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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

DISSERTATION

The Cultural and Familial Contexts of Young Adults' Romantic Relationships

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Psychology and Social Behavior

by

Sharon Shenhav

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Wendy Goldberg, co-Chair
Professor Belinda Campos, co-Chair
Professor Chuansheng Chen

2017

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to begin by expressing my deepest gratitude to my dissertation co-chairs and advisors, Professor Wendy Goldberg and Professor Belinda Campos. I cannot possibly express how fortunate I feel to have not only one, but two advisors and mentors that have wholeheartedly looked out for my best interest at every turn, encouraged me to explore my own research interests, provided me with opportunities and support, and who have both truly embodied the definition of the word "mentor."

I would also like to thank my final committee member, Professor Chuansheng Chen, who has graciously met with me numerous times throughout the dissertation process. I am greatly appreciative of the guidance you have given me along the way. Thank you as well to Professor Jacqueline Chen and Professor Cynthia Feliciano, who served on my dissertation proposal committee, for their insightful questions and comments that have contributed to the final version of this dissertation.

Thank you to the Culture Relationships and Health Lab and the Family Lab for providing supportive and intellectually stimulating learning environments. My current and past research assistants also deserve a special thank you for their dedication to past and current research projects. I am additionally grateful to the entire department of Psychology and Social Behavior for providing an atmosphere of academic curiosity and rigor, for providing extensive training and expanding my way of thinking about psychological phenomena, and for doing so in a friendly and fun environment. I cannot fully describe how lucky I feel to have pursued my degree in the department of PSB at UC-Irvine and to have met such wonderfully kind, warm, and intelligent people along the way.

To my graduate school friends, thank you. I could not have gotten through these past six years with as much sanity and grace without your support and encouragement, your company during countless "work parties" (this one goes out to you, Daniel and Joe), and your advice both professionally and personally. Thank you to my "dissertation wife," Emily. I am so grateful to have gone through the dissertation proposal and defense stages (and the time in between) with you.

To my friends in California outside of graduate school: thank you for being a respite from my studies, for putting up with me when I start sentences with "well, research says…" and for making California truly feel like home. I am thankful for your friendship despite the fact that some of you still think I'm a Clinical Psychologist.

I am additionally grateful for my time as an undergraduate at Brandeis University, which set me on the path to becoming a Psychologist. Thank you to my undergraduate mentor, Dr. Ellen Wright, who inspired me to pursue a career in Psychology with her enthusiasm, engaging class assignments and teaching style. To two of my best friends from Brandeis, Alana and Maggie, I am excited to become the third Psychologist in our group of friends. It has been wonderful to have gone through this journey, albeit from afar, with you both.

And last, but certainly not least, my wonderfully supportive parents, brother, and sister-in-law, deserve a big thank you for standing beside me throughout the years, even though they still can't wrap their heads around why I would *choose* to go to school for an additional six years. Without such a warm and loving family, I would not be where I am today so, thank you.

CURRICULUM VITAE

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EDUCATION

University of California, Irvine   Irvine, CA

2017   Ph.D. in Psychology and Social Behavior
           Major: Developmental Psychology
           Minor: Social Psychology
2015   Master of Arts in Social Ecology

Brandeis University   Waltham, MA

2008   Bachelor of Arts in Psychology, Cum Laude
           Honors: Dean's List (Fall 2004-Spring 2008)
           Psi Chi National Honor Society in Psychology

AWARDS AND GRANTS

2017   Social Ecology Dissertation Data Collection Award
               Graduate Student Mentoring Award
2016   University-Wide Award for Most Promising Future Faculty Member
               Social Ecology Dean's Award for Inclusionary Excellence in Research
               Alison Clarke-Stewart Graduate Dissertation Research Award
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               Associated Graduate Student Travel Grant
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2015   Graduate Student Mentoring Award
2014   Graduate Student Mentoring Award
2013   Psi Chi Mamie Phipps Clark Research Grant

PUBLICATIONS

Shenhav, S., Campos, B., & Goldberg, W. (2017). Dating out is intercultural: Experience and perceived parent disapproval by ethnicity and immigrant generation. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships.*

Shenhav, S., Hovasapian, A., & Campos, B. (forthcoming). Interpersonal emotion dynamics within intimate relationships. In Randall, A.K. & Schoebi, D. (Eds.), *Studies in Emotion and Social Interaction*. Cambridge University Press.

Japuntich, S. J., Eilers, M. A., **Shenhav, S.,** Park, E. R., Winickoff, J. P., Benowitz, N. L., & Rigotti, N. A. (2015). Secondhand tobacco smoke exposure among hospitalized nonsmokers with coronary heart disease. *JAMA Internal Medicine*, *175*(1), 133-136.

Campos, B., & **Shenhav, S.** (2014). Relationships in multicultural contexts. In Pedrotti, J.T. & Edwards, L.M., (Eds.), *Perspectives on the Intersection of Multiculturalism & Positive Psychology*. Springer Publishing.

Tuval-Mashiach R., Ram A., Shapiro T., **Shenhav S.**, & Gur E. (2013). Negotiating maternal identity: Mothers with eating disorders discuss their coping. *Eating Disorders: The Journal of Treatment and Prevention, 21*, 37-52.

PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS

Organized Presentations

Shenhav, S. (Chair). (2016). *The influence of family and friends on relationship processes and outcomes*. Symposium organized for the 2016 International Association for Relationship Research, Toronto, Canada.

Invited Presentations

Shenhav, S. (2017). *Let's date! Romantic relationship experiences across cultures*. Invited speaker to represent the UC Irvine Psychology and Social Behavior department at the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute (OLLI), Irvine, CA.

Shenhav, S., Campos, B., & Goldberg, W. (2016) The rising trend of intergroup romantic relationships: Capturing the family context. In B. Campos (Chair), *Diversity in close relationship processes*. Symposium presentation at the 2016 Society for Personality and Social Psychology, San Diego, CA.

Shenhav, S. (2015). *Intercultural dating as a source of parent-child conflict*. Developmental Psychology Brownbag Series, Department of Psychology and Social Behavior, University of California, Irvine.

Other Presentations

Shenhav, S., Goldberg, W., & Campos, B. (2016). Do parents matter? Parent opinions and romantic relationship outcomes. Symposium presentation at the 2016 International Association for Relationship Research, Toronto, Canada.

Goldberg, W., & **Shenhav, S.** Work-life integration: A research progress report. (2016). Presentation for the UC Irvine Academy for Inclusive Excellence, Irvine, California.

Shenhav, S., Goldberg, W., & Campos, B. (2015). Interracial/intercultural dating as a potential source of parent-child conflict. Symposium presentation at the 2015 Society for Research in Child Development Biennial Meeting, Philadelphia, PA.

Posters

Maas, M., **Shenhav, S.**, Campos, B., & Goldberg, W. (2016). Childhood correlates of college students' interracial dating preferences. Poster presented at the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development, Vilpius, Lithuania, July 10-14, 2016.

Shenhav, S., Campos, B., & Goldberg, W. (2015). Family disapproval of intercultural romantic relationships. Poster presented at the 2015 Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Long Beach, CA.

Lam, T., Raju, M., **Shenhav, S.**, & Goldberg, W. (2015). College students' willingness to convert for a romantic partner. Poster presented at the 2015 Society for Research in Child Development Biennial Meeting, Philadelphia, PA.

Shenhav, S., Goldberg, W., & Campos, B. Culture or prejudice? Perceived parent disapproval and conflict over intercultural dating relationships. (2014). Poster presented at the 2014 Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Austin, TX.

Shenhav, S., Goldberg, W., & Campos, B. (2013). Intergenerational conflict over intercultural relationships. Poster presented at the 2013 Association for Psychological Science Convention, Washington, D.C.

Japuntich S., Eilers M., **Shenhav S.**, Reyen M., Winickoff J., Park E., & Rigotti NA. (2011). Secondhand smoke exposure patterns among patients hospitalized with coronary heart disease. Poster presented at the 2011 Annual Meeting, Society for Research in Nicotine and Tobacco, Toronto, Canada.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE   Irvine, CA
Family Laboratory/Culture, Relationships & Health Laboratory   2011-2017
Ph.D. Student Researcher to Dr. Wendy Goldberg and Dr. Belinda Campos
- Lead Investigator: Family Communication Study
- Lead Investigator: Romantic Relationships during the College Years

MDRC, Family Well-Being and Child Development Policy Area   New York, NY
Summer Research Assistant   2011
- Coded qualitative interviews of low-income couples for various themes, including those related to parenting, communication, and relationship challenges for the "Supporting Healthy Marriage" project.
- Assisted in creating the budget section of the "Supporting Healthy Marriage" project report.
- Assisted in grant proposal preparation – budget, references, and general editing.

BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY, Department of Clinical Psychology   Ramat Gan, Israel
Research Assistant to Dr. Rivka Tuval-Mashiach   2011
- Contributed to writing, editing, and arranging references for a manuscript entitled "Negotiating maternal identity: Women with eating disorders discuss their coping."

TEXAS TECH UNIVERSITY, Department of Human Development and Family Studies
TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY, Department of Management   Tel Aviv, Israel
Research Assistant to Dr. Anisa Zvonkovic and Dr. Dalia Etzion   2011

- Translated transcriptions of interviews from Hebrew to English for a qualitative research project examining the work-life balance of flight attendants.

UNIVERSITY OF HAIFA, Department of Education   Haifa, Israel
Research Assistant to Dr. Shoshi Dorfberger   2011
- Conducted literature reviews, edited publication manuscripts, and prepared references for studies examining motor task development and learning in preterm children, as well as a study examining sibling relationships in families with a gifted child.
- Assisted in writing of grants for future research projects.

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL, Tobacco Research and Treatment Center
Clinical Research Coordinator   Boston, MA; 2008-2011
- Collaborated with medical doctors and psychologists in the development of CATCH: Clean Air to Ensure Cardiac Health, a study of secondhand smoke exposure in cardiac inpatients. Assisted in survey development, determined appropriate methods, prepared IRB submissions, and managed weekly team meetings.
- Acted as a clinical trial coordinator for a nicotine vaccine (NicVax). Assisted with subject visits, kept research office stocked and organized, and prepared for monitor site visits.

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY, Psychology Department   Waltham, MA
Student-Scholar Partnership, Research Assistant to Dr. Angela Gutchess   2007-2008
- Designed and implemented a study examining gender differences and effects of priming on relational or collective interdependent representations of the self.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, Self/Emotion Regulation Laboratory   New York, NY
Research Assistant to Dr. Walter Mischel   2006
- Enrolled participants and proctored self/emotion experiments.
- Analyzed results through data entry, word coding, and excel files.

MENTORSHIP EXPERIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE FAMILY LABORATORY
Fall 2011-Spring 2017
- Held weekly laboratory meetings averaging five undergraduate/recently-graduated students.
- Led a journal club in which academic articles relating to romantic relationships in the family context, interracial relationships, and cultural variations were discussed.
- Ran a quarterly graduate school/career development information and question/answer session.
- Reviewed personal statements and CVs for graduate school applications and provided constructive feedback.

UC IRVINE'S UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES PROGRAM
Fall 2013-Spring 2015
- Mentored five students on research projects that culminated in poster and oral presentations at UCI Symposiums, as well as two poster presentations at national conferences.
- Met weekly with undergraduate students and advised them through conducting literature reviews, developing research proposals and research budgets, analyzing data, and preparing poster/oral presentations.

HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES (HBCUs) PROGRAM
Summer 2014
- Mentored three students on research projects that culminated in poster presentations at a UCI Symposium.
- Met weekly with undergraduate students and advised them through conducting literature reviews, developing research proposals, analyzing data, and preparing poster/oral presentations.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

INVITED GUEST LECTURER, *University of California, Irvine & Saddleback College*
Large Lecture Courses
- *Intercultural Dating in the Family Context*, Adult Development course (2015)
- *Cultural Differences in Relationships across the Lifespan*, Introduction to Psychology course (2014)
- *The Second Shift*, Work and Family course (2014)
- *Gender and Moral Development*, Development of Gender Differences course (2012)
Research Seminar Courses
- *Questionnaires & Survey Methods: Challenges & Lessons Learned from Two Research Projects* (2015)
- *Culture and Relationships* (2015)
- *Romantic Relationships within the Family Context* (2015)

TEACHING ASSISTANT   2011-2017
- Create PowerPoint presentations for weekly discussion sections to review lectures, material from the textbook, and introduce supplemental material. Organize and conduct group activities. Facilitate discussion.
- Advise students during weekly office hours and via email. Provide written and oral feedback on course assignments.
- Create grading rubrics, grade written assignments, create multiple choice exam questions and review exams.
- Teaching Assistant courses ranged from large introductory courses (approximately 350 students) to small upper-division undergraduate courses (approximately 20 students).
- Courses include: Introduction to Psychology, Psychology Fundamentals, Naturalistic Field Research, Attachment, Cross-Cultural Human Development, Child Development, Adult Development, Development of Gender Differences, Work and Family, Health

Psychology, Child Health Psychology, Behavioral Medicine, Forensic Psychology, Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination.

TEACHING OF PSYCHOLOGY COURSE 2011
- Participated in a 10-week course focused on the knowledge and skills needed to teach a college-level psychology course.
- Read and discussed theory and research concerning the teaching of psychology.
- Completed a final project consisting of written materials and slides for two Introductory Psychology discussion sections.

TEACHING ASSISTANT PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM 2011
- Participated in a training workshop to become a teaching assistant focused on creating and following grading rubrics, creating an interactive student environment, and incorporating group activities and facilitating discussions.

SERVICE/VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES

Departmental & University Service

- Evaluated progress and success of the Faculty Success Program, a program designed for increasing productivity and work-life balance among faculty members, through the National Center for Faculty Development and Diversity. (2015-2017)
- Participated in the Graduate Peer Mentor Program for the Psychology and Social Behavior department. (2016-2017)
- Participated in Graduate Student Recruitment by serving on student panels, hosting prospective students, and serving as the point-person for prospective students. (2011-2017)
- Represented the Psychology and Social Behavior department at the UC Irvine Diversity Student meeting. (2012)

Professional Service

- Assisted in a review of a manuscript for the *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* (2016).
- Assisted in a review of a manuscript for the *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* (2016).
- Assisted in review of a manuscript for *Psychology of Men & Masculinity* (2013).
- Reviewer for the Association for Psychological Science (APS) 2013 RISE Research Award Competition.
- Reviewer for the Society for Personality and Social Psychology (SPSP) 2016 Graduate Student Poster Award.

STATISTICS AND METHODOLOGICAL TRAINING

COURSES AND WORKSHOPS
- Mediation, Moderation, & Conditional Process Analysis with Dr. Andrew Hayes (2.5 day course; Winter 2017)

- Structural Equation Modeling course (Winter 2016)
- Mindware Technologies cardiovascular psychophysiology two-day training workshop (Spring 2014)
- Behavioral Coding Training (Spring 2012)
- Quantitative Methods in Psychology (Winter 2012; Spring 2012)

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

- Society for Personality and Social Psychology (SPSP)
- International Association for Relationship Research (IARR)
- Society for Research in Child Development (SRCD)
- American Psychological Association (APA)

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Cultural and Familial Contexts of Young Adults' Romantic Relationships

By

Sharon Shenhav

Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology and Social Behavior

University of California, Irvine, 2017

Professor Wendy Goldberg, co-Chair

Professor Belinda Campos, co-Chair

The current study examined the association of perceived maternal and paternal opinions of young adults' romantic relationships with romantic relationship quality and parent-child relationship satisfaction and closeness. Associations were examined by gender, ethnic group membership, and intercultural relationship status. The study additionally considered young adults' perceptions of reasons for parental approval and disapproval of their romantic relationships. Participants ($N = 588$) were young adults of Asian, Latino, and European background. Participants reported on the degree to which their mothers and fathers approved of their romantic relationships as well the reasons for their parents' approval or disapproval of their romantic relationships. Participants also reported on their relationship quality with their romantic partners as well as their relationship satisfaction with and feelings of closeness to their mothers and fathers.

Findings indicated that perceptions of both maternal and paternal romantic relationship approval were significantly associated with (a) higher ratings of romantic relationship quality and (b) higher ratings of relationship satisfaction with parents and closeness to parents. Neither gender nor intercultural relationship status moderated these associations. However, ethnic group

membership moderated the association of maternal opinion with relationship satisfaction with mothers such that associations were stronger for European background participants than their Asian and Latino background counterparts. Further, findings indicated that young adults frequently cited characteristics of their romantic partners as reasons for parental approval and disapproval. Results highlighted similarities across ethnic groups in associations of parental approval of relationships with romantic relationship quality as well as ethnic variations in associations with mother-child relationship satisfaction. Further, results provide support for similarities in associations among young adults in intercultural and same-culture relationships within and across ethnic groups.

The current study considers romantic relationships through the perspective of cultural and familial contexts. Findings extend the current literature by drawing connections between the separate literatures on ecological systems theory, social network opinions of close others' relationships, cultural variations in interdependent and independent contexts, and intergroup romantic relationships. Given the centrality of romantic relationships and family relationships in the lives of young adults, and the importance of social relationships for health and well-being, the present study has implications for the broader picture of how diverse family relationships and romantic relationships become integrated.

Introduction and Specific Aims

Romantic decisions that are autonomous decisions based on love are a powerful U.S. cultural ideal (Dion & Dion, 1993; Giguère et al., 2010). However, one of the unique features of U.S. society is the range of cultural values that are espoused. Although there are individual differences among people of the same ethnic background (Campos & Shenhav, 2014; Dion & Dion, 1993), there are also broad variations in cultural values across differing ethnic groups (e.g., Asian, Latino, European) that are relevant for relationships. A major dimension on which cultural variation is often studied is that of independence and interdependence (Dion & Dion, 1993; Hofstede & Bond, 1984; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Whereas individuals from independent cultural backgrounds (e.g., European heritage) tend to focus more on the self, those from interdependent backgrounds (e.g., East Asian and Latino heritage) tend to view themselves more in terms of close others.

Given that romantic relationships are situated within broader cultural contexts, this cultural distinction is relevant to young adults' dating relationships. One particular component of these cultural distinctions that is of primary relevance to the present study is in the level of autonomy afforded in choosing a romantic partner. Interdependent cultures tend to emphasize decision-making that takes into account the preferences of important others whereas independent cultures tend to emphasize the preferences of the self. These preferences extend to decisions of a romantic partner, such that interdependent cultures view such a decision to be one in which the family is involved whereas independent cultures are more likely to view this decision as a personal endeavor (Buunk, Park, & Duncan, 2010; Nesteruk & Gramescu, 2012; Uskul et al., 2007). In fact, young adults from more interdependent cultures tend to report greater parental influence and importance in partner selection than individuals from more independent cultures

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(Buunk et al., 2010; Uskul, Lalonde, & Cheng, 2007; Zhang & Kline, 2009). At the same time, however, U.S. youth across ethnic backgrounds value the independence emphasized in mainstream U.S. culture (Giguère, Lalonde, & Lou, 2010; Phinney, Kim, Osorio, & Vilhjalmsdottir, 2005). For example, across a number of racial/ethnic groups (European-American, Mexican-American, Korean-American) and individuals, both U.S.-born and foreign-born, the majority of adolescents and young adults reported that they would respond in a self-assertive manner (e.g., "do what I want to do") if they disagreed with their parents over a hypothetical disagreement about the choice of a dating partner (Phinney et al., 2005). This self-assertion may reflect the dominant cultural ideals of the U.S. In a study of college students in the U.S. and China, American students were significantly more likely than Chinese students to report that, in general, they would not stop dating a person of whom their parents expressed disapproval. However, participants from both groups reported that they would continue to date a disapproved partner if they cared for their partner (Zhang & Kline, 2009).

The literature suggests that individual autonomy and relatedness with one's family can exist side-by-side (e.g., Phinney et al., 2005). Moreover, autonomy and relatedness are two distinct dimensions (Taras et al., 2014); for example, one study found that those who belonged to more collectivistic cultures reported higher interdependent self-construals than people from individualistic cultures, but no differences were found in independent self-construals (Macdonald & Jessica, 2006). Within U.S. samples, ethnic variations emerge in the concept of relatedness. Mexican-Americans and Korean-Americans endorsed family interdependence to a higher degree than European-Americans and tended to reference their family and parents' feelings when explaining their self-assertive, autonomous, actions in response to a disagreement with a parent (Phinney et al., 2005). This interdependence is supported in cross-country samples as well;

whereas American participants were more likely to endorse the statement that who they date is "my choice, my right" than Chinese participants and that they "don't care about parents' views in this situation," Chinese participants were more likely than American participants to say that "parental approval is important" and that they would try to "persuade parents to accept other" (Zhang & Kline, 2009). This pattern seems to be reflected in California student samples as well; in a recent study, participants of Asian and Latino backgrounds scored significantly higher on measures of family interdependence than participants of European background, indicating a greater self-concept that overlaps with one's family. Surprisingly, in the same study, participants of European background reported higher likelihood of breaking up with a romantic partner if their parents disapproved than did participants of Latino background (no differences between European background and Asian background or Latino and Asian) (Shenhav, Campos, & Goldberg, unpublished data).

Dating and love are areas in which the autonomy and relatedness co-occurrence frequently manifest. For example, love-based marriages (a more independent way at looking at relationships) as compared to marriages that emphasize family-related factors (e.g., uphold cultural values) have become increasingly emphasized and desired around the world (Coontz, 2005; Dion & Dion, 1993). However, that does not mean that the cultural values of incorporating family opinion, influence, and feelings are not important. These cultural values are ingrained over many years and are apparent in how family relationships are navigated. Even if romantic relationships are becoming more autonomous, cultural values may still be entrenched. What these co-existing values mean for family and romantic relationship outcomes, however, are unknown.

Even if young adults across ethnic backgrounds do not avoid or break-up with a romantic partner when their parents disapprove, their actions may have differing effects on relationship outcomes, both romantic and family. For members of cultures with more interdependent views (e.g., Asian and Latino), where there is a strong emphasis on family input and preferences in regards to life decisions, including partner choice (Buunk et al., 2010; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999), lack of familial support may be especially distressing and consequently affect one's relationship satisfaction, commitment, and closeness. On the other hand, parent support or approval may also have differential effects on these relationship outcomes. It is important to note that young adults across cultures value family support of their romantic relationships (Jin & Oh, 2010), but it is not yet known whether these associations differ for individuals in the U.S. whose cultural backgrounds are more interdependently oriented than those whose backgrounds are more independently oriented.

The overarching goal of the current project is to examine the association of individuals' broader familial and cultural contexts with their romantic relationship and parent-child relationship outcomes. More specifically, the primary objective of the current study is to examine the association of perceived parental opinion of young adults' romantic relationships with romantic and parent-child relationship outcomes across diverse contexts. A central element of this goal is to study these processes in a diverse sample that includes participants from ethnic minority families with varying cultural assumptions about family and romantic relationships.

The following aims will be explored:

Aim 1. To examine the association of perceived maternal opinion with (a) young adult relationship quality with partner and (b) parent-child relationship satisfaction and closeness.

Aim 2. To examine whether the Aim 1 associations are moderated by gender.

Aim 3. To examine whether the Aim 1 associations are moderated by ethnicity.

Aim 4. To examine whether the Aim 1 associations are moderated by intercultural relationship status and interactions of ethnicity with intercultural relationship status.

Aim 5. To more fully understand parental opinions of young adults' romantic relationships by describing the most frequently reported reasons for parental approval and for parental disapproval of young adults' romantic relationships. In addition, approval/disapproval reasons by gender and ethnicity are explored.

Aim 6. To explore whether the patterns identified in Aims 1-5 for young adults and their mothers are replicated when examining paternal opinion of young adults' romantic relationships and paternal-young adult relationship quality outcomes.

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Review of the Literature

</div>

Theoretical Foundations

"No couple is an island," begins a journal article identifying the importance of social networks on couples' stability (Felmlee, 2001). This statement cannot be more accurate. Although a new couple may envision living in a bubble consisting of two, sooner or later this bubble pops. As evidenced by Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1994), individuals are both influenced by and exert influences on their social environments.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory well captures the multiple settings in which individuals' romantic relationships are embedded. The most immediate setting is termed the microsystem, which consists of the most direct influences on an individual. A prime example of a microsystem is the family. The second system, the mesosytem, refers to bidirectional influences between various microsystems, for example the relation between one's family and one's peer environment. The third system, the exosystem, includes contexts by which the

individual is indirectly influenced, such as a parent's social networks, which may influence parental responses to their children's behavior. The macrosystem is the fourth system that consists of the larger cultural and societal settings. The larger cultural and societal settings include the myriad of values and beliefs that surround the individual.

The current study situates young adults' romantic relationships in a multi-level ecological context. Much of the research on romantic relationship satisfaction and commitment has focused primarily on couple-level factors, such as degree of conflict, amount of time spent together, and feeling a sense of belonging in the relationship (Bui, Peplau, & Hill, 1996; Felmlee, 2001; Sprecher & Felmlee, 1992). While these factors are important to a couple's relationship outcomes (e.g., likelihood of break-up), they are not the full story. The importance of opinions of social network members in influencing relationship outcomes has received attention more recently in the literature (e.g., Besikci, Agnew, & Yildirim, 2016; Etcheverry, Le, & Charania, 2008; Sinclair, Felmlee, Sprecher, & Wright, 2015; Sprecher & Felmlee, 1992). The most immediate social network is one's family (microsystem). Young adults' romantic relationships are inextricably tied to their family as romantic relationships may ultimately lead to cohabitation or marriage, which signifies the extension of one's family of origin and beginning of a new family. Through marriage, one's partner becomes tied to one's family of origin as exemplified through in-law relationships.

Young adults' family environments may interact with their peer social environment (e.g., college campus) (mesosytem). For example, young adults may receive certain messages about desirable partner characteristics and suitable romantic partners at home and may receive either similar or conflicting messages from their peers in college. Conflicting messages may be particularly prevalent for young adults in ethnic minority families who are likely to be more

recent immigrants to the U.S, and whose family's cultural beliefs and expectations surrounding romantic relationships may vary from the beliefs and expectations of young adults' peers. Further, parents' social settings (exosystem), such as workplaces, may have an effect on their opinions on matters related to their young adult children's romantic relationships.

The cultural context (macrosystem) is of primary importance, particularly in a diverse nation such as the U.S. Family and culture intersect as one's family's cultural background and the broader societal culture play a role in how different types of relationships are viewed (Inman, Howard, Beaumont, & Walker, 2007; Uskul, Lalonde, & Konanur, 2011; Wang, 2012), how family members express and interpret parental opinions (Edmonds & Killen, 2009; Uskul et al., 2007; Uskul et al., 2011; Zhang & Kline, 2009), and the influences that parents' opinions have on relationship outcomes (Sinclair et al., 2015; Sprecher & Felmlee, 1992; Zhang & Kline, 2009). Although young adults across cultures report the desirability of family support for their dating relationships (Jin & Oh, 2010), young adults of differing ethnic backgrounds tend to vary in their expectations regarding the appropriateness of parental input about romantic partners (Uskul et al., 2007; Uskul et al., 2011; Zhang & Kline, 2009) and their responses to parental input more generally (Giguère et al., 2010; Phinney, et al., 2005). This difference in expectation and responses to parental input may influence how parental opinion of one's romantic partner affects outcomes related to both a young adult's romantic relationship and their parent relationships.

Given the possible clash of messages from the larger culture and from one's family with young adults' attitudes and preferences, even within the same family, generational differences may exist between parents and their young adult children about suitable romantic partners. These generational differences may be due to variations in cultural ideals in ethnic minority families, as well as generational differences stemming from differing historical experiences across

generations (chronosystem). For example, societal acceptance of intergroup romantic relationships has dramatically increased over the last 40 years (Wang, 2012). When romantic relationships cross boundaries of culture, race or religion, the opportunity for generational differences in opinions may be exacerbated.

As described, each of the systems in Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory likely has an influence on the parental opinion of young adults' romantic relationships and on its association with young adults' romantic relationship satisfaction and commitment and parent-child relationship satisfaction and closeness. The current study focuses on the roles of two specific systems, namely the microsystem and macrosystem, and the interactions between them.

The Microsystem: Family Contexts

Parental Opinion and Young Adult Romantic Relationship Quality. Parental opinion of young adults' romantic relationships has been studied with the cleverly termed "Romeo and Juliet effect" in mind (Driscoll, Davis, & Lipetz, 1972). This term suggests that parental (negative) interference in one's romantic relationship will enhance one's romantic partner commitment (Driscoll et al., 1972). Although there has been some support for such an effect (e.g., Felmlee, 2001), much more support has been found for the opposite direction consistent with the social network effect (SNE), which proposes that there are negative associations between network disapproval and partner commitment among U.S. samples (Lin & Rusbult, 1995; Sprecher & Felmlee, 1992). Moreover, the social network effect literature consistently supports the notion social network approval is positively associated with better romantic relationship outcomes (Etcheverry, Le, & Charania, 2008; Lehmiller & Agnew, 2007; Sinclair, Felmlee, Sprecher, & Wright, 2015; Sprecher & Felmlee, 1992).

Research on the social network effect typically focuses on one's own network (family, friends) and the network of one's partner (partner's family, partner's friends). Some studies emphasize just one particular member's opinion (e.g., Etcheverry et al., 2008), whereas others consider social network opinion as a whole (e.g., Sprecher & Felmlee, 1992). This field of research uses a variety of methods to examine social network reactions and outcomes for young adults' relationships. Across methods, findings indicate that these associations are reciprocal – individuals' *perceptions* of their network members' approval influences their own report of romantic relationship quality (Loving, 2006; Macdonald & Jessica, 2006; MacDonald & Ross, 1999) and social network members' perceptions of the individual's romantic relationship quality can influence their approval or disapproval (Etcheverry, Le, & Hoffman, 2013). An important finding that has emerged from this literature is that perceptions of others' opinions seem to predict relationship outcomes to a greater extent than actual opinions (e.g., Agnew, Loving, & Drigotas, 2001; Etcheverry et al., 2008). In addition, young adults' own reports about their relationship quality and level of commitment to their romantic partners predicted the longevity of their relationships, more so than close others' perceptions (Loving, 2006; MacDonald & Ross, 1999), suggesting that reports of relationship partners are valuable in predicting whether or not a couple will stay together. Level of commitment, in particular, is a strong predictor of future break-up or the continuity of a relationship (Rhoades, Stanley, & Markman, 2010).

A recent meta-analysis that examined predictors of non-marital romantic relationship dissolution found that a consistent predictor of romantic relationship dissolution was lack of network support, particularly among women (Le, Dove, Agnew, Korn, & Mutso, 2010). In other words, women who reported support from their networks were less likely to dissolve their relationships and on the contrary, women who reported disapproval from their networks were

more likely to dissolve their relationships. Although the meta-analysis did not differentiate

between different sources of network support, the importance of understanding romantic

relationships within a larger relational context was highlighted. Moreover, even after controlling

for dyadic factors (e.g., time spent together per week, number of arguments), social network

opinions are "potent predictors of a couple's break-up" (Felmlee, 2001, p. 1278).

The social network member studied is an important unit of measurement in this type of

research. In contrast to friends, parents may use perceptions of their child's commitment to the

romantic partner to decide whether to be more or less vocal about their support or disapproval.

For example, if a mother is hesitant about her daughter's relationship, this hesitation may be

exacerbated if she views the relationship as highly committed, motivating her to express her

disapproval more openly to the child. Likewise, if a mother strongly supports her daughter's

relationship with her partner but perceives the child to be less committed, she may choose to be

more vocal of her support in an attempt to encourage the relationship. Parents' opinions likely

have more complex motives than other social network members, and the choice of an

individual's partner may have greater implications for family members than for friends. Further,

opposing views from parents, by and large, cannot be easily dismissed in the way that a friend's

negative opinion can (Parks, 2007). Whereas avoidance of a disapproving friend may be quite

simple, avoidance of a parent cannot be done with the same ease, especially not for an extended

period of time.

Although friends' opinions have been found to consistently predict young adults'

relationship outcomes (e.g., quality, commitment) (Etcheverry & Agnew, 2004; Sprecher &

Felmlee, 1992; Wright & Sinclair, 2012), and sometimes even more so than parent opinions (e.g.,

Blair & Holmberg, 2008; Wright & Sinclair, 2012), the vast majority of this research has been

conducted primarily with European-American participants. For example, Le et al.'s (2010) meta-analysis of 137 studies on predictors of romantic relationship dissolution found that 81% of participants in these studies were White, which is consistent with the racial/ethnic background reports in the studies reviewed here. Some recent work, still with majority European background samples (75.2% participants in Blaney & Sinclair, 2013; 75.6% participants in Sinclair et al., 2015), hints at cultural variations that might have appeared had they been examined.

A unifying concept in this recent work is that of an individual difference measure of independence. One proposed factor was identified as independent reactance. Individuals high in independent reactance, defined as being high in "resentment toward perceived attempts to inhibit one's free will and efforts to resist influence," reported greater levels of love for their partners when confronting both parent and friend disapproval of their romantic relationship than did participants who scored low in independent reactance (Sinclair et al., 2015, p. 82). Yet another study compared individuals with high degrees of parental disapproval and high degrees of passionate love ("Romeo and Juliet effect") to individuals with high degrees of parental approval and high love (social network effect) on a number of variables – most relevant to the current study, the researchers found that those who experienced high disapproval/high love scored higher on measures of individualism and independent self-construal than the high approval/high love participants (Blaney & Sinclair, 2013; Wright, Sinclair, & Hood, 2014).

This emphasis on independence is important in starting to understand which cultural variations we may find in relation to the influence of parental approval or disapproval on relationship outcomes. Given the limited ethnic diversity of participants, this particular field would benefit from a cross-cultural analysis. The vast knowledge we have on cultural variations in levels of independent and interdependent self-construals (Hofstede & Bond, 1984; MacDonald

& Jessica, 2006; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Phinney et al., 2005), in parental influence on

decision-making (Buunk et al., 2010; Fuligni et al., 1999), and in the differing appraisals

adolescents and young adults report in response to parental influence (Chao & Aque, 2009;

Mason, Walker-Barnes, Tu, Simons, & Martinez-Arrue, 2004), gives reason to believe that the

associations between parental opinions on relationship outcomes may vary by ethnic background.

Parental Opinion and Parent-Child Relationship Quality. The social network effect

and studies examining parent opinion of young adults' relationships tend to focus on romantic

relationship factors, including satisfaction, intimacy, commitment, and the like (e.g., Sinclair et

al., 2015; Sprecher & Felmlee, 1992). Although researchers highlight the importance of situating

romantic relationships within broader network contexts (Felmlee, 2001; Parks, 2007; Sprecher &

Felmlee, 1992), these contexts remain limited in that they include only outcomes associated with

the individual's romantic relationship, such as one's relationship satisfaction and commitment.

One place in which this field of inquiry could expand is to examine parent opinions in

association with young adults' experiences of parent-child relationships in addition to their

romantic relationships.

Generally speaking, parent-child relationships are fairly stable over the course from

adolescence into young adulthood and are primarily seen in a positive light (Laursen & Collins,

2009; Lye, 1996). However, across development, parent-child relationships go through a process

of reorganization. This reorganization is typically characterized by a reduction in hierarchical

interactions and an increase in egalitarian interactions, with a focus on increased autonomy of the

adolescent or young adult (Laursen & Collins, 2009). Among European Americans, autonomy in

decision-making increases throughout childhood and adolescence and then increases more

greatly in late adolescence (18-20 years old) (Wray-Lake, Crouter, & McHale, 2010). This

renegotiation, however, is thought to take place within the family's cultural context of autonomy expectations (Laursen & Collins, 2009). Research has shown that autonomy expectations occur later in interdependent ethnic minority families (Fuligni, 1998). Parent-child relationships may be positively affected by the reorganization in so far as they converge on expectations of change. However, parents and children may have discrepant attitudes about which matters warrant autonomy and which do not (Bojczyk, Lehan, McWey, Melson, & Kaufman, 2011). As discussed earlier, the choice of a romantic partner tends to be one of those topics in which parents and children may have discrepant attitudes about family input. Differing expectations may be exacerbated in immigrant and minority families for whom hierarchical interactions between parents and child take precedence (Yeh & Bedford, 2004) and for whom autonomy in romantic partner choice has historically been emphasized to a lesser extent (Coontz, 2005). Incongruent cultural expectations surrounding independent identity, and particularly in regards to romantic relationships, may be especially pronounced among adolescents and young adults who are from immigrant and ethnic minority families and are "living at the crossroads of cultural worlds" (Giguère et al., 2010, p. 14). Among immigrant and ethnic minority families, cultural value differences have been shown to be associated with greater instances of parent-child conflict, particularly those value differences about dating and marriage (Ahn, Kim, & Park, 2009). On the other hand, despite these parent-child cultural gaps, by the time children of immigrant and ethnic minority parents reach young adulthood they may have learned to manage such discrepancies in a way that does not incur negative consequences for the parent-child relationship (Chang, Chen, & Kim, 2015).

Although research generally tends to support the notion that children's transition into adult roles, such as cohabitation with a partner and marriage, is associated with closer, more

supportive, and less conflicted parent-child relations (Arnett, 2014), there is reason to think that the parent's opinion of the partner may play a role. The level of approval or disapproval of their romantic relationships that children perceive from their parents may influence whether they withdraw from or become closer to their parents. Results from a small qualitative study support this notion. Participants whose parents approved of their romantic partner reported feeling closer because of the approval whereas participants who perceived parental disapproval noted that their level of closeness with parents declined (Golish, 2000). One behavioral factor that may contribute to this association is that parents may express their approval by including the adult child's romantic partner in family events (Sinclair et al., 2015), creating more opportunities for bonding with their children and increasing the strength of the parent-child relationship. On the other hand, if parents choose not to include the partner in family events, this behavior gives the adult child a reason to withdraw from their parents.

Parental Opinion and Gender. Research on dating and marriage in the family context tends to focus more on young women than young men. Young women often experience more parental restrictions about their dating behavior than young men (Madsen, 2008; Nesteruk & Gramescu, 2012). These restrictions may translate to increased involvement of parents in daughters' romantic relationships and a tendency to offer their opinions more freely and directly than when confronting their sons' romantic relationships. There may also be increased opportunities for discrepancies over appropriate partners to choose if parents have more restrictions and involvement. Among ethnic minority families, daughters tend to report greater cultural value gaps, including those pertaining to dating and marriage (Chung, 2001) and report greater levels of conflict with parents over dating than sons (Stuart et al., 2010). In addition, the association between social network opinions (including parents) on young adult relationship

satisfaction and commitment appears to vary by gender. Overall, women's relationship satisfaction and relationship longevity appear to be more affected by social network opinions than are men's (e.g., Le et al., 2010; Sprecher & Felmlee, 1992). In a cross-cultural study including both U.S. and Taiwanese college students, network support of one's relationship was associated with commitment to one's romantic partner for women but not men (Lin & Rusbult, 1995). This might be explained by noting that women tend to be more relational and interdependent with close others than are men (Cross et al., 2000; Gabriel & Gardner, 1999; Maddux & Brewer, 2005) and thus would be more likely to be affected by close others' evaluations of their behaviors. The emphasis on daughters over sons may stem from a number of different reasons. One future-oriented perspective is that daughters tend to be regarded as the kinkeepers who would be the ones responsible for continuing the contact and quality of family relationships (Lye, 1996). If daughters do in fact take on this responsibility, a daughter's romantic partner of whom parents either approve or disapprove could potentially bring the family closer together or farther apart.

Aspects of the parent-child relationship also tend to vary depending on parent gender. When thinking about parent-child relationships, young adults, both women and men, seem to think of their mothers first. Young adults of varied ethnicities overwhelmingly reported that they were thinking about their mothers as they completed questionnaires about parent-child relationship quality, parental support, and parental facilitation of independence, even though no instruction about which parent to report on was provided (Shenhav et al., unpublished data). In general, adolescents and young adults spend more time with their mothers than their fathers (Laursen & Collins, 2009; Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Metzger, 2006), report feeling closer to their mothers (Golish, 2000) and are more likely to discuss matters related to their personal lives

(Taylor, Funk, Craighill, & Kennedy, 2006), including matters about dating, with their mothers as compared to their fathers (Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Metzger, 2006). In addition, parent-child relationship quality differs by gender. Reports of both closeness (Lye, 1996) and conflict are highest in the mother-daughter relationship as compared to other parent-child dyads (Laursen & Collins, 1994; Lye, 1996). Taken together, these child- and parent-based gender differences in romantic relationship experience within the family context may suggest that mothers' opinions and the mother-daughter relationship may be of particular importance. Mothers' opinions of daughters' relationships may have greater consequences for romantic relationship satisfaction and commitment, as well as parent-child relationship satisfaction and closeness than mothers' opinions of sons' relationships.

The present study's primary focus is on maternal opinions of young adults' relationships and mother-child relationship quality, however, the importance of fathers in their daughters' and sons' lives is acknowledged. Thus, associations of paternal opinions of young adults' relationships with both romantic and father-child relationship outcomes are explored. Researchers have highlighted the shift in fatherhood expectations over time towards a more involved and emotionally available father (Goldberg, 2014; Morman & Floyd, 2002; Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, & Hofferth, 2001). Likewise, social trends indicate that there has been an increase in fathers' involvement in their sons and daughters' lives towards the end of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000; Hofferth & Lee, 2015). Lending additional support to the continued changing role of fathers, expectant fathers report wanting to be more involved in their children's lives than their own fathers had been in theirs (Goldberg, 2014).

Not only has father involvement increased, but there is also evidence of change in respect to emotional elements such as fathers' feelings of closeness and expressions of affection towards their children and vice versa. In a study of father-son dyads, sons reported feeling closer and more satisfied in their relationships with their fathers than their fathers reported feeling towards their own fathers (Morman & Floyd, 2002). Additionally, national statistics indicate that the gap in adult children's ratings of closeness towards their mothers and fathers has decreased by 8% from 1989 to 2006 (Taylor et al., 2006). Further, ethnic variations within the U.S. in fatherhood have been identified; for example, Latino fathers are more involved and take more responsibility for child-rearing than White fathers (Hofferth, 2003; Yeung et al., 2001), but a greater percentage of White adult children report feeling close (as opposed to distant) to their fathers than Latino adult children (Taylor et al., 2006).

The Macrosystem: Cultural Contexts

Cultural Variations in Families. The literature on cultural variations in independence/interdependence (Hofstede & Bond, 1984; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and parental influence over dating relationships (Buunk et al., 2010; Uskul et al., 2007; Zhang & Kline, 2009) are fairly well-studied and understood, however to date, few studies (notable exceptions are MacDonald & Jessica, 2006; MacDonald, Marshall, Gere, Shimotomai, & Lies, 2012; Zhang & Kline, 2009) have looked at the associations between parental opinion of young adults' romantic relationships and relationship outcomes across ethnic groups. Moreover, those studies that have looked at the comparative influence of network members on relationship outcomes have focused exclusively on comparisons across countries, rather than comparisons across ethnic groups within the U.S. For example, in two cross-cultural studies of participants in typically collectivist cultures (i.e., Indonesia, Japan) and typically individualistic cultures (i.e.,

Canada, Australia), associations between relationship factors and family approval factors were examined to predict what the authors called "relationship value" (measured as a mean of relationship satisfaction, trust, and intimacy). As expected, Canadian and Australian participants' sense of relationship value was predicted best by relationship factors (e.g., how positively they perceived their partner to think of them) but not by family approval of the relationship. In contrast, among Indonesian and Japanese participants, both factors (partner appraisal and family approval) predicted relationship value (Macdonald, & Jessica, 2006; MacDonald et al., 2012). Similar results were produced when comparing American college students (87% Caucasian) to Chinese college students in China; romantic relationship commitment in the Chinese sample was related both to romantic love and other relationship factors as well as network support, whereas for the American sample, commitment was only predicted by relationship level factors (Zhang & Kline, 2009). Taken together, these results provide additional support that love-based factors that match more closely with individualistic ideals of dating co-occur with family level factors in predicting relationship outcomes among individuals from cultures that are more likely to see the self as inherently tied with one's family.

Cultural variations exist in the level of parental influence expected in regards to decision making about a romantic partner. Among those of European background, the choice of a romantic partner is seen to be more of an autonomous choice, in the eyes of both parents and the young adults. In contrast, in more interdependent cultures within the U.S., parents and their young adult children may differ in the extent to which this choice is an individual decision, with young adults, who are more socialized in the U.S. cultural ideal, expecting to be more autonomous and parents expecting to have more control over the decision (Giguère et al., 2010). Among Asian and Latino families, cultural values of parental respect and adherence to the family

hierarchy are emphasized (Phinney et al., 2005), and a unique feature of Latino families is the emphasis on maintaining family relationships through positive social interaction (Ruby, Falk, Heine, Villa, & Silberstein, 2012). If such values are disrupted, for example when a young adult dates someone whom the parent disapproves, this behavior may have negative consequences for the parent-child relationship, such as a disruption of closeness. Research has suggested that expectations for family harmony that accompany the cultural value of familism, particularly among Latino families, are typically thought to buffer against stressors. However, when stressors are experienced within the family and familism expectations are violated, this may pose as a risk factor (Hernandez, Garcia, & Flynn, 2010; Zayas & Pilat, 2008). On the other hand, if the family values align with the behavior (young adult is involved with a dating partner of whom the parent approves), this may confer positive impacts on the parent-child relationship, such as promoting parent-child closeness and relationship satisfaction.

Beyond variations in cultural values of how parents and children behave (or are expected to behave) in exchanges with one another, there is also cultural variation in the ways in which adolescents and young adults interpret parental actions. When compared to adolescents of European background, youth from Asian backgrounds reported greater parental control but lower levels of anger in response to parental control (Chao & Aque, 2009). In another study, adolescents of Latino background reported feelings of love and care more so than feeling hurt, angry, or manipulated in response to parental control through guilt, as compared to European background adolescents who did not differ in their ratings of love/care, hurt/anger, control/manipulation (Mason et al., 2004). Lastly, a study looking at specifically a situation of conflict between young adult and parent over a hypothetical dating partner found that Chinese Canadians gave more support to parents' points of views than European Canadians and that

European Canadians gave more support to the young adults' point of view than Chinese Canadians (Uskul et al., 2007). These three studies, along with literature that suggests that parental input about one's dating partner differs across cultures (Uskul et al., 2007; Uskul et al., 2011; Zhang & Kline, 2009), suggest that one's interpretation of parents' actions or opinions may differ across cultures. If parent opinion of one's romantic partner is interpreted differently across young adults from differing ethnic backgrounds, it may influence the extent to which that opinion affects their perceptions of their relationships with their parents.

Intergroup Romantic Relationships in Families and Society.

Interracial/Interethnic Relationships. Along with the cultural variation within the U.S., high rates of intergroup romantic relationships are an additional piece of the changing U.S. demographic that makes studying parental opinion of young adults' romantic relationships important and timely. As of 2010, 15% of new marriages were interracial/interethnic, with the West Coast showing the highest rates with 21.6% of new marriages being interracial (Wang, 2012). National surveys indicate that there is a striking generational difference in attitudes towards intermarriage. Whereas the majority of the younger generation (85% of 18-29 years olds) report being "fine with it" if a family member was to intermarry, only 55% of 50-64 year olds agree with this statement (Wang, 2012). These findings suggest a disparity between those who are dating and those who are raising young adults of dating age, which may then be a potential source of conflict. A recent study found that over half of college students report having differing attitudes towards intercultural relationships than their parents (Shenhav, Campos, & Goldberg, 2017). Generational differences in attitudes toward interracial/ethnic relationships likely become more relevant if the young adult is involved in such a romantic relationship.

Although much research has focused on romantic relationships between Blacks and Whites, as this combination has historically been most condemned in the U.S. and is still the racial combination that elicits the most disapproval overall (Wang, 2012), research has expanded to include other racial/ethnic combinations as well (e.g., Feliciano, Lee, & Robnett, 2011; Feliciano, Robnett, & Komaie, 2009; Levin, Taylor, & Caudle, 2007). Research on interracial relationships reveals that "race matters in dating situations" (Feliciano et al., 2009, p. 49) and that among White internet daters, racial preferences take precedence over religious or educational factors (Feliciano et al., 2009). The racial hierarchy of the U.S., with Whites typically thought to be at the top of the ladder, plays a role in dating preferences and likely plays a role in shaping parental opinions of their young adult children's intergroup romantic relationships.

Parental opinion in response to interracial dating might be especially meaningful in geographic locations in which cultural identities are actively maintained and emphasized. For example, a study of online dating preferences in cities across the U.S. found that Latinos in Los Angeles (a city with a sizeable Latino population) are more likely than Latinos in other cities to exhibit in-group dating preferences. This increased in-group preference has been explained as potentially a result of Latinos in the area making "deliberate efforts to preserve a Latino or specific national-origin group identity" (Feliciano et al., 2011, p. 206). Given that this preservation tends to be shown among Asian groups in the greater Los Angeles area as well (e.g., an area of Orange County is named "Little Saigon") and that parents may have purposefully decided to live in these locations for cultural continuity, parental opinions' of young adults' dating out in these locations, particularly disapproval, may be strongly associated with relationship outcomes. For example, a young adult's interracial relationship may be met with a

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lack of parental support if the parent purposefully chose a location with many in-group members and thus may hurt the parent-child relationship more so than interracial relationships that occur in contexts in the parent had chosen to live in a place with less in-group coherence and contact. The present study recruited in Southern California, an especially interesting place to examine the processes of parental opinions of young adults' intergroup relationships and their association with young adult romantic and parent-child relationship outcomes.

Some studies have found that expectations of parental disapproval deter young adults from engaging in interracial relationships (Harris & Kalbfleisch, 2000), yet other studies suggest that young adults will assert their autonomy by choosing and staying with a romantic partner of a different race/culture even if their parents disapprove (e.g., Edmonds & Killen, 2009; Phinney et al., 2005). The increased mix of individuals from differing cultural backgrounds, particularly on college campuses, make it likely that individuals will meet and potentially start to date others from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. Intergroup contact has been found to predict engaging in intergroup romantic relationships more so than parents' attitudes towards other groups (Edmonds & Killen, 2009).

There are inconsistent findings in the literature about relationship quality and commitment across interracial and intraracial couples. Some studies report no difference in relationship quality (Gurung & Duong, 1999; Troy, Lewis-Smith, & Laurenceau, 2006, Study 2), some find that interracial couples report greater relationship satisfaction than intraracial couples (Negy & Snyder, 2000; Troy et al., 2006, Study 1), and yet other studies find that intraracial couples enjoy greater relationship quality (Hohmann-Marriott & Amato, 2008) and a decreased likelihood of break-up than interracial couples (Reiter & Gee, 2008). One of the main factors reported to explain differences in relationship satisfaction and commitment, particularly when

interracial relationships seem to suffer from reduced quality, is that interracial relationships are less likely to be supported by family members (Hohmann-Marriott & Amato, 2008; Skowroński, Othman, Siang, Han, Yang, & Waszyńska, 2014; Wang, Kao, & Joyner, 2006). However, there is some indication that this may not be the case among Latinos (O'Brien 2008). Beyond self-report, past research has examined perceptions of compatibility of interracial and compared to intraracial couples. One particular study found that participants judge interracial couples as being less compatible than intraracial couples, even when all descriptive information is identical (Lewandowski & Jackson, 2001). However, the importance of parental approval for one's relationship has shown to differ across relationship status; in one study, participants in interracial relationships rated parental approval as less important than participants in intraracial relationships (Gurung & Duong, 1999).

Research on how parental opinion affects relationship outcomes of intergroup romantic relationships is scarce. One study comparing interracial to intraracial romantic relationships found that family approval is associated with relationship satisfaction for both interracial and intraracial romantic relationships (Shibazaki & Brennan, 1998), underscoring the importance of including assessments of parental views. However, the comparative influence was not reported nor was relationship commitment measured. Relationship commitment is of primary importance because it has been shown to be a better indicator of the long-term potential of a relationship than satisfaction (Rhoades et al., 2010; Le et al., 2010). Other relevant studies have examined marginalized relationships, with interracial being just one example of a marginalized relationship. Taken together (all types of marginalized relationships), perceptions of friend and family disapproval (as a composite score) of participants' marginalized relationships were found to negatively predict commitment (Lehmiller & Angew, 2006) and to predict break-up status

(Lehmiller & Agnew, 2007). However, these two studies did not differentiate between different types of marginalized relationships. In addition, parental opinion was not examined separately from other family members or from friend opinion and the participants in the study were majority White.

  Intercultural Relationships. An important area of study of intergroup romantic relationships that is limited in national statistics and the current psychology literature is an examination of relationships that are between individuals of the same race but differing cultural or religious backgrounds. Research cited in the counseling literature has found that the cultural differences, even among individuals of the same racial or ethnic background, is an important criteria for how individuals and their families define themselves and their relationships, and one that may lead to problems in relationships (Bustamante, Nelson, Henriksen, & Monakes, 2011; Sullivan & Cottone, 2006). Further, among a college student sample, researchers found that Asian-American students differentiated in-groups and out-groups according to their specific ethnic sub-groups (e.g., Chinese), rather than a pan-ethnic categorization (e.g., Asian). Not only was this relevant for self-identification but it was also apparent when examining in-group and out-group dating preferences, with a clear hierarchy emerging by sub-group (Chen, Edwards, Young, & Greenberger, 2001).

  There is some indication of the prevalence of relationships that cross cultures but not racial/ethnic boundaries. Among U.S.-raised Chinese men, 14.8% married someone who was Asian but not Chinese (e.g., Korean) and about a third married interracially (31.6%; White, Black, Latino, Other) (Le, 2015). The aforementioned study of California students in particular found that students of European background report primarily interracial relationships, but participants of Asian and Latino background report about equal numbers of interracial

relationships as they do relationships that cross culture but not race (Shenhav et al., 2017).

Additionally, when using a broader intercultural framework to define intergroup relationships, all

three ethnic groups reported similar levels of out-group dating, as compared to the standard

interracial definition in which students of European background reported significantly higher

rates of out-group dating than Asian and Latino students (Shenhav et al., 2017). Given these

findings, it appears that focusing on an interracial/ethnic relationship would underestimate the

prevalence of relationships that cross in-group/out-group boundaries and overestimate ethnic

differences. This oversight is especially apparent when studying ethnic minority groups who

have more recently immigrated to the U.S. (Morgan, 2012; Shenhav et al., 2017) and who hold

cultural values that are not necessarily shared by the mainstream society.

      Although cultural variations within the same racial/ethnic group may not be clearly

apparent to an outside observer, these distinctions would likely be apparent in family settings.

For example, variations may be easily recognizable when a different language is spoken or

different traditions are celebrated. A recent study's findings indicated that parental opinion was

more positive for same-culture romantic relationships compared to intercultural romantic

relationships. Interestingly, this same pattern was not found when examining interracial as

compared to same-race relationships only (Shenhav et al., 2017), suggesting that capturing

cultural differences in addition to racial differences may be an important factor when situating

relationships within a larger family and cultural context.

      Intergroup romantic relationships have been cited as a major concern among minority and

immigrant parents, citing concern over the loss of ethnic identity, cultural traditions, language

retention, religious identification, and a lack of family cohesiveness overall (Chung, 2001; Inman,

et al., 2007; Nesteruk & Gramescu, 2012; Stuart et al., 2010). These factors suggest that it is not

just the racial background, but also the more specific culture with its specific traditions and language, for example, that contribute to how families define intergroup relationships. The concern over family cohesiveness is a concern worthy of study as it suggests that parents may not only be worrying about their child having a less satisfying romantic relationship, but may have some concern about their long-term relationship with their child. Research interested in parent-child relationship quality among adolescents involved in intergroup or intragroup romantic relationships has found that those involved in intergroup relationships report having less close relationships with their parents than those in intragroup romantic relationships (Bucx & Seiffge-Krenke, 2010). Additionally, individuals in interethnic couples report having less supportive relationships with parents and with in-laws than those in same-ethnic couples (Hohmann-Marriott & Amato, 2008).

Qualitative studies tend to provide support for these familial concerns. For example, a mother whose daughter was dating someone of a different faith said, "if…she married this person that we expressed major reservations with, that can damage the next 10, 20 years" (Bojczyk et al., 2011, p. 456). In so far that collectivistic cultures view family members as more intertwined with one another and that a family members' choices are a reflection on the family as a whole, the choice of a partner outside of the family's culture may reflect a higher sense of threat to the core of the family unit than if the partner was of the same cultural background. On the other hand, if the child dates someone who the parent does approve of, the parents may see this as a positive extension of the family unit and may bring the family closer together, and may even serve to enhance the cultural connections between children and their parents.

Young adults' perceptions of their parents' approval or disapproval of their intercultural romantic relationships might be especially consequential for how they experience their

relationships with their parents. Research has found that parents tend to use direct, explicit messages of their desires for their children not to engage in intergroup romantic relationships (Edmonds & Killen, 2009; Nesteruk & Gramescu, 2012). Use of such messages may heighten the emotions involved in disapproval for intergroup relationships than intragroup relationships, and potentially have negative effects on the parent-child relationship. These explicit messages tend to focus on reasoning that intergroup relationships are simply wrong and that being involved in one is a betrayal to one's ethnic group (Edmonds & Killen, 2009; Gaines, Gurung, Lin, & Pouli, 2006). Given that these negative messages may come from both within, and from inside and outside the family context, a parent's support may be especially important for young adults in intergroup romantic relationships if facing general societal disapproval, both from strangers as well as from others in their ethnic/cultural group.

Furthermore, some researchers have suggested that second-generation young adults from ethnic minority families may be "feeling torn between two cultures" (Giguère et al., 2010, p. 19) when confronting a situation such as engaging in an intercultural romantic relationship of which the parents disapprove. This imbalance may affect not only young adults' relationship with their parents, but potentially their satisfaction and commitment within the romantic relationship itself.

The Current Study

Romantic relationships are an integral part of our everyday lives and researchers involved in studying them are consistently making the point to "move out of the dyadic box" (Loving, 2006, p. 361) and to "recognize the fact that couples exist within a broader social environment" (Loving, 2006, p. 361). Using Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) as a broad framework for thinking about young adults' romantic relationships, the current study examines associations between perceptions of parental opinions of young adults' romantic

relationships and young adults' romantic relationship quality, as well as the parent-child relationship satisfaction and closeness. Associations were further explored by participant gender, ethnicity, and intercultural relationship status.

Given the literature that suggests that adolescents and young adults are more likely to discuss their dating lives with their mothers than their fathers (Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Metzger, 2006) and are more likely to report both higher levels of closeness and conflict with mothers as compared to fathers (Laursen & Collins, 1994; Lye, 1996), the present study emphasizes perceptions of maternal opinions of participants' current romantic relationships. In addition, the parent-child relationship measures primarily focus on the mother-child relationship. However, as previously discussed, fathers are more involved with their children than ever before, both instrumentally and emotionally (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000; Hofferth & Lee, 2015; Morman & Floyd, 2002). As such, an additional aim is included in the study that explores whether perceptions of paternal opinions of young adults' romantic relationships operate similarly to maternal opinions in their associations with romantic relationship quality and parent-child relationship quality.

Particular novel contributions of the study include the examination of: (1) cultural variations among U.S. participants, (2) cultural variations of romantic relationship compositions, and (3) parent-child relationship outcomes. Given the overwhelming representation of European background participants present in the literature of social network influences, existing conclusions about parental opinion influence (or lack thereof) on young adult relationship outcomes may not apply to other participants, particularly participants from cultures that adopt more interdependent orientations. In addition, the current study's emphasis on cultural variations

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motivated the inclusion of family relationship outcomes, namely parent-child relationship satisfaction and closeness, outcomes that the current literature does not assess.

Research Aims and Hypotheses

Aim 1. To examine the association of perceived maternal opinion with (a) young adult relationship quality with partner and (b) parent-child relationship satisfaction and closeness.

Hypothesis 1: Young adults' perceptions of higher levels of maternal approval of their romantic relationships will be associated with (a) higher ratings of their romantic relationship quality and (b) higher ratings of parent-child relationship satisfaction and closeness.

Rationale. Current literature indicates strong and consistent positive associations of perceptions of social network support with romantic relationship outcomes (e.g., Etcheverry et al., 2008; Macdonald & Jessica, 2006; MacDonald et al., 2012; Sinclair et al., 2015; Sprecher & Felmlee, 1992; Zhang & Kline 2009). Although findings for parent opinion are inconsistent as compared to other social network members such as friends (Blair & Holmberg 2008; Sprecher & Felmlee, 1992; Wright & Sinclair, 2012), the ethnic composition of the current study makes it likely that parent opinion will be meaningfully associated with romantic relationship outcomes. Although current literature has not directly examined the associations of parent opinion with parent-child relationship outcomes, research does suggest that parents are less likely than their young adult children to view the choice of a romantic partner as solely a personal decision (Smetana & Gaines, 1999). In addition, previous studies have shown that young adults will continue to date whom they want to date despite parent disapproval (Edmonds & Killen, 2009; Phinney et al., 2005; Zhang & Kline, 2009). Disregard of parental opinion (i.e., young adult dates someone of whom the parent disapproves) is hypothesized to be associated with lower

ratings of parent-child relationship satisfaction and closeness than is dating someone of whom the parent approves.

Aim 2. To examine whether the Aim 1 associations are moderated by gender.

Hypothesis 2: Aim 1 associations are expected to be stronger in magnitude for young adult women as compared to young adult men. Women's perceptions of higher levels of maternal approval of their romantic relationships will be associated with (a) higher ratings of their romantic relationship quality more so than men and (b) higher ratings of their parent-child relationship satisfaction and closeness more so than men.

Rationale. The literature tends to support the notion that women's romantic relationships are more affected by social network opinion, including family opinion, than men's romantic relationships (Le et al., 2010; Sprecher & Felmlee, 1992). Further, the literature indicates that women tend to be more relational than men (Gabriel & Gardner, 1999; Maddux & Brewer, 2005), and thus may be more affected by parent approval or disapproval of their relationships than men.

Aim 3. To examine whether the Aim 1 associations are moderated by ethnicity.

Hypothesis 3: Aim 1 associations are expected to be stronger in magnitude for Asian and Latino participants as compared to European participants. Asian and Latino young adults' perceptions of higher levels of maternal approval of their romantic relationships will be associated with (a) higher ratings of their romantic relationship quality more so than European young adults and (b) higher ratings of their parent-child relationship satisfaction and closeness more so than European young adults.

Rationale. Interdependent orientations among Asian and Latino families emphasize parent influence in regards to young adults' romantic partner decisions (Buunk et al., 2010, Uskul et al., 2007). Parent disapproval of romantic relationships within Asian and Latino

families would indicate a violation of cultural values and potentially have negative consequences for relationship outcomes. On the other hand, parent approval of young adults' romantic relationships may underscore and show respect for family preferences and input which may lead to more positive relationship outcomes, both romantic and parent-child relationship outcomes. The greater emphasis on independence and personal decision-making among European background families (Giguère et al., 2010; Phinney et al., 2005) would suggest that parental opinion, either approving or disapproving, would be less consequential for relationship outcomes than among Asian and Latino families. Further, previous research examining associations between parent opinion of European American young adults' romantic relationship and romantic relationship outcomes have tended to conclude that there is no significant association (Blair & Holmberg 2008; Wright & Sinclair, 2012).

Aim 4. To examine whether the Aim 1 associations are moderated by intercultural relationship status and interactions of ethnicity with intercultural relationship status.

Hypothesis 4: Aim 1 associations are expected to be stronger in magnitude for participants in intercultural romantic relationships as compared to participants in same-culture romantic relationships. Young adults' perceptions of higher levels of maternal approval of their intercultural romantic relationships will be associated with (a) higher ratings of their romantic relationship quality as compared to participants in same-culture romantic relationships and (b) higher ratings of their parent-child relationship satisfaction and closeness as compared to participants in same-culture romantic relationships.

Hypothesis 5: Aim 1 associations are expected to be stronger in magnitude for Asian and Latino participants in intercultural romantic relationships as compared to European participants in intercultural romantic relationships. Asian and Latino young adults' perceptions of higher

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levels of maternal approval of their intercultural romantic relationships will be associated with (a) higher ratings of their romantic relationship quality as compared to European participants in intercultural romantic relationships and (b) higher ratings of their parent-child relationship satisfaction and closeness as compared to European participants in intercultural romantic relationships.

Rationale. Intercultural romantic relationships are more likely to be met with greater explicit disapproval from parents and to invoke messages pertaining to morality and ethnic identity than same-culture relationships (Gaines et al., 2006). Because of this difference, it is expected that disapproval over intercultural romantic relationships will be associated with more negative relationship outcomes, both romantic and parent-child, than disapproval of same-culture relationships. For participants from Asian and Latino background, it is hypothesized that parent support or disapproval of intercultural relationships specifically would more likely affect relationship outcomes than for participants of European background. For participants of Asian and Latino background, being involved in an intercultural romantic relationship of which a parent disapproves would represent a behavior that is in violation with the interdependent value orientations. In addition, ethnic minority parents with cultural value orientations different than those of the mainstream societies, may feel they have "more to lose" if their children date outside of their ethnic/cultural group.

Moreover, past literature has shown that although young adults of Asian, Latino, and European background report that they would stay in an intergroup romantic relationship even if their parents disapproved (Phinney et al., 2005; Zhang & Kline, 2009), only Asian and Latino young adults tend to reference their family's feelings when describing their reasons for engaging in a behavior of which the parent disapproves (Phinney et al., 2005).

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Aim 5. To more fully understand parental opinions of young adults' romantic relationships by describing the most frequently reported reasons for parental approval and for parental disapproval of young adults' romantic relationships. In addition, approval/disapproval reasons by gender and ethnicity are explored.

Aim 6. To explore whether the patterns identified in Aims 1-5 for young adults and their mothers are replicated when examining paternal opinion of young adults' romantic relationships and father-young adult relationship quality outcomes.

The hypotheses presented are based upon the current literature and consider known variations of cultural value orientations among the three ethnic groups studied. However, the questions raised in the current study are new, particularly in relation to the ethnic groups that are studied. Thus, although hypotheses and rationales are presented, the research aims should be considered somewhat exploratory.

Method

Participants

The final sample of participants was 588 young adult college students at University of California, Irvine (UCI; $n = 571$) and California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo (Cal Poly; $n = 17$). Inclusionary criteria were: 1) participants who reported to be in an exclusive romantic relationship of at least three months that at least one of their parents was aware of; 2) participants who were between the ages of 18 to 25; 3) participants who self-identified as heterosexual; 4) participants who self-identified as being of Asian, Latino, or European background.

Participants constituted 64% of the initial sample ($N = 946$) which included individuals who were above 25 years old ($n = 12$) or did not provide their age ($n = 12$), identified as

gay/lesbian, bisexual or other ($n = 78$), were in a relationship under three months ($n = 99$), did

not report that at least one parent was aware of their relationship ($n = 128$) and identified as

being of Middle-Eastern ($n = 27$), Black/African-American ($n = 9$), Mixed ($n = 79$), belonging to

another ethnic background ($n = 4$) or did not provide information about their ethnic background

($n = 3$).

The current study focused on participants between the ages of 18-25 because dating is

often a priority at these ages and young adulthood represents a time in which long-term partners

are likely to be found (Arnett, 2014). Further, young adults are exploring their varied dating

options, including dating individuals from other ethnic/cultural groups, which could be

consequential for their choices for future dating and marital partners (Feliciano & Robnett, 2014).

In addition, the dating stage (as compared to marriage) may be more likely to be susceptible to

others' influence and may represent a time in which parents and young adult children are

negotiating their varying perspectives.

Individuals in exclusive romantic relationships of at least three months were included so

that it would be probable that they would have a minimum level of commitment to their partner

and so that the relationship would likely be serious enough for parents to have met the partner

and to have an opinion about the relationship. Only heterosexual participants were included

because incorporation of LGBT participants is complex and beyond the scope of the current

study. Finally, individuals of Asian, Latino, or European background were included in this study.

These three groups represent major ethnic groups in the U.S. (US. Census, 2015) and depict both

cultural similarities and variations that are relevant to the aims of the current study such as

cultural norms of incorporating family input into decision making and expectations for

interactions among family members (Campos & Kim, in press; Giguère et al., 2010; Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Table 1 presents sample demographic characteristics. Significant differences by ethnic group background were observed for socioeconomic status (SES) and generational status. Asian and European background participants were of higher SES than Latino participants. The majority of Asian and Latino background participants were second-generation and the majority of European background participants were third-generation or above.

Table 1

Demographics of Study Sample

	Asian ($n = 270$)	Latino ($n = 235$)	White ($n = 83$)	Overall Sample ($N = 588$)	F(df) or χ^2(df)
Mean Age (*SD*)	20.42 (1.49)	20.43 (1.57)	20.72 (1.78)	20.5 (1.56)	1.29(2, 585)
Gender (% women)	81.4%	84.7%	74.7%	81.8%	0.13(2)
Mean SES[a]	3.06 (0.91)	2.38 (0.84)	3.27 (0.75)	2.81 (0.93)	52.21(2, 585)[***]
Generational Status[b]					281.06(4)[***]
First[c]	35.9%	15.3%	9.6%	24.0%	
Second	60.4%	74.0%	13.3%	59.2%	
Third	3.7%	10.6%	77.1%	16.8%	

[a]5-point scale; 1 = lower working class; 2 = upper working class; 3 = lower middle class; 4 = upper middle class; 5 = upper upper class.
[b]First-generation participants were born outside of the U.S.; second-generation participants were U.S. born and had at least one foreign-born parent; third-generation participants were U.S. born and both parents were U.S. born.
[c]The mean age at which first-generation individuals immigrated to the U.S. was 11 years of age, with a mode of 15 years of age, and a median age of 11. The age range was 0-22 years.
***$p < .001$.

Procedure

The majority of the participants were recruited through the university research participant pools at University of California, Irvine (UCI) and California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo (Cal Poly). Students received course credit for their participation in the study. In an effort to recruit more men, a targeted recruitment strategy was utilized. Professors of large courses that typically attract more men (e.g., Engineering) and club/organization leaders on UCI campus were contacted and asked to forward an announcement to students. Students recruited

through this avenue received a $10 gift card for their participation. Participants completed a 45-minute online questionnaire via Qualtrics, an online survey platform. Participants were asked to respond to questions about their romantic relationships, their family relationships, and their demographic characteristics. Study procedures were approved by the institutional review boards at both universities.

Measures[1]

Perception of parental opinions of romantic relationship. To measure participants' perceptions of their parents' opinions of their current romantic relationship, the 8-item Social Network Opinion Scale (SNOS; Sinclair, Hood, & Wright, 2014), adapted for maternal and paternal opinions, was used. Participants responded to items on a 5-point Likert-type response scale (*1=not at all; 5=very much*). Four of the items represented approval, for example, "How supportive is your mother/father of your romantic relationship?" The other four items represented disapproval, for example, "How much does your mother/father disapprove of your relationship?" Disapproval items were reverse coded and scores were averaged such that higher scores indicated higher levels of parent approval towards the participant's romantic relationship. Cronbach's α was .91 for perception of maternal opinions and .90 for perception of paternal opinions.

Romantic relationship satisfaction and commitment. Romantic relationship satisfaction was assessed using the 5-item Satisfaction Level sub-scale of the Investment Model Scale (IMS; Rusbult, Martz, & Agnew, 1998). Participants rated their level of satisfaction with their romantic partner on a 9-point Likert-type response scale (*0=do not agree at all; 4=agree somewhat; 8=agree completely*). Sample items included: (1) I feel satisfied with our relationship, (2) My

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[1] Please see appendices for complete items and scales of measures.

relationship is close to ideal, and (3) Our relationship makes me very happy. Scores were averaged such that higher scores indicated greater levels of relationship satisfaction. Cronbach's α was .92.

Participants' commitment to their romantic partner was assessed using the 7-item Commitment Level sub-scale of the IMS (Rusbult et al., 1998), which also utilized a 9-point Likert-type response scale. Sample items included: (1) I want our relationship to last for a very long time, (2) It is likely that I will date someone other than my partner within the next year (reverse scored), and (3) I want our relationship to last forever. Two items were reverse scored so that, when averaged, higher scores indicated greater levels of relationship commitment. Cronbach's α was .84.

Due to the high degree of correlation between the two sub-scales (r=.67) and the nearly identical patterns in results, these variables were combined into a single measure referred to as *relationship quality with partner*. Higher scores indicated more positive relationship quality. The Cronbach's α for the combined measure was .91.

Parent-child relationship satisfaction. Participants' level of parent-child relationship satisfaction was measured using a modified 4-item version of the 5-item Satisfaction Level subscale of the IMS (Rusbult et al., 1998). This subscale used a 9-point Likert-type response scale. Scores were averaged such that higher scores indicated greater levels of parent-child relationship satisfaction. Participants reported on their relationship satisfaction with their mothers and their fathers. Cronbach's α was .96 for relationship satisfaction with mothers and .97 for relationship satisfaction with fathers.

Parent-child closeness. Parent-child closeness was assessed with the single-item Inclusion-of-Self-in-Other (IOS) measure (Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992). This measure is

intended to assess the level of interconnectedness one perceives to have with a specified 'other.' Participants were presented with an image consisting of seven sets of numbered overlapping circles that increase in their level of overlap (*1=no overlap; 7=total overlap*) and were asked to choose a number that best represented their relationship with their mother and with their father. A higher score indicated greater perceived closeness with one's parent.

Perceived reasons for parental approval and disapproval of romantic relationship. Participants were given a list of 15 potential reasons for parental approval and disapproval of their relationship and were asked to choose all that apply to their particular romantic relationship. The list of reasons was derived from previous studies on partner selection (e.g., Dubbs & Buunk, 2010; Hatfield & Sprecher, 1995) as well as based upon the researcher's previous study. Sample reasons included that parent perceives partner as being ambitious (or not), as being of a favorable (or unfavorable) social class, or as being of a similar (or different) ethnic/racial background. Participants could also choose an option that read, "parent does not approve/disapprove at all." Participants reported on both their mother and their father.

Intercultural relationship status. Participants were asked whether they were currently in an intercultural relationship. Participants were provided with a description and examples as to what constitutes an intercultural relationship. The description and examples included relationships that crossed racial/ethnic groups (e.g., relationship between an individual of Asian background and individual of Latino background), cultural groups within the same racial/ethnic group (e.g., a relationship between a Chinese individual and a Korean individual), or religious groups (e.g., a relationship between an individual who is Jewish and an individual who is Christian). Participants were asked to respond either "yes" or "no." If participants responded yes, they were then asked for their own and their partner's cultural identification. Participants were

instructed that if they or their partner has multiple identifications, to choose the one most salient to the intercultural definition.

To confirm that participants responded in the intended manner, responses were reviewed with particular attention to the information provided in the open-ended cultural identifications. In cases in which the participants seemed to have misunderstood the question, responses were edited in a newly created variable. For example, one participant had responded "yes" to the intercultural question and then wrote in "from Hong Kong" for both self and for partner. In this case, the response was changed to "no." An example of a response choice changed from "no" to "yes" was for a participant who noted Hispanic for their own cultural background and Asian for the partner's cultural background. If additional corroboration was needed, responses were examined from the close-ended race/ethnicity question for both the participant and the participant's report of his/her romantic partner. In total 8 (1.4%) responses were changed from "yes" to "no" and 15 (2.6%) of responses were changed from "no" to "yes". Overall, 3.9% (*n*=23) of responses were edited.

Interracial relationship status. In addition to intercultural relationship status, participants were coded as being in an interracial/ethnic relationship (1) or a same-race/ethnic relationship (0). Participants were coded as being in an interracial relationship if their racial/ethnic group differed from their partner's racial/ethnic background. The racial/ethnic groups were: White/European American (not Hispanic/Latino), Black/African-American, Hispanic/Latino, Asian, American Indian, and mixed race/ethnicity. This classification is based upon the standard used in U.S. national statistics (Wang, 2015).

Demographic information. Participants were asked to report on a number of demographic variables including current romantic relationship status, length of current romantic relationship,

own ethnic background, romantic partner's ethnic background, whether they and their parents were born in the United States, gender, sexual orientation, date of birth, and socioeconomic status. Following conventions used by other researchers in the field (e.g., Phinney, Jacoby, & Silva, 2007), generational status was determined by birthplace of participant and parents. First-generation participants were those who were born outside of the U.S., second-generation participants were U.S.-born who had at least one foreign-born parent, and third-generation participants and above were U.S.-born and whose parents were U.S.-born. SES was measured on a 5-point scale ranging from lower working class to upper upper class. Participants were given examples of professions with each SES category.

Data Analytic Approach

First, data were screened for missing values and outliers. There was very little missing data (range = 0%-1.6% per measure) and thus analyses were conducted using complete scales only. Relationship quality with partner and perceptions of parental opinions of relationship included outlier values (range = 2.1% to 2.9%). Some analyses were affected by outlier values, and thus outliers were excluded from all analyses that included those particular variables. In total, nine participants were excluded from analyses that included relationship quality with partner, seven participants were excluded from analyses that included maternal opinion and four participants were excluded from analyses that included paternal opinion. Three participants had outlier values on more than one variable. One participant had outlier values on maternal opinion and relationship quality with partner and two participants had outlier values on both maternal and paternal opinion.

Next, assumptions of normality, independence, and linearity were examined. Relationship quality with partner was not normally distributed with a skewness value of 1.49.

Thus, analyses were run both with using a non-transformed and a transformed relationship quality variable using a square root transformation. There were no substantive differences in the analyses based on the transformed and non-transformed variable. Therefore, the results reported are based on analyses using the non-transformed variable.

Following data screening, preliminary associations among the major study variables were examined using correlational statistics (see Table 2). The demographic variables of participant age and relationship length were each significantly correlated with some major study variables and thus analyses were conducted controlling for these variables. Because generational status differed across ethnic groups (see Table 1), generational status was included as a covariate in ethnic group moderation analyses.

Hypotheses were tested using a series of linear regression analyses. Hypotheses 1a and 1b were tested using linear regression in SPSS. Hypotheses 2a and 2b were analyzed using a simple moderation model (Model 1) from the PROCESS procedure for SPSS (Hayes, 2013) with gender as the moderator. Hypotheses 3a and 3b were analyzed using Model 2 from the PROCESS procedure in SPSS. In these analyses, ethnic group membership was the moderator and was entered as two separate dummy coded variables. These analyses were tested in two ways. The first way was to examine the association between perceived parental opinion and romantic relationship and parent-child relationship outcomes *across* ethnic groups. The second way was to examine the association between parental opinion and romantic relationship and parent-child relationship outcomes *within* each ethnic group. Hypotheses 4a through 5b were analyzed using a moderated moderation model (Model 3). Due to constraints of the current version of the software program, this analysis was conducted with two ethnic groups at a time in an effort to test differences between all three pairs. Further, in order to test associations within and across ethnic

Table 2

Correlations among Demographic and Major Study Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Gender	--	.016	.012	-.009	-.023	-.070	.078	.102*	.081	.093*	-.048	.077
2. Age		--	-.039	.274***	-.019	-.038	.111**	.124**	-.023	-.033	-.091*	-.122***
3. SES			--	-.040	.033	-.021	-.005	.010	.024	.094*	-.006	.053
4. Relationship length				--	-.046	.112**	.087*	.099*	-.019	.053	-.051	.024
5. Current intercultural					--	.016	-.006	-.052	-.012	-.028	-.006	-.045
6. Relationship quality with partner						--	.309***	.272***	.067	.147***	-.001	.029
7. Maternal opinion							--	.718***	.298***	.172***	.140***	.104*
8. Paternal opinion								--	.184***	.307***	.037	.112*
9. Relationship satisfaction with mother									--	.275***	.553***	.173***
10. Relationship satisfaction with father										--	.163***	.597***
11. Closeness to mother											--	.484***
12. Closeness to father												--

Note. Pearson correlations were calculated for two continuous variables, point-biserial correlations were calculated for one continuous and one dichotomous variable, Spearman correlations were calculated for correlations involving at least one ordinal variable, and the Phi coefficient was calculated for two dichotomous variables.

*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p ≤ .001.

groups, the analyses were first run with intercultural relationship status as the primary moderator and ethnic group membership as the secondary moderator and then run again with ethnic group membership and intercultural relationship status reversed as primary and secondary moderators. Exploratory analyses were run replacing the intercultural relationship status variable with the interracial relationship status variable to examine whether moderation patterns remained similar. Across all analyses, maternal or paternal opinion was entered as the predictor variable.

The reason for including comparisons within ethnic groups is that very little is known about whether these associations hold across different ethnic groups. More specifically, (1) research is scarce on the association between parental opinion and romantic relationship outcomes in individuals who are not of European background, (2) quantitative research is non-existent on the association between parental opinion and parent-child relationship outcomes for any of the ethnic groups, and (3) different types of intercultural romantic relationships are more prevalent in some ethnic groups than others, i.e., European background young adults that date out are primarily crossing racial boundaries, Asian and Latino background young adults that date out have similar rates of dating out with someone of a different cultural background within their race as they do dating out across racial boundaries (Shenhav et al., 2017). Therefore, comparing across ethnic groups may not necessarily be an equivalent comparison.

Aim 5 examined parental approval and disapproval reasons by gender and ethnic background. Based on a conceptual framework, the full list of reasons that participants checked off were condensed into four categories: (1) Characteristics of Partner (e.g., ambition, maturity; 7-items), (2) Social Status of Partner (e.g., favorable/unfavorable social status, financial security; 3-items), (3) Ethnic/Cultural Background of Partner (e.g., racial/ethnic background, religious background; 3-items), and (4) Dating Acceptability (being the right age/too young to date,

prioritizing dating/studies; 2-items). These categories were not mutually exclusive as participants were given the option to check off more than one reason. This categorization resulted in four new variables: (1) Mothers' Approval Reasons; (2) Mothers' Disapproval Reasons; (3) Fathers' Approval Reasons; (4) Fathers' Disapproval Reasons.

Aim 6 explored whether the patterns from Aims 1-5 were similar when considering *paternal* opinions of young adults' relationships. The same data analysis approach was used as in Aims 1-5.

Results

Descriptive Results

Participants' average relationship length was 27.66 months ($SD = 21.70$; median = 22; range = 3–120 months). There were significant ethnic variations in relationship length, [$F(2,585) = 4.11$ $p = 0.02$] such that participants of Latino background reported significantly longer relationships than participants of Asian background ($p = .018$). There was no significant difference in relationship length among participants who were in intercultural or same culture relationships, $F(1,586) = 1.24$, $p = .266$. Of the final sample of 588 participants, 572 participants (97.3%) reported maternal awareness of the romantic relationship and 492 (83.7%) participants reported paternal awareness of the relationship. The majority of participants reported that their parents had met their romantic partner (92.7% of mothers and 91.7% of fathers).

Table 3 presents the means and standard deviations of main study variables by ethnic group membership and gender for the final sample. European background participants reported the highest levels of positive relationship quality with their partners as well as the highest ratings of maternal and paternal approval of their romantic relationships. Latino and European background participants reported greater relationship satisfaction with their mothers than Asians,

and Latinos reported highest levels of feelings of closeness to their mothers. No significant

ethnic differences were found in relationship satisfaction or closeness to fathers.

Women reported more positive relationship quality with their partners than men. Men

reported higher ratings of paternal approval of their romantic relationships and greater

relationship satisfaction with both parents than women. There were no significant gender

differences in perceptions of maternal approval of relationships or in closeness to parents.

Table 4 provides an overview of the percentages of interracial and intercultural romantic

relationships within the participant sample. Chi square analyses indicated that there was a

significant difference in the percentage of interracial relationships by ethnicity but no significant

ethnic group difference for likelihood of being in an intercultural relationship. Latino and

European background participants were more likely to be in an interracial relationship as

compared to their Asian background counterparts. There were no gender differences in the

likelihood of being in an interracial or intercultural relationship.

Table 5 presents the means and standard deviations of the main study variables by

intercultural or same-culture relationship status for the overall sample and by ethnic group

membership. ANOVA results indicated only one significant difference: European background

participants who were in same-culture relationships reported that their mothers had a more

favorable opinion of their romantic relationship than those in intercultural relationships.

Associations of Perceived Parental Opinions of Young Adults' Romantic Relationships

with (a) Relationship quality with Partner and (b) Relationship Quality with Parents

Addressing Hypothesis 1a, young adults' perceptions of their mothers' opinions of their

relationships were found to be significantly associated with higher ratings of romantic

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations of Main Study Variables by Ethnic Group and Gender

	Asian (n = 270)	Latino (n = 235)	European (n = 83)		Women (n = 480)	Men (n =1 07)		Overall (N = 588)
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F(df)	M (SD)	M (SD)	F(df)	
Relationship quality with partner	6.71 (1.17)$_a$	6.80 (1.14)$_a$	7.13 (0.86)$_b$	4.39(2, 568)**	6.85 (1.09)	6.60 (1.27)	4.30(1, 568)*	6.81 (1.13)
Maternal opinion	3.72 (0.89)$_a$	3.93 (0.83)$_b$	4.42 (0.67)$_c$	21.26(2, 564)***	3.87 (0.89)	4.05 (0.75)	3.54(1, 557)†	3.90 (0.87)
Paternal opinion	3.61 (0.87)$_a$	3.76 (0.86)$_a$	4.18 (0.79)$_b$	11.63(2, 477)***	3.71 (0.99)	3.92 (0.73)	4.19(1, 477)*	3.75 (0.87)
Relationship satisfaction with mother	5.62 (2.13)$_a$	6.16 (1.96)$_b$	6.32 (2.20)$_b$	5.64(2, 565)**	5.85 (2.13)	6.32 (1.87)	4.39(1, 565)*	5.94 (2.09)
Relationship satisfaction with father	4.80 (2.36)	5.03 (2.38)	5.47 (2.35)	2.17(2, 552)	4.88 (2.42)	5.44 (2.12)	4.32(1, 486)*	4.99 (2.37)
Closeness to mother	3.83 (1.58)$_a$	4.19 (1.67)$_b$	3.60 (1.56)$_a$	4.96(2, 563)**	3.97 (1.64)	3.77 (1.55)	1.34(1, 563)	3.94 (1.63)
Closeness to father	3.09 (1.51)	3.28 (1.66)	2.93 (1.29)	1.38(2, 488)	3.08 (1.52)	3.39 (1.62)	3.04(1, 488)†	3.15 (1.54)

Note. Means in the same row that do not share a common subscript differ significantly.

$^*p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p \leq .001$ $^\dagger p < .1$

Table 4

Percentage of Interracial and Intercultural Romantic Relationships by Ethnic Group and Gender

	Asian (n = 270)	Latino (n = 235)	White (n = 83)	χ²(df)	Women (n = 480)	Men (n = 107)	χ²(df)	Overall (N = 588)
% Interracial	19.0%$_a$	27.2%$_b$	36.6%$_b$	11.79(2)***	25.6%	21.0%	1.01(1)	24.7%
% Intercultural	46.3%	42.6%	44.6%	0.71(2)	45.0%	42.1%	0.31(1)	44.6%

Note. Percentages in the same row that do not share a common subscript differ significantly.
$^{***}p \leq .001$

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations of Main Study Variables by Intercultural Relationship Status and Ethnic Group

	Asian (n = 270)			Latino (n = 235)			European (n = 83)			Overall (N = 588)		
	Same-culture	Inter-cultural	*F(df)*	Same-culture	Inter-cultural	*F(df)*	Same-culture	Inter-cultural	*F(df)*	Same-culture	Inter-cultural	*F(df)*
Relationship quality with partner	6.63 (1.30)	6.67 (1.31)	0.57 (1, 265)	6.63 (1.43)	6.78 (1.21)	0.73 (1, 231)	7.23 (0.72)	7.00 (1.01)	1.41 (1, 78)	6.72 (1.30)	6.76 (1.21)	0.15 (1, 578)
Maternal opinion	3.68 (0.86)	3.70 (1.01)	0.47 (1, 257)	3.83 (0.88)	3.93 (0.94)	0.71 (1, 225)	4.57 (0.56)	4.21 (0.74)	6.15 (1, 79)*	3.87 (0.88)	3.86 (0.97)	0.18 (1, 565)
Paternal opinion	3.62 (0.90)	3.55 (0.90)	0.28 (1, 219)	3.77 (0.87)	3.67 (0.95)	0.51 (1, 191)	4.29 (0.81)	4.06 (0.76)	1.49 (1, 68)	3.77 (0.90)	3.68 (0.91)	1.31 (1, 482)
Relationship satisfaction with mother	5.69 (2.21)	5.55 (2.05)	0.29 (1, 259)	6.07 (1.99)	6.27 (1.93)	0.60 (1, 225)	6.45 (2.34)	6.14 (2.04)	0.38 (1, 78)	5.96 (2.15)	5.91 (2.02)	0.08 (1, 566)
Relationship satisfaction with father	4.73 (2.42)	4.89 (2.28)	0.24 (1, 222)	5.02 (2.32)	5.04 (2.48)	0.01 (1, 191)	5.61 (2.29)	5.30 (2.45)	0.31 (1, 70)	4.97 (2.37)	5.01 (2.37)	0.03 (1, 487)
Closeness to mother	3.84 (1.60)	3.82 (1.57)	0.01 (1, 257)	4.17 (1.69)	4.21 (1.65)	0.04 (1, 224)	3.63 (1.67)	3.57 (1.44)	0.03 (1, 79)	3.95 (1.66)	3.93 (1.59)	0.01 (1, 564)
Closeness to father	3.11 (1.53)	3.07 (1.48)	0.37 (1, 223)	3.32 (1.66)	3.23 (1.67)	0.11 (1, 192)	2.95 (1.39)	3.00 (1.18)	0.03 (1, 70)	3.15 (1.57)	3.12 (1.51)	0.16 (1, 489)

Note. $^*p < .05$.

relationship quality. The more approval that young adults reported, the higher their ratings of

relationship quality with their partners. In regard to Hypothesis 2a, gender did not moderate the

association between maternal opinion and relationship quality with partner, $\Delta R^2 = .00$, $F(1, 537)$

$= 1.02$, $p = .313$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that for both women and men, the effect of

maternal approval on relationship quality was significant and positive. Regarding Hypothesis 3a,

ethnic group membership did not moderate the association between maternal opinion and

relationship quality with partner, $\Delta R^2 = .00$, $F(2, 535) = .40$, $p = .674$. Across all three ethnic

groups, the effect of maternal approval was significantly and positively associated with

relationship quality with partner. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 6.

Addressing Aim 6, paternal opinions showed similar main effects of approval on relationship

quality with partners. Further, neither gender nor ethnic group membership moderated the

association between paternal opinions and young adults' romantic relationship quality. The

results of these analyses are presented in Table 7.

Table 6

Coefficients of Interactions and Simple Slopes for the Association of Perceptions of Maternal Opinion with Relationship Quality with Partner by Gender and Ethnic Group Membership

	Unstandardized coefficient (SE)	*t*	*p*
Maternal Opinion	.42(.05)	7.79	<.001
Maternal Opinion x Gender	-.16(.16)	-1.01	.313
Women	.46(.06)	7.89	<.001
Men	.30(.15)	2.00	.046
Maternal Opinion x Ethnicity			
Asian v. Latino	-.03(.12)	-.29	.769
Asian v. European	-.19(.22)	-.88	.377
Latino v. European	-.16(.22)	-.71	.475
Asian	.38(.08)	4.84	<.001
Latino	.41(.09)	4.68	<.001
European	.57(.20)	2.80	.005

Note. Coefficients from three separate regression models are presented. v = versus. Women are the reference group for the gender interaction. The second group is the reference group for the ethnic group interactions.

Table 7

Coefficients of Interactions and Simple Slopes for the Association of Perceptions of Paternal Opinion with Relationship Quality with Partner by Gender and Ethnic Group Membership

	Unstandardized coefficient (SE)	*t*	*p*
Paternal Opinion	.40(.06)	7.10	<.001
Paternal Opinion x Gender	-.11(.16)	-.68	.500
Women	.43(.06)	7.04	<.001
Men	.32(.15)	2.12	.035
Paternal Opinion x Ethnicity			
Asian v. Latino	-.07(.12)	-.55	.582
Asian v. European	-.13(.18)	-.70	.483
Latino v. European	-.06(.19)	-.33	.743
Asian	.35(.09)	4.08	<.001
Latino	.42(.09)	4.64	<.001
European	.48(.16)	2.93	.004

Note. Coefficients from three separate regression models are presented. v = versus. Women are the reference group for the gender interaction. The second group is the reference group for the ethnic group interactions.

Testing Hypothesis 1b, maternal opinion significantly related to young adults' relationship satisfaction with their mothers and feelings of closeness to their mothers. The more approval young adults perceived, the higher their ratings of relationship satisfaction with their mothers and feelings of closeness to their mothers. Addressing Hypothesis 2b, gender did not moderate the association between maternal opinion and relationship satisfaction or closeness, $[\Delta R^2 = .00, F(1,550) = .06, p = .813]$ and $[\Delta R^2 = .00, F(1, 547) = .45, p = .504]$, respectively. In relation to Hypothesis 3b, ethnic group membership moderated the association between maternal opinion and relationship satisfaction with mothers, $\Delta R^2 = .02, F(2, 548) = 5.96, p = .003$. Across all three ethnic groups, the association was significant and positive. However, European background participants showed significantly stronger associations between maternal opinion and relationship satisfaction than individuals of Asian and Latino background (see Figure 1). The results of these analyses are presented in Table 8.
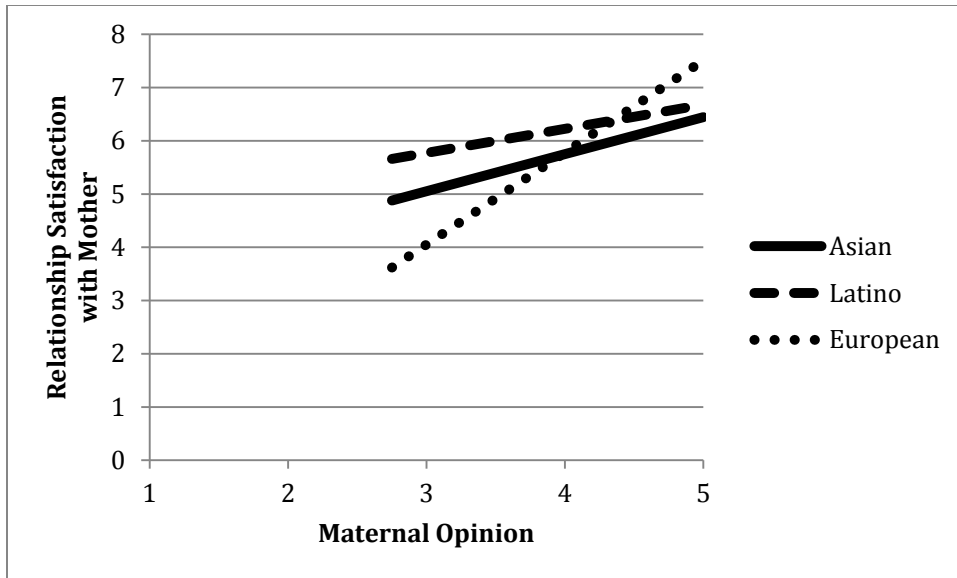
Figure 1. The association of maternal opinion with relationship satisfaction with mother by ethnic group membership.

Ethnic group membership did not moderate the association between maternal opinion and closeness to mothers, $\Delta R^2 = .01$, $F(2, 545) = 1.83$, $p = .161$. However, simple slopes analyses revealed that the association was significant only for Asian and European background participants (see Figure 2). The results of these analyses are presented in Table 8.
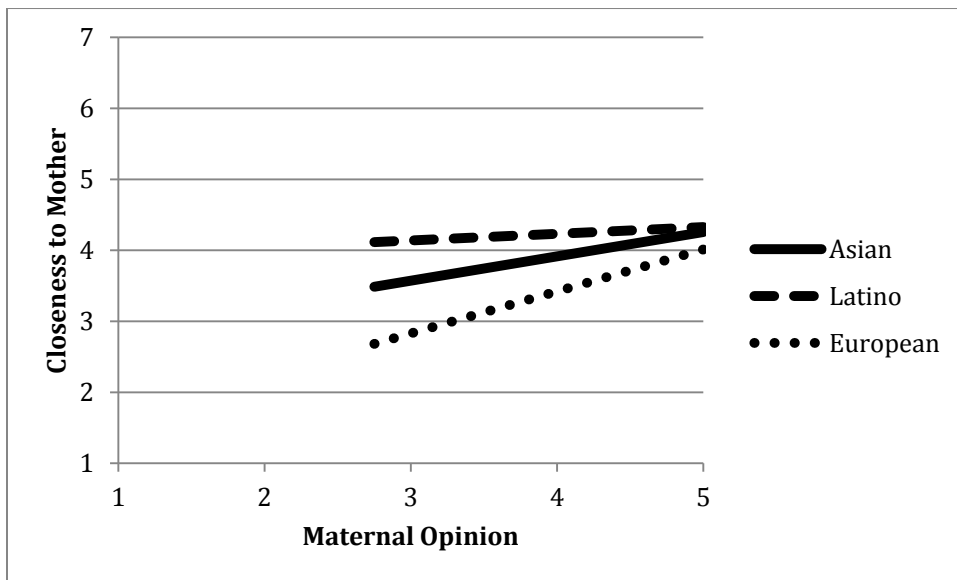

Figure 2. The association of maternal opinion with relationship closeness to mother by ethnic group membership.

Addressing Aim 6, associations of paternal opinions on young adults' reports of relationship satisfaction and closeness to fathers revealed similarities and differences to maternal opinion associations. Similar to mothers, the main effects of paternal opinion on relationship satisfaction and closeness to fathers were significant and gender did not moderate the associations. Like mothers, ethnic group membership did not moderate the association between paternal opinion and closeness to fathers. Unlike maternal opinions, ethnic group membership did *not* moderate the association between paternal opinion and relationship satisfaction with fathers. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 9.

Summary. Results were consistent with Hypothesis 1a such that young adults' perceptions of maternal (and paternal) approval were positively associated with young adults' relationship quality with partners. However, Hypotheses 2a and 3a were not supported such that gender and ethnic group membership did not moderate the associations of maternal (or paternal) approval with romantic relationship quality. Results revealed that the associations between parental opinions and relationship quality with partners were significant across all three ethnic backgrounds and across gender, and that the associations did not differ in magnitude.

Results supported Hypothesis 1b such that young adults' perceptions of higher levels of maternal (and paternal) approval were associated with greater reported relationship satisfaction and closeness to parents. However, results were inconsistent with Hypothesis 2b such that gender did not moderate the associations between maternal (or paternal) opinion and relationship satisfaction or closeness. Results did not support Hypothesis 3b; although there was a significant moderation of the association between maternal opinion and relationship satisfaction with mothers as hypothesized, the differences were not in the hypothesized directions. Contrary to Hypothesis 3b, results showed that the association between maternal opinion and relationship

Table 8

Coefficients of Interactions and Simple Slopes for the Association of Perceptions of Maternal Opinion with Relationship Satisfaction with Mother and Closeness to Mother by Gender and Ethnic Group Membership

	→ Relationship Satisfaction with Mother			→ Closeness to Mother		
	Unstandardized coefficient (SE)	*t*	*p*	*Unstandardized coefficient (SE)*	*t*	*p*
Maternal Opinion	.71(.10)	7.23	<.001	.23(.08)	2.92	.004
Maternal Opinion x Gender	.07(.29)	.24	.813	.15(.23)	.67	.504
Women	.70(.11)	6.53	<.001	.22(.09)	2.61	.009
Men	.76(.27)	2.87	.004	.38(.21)	1.77	.078
Maternal Opinion x Ethnicity						
Asian v. Latino	.24(.21)	1.14	.254	.25(.17)	1.44	.150
Asian v. European	-1.03 (.36)	-2.87	.004	-.25(.29)	-.86	.391
Latino v. European	-1.28(.37)	-3.45	<.001	-.50(.30)	-1.67	.095
Asian	.70(.14)	4.99	<.001	.34(.11)	3.03	.003
Latino	.45(.16)	2.81	.005	.09(.13)	.72	.474
European	1.73(.33)	5.20	<.001	.59(.27)	2.21	.028

Note. Coefficients from six separate regression models are presented. v = versus. Women are the reference group for the gender interaction. The second group is the reference group for the ethnic group interactions.

Table 9

Coefficients of Interactions and Simple Slopes for the Association of Perceptions of Paternal Opinion with Relationship Satisfaction with Father and Closeness to Father by Gender and Ethnic Group Membership

	→ Relationship Satisfaction with Father			→ Closeness to Father		
	Unstandardized coefficient (SE)	*t*	*p*	*Unstandardized coefficient (SE)*	*t*	*p*
Paternal Opinion	.88(.12)	7.46	<.001	.21(.08)	2.57	.010
Paternal Opinion x Gender	.13(.34)	.39	.694	.22(.23)	.96	.338
Women	.84(.13)	6.63	<.001	.16(.09)	1.88	.060
Men	.98(.32)	3.07	.002	.39(.22)	1.78	.076
Paternal Opinion x Ethnicity						
Asian v. Latino	.31(.26)	1.22	.224	.36(.17)	2.04	.042
Asian v. European	-.27(.38)	-.71	.481	.19(.26)	.74	.461
Latino v. European	-.58(.39)	-1.50	.135	-.16(.26)	-.62	.534
Asian	.95(.17)	5.45	<.001	.39(.12)	3.29	.001
Latino	.64(.19)	3.37	<.001	.04(.13)	.28	.781
European	1.22(.34)	3.59	<.001	.20(.23)	.86	.388

Note. Coefficients from six separate regression models are presented. v = versus. Women are the reference group for the gender interaction. The second group is the reference group for the ethnic group interactions.

satisfaction with mothers was stronger among European background participants than Asian and Latino background participants. Further, there was no ethnic group moderation in the association between maternal opinion and closeness to mothers. Ethnic group membership did not moderate the association between paternal opinion and relationship satisfaction with father or feelings of closeness to father.

Associations of Perceived Parental Opinions of Young Adults' Romantic Relationships with (a) Relationship Quality with Partner and (b) Relationship Quality with Parents by Intercultural Relationship Status and Ethnic Group Membership

Addressing Hypothesis 4a, intercultural relationship status did not moderate the association of maternal opinion with relationship quality with partners, $\Delta R^2 = .00$, $F(1, 538) = 1.82$, $p = .178$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that for individuals in both same-culture and intercultural relationships, the effect of maternal opinion on relationship quality with partners was significant and positive. In relation to Hypothesis 5a, there was no interaction of ethnicity with intercultural relationship status. No ethnic group differed from another in the strength of the association between maternal opinion and romantic relationship quality by intercultural relationship status. Additionally, among those in intercultural relationships, there were no significant differences across ethnic groups in the strength of the associations between maternal opinion and relationship quality with partners. Further, within ethnic group interactions of maternal opinion and intercultural relationship status revealed no significant differences. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 10.

Addressing Hypothesis 4b, intercultural relationship status did not moderate the association between maternal opinion and relationship satisfaction with mothers [$\Delta R^2 = .00$, $F(1, 551) = .00$, $p = .966$] or closeness to mothers [$\Delta R^2 = .00$, $F(1, 554) = .00$, $p = .950$]. Simple slopes

analyses revealed that for individuals in same-culture and intercultural relationships, the effect of maternal opinion on relationship satisfaction and closeness was significant and positive. Considering Hypothesis 5b, European background participants in intercultural relationships showed a stronger association between maternal opinion and relationship satisfaction than did Latino background participants in intercultural relationships (see Figure 3).
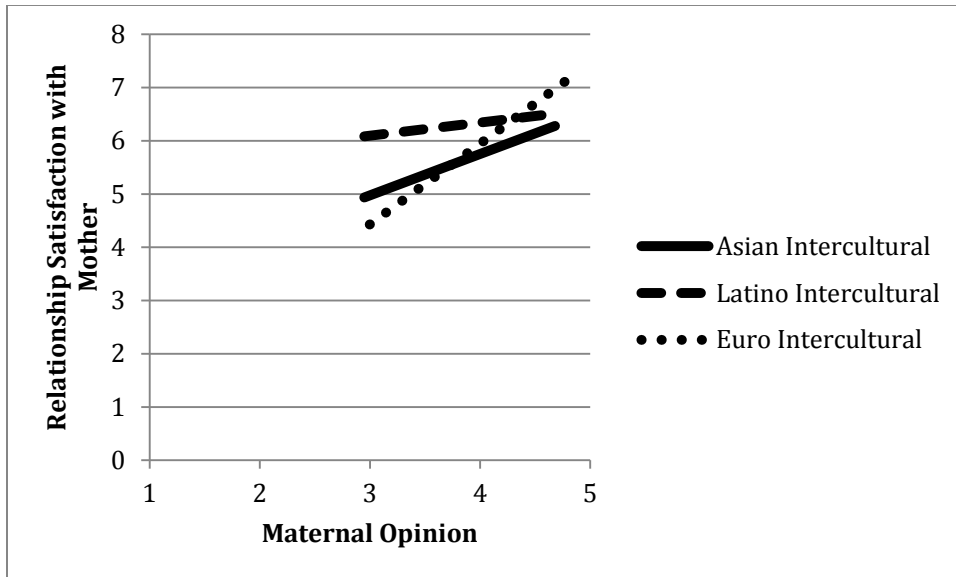

Figure 3. The association of maternal opinion and relationship satisfaction with mother by ethnic group membership among those in intercultural relationships.

There were no significant differences across ethnic groups in the associations between maternal opinion and closeness to mothers for those who were in intercultural relationships (see Figure 4). Further, within each three of the ethnic groups, there were no differences in the strength of the associations between maternal opinion and relationship satisfaction with mothers or closeness to mothers for those in intercultural relationships. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 11.
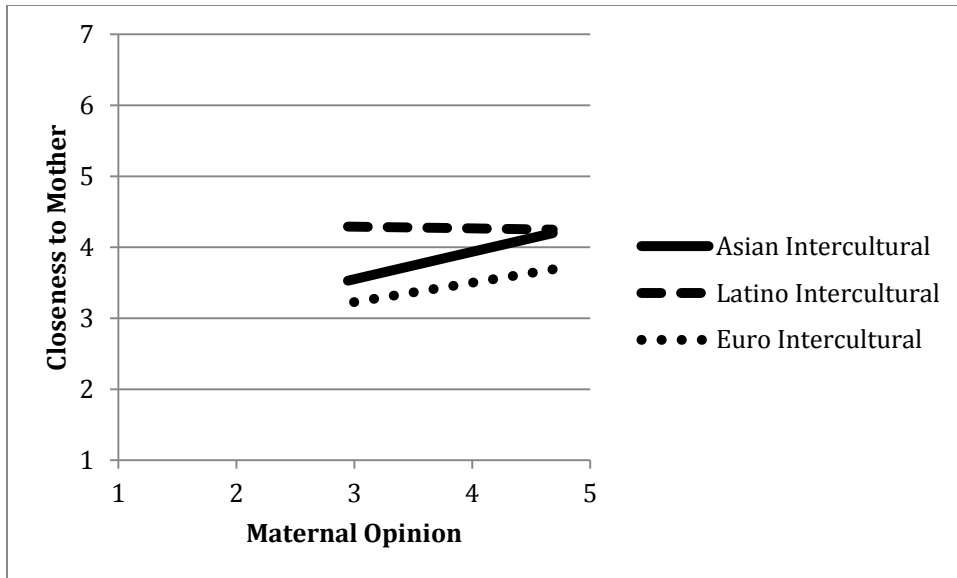
Figure 4. The association of maternal opinion and closeness to mother by ethnic group membership among those in intercultural relationships.

In relation to Aim 6, all the same patterns held when examining the associations between paternal approval and relationship quality with partner by intercultural relationship status and ethnicity. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 12. Similar to mothers, intercultural relationship status did not moderate the association between paternal opinion and relationship satisfaction with fathers or closeness to fathers. Unlike mothers, there were no differences of intercultural relationship status by ethnic group membership in the associations between paternal opinion and relationship satisfaction with fathers. However, similar to mothers, there were no differences of intercultural relationship status across or within ethnic group membership in the associations between paternal opinion and closeness to fathers. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 13.

Table 10

Coefficients of Interactions and Simple Slopes for the Association of Perceptions of Maternal Opinion with Relationship Quality with Partner by Intercultural Relationship Status and Ethnic Group Membership

	Unstandardized coefficient (SE)	*t*	*p*
Maternal Opinion x Intercultural	-.15(.11)	-1.35	.178
Same-culture	.49(.07)	6.63	<.001
Intercultural	.34(.08)	4.35	<.001
Across Ethnic Groups			
Maternal Opinion x Intercultural x Ethnicity			
Asian v. Latino	-.08(.25)	-.32	.752
Within Intercultural[a]	-.06(.18)	-.35	.725
Asian v. European	-.40(.44)	-.90	.366
Within Intercultural[a]	-.37(.32)	-1.14	.256
Latino v. European	-.31(.44)	-.70	.482
Within Intercultural[a]	-.30(.32)	-.92	.359
Within Ethnic Groups			
Asian: Maternal Opinion x Intercultural	-.18(.16)	-1.11	.266
Same-culture	.48(.12)	4.05	<.001
Intercultural	.30(.11)	2.65	.008
Latino: Maternal Opinion x Intercultural	-.10(.18)	-.56	.573
Same-culture	.46(.12)	3.75	<.001
Intercultural	.36(.14)	2.62	.009
European: Maternal Opinion x Intercultural	.22(41)	.55	.584
Same-culture	.44(.28)	1.56	.120
Intercultural	.66(.30)	2.18	.030

Note. Coefficients from four separate regression models are presented. v = versus. The second group is the reference group for the ethnic group interactions.
[a]Conditional effect of the interaction between maternal opinion and ethnic group membership among those in intercultural relationships only (Aim 4: Hypothesis 5a).

Table 11

Coefficients of Interactions and Simple Slopes for the Association of Perceptions of Maternal Opinion with Relationship Satisfaction with Mother and Closeness to Mother by Intercultural Relationship Status and Ethnic Group Membership

	→ Relationship Satisfaction with Mother			→ Closeness to Mother		
	Unstandardized coefficient (SE)	*t*	*p*	*Unstandardized coefficient (SE)*	*t*	*p*
Maternal Opinion x Intercultural	-.01(.20)	-.04	.966	-.01(.16)	.06	.950
Same-culture	.72(.14)	5.26	<.001	.23(.11)	2.07	.039
Intercultural	.71(.14)	4.99	<.001	.24(.12)	2.07	.039
Across Ethnic Groups						
Maternal Opinion x Intercultural x Ethnicity						
Asian v. Latino	.53(.43)	1.22	.223	.31(.35)	.87	.387
Within Intercultural[a]	.53(.31)	1.70	.090	.41(.25)	1.62	.106
Asian v. European	.86(.77)	1.12	.265	.88(.59)	1.50	.135
Within Intercultural[a]	-.71(.50)	-1.42	.158	.11(.39)	.29	.771
Latino v. European	.37(.75)	.50	.616	.54(.63)	.86	.391
Within Intercultural[a]	-1.22(.50)	-2.45	.015	-.30(.43)	-.70	.483
Within Ethnic Groups						
Asian: Maternal Opinion x Intercultural	.19(.28)	.68	.496	.10(.23)	.45	.650
Same-culture	.58(.21)	2.80	.005	.28(.17)	1.66	.097
Intercultural	.77(.19)	4.02	<.001	.39(.16)	2.45	.014
Latino: Maternal Opinion x Intercultural	-.33(.33)	1.02	.308	-.20(.27)	-.75	.453
Same-culture	.58(.22)	2.65	.008	.18(.18)	.98	.326
Intercultural	.25(.24)	1.01	.313	-.03(.20)	-.13	.900
European: Maternal Opinion x Intercultural	-.66(.72)	-.91	.363	-.77(.55)	-1.41	.160
Same-culture	2.17(.55)	3.95	<.001	1.05(.41)	2.54	.012
Intercultural	1.51(.47)	3.24	.001	.28(.36)	.76	.445

Note. Coefficients from eight separate regression models are presented. v = versus. The second group is the reference group for the ethnic group interactions.
[a]Conditional effect of the interaction between maternal opinion and ethnic group membership among those in intercultural relationships only (Aim 4: Hypothesis 5b).

Table 12

Coefficients of Interactions and Simple Slopes for the Association of Perceptions of Paternal Opinion with Relationship Quality with Partner by Intercultural Relationship Status and Ethnic Group Membership

	Unstandardized coefficient (SE)	*t*	*p*
Paternal Opinion x Intercultural	.01 (.11)	.13	.899
Same-culture	.39(.07)	5.35	<.001
Intercultural	.41(.09)	4.66	<.001
Across Ethnic Groups			
Paternal Opinion x Intercultural x Ethnicity			
Asian v. Latino	-.14(.26)	-.54	.587
Within Intercultural[a]	-.16(.20)	-.80	.422
Asian v. European	-.26(.37)	-.70	.486
Within Intercultural[a]	-.25(.28)	-.91	.365
Latino v. European	-.14(.37)	-.37	.713
Within Intercultural[a]	-.12(.28)	-.43	.664
Within Ethnic Groups			
Asian: Paternal Opinion x Intercultural	-.06(.18)	-.35	.723
Same-culture	.38(.12)	3.29	.001
Intercultural	.32(.14)	2.29	.022
Latino: Paternal Opinion x Intercultural	.08(.19)	.41	.683
Same-culture	.40(.12)	3.20	.002
Intercultural	.47(.14)	3.35	.001
European: Paternal Opinion x Intercultural	.20(.32)	.61	.540
Same-culture	.36(.21)	1.72	.086
Intercultural	.56(.25)	2.29	.023

Note. Coefficients from four separate regression models are presented. v = versus. The second group is the reference group for the ethnic group interactions.
[a]Conditional effect of the interaction between paternal opinion and ethnic group membership among those in intercultural relationships only.

Table 13

Coefficients of Interactions and Simple Slopes for the Association of Perceptions of Paternal Opinion with Relationship Satisfaction with Father and Closeness to Father by Intercultural Relationship Status and Ethnic Group Membership

	→ Relationship Satisfaction with Father			→ Closeness to Father		
	Unstandardized coefficient (SE)	*t*	*p*	*Unstandardized coefficient (SE)*	*t*	*p*
Paternal Opinion x Intercultural	-.23(.24)	-.95	.342	-.13(.16)	-.79	.432
Same-culture	.98(.16)	6.29	<.001	.26(.11)	2.46	.014
Intercultural	.76(.18)	4.20	<.001	.13(.12)	1.09	.277
Across Ethnic Groups						
Paternal Opinion x Intercultural x Ethnicity						
Asian v. Latino	.32(.53)	.60	.550	.05(.36)	.15	.881
Within Intercultural[a]	.50(.39)	1.26	.209	.40(.27)	1.45	.148
Asian v. European	.52(.77)	.69	.494	.36(.50)	.72	.473
Within Intercultural[a]	.03(.57)	.06	.955	.40(.37)	1.06	.290
Latino v. European	.21(.80)	.26	.794	.33(.56)	.59	.556
Within Intercultural[a]	-.44(.60)	-.73	.468	.02(.42)	.05	.961
Within Ethnic Groups						
Asian: Paternal Opinion x Intercultural	-.03(.36)	-.08	.938	-.08(.25)	-.34	.737
Same-culture	.96(.24)	4.05	<.001	.42(.17)	2.56	.011
Intercultural	.94(.27)	3.50	<.001	.34(.19)	1.83	.068
Latino: Paternal Opinion x Intercultural	-.34(.39)	-.88	.380	-.14(.27)	-.512	.609
Same-culture	.78(.26)	3.05	.003	.08(.18)	.46	.642
Intercultural	.44(.29)	1.50	.135	-.06(.20)	-.28	.783
European: Paternal Opinion x Intercultural	-.56(.68)	-.82	.414	-.47(.44)	-1.05	.293
Same-culture	1.47(.45)	3.26	.001	.40(.29)	1.36	.176
Intercultural	.91(.51)	1.77	.077	-.07(.33)	-.21	.836

Note. Coefficients from eight separate regression models are presented. v = versus. The second group is the reference group in the ethnic group interactions.

[a]Conditional effect of the interaction between paternal opinion and ethnic group membership among those in intercultural relationships only.

Summary. Results did not support Hypotheses 4a and 5a. The association between young adults' perceptions of maternal (and paternal) approval of their relationships and romantic relationship quality did not differ by intercultural relationship status. Further, intercultural relationship status did not moderate the association between parental opinions and relationship quality with partners within or across ethnic group background.

Contrary to Hypotheses 4b, intercultural relationship status did not moderate the association of maternal (or paternal) opinion with relationship satisfaction or closeness with parents. Contrary to predictions in Hypothesis 5b, the association between maternal approval and relationship satisfaction with mothers was stronger for European participants in intercultural romantic relationships as compared to Latino participants. These findings echo the ethnic group variations observed in Aim 3 and thus, do not appear to be a result of young adults' intercultural relationship status. The association between paternal approval and relationship satisfaction with fathers did not differ by ethnic group, similar to the overall ethnic group moderation results reported previously. Contrary to Hypothesis 5b, there were no ethnic group differences in the association of maternal (or paternal) opinion and closeness to parents among those in intercultural romantic relationships. Finally, all of the intercultural analyses were re-run with the interracial relationship status variable and all patterns remained similar.

Perceived Parental Reasons for Approval and Disapproval of Young Adults' Romantic Relationships

Beyond reports of young adults' perceptions of their parents' approval of their romantic relationships, perceived reasons for parental approval and/or disapproval of their romantic relationship were examined. The majority of participants reported at least one reason for approval of their relationship from their mothers (92.6%; $n = 525$) and fathers (82.8%; $n = 400$).

In addition, there were a sizeable number of participants who reported at least one reason of disapproval from either their mothers (42.7%; $n = 244$) or fathers (41.4%; $n = 201$). Women tended to report more disapproval reasons as compared to men whereas men tended to report more approval reasons as compared to women.

Figure 5 depicts the percentage of participants who reported approval and disapproval reasons by category. Pertaining to young adults' relationship partners, reasons for approval and disapproval were most likely to be based upon young adults' partners' characteristics. Participants' partners' ethnic/cultural backgrounds emerged as reasons for both approval and disapproval. These patterns were observed in both women and men and across ethnic groups.
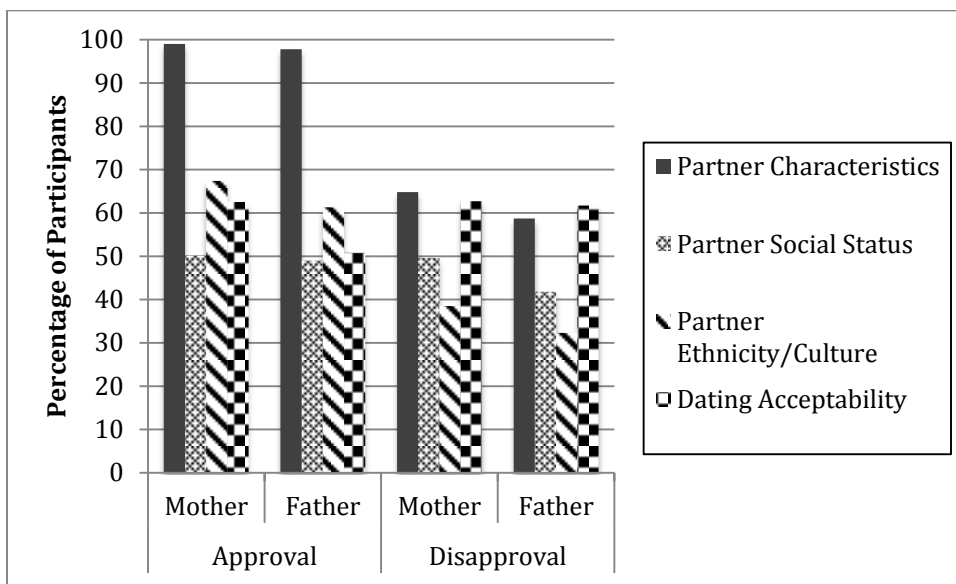
Figure 5. Percentage of participants who reported parental approval and disapproval reasons by category.

Discussion

The current study sought to elucidate the cultural and familial contexts in which young adults' romantic relationships are experienced. The associations of perceived maternal and paternal opinions of young adults' romantic relationships with (a) young adults' romantic relationship quality and (b) parent-child relationship satisfaction and closeness were examined.

Additionally, the role of gender, ethnic group membership, and intercultural relationship status were considered.

The present study contributes to the existing research on the importance of social networks on relationship quality in several key ways: (1) provides support for similarities across ethnic groups as it pertains to the associations of perceived parental approval with young adults' romantic relationship quality, (2) provides support for the similarity of the associations between perceived approval and romantic relationship quality for individuals in same-culture and intercultural romantic relationships, (3) includes measures of parent-child relationship quality which reveal both ethnic similarities and variations in the associations between parental approval and young adults' reports of relationship quality with their parents and (4) demonstrates that associations of *paternal* approval of young adults' romantic relationships with romantic and parent-child relationship outcomes are largely similar to associations examined in relation to maternal approval.

Findings from the present study extend existing evidence of the SNE, but with a key addition: the inclusion of young adults of Asian and Latino background. Conceptually, the interdependent cultural value orientation, which is characteristic of Asian and Latino families, was a strong reason to expect ethnic group variation. However, all three groups studied displayed similar patterns that supported the SNE such that higher levels of perceived parental approval were associated with higher ratings of romantic relationship quality. This similarity represents a contribution to the body of work on the SNE by advancing its generalizability and underscoring the importance of parental approval for romantic relationship quality across groups.

One explanation for these positive associations across the three ethnic groups may be due to young adults' perceptions of the value of their parents' opinions. A recently published study

found that young adults tend to view their familial social network members as fairly credible sources of relationship advice (Etcheverry & Agnew, 2016). In particular, believing that one's parents provide good relationship advice has been shown to be associated with reporting that one would be likely to comply with parents' opinions of the romantic relationship (Etcheverry & Agnew, 2016). Further, auxiliary analyses among the current sample support the idea that young adults across ethnic groups are similar in their tendency to view their parents' opinions (both approval and disapproval) as being positively motivated, that is stemming from a place of care and concern. Thus, parental opinions, particularly when viewed as caring and credible, may function to motivate young adults across various ethnic backgrounds to stay in relationships that are positive (reflected by young adults' reports of relatively higher relationship satisfaction with and commitment to their romantic partners) and to abandon relationships that are negative (reflected by relatively lower ratings of romantic relationship satisfaction and commitment).

Cultural variations based upon interdependent value orientations appeared to shine through in the associations of maternal opinion with young adults' relationship quality with their mothers. Specifically, the current study found the association of maternal approval with relationship satisfaction with mothers to be stronger among young adults of European background than those of Asian and Latino background. On the other hand, there was no significant moderation for associations between maternal approval and closeness; however, a visual inspection of the simple slopes suggests a stronger association among those of European background. The significance of the variations and similarities of these associations by ethnic group membership, as well potential explanations for these findings are considered.

Previous research has found that young adults of Asian and Latino background refer to their parents' feelings even when asserting their autonomy in romantic partner choice (Phinney

et al., 2007; Zhang & Kline, 2009). This consideration of close others (e.g., one's mother) is characteristic of an interdependent self-construal, which is a key component of Asian and Latino cultures (Campos & Kim, in press; Campos & Shenhav, 2014; MacDonald & Jessica, 2006; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Acknowledging close others in important decisions may reflect the increased appropriateness for parents from collectivistic backgrounds to provide input in their children's decisions of romantic partners as compared to those from individualistic backgrounds (Buunk et al., 2010; Uskul et al., 2007; Zhang & Kline, 2009). Therefore, even if a parent's input is a negative opinion (which is where the ethnic groups appear to diverge in relationship satisfaction and closeness), for young adults of Asian and Latino background a parent's expression of a negative opinion may be culturally normative. In contrast, for young adults of European background, an expressed parental opinion that is in opposition to their assumed individual decision may be interpreted as non-normative. Disapproval can be viewed as violating the young adults' independent sense of self and thus be more damaging to the parent-child relationship than for young adults from cultures that live less by the cultural expectation of "my life, my decision."

Although familial relationships are valued across cultures (Jin & Oh, 2010; Neyer & Lang, 2003), the way in which they are managed may differ. Among European background individuals, self-disclosure is one way through which they develop and maintain their close relationships (Cross et al., 2000). Additional data collected on the current study sample lend support for this notion. These data reveal that participants of European background communicate with their mothers about their romantic partners significantly more than Asian and Latino background participants, even after accounting for the young adults' romantic relationship quality. Additionally, the data indicate that European background participants, more than Latino

participants, support the statement that their mothers' reactions to their romantic relationship would influence their relationship with their mother. These findings suggest that for European-Americans, when mothers approve of their romantic relationships, increased discussion about the romantic relationship may bolster mother-child relationship quality. However, it may also mean that when mothers disapprove of young adults' relationships, self-disclosures may cause relationship quality to decrease. Thus, European Americans might be prone to more fluctuations in the quality of their relationships with their mothers as a result of maternal opinion of their romantic relationships.

Conversely, the ways in which close relationships are maintained in Asian and Latino cultures is largely based upon collectivistic ideals. Individuals of Asian background tend to employ a form of collectivism characterized by preventing conflict, also known as "harmony collectivism," whereas individuals of Latino background tend to embody a form of collectivism that emphasizes positivity and an avoidance of negativity, known as "convivial collectivism" (Campos & Kim, in press). Both groups, however, seem to share a similar emphasis on avoiding unfavorable situations that could harm close relationships. A reliance on avoidant strategies in response to disagreement or conflict may contribute to maternal relationship quality being less strongly associated with mothers' opinions among Asian and Latino participants in this study. Although avoidant conflict management strategies have shown to be associated with poorer relationship quality between parents and their adult children (Birditt, Rott, & Fingerman, 2009), it may be that for particular cultures avoidant strategies are effective in keeping the peace within the family.

Young adults likely utilize avoidant strategies to varying degrees. A recent study by Etcheverry & Agnew (2016) suggested that young adults might limit the information they share

with social network members if they are worried that not complying with a particular social network members' opinion about their romantic relationship would damage the relationship they have with that social network member (Etcheverry & Agnew, 2016). Looking more closely at the current study, based upon the initial sample of participants who met all other criteria except for parental awareness of their relationship, a greater percentage of Asian and Latino background participants than European background participants reported not disclosing their romantic relationship to their parents. Hiding one's romantic relationship serves as a means through which one can avoid a potentially contentious situation with important social network members.

Concealing one's romantic relationship was also more prevalent among those in intercultural relationships as compared to same-culture relationships. Studies have found that the decision to "reveal or conceal" an intergroup romantic relationship is often made by weighing the consequences of disclosing the relationship to others (e.g., Brummett & Steuber, 2015). Furthermore, interracial romantic partners often choose to wait until the relationship reaches a more committed stage before disclosing (Brummett & Steuber, 2015). Reasons to conceal an interracial relationship included an expectation of disapproval from one's social network, as well as thinking that disclosing one's relationship will pose a risk to the relationships one has with close members of his or her social network and/or to the romantic relationship itself (Brummett, 2016; Brummett & Steuber, 2015).

In the current study, a selection effect based on several facets may have played a role in the lack of intercultural relationship status moderation. First, young adults may abstain from engaging in intergroup relationships if they expect parental disapproval (Harris & Kalbfleisch, 2000), and second, those who do engage in intergroup relationships but expect disapproval may choose to conceal the relationship. Thus, the associations between parental opinion and

relationship quality measures (both romantic and parent-child) in the current study were only tested among those who had chosen to reveal their relationships to their parents, which may help to explain the similarity in associations among those in same-culture and intercultural relationships.

Further, the ethnicity of participants' romantic partners in the current study may be another contributor to the lack of moderation by intercultural relationship status. Previous work has shown that intergroup romantic relationships with Black/African-American partners are particularly prone to disapproval (e.g., Nesteruk & Gramescu, 2012; Passel, Wang, & Taylor, 2010). In the present study, very few participants ($n = 8$) had a partner who was Black/African-American. Of those eight participants, two of them reported that neither parent knew about the relationship and an additional three participants reported that their fathers were not aware of the relationship.

On a more optimistic note, the similarity in associations between participants in same-culture and intercultural relationships may be an indication that social network influences do not operate any differently in response to same-culture relationships or intercultural relationships. In particular, disapproval may not be any more harmful for relationship quality for those in intercultural relationships as compared to those in same-culture relationships. Further, findings pertaining to ethnic similarities and variations among participants in intercultural romantic relationships revealed similar patterns to overall ethnic moderation analyses, once again concluding that intercultural relationship status did not emerge as a unique factor in the associations examined in the current study.

Gender of the young adult also did not appear to contribute uniquely in the current study. The lack of gender moderation is likely due to the ethnic background of the majority of

participants. Although previous work would suggest that the quality of women's romantic and familial relationships might be more closely associated with parental opinion, the argument for this difference is often based upon the notion that women tend to be more relational than men (Gabriel & Gardner, 1999; Maddux & Brewer, 2005). However, the majority of the participants belonged to ethnic groups whose familial relationships are characterized by interdependence and as such were likely to have been socialized with relational values (Cross et al., 2010). Findings challenge gendered conclusions and show the importance of diverse samples, and perhaps social change.

Whereas psychological literature is replete with differences of mothers' and fathers' roles and relationships with their children (e.g., Schofield, Parke, Kim, & Coltrane, 2008; Smetana et al., 2006; Taylor et al., 2006), the current study found few variations by parent gender. By and large, the positive associations of paternal approval of young adults' romantic relationships with (a) young adults' relationship quality with their partners and (b) relationship satisfaction and closeness with fathers, mirrored the associations observed with mothers. These patterns suggest that perceptions of paternal opinions matter similarly as maternal opinions and highlight the important role that fathers have in their children's lives, as well as the importance of examining fathers and adult children in a diverse sample. These findings are reflective of the literature and societal trends that suggest that the role of the father is changing away from an authoritative parent figure and towards a more involved and emotionally present parent (Cabrera et al., 2000; Goldberg, 2014; Morman & Floyd, 2002; Yeung et al., 2001). Noteworthy, however, are the ethnic group variations in father involvement suggested by the previous literature (Hofferth, 2003; Yeung et al., 2001) as well as different cultural emphases on familial respect and authority (Hardway & Fuligni, 2006). Although not tested in the current study, the importance of

intersectionality (Parent, DeBlaere, & Moradi, 2013) particularly pertaining to gender in the context of ethnicity is acknowledged.

One issue for further consideration is the distinction between relationship satisfaction and closeness with parents. Upon visual inspection of the interaction of maternal opinion and ethnic group membership as well as the simple slopes, associations of maternal opinion with closeness appear to be weaker than associations with relationship satisfaction, particularly for individuals of Latino background. The positive relational element of "convivial collectivism" that characterizes Latino culture is likely a contributor to the lack of an association between approval and closeness observed among Latino participants (Campos & Kim, in press). Further, unlike relationship satisfaction, there were no ethnic group variations in the associations between maternal opinion and relationship closeness to mother. Taken together, the seemingly relative stability of closeness and the similarity of associations by ethnic group suggest that parent-child relationships, relationships that are not typically viewed as voluntary relationships, may be a particularly appropriate dyad to see these two measures diverge. The closeness measure in the present study assesses the level of interconnectedness that young adults perceive to have with their parents (Aron et al., 1992). The degree to which young adults view their sense of self as overlapping with their parents likely captures a relatively stable sense of self-other identity and, as such, seems likely that it would be less dependent on external circumstances (e.g., extent of romantic relationship disapproval) than feelings of relational satisfaction. On the other hand, the level of satisfaction in a relationship may be more prone to change, at least in the short-term, by friction in parent-child dynamics, such as differing opinions over relationship partners.

A cross-cultural study of 16 countries spanning both collectivistic and individualistic cultures that also utilized a similar seven concentric circles measure supports a "cultural

universality" (Georgas et al., 2001, p. 298) in closeness to parents. The pervasiveness of closeness across cultures, as well as work that suggests a relative stability of closeness in the parent-child relationship (Golish, 2000), may be adaptive. Unlike a romantic relationship in which relatively low levels satisfaction could contribute to breaking up with one's partner (Rusbult et al., 1998), being relatively dissatisfied in one's relationship with a parent is not likely to lead to a termination of the parent-child relationship, particularly if a certain level of closeness is retained. The phrase "blood is thicker than water" seems to capture this protective notion of familial closeness. This phrase is also the fitting title of a journal article that concludes that closeness is both a characteristic of family relationships and an outcome of genetic relatedness (Neyer & Lang, 2003). Therefore, even if young adults' level of satisfaction with their parents may temporarily suffer due to disapproval over a romantic partner, previous research has shown that young adults' relationship quality with their parents often recovers from relational disruptions (Golish, 2000). Thus, the long-term benefit of parental disapproval potentially aiding young adult children to withdraw from unfavorable relationships would outweigh the likely short-term costs of a decrease in parent-child relationship satisfaction.

In an effort to lend tenable support to causational associations between parental opinion and parent-child relationship outcomes, a comparison of relationship satisfaction and closeness with parents was made across three sets of participants: (1) those who reported to be single (taken from a larger sample of participants), (2) participants who indicated that their parent did not disapprove at all of their relationship and who endorsed at least one reason for approval, and (3) participants who endorsed at least one reason of parental disapproval. Results indicated that there were significant differences by group. Participants who reported approval only reasons were marginally more satisfied in their relationships with their mothers than those who were

single (but no differences in closeness) and significantly more satisfied than those who reported that their mothers disapproved of their relationships for at least one reason (but no differences in closeness). Participants who reported disapproval reasons were significantly less satisfied in their relationship with their mothers and less close with their mothers than single participants. In relation to fathers, young adults who reported paternal approval reasons reported to be more satisfied with their relationship with their fathers than both single participants and participants who reported at least one reason for disapproval. There were no differences in the groups for closeness to father. These patterns lend support for the notion that disapproval could harm a parent-child relationship and approval could serve to bolster parent-child relationship satisfaction, particularly the comparisons between young adults in romantic relationships to single participants. Further, with one exception, the lack of group differences in relation to closeness support earlier points that closeness is less likely to be influenced by parental opinion of young adults' romantic relationships than parent-child relationship satisfaction.

Limitations and Future Directions

Successful romantic relationships may represent an expansion of one's family of origin. Perceptions of the opinions that close others, particularly parents, hold about young adults' romantic partners have the potential to influence both the quality of romantic relationships as well as parent-child relationships. Although the present study contributes and extends upon the extant literature of social network influences, future questions remain.

The association of parental opinions of young adults' relationship with parent-child relationship outcomes is a new addition to the field of social network opinions. Thus, it would be fruitful to explore the causal associations. Although causation cannot be claimed in this study for neither set of outcome variables, previous work examining the effects of social network opinions

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on romantic relationship quality (e.g., Etcheverry et al., 2008; Sinclair et al., 2015) serves as a reason to assume that there would be causal influences from parental opinion to romantic relationship quality in this study as well. However, there is not a precedent to necessarily assume that parent-child relationship outcomes would be causally influenced and, as such, a logical next step in this work would be to examine these associations longitudinally and/or test these associations experimentally.

The current study's cross-sectional design introduced great variability in when, within the course of young adults' romantic relationships, reports of approval and relationship quality were captured. Among the current sample, the median relationship length was just under a year and relationship length spanned from 3 months to 10 years. An open question remains as to whether young adults' reports of parental opinion were captured at the height of disapproval and conflict, or if young adults had already made their peace with their parents' opinions of their relationship, had successfully overcome a previous disagreement, or if the peak of disapproval was yet to come. Subsequently, it would be important to explore whether those time-points would influence the associations observed in the current study. Although a longitudinal design would help to establish a more complete picture of the familial and cultural contexts in which young adults' romantic relationships take place, it is worth noting that the associations examined in the current study were not moderated by relationship length, lending support to the notion that these processes hold throughout a dating relationship.

Another direction for future research would be to examine the influence of parental opinions in more committed phases of a relationship, such as marriage. At these stages, would parent opinions exert a similar influence on romantic relationship quality and on the parent-child relationship quality? For example, previous qualitative research has found that parental

disapproval over a romantic partner can serve as a major disruption to a parent-adult child relationship, but the timing of the disruption typically occurred during a more committed stage of the relationship such as when the young adult decides to move in or marry their partner (Golish, 2000). One might imagine, however, that approval may peak at these committed stages as well. Parental opinions at these points are important as they may result in significant impacts on commitment-related events (e.g., planning a wedding) that are typically meant to bring members of the couple and their families together, and possibly the first years of marriage. However, the strength of these associations may be subject to cultural values. Previous work suggests that relationships with members of one's family of origin remain significant throughout life particularly for Asians and Latinos, but less so for individuals of European background, for whom the new family established through marriage takes precedence (Campos & Kim, in press). It is possible that the ethnic moderation found in the current study would remain consistent if marital relationships were being studied. It may, however, also be plausible to expect that if European Americans distance themselves from their families of origin to a greater degree than Asian and Latino Americans, that their parents' opinions would be less strongly associated with their reports of parent-child relationship satisfaction as parental opinions might be of less concern in their married lives. On the other hand, for Asian and Latino individuals, it may be a priority to integrate their romantic partner into their family of origin; however if parents disapprove of their partner, it may introduce a challenge to this integration and place a burden on the parent-child relationship.

Another important avenue for future research would be to obtain reports from multiple members of a social network such as young adults' parents, the romantic partner, as well as his/her parents. Research on parent-child dyads consistently finds that parents report greater

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levels of relationship quality with their children than children report with their parents (e.g., Aquilino, 1999; Morman & Floyd, 2002; Shapiro, 2004). Thus, opinions of young adult children's romantic relationships as reported by the parent may not be associated with their own reports of parent-child relationship quality to the same extent as it is for their children. Further, there is some work to suggest that these patterns may be culturally variable. A study by Chang and colleagues (2015) examined the extent of agreement that mothers and young adult children had in regards to the importance of the young adults achieving particular life goals (e.g., marrying someone of the same ethnic background). The authors found that higher levels of discrepancies in importance ratings were associated with reduced parent-child relationship quality for European-American mothers, but not for East-Asian American mothers. Instead it appeared that, for East-Asian American mothers, similarities or discrepancies in life goal importance did not relate to parent-child relationship quality (Chang et al., 2015). Further, in Chang and colleagues' (2015) study, European-American young adults did not exhibit the same pattern as their mothers; rather, similarity was associated with their own well-being rather than relationship satisfaction with their mothers. The difference in the associations of goal discrepancies and relationship satisfaction within European American mothers and young adults, but not East-Asian American mother-young adult dyads, highlight the importance of capturing both parent and child reports to more fully understand processes across different family members and within dyads. Additionally, capturing both young adult and parent report will allow for an examination of whether young adults accurately perceive the level of parental approval or disapproval and whether the level of concordance matters for relationship quality outcomes across ethnic groups.

Including self-reports of romantic partners and their parents would further contribute to a more complete depiction of the familial processes surrounding young adults' romantic relationships. For instance, consider that a young adult reports that their parents approve of the romantic relationship, but the romantic partner reports that his or her parents strongly disapprove. In this circumstance, would the opinions of the partner's parents also shape the young adult's report of romantic relationship quality? On the other hand, perhaps approval from one set of parents may buffer against the disapproval of the other set of parents. Additionally, particularly as romantic relationships progress to more committed stages (e.g., marriage), relationship quality with in-laws are likely to become prominent as well (Fingerman, Gilligan, VanderDrift, & Pitzer, 2012). Future research should expand upon the current study to examine whether perceptions of partners' parental approval or disapproval of the relationship influence relationship quality between young adults and their partner's parents.

Although the current study did not find evidence that intercultural relationship status moderated the associations of parental opinion with romantic relationship or parent-child relationship quality, additional study in this area is warranted. For example, in a situation in which perceived parent disapproval is specifically related to the intercultural nature of the relationship, it would likely be indicative of a value difference between a young adult and his/her parent about the appropriateness of racial, ethnic, or cultural interaction, more generally. Value differences may be in reference to explicit or implicit prejudices against other groups and/or differences about the appropriateness of intergroup relationships for other reasons such as concerns over cultural continuity. Future research should examine perceptions of motivation underlying parental disapproval. For instance, disapproval that is perceived to be motivated by prejudiced attitudes towards specific out-groups may render parental opinions to be dismissed

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whereas disapproval based upon cultural continuity concerns may be interpreted more positively and thus, be more likely to exert an impact on relationship outcomes. From the approval standpoint, young adults may perceive approval to be a function of a parent's open-mindedness and thus it may be more likely that parental opinions would be associated with romantic and parent-child relationship outcomes. Future research should consider specific racial and cultural combinations of intergroup romantic relationships. In particular, examining the influence of upward or downward comparisons, as predicted by the U.S. racial hierarchy or the hierarchies exemplified within particular racial/ethnic groups (Chen et al., 2001), in influencing the extent and direction of the associations between parental opinion of young adults' relationships with perceptions of romantic and parent-child relationship quality.

Finally, the current study examined perceptions of parental opinions only among individuals involved in heterosexual romantic relationships. Previous literature indicates that individuals in same-gender romantic relationships are subject to feelings of marginalization from their social networks and that marginalization negatively predicts commitment to one's partner (Lehmiller & Agnew, 2006). Thus, it would be fruitful to explore same-gender relationships in future research to examine associations between parental approval and relationship quality with romantic partners, as well as extend previous literature by examining these associations in a culturally diverse sample and including parent-child relationship quality outcomes.

Conclusion

The current study lends support to the importance of perceived parental support of young adults' romantic relationships for the quality of romantic partnerships as well as parent-child relationships across three distinct ethnic groups. Given that social relationships play a large role in our daily life experiences, the quality of these salient relationships, as well as the intersection

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of them, have important implications for people's everyday lives and for their continued health and well-being. Even in situations in which disapproval over one's romantic relationships exists, it is important to remember that experiencing disagreement or conflict with close others is not necessarily negative (Laursen & Hafen, 2010); on the contrary; it may be a route to improved communication and subsequently relationship outcomes as well as continuity of particular cultural values, such as interdependence.

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Appendix A

Perception of Parental Opinions of Romantic Relationship

Please respond to the following questions on a scale of 1-5.

	Not at all (1)	Very Little (2)	Somewhat (3)	A lot (4)	Very Much (5)
How supportive is your mom of your romantic relationship?	○	○	○	○	○
How much does your mom like your romantic partner?	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent does your mom include your partner in things (e.g., family events)?	○	○	○	○	○
How much does your mom encourage you to continue your relationship?	○	○	○	○	○
How much does your mom disapprove of your relationship?	○	○	○	○	○
How much does your mom encourage you to 'keep your options open' (e.g., see other people, consider alternatives other than getting invested in the relationship)?	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent does your mom say negative things about your partner?	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent does your mom feel you should spend less time with your partner?	○	○	○	○	○

Please respond to the following questions on a scale of 1-5.

	Not at all (1)	Very Little (2)	Somewhat (3)	A lot (4)	Very Much (5)
How supportive is your dad of your romantic relationship?	○	○	○	○	○
How much does your dad like your romantic partner?	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent does your dad include your partner in things (e.g., family events)?	○	○	○	○	○
How much does your dad encourage you to continue your relationship?	○	○	○	○	○
How much does your dad disapprove of your relationship?	○	○	○	○	○
How much does your dad encourage you to 'keep your options open' (e.g., see other people, consider alternatives other than getting invested in the relationship)?	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent does your dad say negative things about your partner?	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent does your dad feel you should spend less time with your partner?	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix B

Relationship Quality with Partner: Relationship Satisfaction and Relationship Commitment

The following questions are about your relationship with your romantic partner. Please rate the degree to which you agree with each statement.

	Do Not Agree At All (0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	Agree Somewhat (4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Agree Completely (8)
I feel satisfied with our relationship.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
My relationship is much better than others' relationships.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
My relationship is close to ideal.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Our relationship makes me very happy.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Our relationship does a good job of fulfilling my needs for intimacy, companionship, etc.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

The following questions are about your relationship with your romantic partner. Please rate the degree to which you agree with each statement.

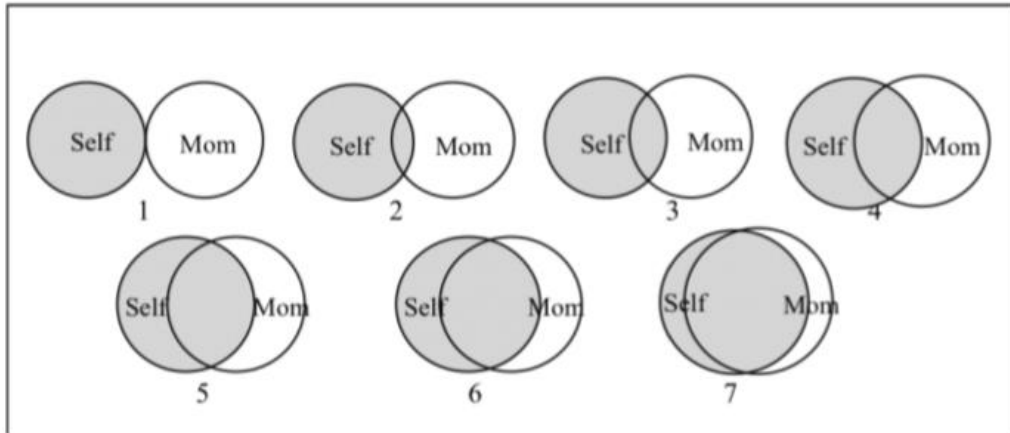|	Do Not Agree At All (0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	Agree Somewhat (4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Agree Completely (8)
I want our relationship to last for a very long time.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am committed to maintaining my relationship with my partner.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would not feel very upset if our relationship were to end in the near future.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
It is likely that I will date someone other than my partner within the next year.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel very attached to our relationship - very strongly linked to my partner.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I want our relationship to last forever.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am oriented toward the long-term future of my relationship (for example, I imagine being with my partner several years from now).	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix C

Parent-Child Relationship Quality: Parent-Child Relationship Satisfaction and Parent-Child Closeness

The following questions are about your relationship with your MOM.

Please rate the degree to which you agree with each statement by indicating a number from 0-8.

	Do Not Agree At All (0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	Agree Somewhat (4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Agree Completely (8)
I feel satisfied with our relationship.	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Our relationship is much better than other parent-child relationships.	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Our relationship is close to ideal.	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Our relationship makes me very happy.	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

The circles above represent how people can view themselves in their relationships with others. Please indicate which figure best represents your relationship with your mom by choosing the number that corresponds with the most appropriate figure.

Note: the image may take a second or two to load

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
O	O	O	O	O	O	O

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The following questions are about your relationship with your dad.

Please rate the degree to which you agree with each statement by indicating a number from 0-8.

	Do Not Agree At All (0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	Agree Somewhat (4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	Agree Completely (8)
I feel satisfied with our relationship.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Our relationship is much better than other parent-child relationships.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Our relationship is close to ideal.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Our relationship makes me very happy.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

The circles above represent how people can view themselves in their relationships with others. Please indicate which figure best represents your relationship with your dad by choosing the number that corresponds with the most appropriate figure.
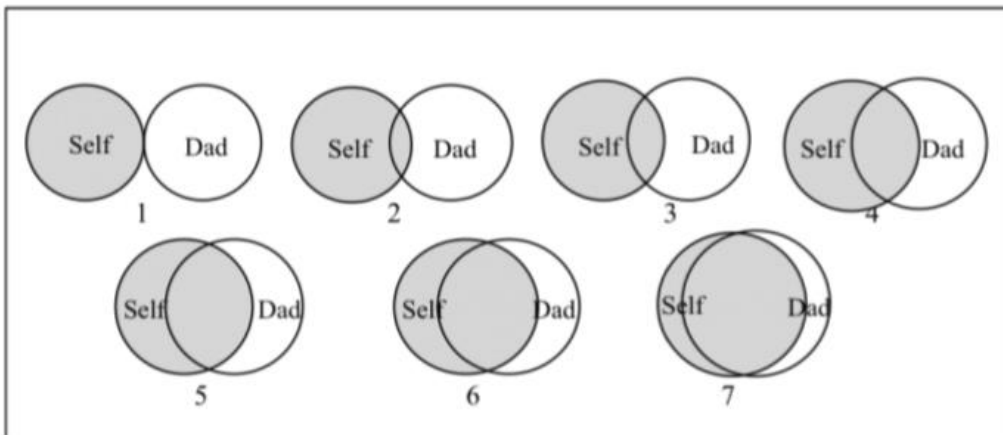
Note: the image may take a second or two to load

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

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Appendix D

Perceived Reasons for Parental Approval and Disapproval of Romantic Relationship

Below are some common reasons why parents might APPROVE of their children's relationships. Please check all the reasons that you think contribute to your MOM'S APPROVAL of your current romantic relationship.

If mom DOES NOT APPROVE at all of your relationship, choose the last option (NO Approval).

- [ ] Appropriate age of partner
- [ ] Parent thinks he/she has good character
- [ ] Parent thinks he/she is mature
- [ ] Parent thinks he/she treats me right
- [ ] Parent thinks he/she is ambitious
- [ ] Parent thinks he/she is financially secure
- [ ] Parent thinks he/she is well-educated
- [ ] Parent thinks he/she is attractive
- [ ] He/she is of the same ethnic/racial background
- [ ] He/she is of the same religion
- [ ] Cultural similarities between your family and his/hers
- [ ] Parent thinks he/she comes from a family with a good reputation
- [ ] Parent things he/she is of a favorable social status or rating
- [ ] Parent thinks I'm at the right age to date
- [ ] Parent thinks I should be focusing on/prioritizing dating
- [ ] Any other reasons?

    (please specify)

    [   ]

- [ ] NO Approval

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Below are some common reasons why parents might DISAPPROVE of their children's relationships. Please check all the reasons that you think contribute to your MOM'S DISAPPROVAL of your current romantic relationship.

If mom DOES NOT DISAPPROVE at all of your relationship, choose the last option (NO Disapproval).

- ☐ Age of partner: Too young/too old
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she does not have good character
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she is too immature
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she does not treat you right
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she is not ambitious enough
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she does not have enough education/not in college
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she is not financially secure
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she is not attractive enough
- ☐ He/she is of a different ethnic/racial background
- ☐ He/she is of a different religion
- ☐ Cultural Differences between your family and his/hers
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she comes from a family with a bad reputation
- ☐ Parent things he/she is of an unfavorable social status or rating
- ☐ Parent thinks I'm too young to date
- ☐ Parent thinks I should be focusing on/prioritizing my studies, not my relationship
- ☐ *Any other reasons?*

  (please specify)

  [   ]

- ☐ NO Disapproval

Below are some common reasons why parents might APPROVE of their children's relationships. Please check all the reasons that you think contribute to your DAD'S APPROVAL of your current romantic relationship.

If <u>dad</u> DOES NOT APPROVE at all of your relationship, click the last option (NO Approval).

- ☐ Appropriate age of partner
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she has good character
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she is mature
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she treats me right
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she is ambitious
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she is well-educated
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she is financially secure
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she is attractive
- ☐ He/she is of the same ethnic/racial background
- ☐ He/she is of the same religion
- ☐ Cultural similarities between your family and his/hers
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she comes from a family with a good reputation
- ☐ Parent things he/she is of a favorable social status or rating
- ☐ Parent thinks I'm at the right age to date
- ☐ Parent thinks I should be focusing on/prioritizing dating
- ☐ *Any other reasons?*

  (please specify)

  [   ]
- ☐ NO Approval

Below are some common reasons why parents might DISAPPROVE of their children's relationships. Please check all the reasons that you think contribute to your DAD'S DISAPPROVAL of your current romantic relationship.

If <u>dad</u> DOES NOT DISAPPROVE at all of your relationship, click the last option (NO Disapproval).

- ☐ Age of partner: Too young/too old
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she does not have good character
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she is too immature
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she does not treat you right
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she is not ambitious enough
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she does not have enough education/not in college
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she is not financially secure
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she is not attractive enough
- ☐ He/she is of a different ethnic/racial background
- ☐ He/she is of a different religion
- ☐ Cultural Differences between your family and his/hers
- ☐ Parent thinks he/she comes from a family with a bad reputation
- ☐ Parent things he/she is of an unfavorable social status or rating
- ☐ Parent thinks I'm too young to date
- ☐ Parent thinks I should be focusing on/prioritizing my studies, not my relationship
- ☐ *Any other reasons?*

  (please specify)

  [   ]

- ☐ NO Disapproval

Appendix E

Intercultural Relationship Status

The next questions ask about intercultural relationships, using the following definition.

By intercultural, we mean a relationship between individuals of different races/cultures/ethnic groups.

- One example would be a relationship between an individual of Asian background and an individual of Latino background.

- However, an intercultural relationship may also be between two individuals of Asian background, for example someone who is Chinese and someone who is Korean.

- An intercultural relationship may also be between two people of different religions who are of the same race, for example two European American individuals, one who is Jewish and one who is Christian.

*Please keep this definition of intercultural in mind as you respond to the following questions.

Given the above definition, are you currently in an intercultural romantic relationship? Remember this includes both interracial and interfaith relationships.

○ Yes, I am in an intercultural relationship

○ No, I am not in an intercultural relationship

Using the given definition, what makes your relationship *intercultural*?

Please respond in terms of how you culturally identify, as well as how you would describe your romantic partner's cultural identification.

These may include being a member of a certain racial group, cultural group, religious group, etc.

If you or your partner have multiple identifications, please choose the one most salient to the intercultural definition.

| Your own cultural identification | |
| Your romantic partner's identification | |

Appendix F

Demographic Information

What is your current marital status?

- ○ Single, not dating anyone
- ○ Single, dating casually but not exclusive with one person
- ○ In an exclusive/committed relationship (e.g., have a significant other, have a boyfriend/girlfriend)
- ○ Engaged, to be married
- ○ Married

How long have you and your romantic partner been in a committed relationship (in months)?

Based upon the list below, how do you usually describe your ethnic/racial background? If you consider yourself to be from more than one ethnic/racial heritage, please check as many that apply.

- ☐ Black, African American
- ☐ European, European-American, White (NON Latino, NON Middle Eastern)
- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Japanese
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnam, Cambodia)
- ☐ Asian-Indian
- ☐ Pacific Islander (e.g., Filipino, Samoa)
- ☐ Mexican, Mexican-American, Chicano
- ☐ Other Latino (e.g., Guatemala, Colombia)
- ☐ Native American, American Indian
- ☐ Middle Eastern (e.g., Egypt, Iran, Israel)
- ☐ More than one (e.g., Chinese/Caucasian, Mexican/Filipino)
- ☐ Other (please specify)

Using the list below, please indicate your romantic partner's ethnicity/race. Please check all that apply.

- ☐ Black, African American
- ☐ European, European-American, White (**NON Latino, NON Middle Eastern**)
- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Japanese
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Southeast Asian (e.g. Vietnam, Cambodia)
- ☐ Asian-Indian
- ☐ Pacific Islander (e.g. Filipino, Samoa)
- ☐ Mexican, Mexican-American, Chicano
- ☐ Other Latino (e.g. Guatemala, Colombia)
- ☐ Native American, American Indian
- ☐ Middle Eastern (e.g. Egypt, Iran, Israel)
- ☐ More than one (e.g. Chinese/Caucasian, Mexican/Filipino)
- ☐ Other (please specify below)

   [   ]

Were you born in the U.S.?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

How many years have you lived in the U.S.? *(note: if you were born in the U.S. and have lived in the U.S. for your whole life, simply enter your age)*

[   ]

Was your mother born in the U.S.?

- ○ Don't know
- ○ Yes
- ○ No (please specify country below)

   [   ]

How many years has your mother been in the U.S.? *(note: if your mother was born in the U.S. and has lived in the U.S. for her whole life, simply enter her age)*

[   ]

Was your father born in the U.S.?

- ◯ Don't know
- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No (please specify country below)

[   ]

How many years has your father been in the U.S.? (*note: if your father was born in the U.S. and has lived in the U.S. for his whole life, simply enter his age*)

[   ]

Please indicate your gender:

- ◯ Male
- ◯ Female
- ◯ Transgender
- ◯ Other (please specify)

[   ]

Do you consider yourself to be...

- ◯ Heterosexual or straight
- ◯ Gay or Lesbian
- ◯ Bisexual
- ◯ Other (please specify)

[   ]

Please enter your date of birth.

	MM	DD	YYYY
Date of birth	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Do you consider your family to be...

- ○ Lower working class (e.g., unskilled workers, employed off-and-on)

- ○ Upper working class (e.g., skilled workers or small farmers, steady employment)

- ○ Lower middle class (e.g., skilled trade such as carpentry, small entrepreneurs, run sizable farms, steady employment)

- ○ Upper middle class (e.g., professionals such as physicians, lawyers, CEOs, owners of a major industry, maybe some inherited wealth, high earned income)

- ○ Upper upper class (e.g., do not have to work for a living, can travel around the world when you feel like it, family is able to live on inherited wealth)