults. This response is appropriate if the parent is describing and instance in which the child is treated differently by adults during childhood or adolescence OR if the parent describes that when the child becomes an adult, they will be treated differently by other adults.

At what age will the child start experiencing discrimination? (Age of Future Discrimination)

This will only be coded when the parent is talking about future discrimination and not current discrimination.
• **1=during elementary school:** The child does not experience discrimination now but the parent believe the child will experience it within the next 2 years.

• **2=during middle school:** The child will experience discrimination during the 6th, 7th, or 8th grade. Also use this code if the parent reports that the child will experience discrimination as a “preteen”, “early teens”, or gives the specific ages 10-12 yrs.

• **3=during high school:** The child will experience discrimination during the 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th grade. Also use this code if the parent reports that the child will experience discrimination as a “teenager”, “late teens”, or gives the specific ages 13-18 yrs.

• **4=adulthood:** The child will experience discrimination after the child is finished with high school. Also use this code if the parent reports that the child will experience discrimination as an “adult”, “young adult”, “in college”, or gives any specific age after the age of 18.

Has the child already experienced discrimination? (Experiences Discrimination Now?)
Record whether or not the parent reports that their child currently experiences discrimination, regardless of the type of discrimination.

• **0=no**

• **1=yes**

***The following codes will be used if the parent reports that YES their child has already experienced discrimination.***

What type of discrimination has the child already experienced? (Current Discrimination Type)

• **1=racial:** The parent describes that the child experiences any type of discrimination from either same or other race individuals and can encompass but is not limited to comments about hair texture, skin tone, racial/ethnic characteristics, etc.

• **2=gender:** The parent describes that their child will be treated differently because of their gender.

• **3=disability:** The parent describes that their child will be treated differently because of their disability.

• **4=age:** The parent describes that their child will be treated differently at some point because of their age (e.g., child not getting enough respect at their job when they are working and could be younger than other employees that they are in charge of).

• **Other=type in:** This is used in the case that the parent mentions a type of discrimination that is not listed in the coding. The code will include the word “other” + the type of discrimination. Example: Other: Weight.

Where has the child experienced discrimination? (Where Current Discrimination)
- **1= School/Academic Setting:** The parent describes that their child will be treated differently or with discrimination in the school, playground, classroom, after school program setting, etc.

- **2=Non-School/Academic Setting:** The parent describes that their child will be treated differently or with discrimination or differentially in non-school settings (e.g., girl/boy scouts, camp, neighborhood, etc.). This WILL NOT include if the parent says that the child will experience discrimination in the workplace during the future.

- **3=Workplace Setting:** The parent describes that their child will be treated differently or with discrimination at work or when they enter the job marked in the future.

- **Other=type in:** This is used in the case that the parent mentions a location/setting in which discrimination may occur that is not listed in the coding. The code will include the word “other” + the location of discrimination. Example: Other: When the child goes overseas.

**Who discriminates against the child? (Who Discriminates - Current)**

- **1=children:** The parent describes that the child will be treated differently or discriminated against by other children. This response is appropriate if the parent is describing any time period from elementary school through high school.

- **2=adult:** The parent describes that the child will be treated differently or discriminated against by adults. This response is appropriate if the parent is describing and instance in which the child is treated differently by adults during childhood or adolescence OR if the parent describes that when the child becomes an adult, they will be treated differently by other adults.

**How do parents prepare their children for discrimination? (Prepare for Discrimination)**

- **1=open discussion:** The parent reports that they have discussions or talk to/tell the child about discrimination. This could include a wide variety of topics dealing with discrimination (e.g., how to cope with discrimination, how to think about/analyze situations, etc.).

- **2=live by example:** The parent reports that they will teach their child about discrimination or how to handle situations involving discrimination by living by example.

- **3=point out discrimination situations when they occur:** The parent reports that they point out or bring the child’s attention to any instances in which people are being treated differently or discriminated against.

- **4=avoid talking about discrimination:** The parent reports that they avoid conversations about or ignore instances of discrimination.

- **Other=type in:** This is used in the case that the parent mentions a way they prepare their child for discrimination that is not listed in the coding. The code will include the word “other” + the type of preparation. Example: Other: When the child goes overseas.
How do parents believe children should cope with discrimination? (Cope with Discrimination)

- **1=Tell child be proud of their race:** The parent tells the child that despite discrimination they should be proud of the race they are. This may include pride in skin color as well. (Only used with the discrimination is racial.)
- **2=Tell child to feel good about themselves:** The parent tells the child that despite discrimination they should feel good about who they are as a person, the way that they look in general, and/or the child is special the way s/he is.
- **3=Tell child they will experience discrimination and to not let it bother them:** The parent tells the child that s/he will experience discrimination because that is just how the world is and to not get upset by it or to just accept it.
- **4=Tell the child not to trust other races:** The parent tells the child that the way to deal with or avoid being upset by discrimination is to just understand that s/he can’t trust people of other races than her/his own.
- **5=Tell the child that everyone should be treated equal:** The parent tells the child that the best way to deal with or avoid discrimination is to treat others how you want to be treated and that everyone should be treated equally no matter what they look like. Any messages that sound “egalitarian” in nature would fall under this.
- **6=Tell the child to ignore the treatment:** The parent tells the child that s/he should just ignore any instances or situations that involve discrimination. It’s not important or worth it.
- **7=Tell the child to remove her/him self from situation:** The parent tells the child that s/he should walk away from any situation that involves discrimination or being treated differently.
- **8=Tell parent/authority figure:** The parent tells the child that s/he should go and get an authority figure (e.g., teacher, camp counselor, etc.) or parent if s/he ever experiences discrimination.
- **9=Remember that people have different ideas:** The parent tells the child that other people may be raised differently or may have different ideas about how you should treat others or about different groups of people in general. Parents might also emphasize that discrimination is the other person’s problem because they have to deal with their own ideals and beliefs.
- **Other=Type in:** This is used in the case that the parent mentions a way to cope with discrimination that is not listed in the coding. The code will include the word “other” + the type of coping message. Example: Other: Think of happy thoughts instead.

What do parents believe about discrimination? (Beliefs about Discrimination)

- **1=Discrimination is inevitable:** Parent mentions that discrimination is a problem that will always eventually happen. If it doesn’t start happening now or soon, everyone will be discriminated against at some point in their lives.
- **2=Problems with discrimination are getting better:** Parent mentions that they believe that their children won’t experience as much discrimination as in the past or
any discrimination at all because things are better now than they used to be with regard to discrimination.

- **3=discrimination is not relevant:** Parent mentions that they think that discrimination is a thing of the past and that to talk about it or to teach about it is no longer necessary.

**What do parents believe about children’s understanding of race?** (Children's Understanding of Race)

- **1=children don't care about race at this age:** Parent mentions that they don’t think that children even think about or care about race at this age.
- **2=children don't understand race at this age:** Parent mentions that they don’t think that children can even understand the concept of race at this age.
- **Other=** type in other if the parent describes a time when they think is ideal to talk to children about race and/or the parent gives a rationale or explanation for talking to their child about race at a certain age.

List of codes to use when the preceding codes do not work:

- **Omitted**—RA didn’t ask the parent the question.
- **NA**—Not Answered; parent was asked the question but they did not answer for any reason.
- **XX**—The parent answered the question but in a way that is not specified or vague and thus we don’t know how to code it.
- **** - If parent says that discrimination doesn’t happen and/or will not happen then the subsequent codes are this.

**Other Coding Considerations:**

When parents discuss that their bi-racial children are treated differently by others because of their skin color, hair, or bi-racial status – this is considered racial discrimination from other race because the assumption is that the bi-racial child is not being teased by other bi-racial children.

**When using the other = code,** ensure that you are copying (NOT SUMMARIZING) the text of what the parent has said and putting in the cell so that I have enough information to see what the parent was referring to. Also, remember that you will be inserting comments into your coded transcripts about why you feel that this code is considered “other” or fits another certain category.

**Interview Scoring Codes**

**Parents’ beliefs about child’s experience with discrimination (ChildExp):** Using the “Experiences Discrimination Now” and “Will Experience Discrimination Future” codes above, assign the interview a score based off of the following interval scale (range from 0 to 4):
- **0**=child does not experience discrimination now/child will not ever experience discrimination
- **1**=child does not experience discrimination now/child will not likely ever experience discrimination
- **2**=child does not experience discrimination now/child is likely to experience discrimination in the future
- **3**=child does not experience discrimination now/child is very likely or will inevitably experience discrimination in the future
- **4**=child experiences discrimination now/child will experience discrimination again in the future

Parents’ coping strategies for discrimination (CopeStrat): Using the “Cope With Discrimination” code above, count up the number of coping strategies parents suggest for the child to use in the face of discrimination. E.g., if the parent says that the child should ignore the situation but should also tell an authority figure, the parent would receive a score of “2”.
## APPENDIX D

### Social Skills Rating System – Teacher Version

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Very Often</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Controls Temper in conflict situations with peers.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Introduces herself or himself to new people without being told.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Appropriately questions rules that may be unfair.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Compromises in conflict situations by changing own ideas to reach agreement.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Responds appropriately to peer pressure.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Says nice things about himself or herself when appropriate.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Invites other to join in activities.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Uses free time in acceptable way.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Finishes class assignments within time limits.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Makes friends easily.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Responds appropriately to teasing by peers.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Controls temper in conflict situations with adults.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Receives criticism well.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Initiates conversations with peers.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Uses time appropriately while waiting for help.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Produces correct schoolwork.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Appropriately tells you when he/she thinks you have treated him/her unfairly.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Accepts peers’ ideas for group activities.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Gives compliments to peers.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Follows your directions.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Puts work materials or school property away.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Cooperates with peers without prompting.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Volunteers to help peers with classroom tasks.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Joins ongoing activity or group without being told to do so.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Responds appropriately when pushed or hit by other children.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Ignores peer distractions when doing class work.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Keeps desk clean and neat without being reminded.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Attends to your instructions.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Easily makes transition from one classroom activity to another.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Gets along with people who are different.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SUMS OF HOW OFTEN COLUMN