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Parent & Peer Ethnic-Racial Socialization: A Mixed-methods Approach to Understanding its Importance to Black College Students and their Psychosocial Health

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Education

by

Carlisa Bertha Simon

2022

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Parent & Peer Ethnic-Racial Socialization: A Mixed-methods Approach to Understanding its Importance to Black College Students and their Psychosocial Health

by

Carlisa Bertha Simon
Doctor of Philosophy in Education
University of California, Los Angeles, 2022
Professor Sandra H. Graham, Chair

This dissertation is comprised of two studies that investigate the nuances of parent and peer ethnic racial socialization (ERS). I focus on the dynamic relationship between parent and peer ERS by examining its frequency and effects specifically for Black emerging adults in college as well as uncovering the prevalence of Black college students' appraisal/evaluation processes for such parent and peer ERS. These concepts were examined using a mixed method approach with separate analytical samples. Study 1 included an analytic sample of 252 Black undergraduates from various universities and colleges across the United States. In Study 1, I examined how peer and parent ERS messages (e.g., racial pride, cultural socialization, preparation for racial bias, and racial denial messages), conjointly and separately, impacted the adjustment and psychosocial well-being of Black undergraduates. Hierarchical linear regression revealed that Black undergraduates whose parents encouraged them to get involved in aspects of Black culture (i.e., parental cultural socialization) reported stronger racial/ethnic identity affirmation when they also received preparation for racial bias messages from peers. In contrast to this positive conjoint effect between parent and peer ERS messages, Study 1 also revealed that Black students were more likely to show less racial/ethnic identity exploration and affirmation when their peers encouraged them to separate from Black culture (i.e., peer racial denial). To add more narrative to these novel findings, I conducted a second study that employed qualitative methods to capture Black college students' experience and appraisal of parent and peer ERS. In Study 2, I interviewed seven (n=7) self-identifying Black undergraduates from two University of California (UC) Institutions: UC Los Angeles and UC Davis. I conducted semi-structured interviews with references to recent, racially charged events in the United States to unearth the lived experiences and evaluative thoughts of Black students who had previously received messages from parents and peers about what it means to be Black. Findings were derived from five themes representing the content and appraisal of parent and peer ERS messages. Black emerging adults spoke more about their parents' and peers' messages of racial bias and racial denial than any other form of ERS, but when it came to appraising those messages, Black undergraduates were more inclined to either reluctantly accept or adamantly question messages from their parents. Black students' critical demeanor toward their parents' ERS messages had much to do with their parents' tendencies to deliver messages either geared toward accepting racial mistreatment or avoiding mistreatment through racial code-switching tactics. Altogether, findings from this dissertation expand what is known about ERS communication to Black emerging adults in college in terms of who it is coming from, how it is viewed, and its effectiveness in protecting Black life.

The dissertation of Carlisa Bertha Simon is approved.

Walter R. Allen

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Sandra H. Graham, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

Dedication

To my late grandmother, Bertha B. Simon. Thank you for always supporting my dreams, I am honored to carry your name.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The prevalence of racism and prejudice has a persistent and daunting history in the United States. Marginalized populations (i.e., Black, indigenous, immigrant, and minority communities) all contend with the power dynamic of race that was previously established during a time where the color of your skin determined the quality of your life. Remnants of this power imbalance that leaned more heavily toward white supremacy still remain today through microaggressions, stereotypes, and racial inequity. A common practice in many marginalized communities is the passing down of racial teachings meant to develop a protective awareness of one's race in various social settings. These teachings relate to what many race and ethnicity scholars refer to as ethnic-racial socialization, which is the transmission of messages about race and ethnicity from adults to children (Hughes et al., 2006).

The study of ethnic-racial socialization spans back to the 1980s as Boykin and Toms (1985) sought to conceptualize a model of "Black child socialization" specifically for Black families. Prior to Boykin and Tom's (1985) work, social science research conducted on child socialization processes followed the patterns of the dominant White culture, paying little to no attention to the complex experiences of Black youth. Identifying the error in generalizing socialization research centered on White populations to the lived experiences of Black families, Boykin and Toms (1985) offered a theoretical framework that provided insight into how Black parents negotiate preparing their children using either a mainstream, minority, or Black cultural socialization approach. These three categories of socialization messages were called the "triple quandary" (Boykin & Toms, 1985). Mainstream socialization valued the standards set in place by the dominant White American culture. On the other hand, Black cultural socialization was centered on the promotion of strong ethnic pride and appreciation of one's ethnic group. Unique to these two approaches was minority socialization, which fostered the awareness of racism and discrimination in lieu of one's minority status (Boykin & Toms, 1985). Expanding on Boykin and Toms' (1985) conceptual framework of socialization, several scholars have provided more detailed explanations of the different ways that parents engage their children in the process of ethnic-racial socialization (Caughy, Randolph, & O'Campo, 2002; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Stevenson, 1994; Thornton, M. C., 1997; Thornton et al., 1990).

Current Messages of Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Hughes and Chen (1997) conceptualized ethnic-racial socialization using different terminology to represent its key components: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. Hughes and Chen (1997) describe cultural socialization as a process of intentionally educating children about the history, culture, and traditions of Black/African Americans. Preparation for bias socialization takes on a more preventative tone as it describes the practice of making children aware of and prepared for potential discriminatory or racist treatment toward them because of their race/ethnicity. Providing a sense of coping mechanisms for such negative racial encounters is also an important component of preparation for bias socialization. Similarly, the promotion of mistrust relates to the installment of skepticism toward members of the outgroup.

As we see in Hughes and Chen's (1997) study and in several studies published thereafter, many tend to follow Boykin and Toms' (1985) conceptualization of cultural socialization. However, scholars have separated the concept of minority socialization into two different terms: preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust. Both terms stem from the idea that minority youth are treated poorly because of their otherness. Yet, the difference lies in the use of coping methods. Parents who utilize preparation for bias socialization typically provide youth with coping methods for when racism or discrimination does happen, while those who used promotion of mistrust socialization simply teach their children not to trust individuals of another racial/ethnic group. In addition, the terms “egalitarianism” and “silence about race” were introduced as alternative terminology to Boykin and Toms’ (1985) “mainstream socialization” (Hughes, Smith, Stevenson, Rodriguez, Johnson, and Spicer, 2006). Egalitarianism socialization refers to the emphasis of equality among racial/ethnic groups, while silence about race centers a colorblind ideology, in which children are taught not to notice race.

Recently, there have been more expansions of ERS dimensions and measurements that capture the many ways it manifests in different ethnic/racial groups, ages, and social context. For instance, the *Race Socialization Questionnaire-teen* (RSQ-t; Lesane-Brown, Scottham, Sellers, Nguyên, 2006), was specifically developed to capture Black teens’ perceptions of the frequency in which they received socialization messages and engaged in racial socialization activities with their parents. So, while the RSQ-t keeps many of the previously established dimensions of ERS as subscales: Racial Barriers subscale (i.e., preparation for racial bias), Egalitarian subscale, and Behavioral Socialization subscale (i.e., cultural socialization); the RSQ-t also offers three new dimensions/subscales of ERS that speak to aspects of the Black experience. The three new subscales are labeled Racial Pride Messages, Self-worth Messages, Negative Messages. The Racial Pride Message subscale measures how often the child’s parent emphasize the importance of having pride in being Black. The Self-worth Messages subscale measures how often the child’s parent attempts to instill feelings of individual self-worth. Finally, the Negative Messages subscale measures how often the child’s parents emphasize and endorse negative stereotypes about Black people as a race. Given its wide range of socialization messages that centers Black life and culture, the RSQ-t and its dimensions are a cornerstone of this dissertation project.

Parents from a diverse range of racial/ethnic groups have been studied as communicators of ERS, capitalizing on the different types of messages that teach youth about race and what it means to be a member of the racial/ethnic group (Simon, 2021). An abundance of previous research has explored parents' motive for using ERS , child perceptions of how often ERS messages are communicated to them (Hughes, Witherspoon, et al., 2009; Hughes, Hagelskamp, et al., 2009), and the differential effect for how often certain ERS messages are communicated (Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Saleem & Lambert, 2016; Simon, 2018). However, as the field of ERS becomes oversaturated with studies centered on the parent-child dyad for ERS, there is a growing need for research that expands the developmental range for whom ERS matters, the notion of who or what serves as an effective agent of ERS, and why. For example, as youth transition into the developmental stage of emerging adulthood, the increased amount of time spent with friends proposes peers as equally impactful agents of ERS. Recent research demonstrates that youth who received messages of cultural socialization frequently from both their families and peer groups were more likely to report lower depressive symptoms, less loneliness, better school engagement, more involvement with peers in academic activities, and greater school belonging than youth who experienced incongruence between family and peers in the rate at which they received messages of cultural socialization (Wang & Benner, 2016).

Thus, this dissertation offers a nuanced investigation of parent and peer ERS by investigating its frequency and effects specifically for Black emerging adults in college. To provide more narrative around the effects of parent and peer ERS, this dissertation offers a second study that uncovers the prevalence of Black college students' appraisal/evaluation processes for parent and peer ERS, a novel area in the field of ERS research. Together, these two studies expand what is known about ERS communication to Black emerging adults in college in terms of who its coming from, how its viewed, and its effectiveness in protecting Black life. It is important for Black parents and families to understand how their ERS communication affects the younger generations in their households. The notion of highlighting Black young adults' appraisal/evaluation of ERS raises the possibility of developing new and more relevant forms of ERS. Considering the original theoretical conception of ERS centering the Black family, this nuanced investigation of parent and peer ERS has implications for Black social health and wellness across generations. Knowledge gained from this research could serve as a basis for program and/or intervention development that educates parents on how to both socialize their children and incorporate their children's appraisal processes for the ERS messages they send.

STUDY 1

The Conjoint Effect of Parent and Peer ERS on Black Undergraduate Psychosocial Health & Wellbeing

The Conjoint Effect of Parent and Peer ERS on Black Undergraduate Psychosocial Health & Wellbeing

For decades, the Black American experience has been associated with the fight against discrimination and racism. From slavery, the industrial revolution, Jim Crow segregation, and the current occurrences of state-inflicted violence on Black bodies, Black people have had to learn to navigate different environments where discrimination and racism might be present for reasons ranging from survival to social acceptance. A great deal of previous research has uncovered the negative effects that discrimination and racism have on Black youth and adults such as depressive symptoms (English et al., 2014; Saleem & Lambert, 2016; Seaton et al., 2008), anxiety (Banks et al., 2006), weakened racial/ethnic identity (Butler-Barnes et al., 2018), less academic motivation (Chavous et al., 2008), poor academic achievement (Powell & Arriola, 2003), and aggressive/problem behaviors (Brody et al., 2006; Simons et al., 2006). With the threat of racial discrimination showing such pervasive effects for Black youth and young adults, Black parents carry a unique burden in protecting their children. A common technique in protecting Black youth from the harms of discrimination and prejudice centers the practices of parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization (ERS), which can be described as the explicit and sometimes implicit communication parents use to help their children understand the meaning of their race within the broader sociopolitical structure of the United States (Hughes & Chen, 1997).

Research overwhelmingly points to Black parents as the primary communicators of ERS and rightfully so considering the unique and systemic challenges that Black families have historically faced and continue to face today (Lesane-Brown, 2006; Priest et al., 2014; Simon, 2020). In fact, in a nationally representative sample of 2,107 Black parents, almost two out of three (62%) reported that they said or did things to racially socialize their children (Thornton et al., 1990). Likewise, in a more recent study of 156 parents to adolescents, Williams and Banerjee (2021) found that Black parents reported sending more messages of ERS to their adolescent children than that of White parents and Latinx parents.

For younger children and adolescents, Black parents are consistently studied as the main agents of ERS as youth in earlier stages of development rely more on their immediate caregivers for moral guidance, formulation of beliefs and ideas, and exposure to identity-building factors (Erikson, E. H., 1968). Different forms of ERS – such as cultural socialization, the practice of intentionally celebrating, learning about, and being emersed in one's culture, and preparation for racial bias, the act of informing and warning youth of the dangers of discrimination in the likely chance that it occurs to them – have shown to not only protect Black youth from the negative effects of experiencing and/or witnessing racial mistreatment, but also to fortify Black youths' sense of racial/ethnic identity (Butler-Barnes et al., 2018), self-esteem (Neblett et al., 2008), and academic performance (Hughes, Witherspoon, et al., 2009; Neblett et al., 2006). There is no shortage of research that credits parents as the most effective communicators of ERS. However, developmental research has suggested that as youth transition out of adolescence into their emerging adulthood, parents lose some of their influence and emerging adults are more likely to re-negotiate or challenge lessons taught to them in earlier stages of development, especially when new voices of ERS start to emerge (Arnett, 2000; Tran, 2019).

Outside of parents (Butler-Barnes et al., 2018; Caughy, Nettles, & Lima, 2011; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Thornton, 1997; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990), research has highlighted other influential agents of ERS, which include, but are not limited to immediate family members (i.e., siblings, grandparents; Chancler et al., 2017), adults at school (Aldana & Byrd, 2015; Byrd, 2019), and peer groups (Nelson et al., 2018; Wang &

Benner, 2016). While the peer group becomes essential in helping the individual solidify their own sense of personal identity (Erikson, E. H., 1968), scholars in identity development claim that “increased autonomy from the family and greater influence of peer groups” aids in the development of ethnic-racial identity especially for racial/ethnic minorities (Nelson et al., 2018, p. 2166; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Seemingly so, the parents’ role of teaching their adolescents the meaning of their racial/ethnic identity may shift to or be shared with the peer group as youth move into the next developmental stage of emerging adulthood. Although this phenomenon in which a caregiver’s power of influence starts to open up to their children’s peers has been well-studied in developmental research (cite), parents and peers as shared or conflicting communicators of ERS is an area of promising research that the field knows little about.

Agents of ERS: Parents and Peers

Although the messages of ERS can be shared among these various members of an individual’s proximal context, previous literature has largely studied parents as the main agents of ERS. Rightfully so, the study of ERS originated with parents of Black youth, as they have a unique burden in preparing their children for the racial mistreatment evident throughout the United States’ long-standing history with Black populations.

However, an emerging area of promising research in ERS centers peers as influential agents of ERS. Peers play an important role in an individual’s development (Ladd, 1990). Friendships not only foster a sense of security and support as youth conquer different developmental milestones, but they also help youth learn valuable social skills (Newcomb & Bagwell, 1995). In that peers are major sources of support for youth throughout their development, it is reasonable to speculate that they may also serve as socializing agents for one another. Particularly for ethnic/racial minorities, peers may exchange messages intended to encourage and protect each other from potential mistreatment. In fact, a handful of studies to date have identified peers as impactful ERS agents compared to caregivers (Nelson et al., 2018; Wang et al., 2015; Wang & Benner, 2016).

Wang and colleagues (2015, 2016) have pioneered the study of peer and parent ERS by taking on a comparative approach. Wang, Benner, and Kim's 2015 study introduced a cultural socialization measure they developed that captured Latinx, Asian American, and Black young adults' perceptions of how often their family and peers sent messages of socialization toward their heritage culture (i.e., racial pride messages) or mainstream culture (egalitarian messages). After finding that peers endorsed messages of heritage and mainstream culture at similar rates as families, Wang and Benner (2016) investigated further by studying the effect of parent and peer ERS congruence. These researchers highlighted the influence on academic adjustment and socioemotional well-being based on the level of agreement between the type of ERS message and the frequency for which families and peers communicate it. In a sample of 236 Latinx and Black 8th graders, three groups emerged for both heritage and mainstream socialization: (1) a congruently low group that represented adolescents whose families and peers both sent messages at low rates, (2) an incongruent group that describes youth who either received frequent messages from peers and less frequent messages from parents or vice versa, and (3) a congruently high group that includes youth whose families and peers both sent messages at high rates. One of the main findings revealed that youth who received messages of heritage culture frequently from both their families and peers (i.e. congruently high group) were more likely to report lower depressive symptoms, less loneliness, better school engagement, more involvement with peers in academic activities, and greater school belonging than youth in the congruently low and incongruent group (Wang & Benner, 2016). From this study, it is evident that agreement between the familial and peer context is important when it comes to ERS. However, what other effects would emerge if researchers examined peer and family messages outside of heritage and mainstream culture?

A recent study by Nelson, Syed, Tran, Hu, and Lee (2018) surveyed a diverse sample of 934 incoming undergraduates about the racial pride, racial barriers, and promotion of mistrust messages they received from parents and peers and their desire to explore or be committed to their racial/ethnic identity. Interestingly, racial barrier ERS from peer and parent had different effects on racial/ethnic identity. Peers communicating messages of racial barriers was predictive of greater ethnic exploration for undergraduates, while parents communicating the same ERS message was associated with lower ethnic commitment and exploration (Nelson et al., 2018). Researchers speculate that this differential effect could be driven by the way young adults view messages from their parents versus from their friends. In other words, friends sharing messages of racial barriers could be viewed as supportive or as an appeal for solidarity, whereas parents sharing messages of racial barriers could be seen as authoritative and off-putting to the receiver.

ERS for Black College-Going Populations

Research has shown that the communication of ERS increases as youth get older, pacing their development and exposure to a "more complex adult world" (Reynolds et al., 2017, p. 2203) or "consciousness-raising environments" such as college (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014, p. 28). Indeed, college is a complicated environment especially for Black emerging adults. The college context serves as a backdrop to the autonomy-building nature of emerging adulthood in which Black students are able "to more deeply explore, elaborate, negotiate messages about ethnicity and race communicated by family and peers" (Nelson et al., 2018, p. 2167). Amid the excitement of forging new friendships and experiencing the vibrancy of campus life, research suggests that Black students are more susceptible to the burden of navigating underrepresentation, alienation (Alford, 2000; Harper, 2013), and experiences of racial injustice on predominantly White campuses (Nora & Cabrera, 1996). In contrast, one might assume that Black students at historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) are less vulnerable to such oppressive social conditions. However, studies show that Black students at HBCUs certainly experience race-related marginalization and discrimination, but in non-college settings (Blackmon et al., 2016; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Nonetheless, college presents an environment in which all Black students are more attuned and affected by “marginalization-related stress” (Blackmon et al., 2016, p. 552). If left unattended, marginalization-related stress coupled with the academic pressure to (over)achieve can lead to burnout, withdrawal, poor mental health, and even suicidal ideation (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Arria et al., 2009; Blackmon et al., 2016; A. L. Thomas & Brausch, 2020).

Parental support and ethnic-racial socialization prior to and during college has been shown to not only combat the negative effects of discrimination and alienation in college, but also lead to better adjustment (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Nora & Cabrera, 1996). Using a sample of 141 Black undergraduates, Anglin and Wade (2007) found that students who reported receiving parental ERS into their emerging adulthood showed better social and academic adjustment in college and a more developed multiculturally-centered racial/ethnic identity. Even more central to the college experience for Black students are their friends (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; A. L. Thomas & Brausch, 2020). Peer support in college helps Black students navigate academic hurdles, negotiate aspects of their identity development, and exude increased confidence in their abilities (Davis, 1994; Harper, 2007). Surprisingly, the few studies that have examined the supportive aspects of peer ERS have only included adolescents; no studies to date have tested this dynamic for Black emerging adults in college. Given the significance of peer support in college and the established impact of parent ERS for Black college students, studying ERS from parents and peers in this domain is overdue.

The Current Study

The purpose of the current study was to examine the frequency of peer and parent ERS messages and how this paired communication of different ERS messages (e.g., racial pride, cultural socialization, preparation for racial bias, and racial denial) work together to impact the adjustment and psychosocial well-being of Black students in a college setting. Extending previous research, I was interested in understanding the paired effect of similar types of ERS from parents and peers as well as the paired effect of alternating combinations of different types of ERS from parents and peers (e.g., parent cultural socialization + peer preparation for racial bias and so on). Several studies have examined the impact of parental ERS on Black youth spanning from early childhood (e.g., as early as 12 months; Blanchard et al., 2019; Doucet et al., 2018) to late adolescence (e.g., as old as 17 years; Caughy et al., 2002; Hughes, 2003; McHale et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2009; Richardson et al., 2015; Saleem & Lambert, 2016). However, there is a dearth of research that explores the impact of parent ERS on Black emerging adults in college and an even more prominent lack of research on the influence of peers as impactful ERS agents. The current study addressed this gap in the literature by exploring the ways that Black student adjustment and well-being in college is shaped by messages of ERS shared with them from their parents and from their peers. In addition, this study goes a step further and investigates how ERS messaging from parents and peers compliment and/or conflict with each other to affect Black student adjustment and well-being. I am particularly equipped to observe more congruence and/or conflict between parent and peer ERS messages in this study with the use of a niche understanding of Black ERS messaging. For example, instead of using the commonly studied four dimensions of ERS discussed in the general introduction of this dissertation (i.e., cultural socialization, preparation for bias, egalitarianism, and promotion of mistrust; Hughes & Chen, 1997), this study employed four adapted dimensions of ERS specific to the Black community: cultural socialization, preparation for racial bias, racial pride, and racial denial.

In this study, cultural socialization emphasizes involvement in cultural activities and behaviors that affirm one's Black identity, while racial pride messaging encourages one to be proud of their Blackness from their appearance to their self-concept. On the other hand, messages of racial denial emphasize disparaging stereotypes about Blackness and advise Black students to separate themselves from those stereotypes. Lastly, this study examined preparation for bias socialization as cautionary messages about the likelihood of racial discrimination and mistreatment. With these dimensions of ERS, the current study was guided by the following research questions and hypotheses:

1. How will the frequency of perceived cultural socialization, racial pride, preparation for bias, and racial denial messages differ by communicator (e.g., a parent and fellow Black college peer)?
    a. According to previous studies highlighting parent and peer ERS (Nelson et al., 2018; Wang & Benner, 2016), I hypothesized that there will be no difference in how often Black college students recall receiving messages of racial pride and preparation for bias from their parents and college peers. However, I expect that Black college students will recall receiving more messages of cultural socialization from their parents. Since the racial denial dimension is a new,

    understudied concept in the ERS literature, I do not have a hypothesis on how its frequency will differ between parents and college peers.

2. How will peer and parental ERS conjointly predict aspects of adjustment and well-being (e.g., positive college adjustment, racial/ethnic identity, depressive symptoms, and loneliness) for Black undergraduates?
    a. Developmental research suggests that agreement between proximal developmental settings, such as family and peer groups, supports healthy and optimal outcomes for adolescents (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2007). I use this finding to hypothesize that frequent communication from parents and peers for racial pride and cultural socialization will predict positive college adjustment, positive racial/ethnic identity exploration and affirmation, fewer depressive symptoms, and less loneliness.
    b. Nelson and colleagues (2018) found that although parent cultural socialization predicted strong racial/ethnic identity formation for students of color, only preparation for bias messages from *peers* were associated with strong racial/ethnic identity. I use these findings to hypothesize that parent cultural socialization and peer preparation for bias conjointly will predict positive outcomes of college adjustment and racial/ethnic identity and fewer symptoms of depression and loneliness.

Study 1 Method

Participants and Procedures

Based on the effect sizes and parameters of previous research with similar study designs, my target sample size was 250 participants from nine of the 10 University of California institutions that offered undergraduate programs (i.e., UC-Berkeley, UC-Davis, UC-Merced, UC-Santa Cruz, UC-Santa Barbara, UC-Los Angeles, UC-Riverside, UC-Irvine, UC-San Diego). This target sample would provide more than 96% power for a univariate linear regression with two test predictors. Using a convenience sampling approach, I leveraged my academic networks within the UC-HBCU initiative (cite) across the different UC institutions to recruit Black undergraduates. Digital flyers and email solicitation were sent to fellow graduate student instructors and teaching assistants, faculty members that taught African American studies courses, Black student affairs offices, as well as Black student-led organizations at each of the nine UC campuses. Across a time period of six months (May 2021 to October 2021) data were collected from a sample of 352 participants in the UC system using Qualtrics. However, in the early stages of data cleaning, I noticed many inconsistences and markers of invalid data. The inconsistencies that arose indicated errors and insecure parameters used in the recruitment process allowing survey access to be compromised by individuals not eligible for the survey. As a result, 320 surveys had to be discarded for one or more of the following reasons: inappropriate responses in text field variables, data points from the same IP address, attempts to take the survey more than once, completion time taking over three hours, and patterns in the Likert scale responses indicating a lack of attentiveness. The exclusion of such a large amount of data, left this study with 32 quality surveys – far too small of a sample to run any statistical tests.

To increase my sample, I initiated a second round of survey data collection employing Qualtrics Research services and their online panel to collect a national sample of no less than 200 Black undergraduates, half from a Historically Black College/University (HBCU) and half from a Predominantly White Institution (PWI). Inclusion criteria were (1) must identify as Black, (2) must be actively enrolled at an institution that grants bachelor's degrees, and (3) be between the ages 18-25 years. Qualtrics Research services was able to obtain a sample of 220 Black undergraduates from across the U.S.

Altogether, combining the two data collection steps, the final sample included 252 Black American undergraduates 18-25 years of age. About 62% of participants indicated that they attended a HBCU (n= 156), 25% reported attending a PWI (n= 64), and 13% were specifically from Non-Black UC institutions as they were recruited in the initial stage of data collection (n=32). Although there were qualitative differences in the culture and climate of the different types of schools surveyed (e.g., HBCU, PWI, and Non-Black UC institutions), I had no specific hypotheses about institution type. Preliminary analyses showed no significant interactions between institution type and the main study variables in this dissertation. Moving forward, institution type was included in the analyses only as a covariate. The sample description of the 252 participants that follows is collapsed across institution type.

Demographic Characteristics

Participants responded to a series of demographic items. For gender, participants were asked how they would describe their gender and given a checklist of various gender identities to select (e.g., Man, Woman, or Non-binary/Third Gender). 82% of the sample identified as a Woman (n=208), 16% identified as a Man (n=40), and 2% identified as Non-binary/Third Gender. All participants were asked to identify their racial/ethnic background by selecting one of the listed responses: “Black/African American”, “Black/Caribbean”, “Black/African”, “Black/Latinx”, “Black/Multiracial”, and “Not listed”. The “Not listed” option was an open-response item allowing participants to write in how they describe themselves. Most participants identified as Black/African American (77%, n = 193), with fewer identifying as Black/African (8%, n = 20), Black/Caribbean (10%, n = 26), Black/Latinx (2%, n = 5), and Black/Multiracial

(3%, n = 8). Participants were asked to identify their school classification and four responses were included: “Freshman”, “Sophomore”, “Junior”, and “Senior”. 23% (n=57) of the sample indicated that they were Freshman, 31% were Sophomores (n=77), 23% (n=58) were Juniors, and 23% (n=60) were Seniors. Lastly, the survey asked participants to give an account of what percentage of households in the neighborhood(s) they grew up in were also “Black”. A multiple-choice response list was included with the following options: “None or hardly any (less than 10%)”, “A few (10-20%)”, “Some (20-40%)”, “About Half (40-60%)”, “More than half (60-80%)”, and “All or almost all (80-100%)”. 42% (n=106) reported that the neighborhood(s) they grew up in was majority Black, while 58% (n=146) reported that the neighborhood(s) they grew up in were less than or about half Black. Full demographic information of the sample is shown in Table 2.

Parent/Guardian Demographic Factors

Subjects were asked to report the primary parent/childhood guardian they communicate with the most using a multiple-choice response list (e.g., Mother, Father, or Not listed). The “Not listed” option allowed for an open-response item, in which participants could write in the type of guardian they communicated with the most. Participants reported their mother as the parental guardian they communicated with the most (79%, n = 198), while 15% (n = 37) reported their father and 7% (n = 17) reported a grandparent, aunt, or guardian as the person they communicated with the most. Furthermore, participants were asked to identify the racial/ethnic background of the parent/child guardian with whom they communicated the most using the same categories utilized for self-reported race/ethnicity. The majority of the sample (65%) indicated that the parent/child guardian they communicated the most with was “Black/African American” (n=165), 26% reported their most communicated with guardian as either “Black/Caribbean” (n=28), “Black/African” (n=33), or “Black/Latinx (n=6), while 9% reported guardians as non-Black (Table 2). Respondents were also prompted to report their parents’ highest educational attainment by choosing between five options (i.e., did not complete high school, a high school diploma or equivalent, some college, received their bachelor’s degree, received a graduate/higher level degree). 6% (n=16) did not complete high school, 22% (n=55) received a high school diploma or equivalent, 27% (n=67) received some college education, 25% (n=62) received a bachelor’s degree, and 21% (n=52) received a graduate or higher-level degree.

Peer Demographic Factors

Participants were asked to report how many friends they had at their college who also identified as “Black” by selecting one of the listed responses: “1-2”, “3-4”, “5-7” “7+”, or “None”. Forty-one percent of participants reported having over 7 Black friends in college (n=103), while 59% reported having less than 7 Black friends in college (n=149). As some of the items in the survey required participants to consider only one of their Black friends, subjects were asked to write in the first name of one Black individual that they have become friends with since starting at their respective institutions. Participants were asked to describe the gender of their Black friend by selecting one of the listed responses: “Man”, “Woman”, “Non-binary/Third Gender”. In addition, respondents were asked to further identify how they would describe the racial background of their Black friend by selecting one of the listed responses: “Black/African American”, “Black/Caribbean”, “Black/African”, “Black/Latinx”, “Black/Multiracial”, and “I’m not sure” (see Table 2).

Relevant Context to Consider for this Sample

Data collection for this study began in May 2021 and concluded in December 2021. This timing encompasses a period in which many institutions were transitioning from completely remote instruction (with adherence to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic) to in person and/or hybrid instruction. Therefore, the context in which respondents answered items related to their family and friends must be considered through the lens of virtual interactions or the lens of navigating a return to their family household as opposed to living in their institution's housing accommodations.

Measures

Parent and Peer Racial Socialization Scale Development

Many racial socialization measures, such as the commonly used ethnic-racial socialization scale by Hughes and Chen (1997), focus on and are developed for youth from many ethnic/racial identities, causing them to be more general in nature. To get the most relevant and detailed experiences of Black college students, the current study utilized the Race Socialization Questionnaire-teen (RSQ-t; Lesane-Brown, Scottham, Sellers, Nguyên, 2006), as it was specifically developed with Black individuals in mind, meaning the items are more relevant to the Black American experience. The RSQ-t used six subscales comprised of 24 items to measure Black adolescents' perceptions of how often they receive socialization messages and participated in socialization activities with their parents. The response format was a three-point Likert scale (0 = *Never*; 1 = *Once or twice*; 2 = *More than twice*): Racial Pride messages, Racial Barrier messages, Egalitarian messages, Self-worth messages, Negative messages, and Behavioral Socialization (see Appendix 1). The *Racial Pride Messages* subscale (α = .71) consists of 3 items measuring the frequency of verbal messages that emphasize the importance of having pride in being Black (e.g., "Told you that you should be proud to be Black"). The *Racial Barrier Messages* subscale (α = .70) consists of 4 items measuring how often parents sent verbal messages that emphasize the fact that their child will face obstacles as a result of being Black (e.g., “Told you that Blacks have to work twice as hard as Whites to get ahead”). The *Egalitarian Messages* subscale (α = .66) consists of 4 items measuring the frequency of verbal messages that highlight the importance of interracial equality (e.g., “Told you that you can learn things from people of different races”). The *Self-worth Messages* subscale (α = .73) consists of 3 items measuring the extent to which parents communicated messages that intend to instill feelings of self-worth, aside from appearance (e.g., “Told you that skin color does not define who you are”). The *Negative Messages* subscale (α = .67) includes 5 items measuring the frequency of verbal messages that endorse negative, stereotypical notions about Black people as a group (e.g., “Told you to dress in ways that are less ‘Black’”). Finally, the *Behavioral Socialization* subscale (α = .74) consists of 5 items that measure the extent to which parents participate in activities or behaviors in support of the Black community and culture (e.g., “Gone with you to organization meetings that dealt with Black issues”).

Previous studies have used the RSQ-t solely in Black American adolescent samples (i.e., 11 to 17 years of age; Neblett et al., 2008, 2009) and primarily with parent-child communication. To ensure the RSQ-t was suitable for Black 18-25 year old college students, content validity was achieved by consulting members of the target population through focus groups (Vogt, King, and King, 2004). In the Fall of 2020, three 60-minute virtual focus groups were conducted with Black undergraduates at the University of California, Los Angeles (N=8, each focus group containing 2-3 participants). All focus group participants were compensated with $20 via the money-sharing app of their choice (e.g., Zelle, Venmo, Cashapp). Focus group discussions were transcribed and analyzed to validate and support necessary construct modification for the RSQ-t to fit the dynamics of ERS in Black emerging adulthood. Lastly, suggested modifications from focus group participants were discussed among colleagues in my Research Apprenticeship Course (RAC).

Focus group data revealed two main suggestions: (1) RSQ-t is the best measure to use for this study's population of interest as its items tapped into phenomena that reflect the Black experience; (2) the wording of items needed to be reconstructed to capture reflections of past parental ERS and current peer ERS for Black college students entering their emerging adult years. In addition, RAC colleagues suggested that the Likert scale be modified from a three-point scale to a four-point scale (1 = *Never*, 4 = *Often*) to allow for more variability in how often an individual might have received messages of ERS. It was also suggested that item stems be changed to reflect a more advisory tone (e.g., "told you to dress in ways that are less 'Black'" was altered to "*you should* dress in ways that are less 'Black'"). After taking into consideration the suggestions of the focus groups and research team, the following modifications were applied to the RSQ-t to ensure that it would be appropriate for an undergraduate sample and properly prompt participants to recount messages of ERS from parents *and peers*:

1.) Prompts, question stems, and items were reworded to inquire about respondents' reflection of past messages of parental ERS and current accounts of college peer messages of ERS (see Appendix 1, Table 3).

2.) Each item was altered by adding "you should" in front of the item's substantive content to reflect more of an advisory tone.

3.) The three-point Likert scale used in the original RSQ-t was altered to a four-point Likert scale to offer more range for how often Black undergraduates recalled receiving ERS messages from parents and peers.

The RSQ-t's aforementioned reliability scores have remained consistent in other studies focused on Black/African American teens (Arnett, 2000). For the current study, however, two separate exploratory factor analyses were conducted to observe how the items for Parent ERS and Peer ERS loaded onto factors considering the current study's research aims. An EFA was used with principal axis factoring extraction and the varimax rotation because it was most effective at consolidating the least number of factors accounting for the majority of the common variance. The number of factors was determined by factor eigenvalues above 1.0. After conducting a EFA for both Parent ERS and Peer ERS, a four-factor solution was found to be the most optimal for both, accounting for 54.2% of the variance for Parent ERS and 57.4% of the variance for Peer ERS.

EFA analyses suggested that items from two of the originally identified subscales in the RSQ-t (Self-worth messages subscale, Egalitarian messages subscale) did not hold up under a specific factor loading, but instead loaded on multiple factors, making it difficult to determine which factor each belonged to. As a result, a total of six items, three items from the Self-worth message subscale and three items from the Egalitarian messages subscale, were excluded. Eighteen items (out of 25) had moderately strong factor loadings (above .45; small coefficients under .10 were suppressed) across the remaining four subscales for Parent ERS and Peer ERS: Racial Pride messages (3 items), Racial Barrier messages (4 items), Behavioral Socialization (9 items), and Negative Messages (2 items). To best describe the full nature of each selected RSQ-t dimension, three of the maintained subscales were relabeled: "Behavioral Socialization" was relabeled as "Cultural Socialization", "Racial Barriers" was relabeled as "Preparation for Bias", and "Negative Messages" was relabeled as "Racial Denial Messages".

The first factor in this study's Parent ERS scale was Parent Cultural socialization (eigenvalue = 7.93) accounting for 31.7% of the variance with nine items (α=.88). Next, the second factor, Parent Racial Pride messages (eigenvalue = 2.71) accounted for 10.8% of the variance and consisted of three items (α=.75). The third factor, Parent Racial Denial messages (eigenvalue = 1.31) accounted for 5.2% of the variance and consisted of two items (α=.77). Lastly, the fourth factor, Parent Preparation for Bias messages (eigenvalue = 1.07) accounted for 4.3% of the variance and consisted of four items (α=.76). All items were averaged so that higher scores of each of these subscales indicated more frequent delivery of ethnic racial socialization messages from parents (See Appendix 1, Table 4 for Parent ERS EFA estimates).

The first factor in this study's Peer ERS scale was Peer Cultural socialization (eigenvalue = 11.92) accounting for 41.1% of the variance with nine items (α=.89). The second factor, Peer Racial Pride messages (eigenvalue = 2.36) accounted for 8.1% of the variance and consisted of three items (α=.82). The third factor, Peer Racial Denial messages (eigenvalue = 1.26) accounted for 4.4% of the variance and consisted of two items (α=.72). Lastly, the fourth factor, Peer Preparation for Bias messages (eigenvalue = 1.10) accounted for 3.8% of the variance and consisted of four items (α=.79). See Appendix 1, Table 5 for Peer ERS EFA estimates.

Adapted Parental RSQ-t. In this study, the adapted RSQ-t subscales were developed to capture how often Black undergraduates recalled receiving and engaging in various ethnic racial socialization messages and behaviors from their parents when they reflected on their teen years (13-17 years). For Parental ERS, students were given the following prompt:

> "Sometimes, guardians talk to their kids about race and what it means to be Black. Below are several statements guardians sometimes tell their kids. Please reflect back to your teen

> years (13-17 years) before you entered college and tell us on the scale below how often your **[Self-identified Parent Guardian]** communicated each of these statements".

Adapted Peer RSQ-t. Earlier in the survey, respondents were asked to name one Black peer that they have become close to while in college. For this portion of the survey, I prompted Black students to respond to ERS items with that one Black college peer in mind as follows:

> "Sometimes, friends talk to one another about race and what it means to be Black. Below are several statements friends sometimes tell each other. Please think about your friend **[self-identified Black college peer].** Respond to the following statement with **[self-identified Black college peer]** in mind and tell us how often they communicated each of these statements.

Eighteen items from the four subscales for Parent and Peer ERS were presented to respondents: Racial Pride (3 items; "You should be proud to be Black"), Preparation for Bias (4 items; "Black people have to work twice as hard as White people to get ahead"), Cultural Socialization (9 items; "You should get involved in activities that focus on things important to Black people"; "You should read books about Black people"), and Racial Denial (2 items; "It is best to act in ways that align with 'Whiteness'"). Items were averaged so that higher scores on each subscale signified more frequent socialization from parents and college peers.

Adjustment and Well-being Outcomes

Racial/Ethnic identity. ERI development was assessed using the Roberts and colleagues (1999) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), a 12-item version of the original 22-item MEIM developed by Phinney (1992). This version of the MEIM includes a 5-item exploration subscale (e.g., "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs"; α=.80) and a 7-item affirmation/belonging subscale (e.g., "I have a clear sense of my ethnic back-ground and what it means to me”; α=.92). Typically, there are four subscales as part of the MEIM: affirmation/belonging, racial/ethnic identity achievement, ethnic behavior, and other-group orientation (see Appendix 1). However, in this study, I am only interested in how racial socialization impacts self-reflective racial/ethnic identity outcomes specific to Black individuals (i.e., exploration, affirmation/belonging). Therefore, the racial/ethnic behavior and other-group orientation subscales were not included. Respondents were asked to address each item using a 4-point Likert scale from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 4 (*Strongly agree*). Items were averaged so that higher scores on each subscale signified stronger sense of racial/ethnic identity development.

Positive college adjustment. To examine adjustment to college, this study utilized 17 items from the modified 55-item Student Adaptation to College Questionnaire (SACQ; LaBrie et al., 2015). The original version of the SACQ was developed by Baker and Siryk (1989) and consisted of 67 items assessing students’ academic, personal, social, and institutional adjustment to college. In the current study, 17 items were used to measure an individual’s positive adjustment to college (e.g., “I am adjusting well to college”, “I am quite satisfied with my academic situation at college”; α=.93). Participants were requested to respond on a 5-point scale to the degree to which the statement applies to them at the time (see Appendix 1).

Depressive symptoms. Ten items were drawn from the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977) as an abbreviated scale to assess college students’ depressive symptoms (α=.74). On 4- point Likert scale ranging from 1= *rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day)* to 4 = *almost all of the time (5-7 days)*, students were asked to report how often they experienced symptoms (e.g., “I was bothered by things that usually don’t bother me", "I felt depressed") during the week prior to taking the survey (see Appendix 1). Items were averaged so that higher scores represent more depressive symptoms.

Loneliness. An 8-item modified version of the UCLA Loneliness Scale (ULS-8; Hays & DiMatteo, 1987) was used to assess loneliness (α=.74). Russel, Peplau, and Ferguson (1978) developed the original UCLA Loneliness Scale (ULS-20) with 20 items among a sample of college students. However, the ULS-8 was used in this study for brevity and its appropriateness for an undergraduate sample. Using a 4-point Likert scale from 1 = *I never feel this way* to 4 = *I often feel this way*, participants reported the degree to which they felt lonely ("I feel isolated from others"). Items were averaged so that higher scores represent more feelings of loneliness.

Data Analytic Plan

First, I conducted preliminary analyses to examine similarities and differences in ERS messages across parent and peer communicators through bivariate correlations and comparisons of mean differences among the eight types of ethnic racial socialization messages: parent cultural socialization, parent racial pride, parent preparation for bias, parent racial denial, peer cultural socialization, peer racial pride, peer preparation for bias, and peer racial denial. I also examined bivariate correlations between ERS messages and student demographic characteristics (i.e., gender, ethnic background, parent education, neighborhood racial/ethnic composition).

In the primary analyses, I used a variable-centered approach (Wang & Benner, 2016) to investigate the impact of parent and peer ERS on Black student adjustment and well-being in college. Adjustment and well-being were captured through five outcome variables: racial/ethnic identity exploration, racial/ethnic identity affirmation/belonging, college adjustment, loneliness, and depressive symptoms. All the analyses controlled for Black students' demographic characteristics (i.e., gender, ethnic background, parent education, and neighborhood ethnic/racial composition) and the type of school each student attended (i.e., HBCU, non-HBCU).

In the variable-centered approach, the analyses were conducted in two steps. First, I examined main effects of parent and peer ERS messages on Black students' psychosocial well-being and then, introduced interaction terms between parent and peer ERS to the models. Linear interaction effects were tested to capture potential complex relationships between parent-peer ERS and Black student psychosocial well-being. When significant interaction terms arose, I used simple slope analyses to further interpret the extent to which parent ERS messages were linked to Black students' psychosocial well-being when peer ERS was low (i.e., one standard deviation below the mean) or high (i.e., one standard deviation above the mean). Sixteen interactions terms were created and tested as predictors on each of the five outcome variables for psychosocial well-being. All analyses were conducted in SPSS Statistics Version 27. Although missing data were minimal for primary variables (0% to 2%), missing data was coded using "-99" and handled through listwise deletion.

Results

Preliminary Explorations

During the preliminary data analysis phase, I obtained descriptive statistics for the key independent and dependent variables which can be found in Table 6. I examined bivariate correlations among the eight types of ERS: parent cultural socialization, parent racial pride, parent preparation for bias, parent racial denial, peer cultural socialization, peer racial pride, peer preparation for bias, and peer racial denial. The eight different types of ERS were moderately related with each other (r_{range}: .25 to .70). I also compared mean differences between parent and peer ERS messages using paired sample *t*-tests. Results indicated higher racial pride socialization from parents (*M* = 3.14, *SD* =.84) than that with Black peers (*M* = 3.28, *SD* =.73), *t* (236) = 2.80, *p* < .01. Results from the paired sample *t*-tests also indicated higher racial denial socialization from parents (*M* = 2.34, *SD* =1.02) than that with Black peers (*M* = 2.19, *SD* =.98), *t* (236) = 2.38, *p* < .05. However, there were no significant differences in cultural socialization with parents (*M* = 2.72, *SD* =.72) or with Black peers (*M* = 2.78, *SD* =.78, *t* (236) = -1.60, *p* = .112) and there were no significant differences in preparation for bias socialization with parents (*M* = 3.04, *SD* =.74) or with Black peers (*M* = 2.97, *SD* =.80), *t* (236) = 1.50, *p* = .135.

Parent ERS, Peer ERS, and Black Student Psychosocial Well-being

To address the second research question in this study, hierarchical linear regression was used to investigate the effect of parent and peer ERS on Black student adjustment and well-being. Covariates include ethnicity, gender, school type (i.e., HBCU, non-HBCU), student classification, neighborhood ethnic composition, and parent educational attainment. Coefficient estimates are presented in Table 8-10. Due to the magnitude of variables included in the regression models, coefficient estimates with a p-value less than 0.01 were considered significant, while estimates with a p-value less than 0.05 were consider marginally significant. In addition, a post-hoc power analysis was performed on the tested interactions under a moderate effect size ($f^2 = 0.38$). The post-hoc power analysis found that this study's sample yield power of around 0.9 in testing the hypotheses concerning both parent and peer ERS variables.

Regression models were tested with covariates (i.e., gender, ethnicity, parent education, school type, neighborhood, and classification). However, none of the covariates predicted factors related to Black student adjustment and well-being. So, an additional regression model was conducted without the covariates. In the second regression model with no covariates, several main effects emerged for both parent and peer communication of ERS, separately. Greater racial denial messages from peers alone were linked to less racial/ethnic identity exploration (β = -.26, p < .01) and racial/ethnic identity affirmation and belong (β = -.29, p < .01). Greater messages of racial pride coming from parents was linked to more positive college adjustment for Black undergraduates (β = .25, p < .01). Likewise, peers were also important voices of racial pride socialization: greater communication of racial pride from peers was linked to fewer symptoms of depression (β = -.19, p < .01).

Sixteen interaction terms were tested on the five dependent variables of adjustment and well-being in separate hierarchical linear regression models (See Table 8-10). A stricter p-value threshold also applied to interaction terms, in that coefficient estimates with a p-value less than 0.01 were considered significant, while estimates with a p-value less than 0.05 were consider marginally significant. A significant interaction effect emerged for parent cultural socialization and peer preparation for bias messages on racial/ethnic identity affirmation/belong. Simple slopes analyses are shown in Figure I.1. These analyses indicated that greater parental cultural socialization was linked to stronger racial/ethnic identity affirmation and belonging when peers communicated messages preparing each other for racial bias more frequently (β = .60, p < .01; Figure I.1). I observed a similar, but marginal effect on Black undergraduates' racial/ethnic identity exploration and college adjustment: greater parental cultural socialization may suggest a greater sense of racial/ethnic identity exploration and college adjustment when peers communicated messages of preparation for bias frequently ($\beta_{ethnic\ identity\ exploration}$ = .43, p < .05; $\beta_{college\ adjustment}$ = .37, p < .05).

Summary of Findings

The current study addressed two main research objectives: (1) to test the difference in frequency of perceived ERS messages from two communicators (e.g., a parent and fellow Black college peer) and (2) to predict the conjoint effect of peer and parental ERS on Black undergraduates' adjustment and well-being in college.

For the first research objective, results from a paired sample t-test revealed a significant difference between parent and peer communication of ERS messages. Parents were more likely than peers to deliver consistent messages emphasizing the importance of Black racial pride. However, when compared to peers, parents were also more likely to deliver messages endorsing negative stereotypes of the Black community (i.e., racial denial socialization). There were no significant differences in the delivery of cultural socialization or preparation for bias between parents and peers.

Hierarchical linear regression was carried out to explore the main and interaction effects of parent and peer ERS on Black undergraduate adjustment and well-being. First, results revealed direct associations between parent ERS and adjustment and well-being outcomes: when parents promoted frequent conversations about racial pride, Black undergraduates were more likely to report more positive college adjustment. Peers' endorsement of Black racial pride also had positive effects: when peers promoted Black racial pride, Black undergraduates were more likely to experience fewer symptoms of depression. On the other hand, when peers promoted negative stereotypes of the Black community through racial denial socialization, Black undergraduates reported weaker racial/ethnic identity exploration and belonging.

A unique aspect of this study involved an investigation of how parent and peer ERS work together to impact the adjustment and well-being of Black undergraduates in a college setting. Through interaction terms tested in hierarchical linear regression, results showed that greater parental cultural socialization was linked to stronger racial/ethnic identity affirmation/belonging when peers consistently communicated about preparation for racial bias.

Discussion

This study expands the concept of ERS, both in terms of who is considered an impactful communicator and its prominence during a lesser studied developmental era for Black individuals – emerging adulthood. This is an important contribution to the literature as past research mainly focused on the impact of parent ERS on early, middle, and late adolescent health and well-being. The unique and innovative adaptation of established ERS measures (i.e., RSQ-t, (Lesane-Brown et al., 2006) allowed for a thorough examination of Black undergraduates' perceived ERS messaging from parents and peers. Findings showed that cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages were communicated by parents and peers at similar rates, further establishing the phenomena that peers participate in forms of ERS alongside parents. Additionally, Black student racial/ethnic identity seemed to be particularly impacted by a combination of different ERS messages from parents and peers.

An ERS Phenomena

The familial setting has been the center of ERS research. Past scholarship has offered several nuances of the ways that parents deliver messages of ERS to their children (Anderson et al., 2018; Hughes et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2009; Reynolds et al., 2017). While we know a great deal about parents as ERS communicators, the influence of additional agents of ERS is understudied. Peers, for instance, have a unique role as ERS agents alongside parents since messages from peers tend to carry a different weight compared to messages from parents (Nelson et al., 2018; Wang & Benner, 2016). However, to establish such a phenomenon in the Black community, this study tested whether parents and peers sent messages of ERS at comparable rates. The first hypothesis proposed that there would be no difference in how often Black college students recalled receiving messages of racial pride and preparation for bias from their parents and college peers but would recall receiving more messages of cultural socialization from their parents than from their peers. This hypothesis was not fully supported. Findings revealed that Black college students recalled receiving messages endorsing involvement in Black culture (i.e., cultural socialization) from their parents just as often as they received those messages from one of their close Black friends. Black students also reported receiving messages warning them about the likelihood of racial bias (i.e., preparation for bias) from their parents and fellow college peers at comparable rates, which partially support this study's first hypothesis. These finding align with several other studies that identify cultural socialization and preparation for racial bias as the most frequently communicated dimensions of ERS used by Black/African American parents (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes, Witherspoon, et al., 2009; Neblett et al., 2009; Simon, 2020) and it adds that Black peers also communicate about these dimensions just as often.

Interestingly, when it comes to more explicit messages about being proud of one's Black identity or denying one's Blackness, parents and peers diverged. Results showed that parents are more likely to communicate polarizing, perhaps conflicting, messages regarding one's Black identity such as Black racial pride or Black racial denial. I speculate that this finding has more to do with its tone of delivery. In other words, messages of racial pride and racial denial are more explicit in nature (e.g., "you should be proud of being Black" or "you should show up in ways that are 'less Black'"). The authoritative relationship that parents can share with children, regardless of age, may call for more of a directness that racial pride or racial denial messages entail. Since racial denial is a new dimension of ERS and past research typically lumps racial pride dimensions into cultural socialization, there is no known mechanism, to my knowledge, that can explain why parents are more likely to send this direct and explicit message of racial denial or racial pride ERS when compared to peers.

The Dynamic Combination of Parent & Peer ERS

A key objective of this study was to investigate the conjoint effect of parent and peer ERS on Black undergraduate adjustment and well-being. Consistent with my second hypothesis, I found the conjoint association between frequent parental cultural socialization and peer preparation for bias to be beneficial to Black undergraduates' sense of ethnic identity development. In other words, Black college students reported having a stronger sense of racial/ethnic identity affirmation and belonging when they received consistent encouragement from parents to be involved in cultural activities during their adolescent years (age 13-17) in addition to consistent and current conversations about racial barriers with their friends in college.

In a recent study using 934 college students of color, Nelson and colleagues (2018) found a similar association between parent cultural socialization and peer preparation for bias and its effect on student racial/ethnic identity commitment (i.e., racial/ethnic identity affirmation/belonging). Nelson et al. (2018) asserted that parent cultural socialization may offer a grounding for understanding one's personal identity in an incubator of identity development such as college while preparation of racial bias from peers can be seen as a form of solidarity and support – a way of "having your friend's back" in the constant battle against racial mistreatment. Here, it seems that when this dynamic combination of grounding with parental cultural socialization is coupled with the solidarity of peer preparation for bias, Black students cultivate a stronger sense of racial/ethnic identity affirmation/belonging. The consistency of this finding in previous literature and within the current study highlights a broader and important dynamic relationship between parent and peer ERS for the field. What are the characteristics of this parent-to-child cultural socialization and peer-to-peer preparation for racial bias dynamic that provides this optimal outcome on ethnic identity affirmation/belonging? Does this conjoint effect vary when the ERS communication comes primarily from the mother or father? What about ERS from peers in other context outside of the college environment?

The current study reflects the perspectives of a majority female sample in several ways: 82% of the study sample were woman-identifying with mothers reported as their primary socializing agent (e.g., 83% receive ERS communication from their mothers) and a Black peer group primarily made up of women (e.g., 70% reported having female friends). Previous studies have certainly highlighted the difference in the ways that adolescent boys and girls are socialized with girls being more likely to receive messages of cultural socialization and racial pride while boy are more likely to be prepared for racial bias (Bowman & Howard, 1985; A. J. Thomas & Speight, 1999). On the other hand, many studies with older, young adult samples have found no differences in types of parent ERS communication between young men and women (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Neblett et al., 2008; Nelson et al., 2018; Tran, 2019). This pattern in the research could suggest that Black young adult samples, regardless of gender, receive more of a range of ERS messages as they find themselves in more diverse context growing out of adolescence (i.e., the workplace, school, the military). The current study found no gender differences in parent or peer ERS. With a majority female sample, it is difficult to determine if gender gap in previous ERS research diminishes with an older sample. However, with a majority female sample, we can only speculate that Black women in college leverage the parent cultural socialization they received in their late adolescence and to balance out the preparation for racial bias they currently receive from their friends. To further explore this parent and peer ERS dynamic between young men and women, it is important for future studies to strive for a representative sample.

One contribution of this study is the inclusion of racial denial as a tested dimension of ERS. While scholars have found a negative outcome for African American adolescents who reported receiving racial denial ERS from their parents (Neblett et al., 2008), to my knowledge this is the first study to explore racial denial ERS from peers. Although marginal, when juxtaposed with consistent parent endorsement of cultural socialization, peer racial denial ERS suggested positive college adjustment in Black undergraduates. How could these polarizing messages of ERS suggest a positive outcome? I speculate that these different ERS messages from parents and peers may create an internal conflict for Black emerging adults in college that ushers in a space for them to appraise and prioritize certain forms of ERS depending on the context. For instance, an individual that is advised by their college peers to disengage with aspects of Black culture (i.e., peer racial denial) while being encouraged by their parents to participate in Black cultural activities (i.e., parental cultural socialization) may find themselves questioning or challenging the position of their parents and/or peers. In this case, conflict can be healthy as it presents Black students with the opportunity to develop their own perspective.

With a lack of information on the appraisal processes that Black students employ for the ERS they receive from parents and peers; I am limited in speculating what mechanism could explain the effect of parent cultural socialization and peer racial denial on Black undergraduates' positive college adjustment. However, this dissertation includes a second, qualitative study that follows up with the unique findings of Study 1. Study 2 focused on how parent and peer ERS is evaluated (i.e., challenged, questioned, agreed upon, or disagreed upon) by Black college students; hereby referred to as "Ethnic-Racial Socialization Appraisal".

Study 1 Tables and Figures

Table I.1 Demographic Characteristics of Participants

	N	*%*
Gender	252	
Woman	208	82.5
Man	40	15.9
Non-binary/Third Gender	4	1.6
Race/Ethnicity	252	
Black/African American	193	76.6
Black/Caribbean	26	10.3
Black/African	20	7.9
Black/Latinx	5	2.0
Black/Multiracial	8	3.2
Student Classification	252	
Freshman	57	22.6
Sophomore	77	30.6
Junior	58	23.0
Senior	60	23.8
School Type	252	
HBCU	156	61.9
Non-HBCU	96	38.1
% Same Neighborhood – Black	252	
Majority Black (60-100%)	106	42.1
About Half (40-60%)	40	15.8
Less than Half (< 40%)	106	42.1

Table I.2 Parent & Peer Demographic Characteristics

	N	%	*M*	*SD*
Parent Most Communicated With	252			
Mother	208	82.5		
Father	40	15.9		
Other (grandparent, aunt, uncle, guardian, etc.)	4	1.6		
Parent Education	252			
Did not complete high school	16	6.3		
A high school diploma or equivalent	55	21.8		
Some college	67	26.6		
Received their bachelor's degree	62	24.6		
Received a graduate/higher level degree	52	20.6		
Parent Race/Ethnicity	252			
Black/African American	165	65.5		
Black/Caribbean	28	11.1		
Black/African	33	13.1		
Black/Latinx	6	2.4		
White	7	2.8		
Asian	3	1.2		
Native American/American Indian	1	0.4		
Multiracial	7	2.8		
Other	2	0.8		
Black Peer Group Size	250		4.70	1.68
None	10	4.0		
Less than 7 peers	137	54.8		
More than 7 peers	103	41.2		
Ethnicity of Black Peer Most Communicated With	237			
Black/African American	170	71.7		
Black/Caribbean	26	11.0		
Black/African	20	8.4		
Black/Latinx	9	3.8		
Black/Multiracial	9	3.8		
Unknown	3	1.3		
Gender of Black Peer Most Communicated With	237			
Man	63	26.6		
Woman	168	70.1		
Non-binary/Third Gender	6	2.5		

Table I.3 Modified Parent/Peer RSQ-t (Post-Pilot Study)

Parent: Sometimes, guardians talk to their kids about race and what it means to be Black. Below are several statements guardians sometimes tell their kids. Please reflect back to your teen years (13-17 years) before you entered college and tell us on the scale below how often your **[Identified Parent]** communicated each of these statements.

How often has your **[Identified Parent]** communicated the following?

College Peer: Sometimes, friends talk to one another about race and what it means to be Black. Below are several statements friends sometimes tell each other. Please think about your friend **[self-identified Black college peer].** Respond to the following statement with **[self-identified Black college peer]** in mind and tell us how often they communicated each of these statements.

How often has your **[self-identified Black college peer]** communicated the following?

	Never	**Rarely**	**Occasionally**	**Often**
1. Black and White people should try to understand each other so they can get along.	○	○	○	○
2. You should dress in ways that show pride in your Black/African heritage.	○	○	○	○
3. Some people try to keep Black people from being successful.	○	○	○	○
4. You should have Black friends.	○	○	○	○
5. You should watch Black television shows.	○	○	○	○
6. The Black Lives Matter movement is very important to us.	○	○	○	○
7. You should get involved in activities that focus on things important to Black people.	○	○	○	○
8. People of other racial/ethnic groups think they are better than you because of their race.	○	○	○	○
9. You should dress in ways that are less “Black" (e.g. modifying hairstyles, dressing "professional").	○	○	○	○
10. It is best to act in ways that align with "Whiteness" (e.g., speaking "proper")	○	○	○	○
11. You should attend Black cultural events (i.e. plays, movies, concerts, museums).	○	○	○	○

12. Because of opportunities today, hard-working Black people have the same chance to succeed as anyone else.	○	○	○	○
13. You should try to have friends of all different races.	○	○	○	○
14. Black people have to work twice as hard as White people to get ahead.	○	○	○	○
15. It's important to celebrate traditional Black/African holidays and events (i.e. Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday, Kwanzaa, Juneteenth, Black History Month).	○	○	○	○
16. It's important to know Black history.	○	○	○	○
17. You should attend organizational/community meetings (i.e., protests, rallies, workshops, social gatherings) that deal with Black issues.	○	○	○	○
18. You should be proud to be Black.	○	○	○	○
19. COVID-19 has shown that racism against Black people is deep.	○	○	○	○
20. You should speak to/ acknowledge Black people (strangers) you pass on the street.	○	○	○	○
21. You can learn things from people of different races.	○	○	○	○
22. Some people may dislike you because of the color of your skin.	○	○	○	○
23. Never be ashamed of your Black features (i.e. hair texture, skin color, lip shape, etc.).	○	○	○	○
24. You should read books about Black people.	○	○	○	○
25. Black people can't trust the police.	○	○	○	○

Table I.4 Exploratory Factor Analysis for Parent ERS**:** Summary table of factor loadings

	Factor			
Items	**1 (Cultural Socialization)**	**2 (Racial Pride)**	**3 (Racial Denial)**	**4 (Preparation for Bias)**
5. You should watch Black television shows.	**.76***			
4. You should have Black friends.	**.73***			.38
24. You should read books about Black people.	**.68***			
17. You should attend organizational/community meetings (i.e., protests, rallies, workshops, social gatherings) the deal with Black issues.	**.66***			
11. You should attend Black cultural events (i.e., plays, movies, concerts, museums).	**.66***			
7. You should get involved in activities that focus on things important to Black people.	**.64***			
20. You should speak to/ acknowledge Black people (strangers) you pass on the street.	**.59***		.41	
15. It's important to celebrate traditional Black/African holidays and events (i.e., Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday, Kwanzaa, Juneteenth, Black History Month).	**.48***	.35	.35	
2. You should dress in ways that show pride in your Black/African heritage.	**.47***		.31	
18. You should be proud to be Black.		**.74***		
23. Never be ashamed of your Black features (i.e. hair texture, skin color, lip shape, etc).		**.65***		
16. It's important to know Black history.		**.57***	.36	
22. Some people may dislike you because of the color of your skin.			**.53***	
3. Some people try to keep Black people from being successful.			**.74***	
8. People of other racial/ethnic groups think they are better than you because of their race.			**.73***	

14. Black people have to work twice as hard as White people to get ahead.			**.67***	
9. You should dress in ways that are less "Black" (e.g., modifying hairstyles, dressing "professional").				**.79***
10. It is best to act in ways that align with "Whiteness" (e.g., speaking "proper").				**.78***

Table I.5 Exploratory Factor Analysis for Peer ERS**:** Summary table of factor loadings

	Factor			
Items	**1 (Cultural Socialization)**	**2 (Racial Pride)**	**3 (Preparation for Bias)**	**4 (Racial Denial)**
5. You should watch Black television shows.	**.66***	.35		
4. You should have Black friends.	**.72***			.38
24. You should read books about Black people.	**54.***	.31		
17. You should attend organizational/community meetings (i.e., protests, rallies, workshops, social gatherings) the deal with Black issues.	**.45***	.38		
11. You should attend Black cultural events (i.e., plays, movies, concerts, museums).	**.53***	.31		
7. You should get involved in activities that focus on things important to Black people.	**.51***			
20. You should speak to/ acknowledge Black people (strangers) you pass on the street.	**.68***		.41	
15. It's important to celebrate traditional Black/African holidays and events (i.e., Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday, Kwanzaa, Juneteenth, Black History Month).	**.55***	.35	.35	
2. You should dress in ways that show pride in your Black/African heritage.	**.60***		.31	
18. You should be proud to be Black.		**.77***		
23. Never be ashamed of your Black features (i.e. hair texture, skin color, lip shape, etc).		**.78***		
16. It's important to know Black history.	.31	**.66***		
22. Some people may dislike you because of the color of your skin.			**.75***	
3. Some people try to keep Black people from being successful.			**.60***	
8. People of other racial/ethnic groups think they are better than you because of their race.			**.61***	

14. Black people have to work twice as hard as White people to get ahead.			**.55***	
9. You should dress in ways that are less "Black" (e.g., modifying hairstyles, dressing "professional").		.32		**.68***
10. It is best to act in ways that align with "Whiteness" (e.g., speaking "proper").				**.74***

Table I.6 Legend for study variable abbreviations

Abbreviations	
Parent_CS	Parent Cultural Socialization
Parent_RP	Parent Racial Pride
Parent_PB	Parent Preparation for Bias
Parent_RD	Parent Racial Denial
Peer_CS	Peer Cultural Socialization
Peer_RP	Peer Racial Pride
Peer_PB	Peer Preparation for Bias
Peer_RD	Peer Racial Denial
R/E Id Belonging	Racial/Ethnic Identity Affirmation & Belonging
R/E Id Explore	Racial/Ethnic Identity Exploration
College Adjust	Positive College Adjustment

Table I.7 Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations among study variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Parent_CS	-												
2. Parent_RP	.41**	-											
3. Parent_PB	.42**	.56**	-										
4.Parent_RD	.37**	-.07	.13*	-									
5. Peer_CS	.67**	.33**	.40**	.34**	-								
6. Peer_RP	.44**	.52**	.50**	.07	.60**	-							
7. Peer_PB	.48**	.41**	.56**	.26**	.71**	.69**	-						
8. Peer_RD	.45**	-.06	.05	.58**	.40**	.10	.25**	-					
9. R/E Id Belonging	.14*	.35**	.34**	-.14*	.08	.29**	.18**	-.23**	-				
10. R/E Id Explore	.20**	.24**	.31**	-.07	.17**	.22**	.22**	-.16*	.82**	-			
11. College Adjust	.24**	.41**	.37**	-.01	.23**	.28**	.25**	.05	.57**	.43**	-		
12. Depressive Symptoms	-.10	-.10	-.03	.03	-.08	-.17**	-.08	-.03	-.04	-.00	-.24**	-	
13. Loneliness	.09	-.06	-.01	.22**	.08	-.03	.03	.17**	-.13*	-.08	-.17**	.63**	-
Range	1-4	1-4	1-4	1-4	1-4	1-4	1-4	1-4	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-4	1-4
Mean	2.68	3.28	3.05	2.33	2.78	3.14	2.97	2.20	3.83	3.70	3.82	2.42	2.36
SD	0.74	0.74	0.74	1.04	0.78	0.84	0.80	0.99	1.02	0.93	0.78	0.55	0.62
N	249	249	249	249	236	236	236	236	245	245	245	245	245

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$

Table I.8 Hierarchical linear model results for well-being outcomes: depressive symptoms and loneliness

	Depressive Symptoms		**Loneliness**	
	β	SE β	β	SE β
Model 1				
Intercept	2.31	.20	2.65	.22
Gender – Female[a]	.19	.10	.04	.11
Gender – Non-binary/Third Gender[a]	.24	.40	.40	.45
Ethnicity – Black/Caribbean[b]	.05	.13	-.05	.15
Ethnicity – Black/African[b]	.10	.15	-.04	.17
Ethnicity – Black/Latinx[b]	.21	.30	.20	.34
Ethnicity – Black/Multiracial[b]	.23	.22	-.18	.24
School Type	.06	.09	-.02	.11
% Black Neighborhood	.01	.03	.02	.03
Parent Education	-.01	.03	-.05	.04
School Classification	-.03	.04	-.04	.04
Model 2				
Parent Cultural Socialization **(Parent_CS)**	-.11	.09	-.05	.10
Parent Racial Pride **(Parent_RP)**	-.05	.08	.05	.09
Parent Prep for Bias **(Parent_PB)**	.08	.07	-.02	.08
Parent Racial Denial **(Parent_RD)**	.04	.05	.10	.06
Peer Cultural Socialization **(Peer_CS)**	.15	.09	.10	.10
Peer Racial Pride **(Peer_RP)**	-.19**	.07	-.06	.08
Peer Prep for Bias **(Peer_PB)**	-.00	.08	-.01	.09
Peer Racial Denial **(Peer_RD)**	-.03	.06	.07	.07
Model 3				
Parent_CS x Peer_CS	.15	.13	-.12	.14
Parent_CS x Peer_RP	-.22	.13	-.05	.14
Parent_CS x Peer_PB	.05	.13	.15	.15
Parent_CS x Peer_RD	-.13	.13	-.15	.10
Parent_RP x Peer_CS	-.16	.16	-.08	.18
Parent_RP x Peer_RP	-.06	.12	.04	.13
Parent_RP x Peer_PB	.18	.12	.14	.14
Parent_RP x Peer_RD	.04	.10	.05	.11
Parent_PB x Peer_CS	-.20	.13	-.11	.14
Parent_PB x Peer_RP	.15	.11	.03	.12
Parent_PB x Peer_PB	-.09	.15	-.21	.16
Parent_PB x Peer_RD	.03	.08	-.09	.09
Parent_RD x Peer_CS	-.03	.09	.09	.10
Parent_RD x Peer_RP	.11	.08	.16	.09
Parent_RD x Peer_PB	.02	.09	-.06	.10
Parent_RD x Peer_RD	.02	.05	.01	.06

[a] Black/African American reference group

[b] Male reference group, $^{**}p \leq .01$, $^{*}p \leq .05$

Table I.9 Hierarchical linear model results for ethnic identity affirmation/belonging and exploration

	Ethnic Identity			
	Affirmation/Belonging		Exploration	
	B	SE β	β	SE β
Model 1				
Intercept	3.80	.33	3.86	.31
Gender – Female[a]	.15	.17	.04	.16
Gender – Non-binary/Third Gender[a]	-.05	.67	.12	.64
Ethnicity – Black/Caribbean[b]	.00	.22	.03	.21
Ethnicity – Black/African[b]	-.04	.26	-.13	.24
Ethnicity – Black/Latinx[b]	.04	.50	.40	.48
Ethnicity – Black/Multiracial[b]	-.06	.36	-.21	.35
School Type	-.37	.16	-.21	.15
% Same Neighborhood – Black	.01	.04	-.04	.04
Parent Education	-.01	.05	-.03	.05
School Classification	.01	.06	.06	.06
Model 2				
Parent Cultural Socialization **(Parent_CS)**	.34	.15	.29	.14
Parent Racial Pride **(Parent_RP)**	.19	.13	.06	.12
Parent Prep for Bias **(Parent_PB)**	.17	.12	.22	.11
Parent Racial Denial **(Parent_RD)**	-.01	.08	-.02	.08
Peer Cultural Socialization **(Peer_CS)**	-.15	.15	.02	.14
Peer Racial Pride **(Peer_RP)**	.11	.12	-.08	.12
Peer Prep for Bias **(Peer_PB)**	.07	.14	.11	.13
Peer Racial Denial **(Peer_RD)**	-.21**	.10	-.19**	.09
Model 3				
Parent_CS x Peer_CS	.00	.21	-.14	.20
Parent_CS x Peer_RP	-.20	.21	-.08	.20
Parent_CS x Peer_PB	.63**	.22	.47*	.21
Parent_CS x Peer_RD	.09	.15	.12	.14
Parent_RP x Peer_CS	-.20	.27	-.06	.26
Parent_RP x Peer_RP	-.06	.19	-.06	.19
Parent_RP x Peer_PB	.23	.20	.22	.19
Parent_RP x Peer_RD	-.07	.16	-.11	.15
Parent_PB x Peer_CS	-.05	.21	-.09	.20
Parent_PB x Peer_RP	-.07	.18	.01	.18
Parent_PB x Peer_PB	.01	.24	-.11	.23
Parent_PB x Peer_RD	.01	.13	.05	.12
Parent_RD x Peer_CS	.12	.15	.02	.14
Parent_RD x Peer_RP	-.15	.14	-.10	.13
Parent_RD x Peer_PB	-.06	.15	-.11	.15
Parent_RD x Peer_RD	-.01	.09	.02	.08

[a] Black/African American reference group

[b] Male reference group; $**p \leq .01$, $*p \leq .05$

Figure I.1 Interaction effect for parent cultural socialization and peer preparation for bias on ethnic identity affirmation/belonging

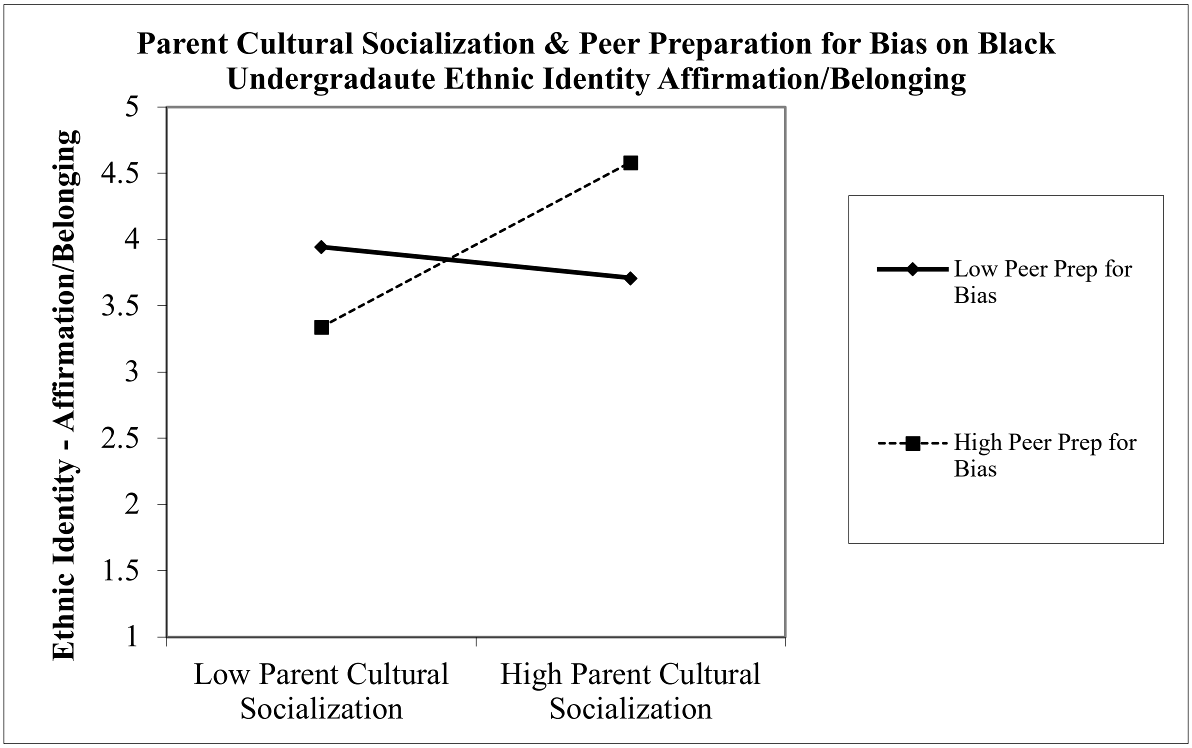


Figure I.2 Marginally significant interaction effect for parent cultural socialization and peer preparation for bias on ethnic identity exploration

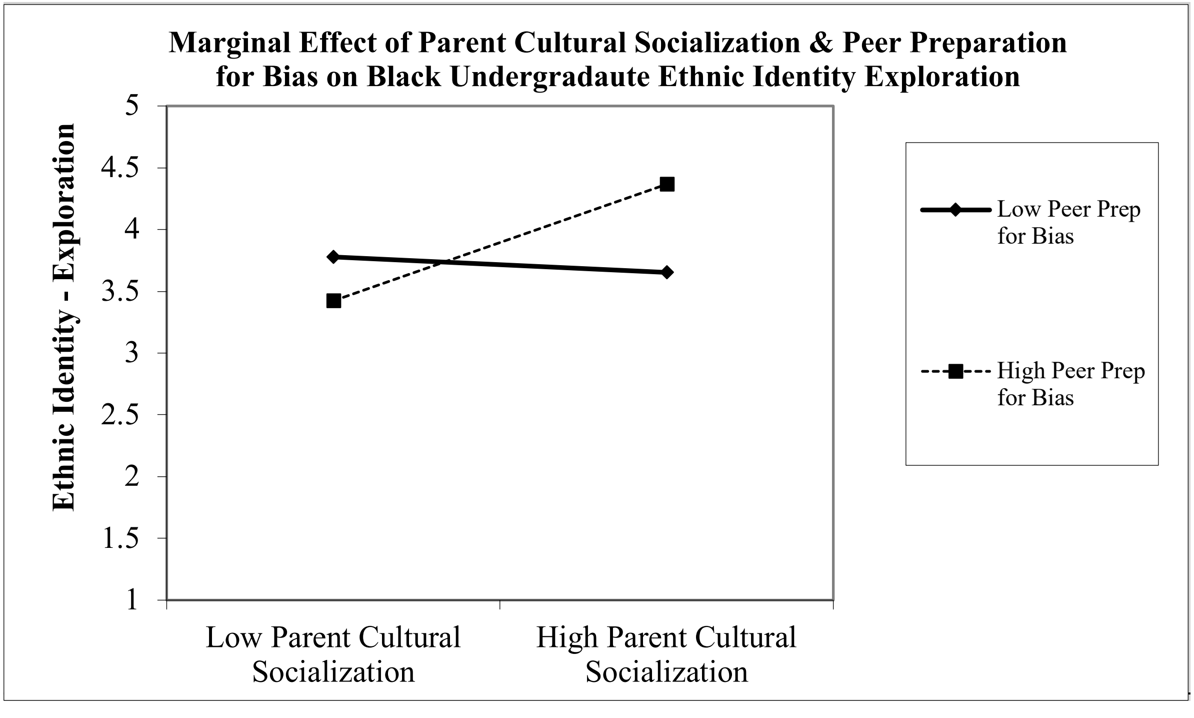


Table I.10 Hierarchical linear model results for positive college adjustment

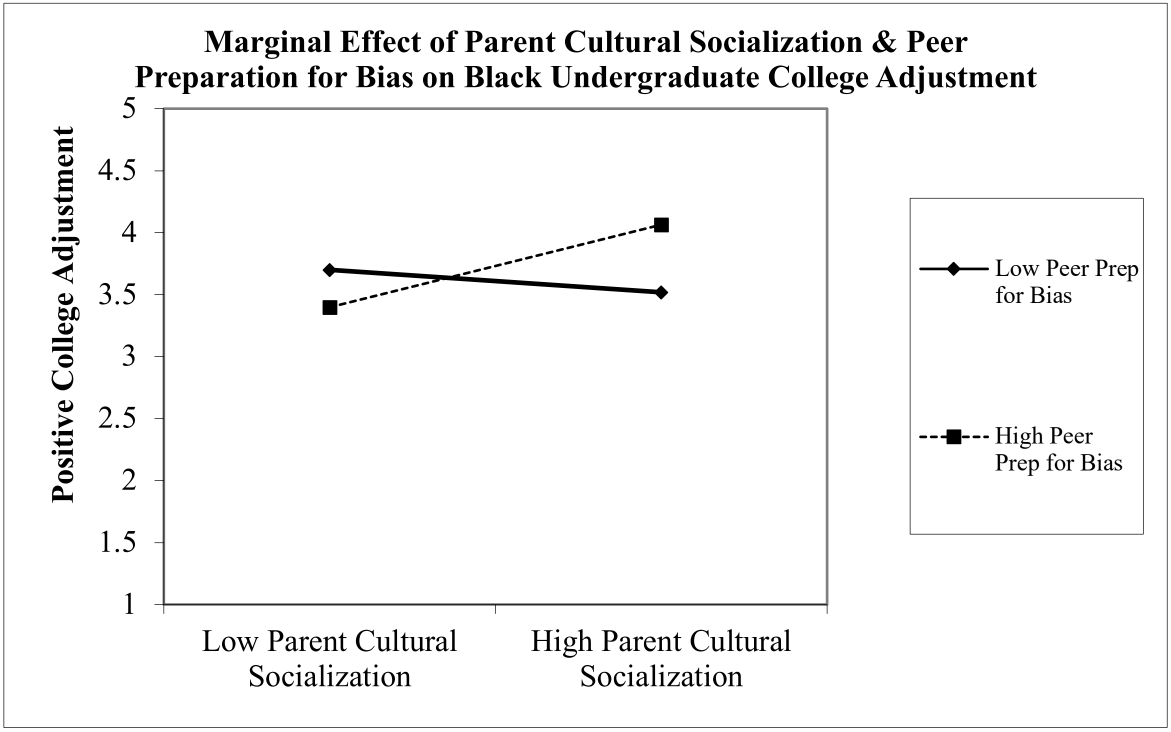
	College Adjustment	
	β	SE β
Model 1		
Intercept	3.66	.26
Gender – Female[a]	.10	.13
Gender – Non-binary/Third Gender[a]	.11	.53
Ethnicity – Black/Caribbean[b]	.04	.18
Ethnicity – Black/African[b]	-.13	.20
Ethnicity – Black/Latinx[b]	-.17	.40
Ethnicity – Black/Multiracial[b]	-.26	.29
School Type	.13	.12
% Same Neighborhood – Black	-.01	.03
Parent Education	-.01	.04
School Classification	-.01	.05
Model 3		
Parent Cultural Socialization **(Parent_CS)**	.16	.12
Parent Racial Pride **(Parent_RP)**	.25**	.10
Parent Prep for Bias **(Parent_PB)**	.10	.09
Parent Racial Denial **(Parent_RD)**	-.08	.07
Peer Cultural Socialization **(Peer_CS)**	.01	.12
Peer Racial Pride **(Peer_RP)**	.02	.10
Peer Prep for Bias **(Peer_PB)**	.06	.11
Peer Racial Denial **(Peer_RD)**	-.08	.08
Model 2		
Parent_CS x Peer_CS	-.29	.17
Parent_CS x Peer_RP	.01	.17
Parent_CS x Peer_PB	.38*	.17
Parent_CS x Peer_RD	.25*	.12
Parent_RP x Peer_CS	.10	.21
Parent_RP x Peer_RP	-.08	.15
Parent_RP x Peer_PB	-.02	.16
Parent_RP x Peer_RD	-.01	.13
Parent_PB x Peer_CS	.14	.17
Parent_PB x Peer_RP	-.06	.14
Parent_PB x Peer_PB	-.12	.19
Parent_PB x Peer_RD	-.05	.10
Parent_RD x Peer_CS	.16	.12
Parent_RD x Peer_RP	-.05	.11
Parent_RD x Peer_PB	-.07	.12
Parent_RD x Peer_RD	.04	.07

[a] Black/African American reference group

[b] Male reference group

***p* ≤ .01, **p* ≤ .05

Figure I.3 Marginally significant interaction effect for parent cultural socialization and peer preparation for bias on college adjustment



STUDY 2

A Qualitative Analysis of ERS Appraisal as a Potential Moderator of the Effects of Parent and Peer ERS

A Qualitative Analysis of ERS Appraisal as a Potential Moderator for the Effects of Parent and Peer ERS

Previous studies on racial socialization have largely focused on the factors that cause parents to share racial socialization messages with their children and overwhelmingly, the effects of parental ethnic-racial socialization on youth outcomes. A handful of studies have gone further to uncover a variety of moderators that strengthen or weaken the link between parental ERS and its effects, some of which include racial-ethnic identity, self-esteem, discrimination, and personal valuation of ERS messages (Hughes et al., 2009; Saleem & Lambert, 2016; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009; Tran, 2019). Personal valuation, however, has received much less attention in the field of ERS, but has been shown to play a significant role in the effectiveness of parental ERS (Tran, 2019). Tran (2019) claimed that an individual's personal valuation of ERS messages affects college students' sense of affect and subjective well-being over simply receiving frequent ERS messages from their parents. These findings inspired further investigation of personal valuation as a prominent meaning-making process for students. In addition to understanding to what degree Black college students "valued" parental messages of ERS, this study also investigated to what degree Black college students questioned, challenged, rejected, and/or accepted parental and peer ERS messages. Using theoretically informed qualitative methods, Study 2 offers a relevant and timely analysis of ERS for Black emerging adults in college. This study's unique focus on ERS appraisal allowed for a comprehensive examination of how Black college students engaged with siblings, the college environment, and media (i.e., television, social networking, and blogs) to appraise shared ERS messages from their parental figures and their Black peers in college.

ERS Appraisal

When it comes to ERS, researchers have used many approaches to uncover its nuances, including dyadic data from parents and youth to examine the penetration of ERS from parents to their dependents. In other words, researchers have compared reports of parents delivering ERS messages to reports of youth receiving ERS messages. Researchers found that parents reported communicating ERS messages at different rates than youth reported receiving them (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Marshall, 1995). Such a finding suggests that messages are not "passively received by youth" (Tran, 2019, p. 210). Messages of ERS can go through a process of evaluation and ultimately be accepted or rejected by youth. Stevenson (1994) developed the Scale of Racial Socialization (SORS-A) in which he assessed 200 teenagers' endorsement of ERS messages relative to the Black community as a proxy for personal beliefs (e.g., "families of Black children should teach them to be proud to be Black"). In Stevenson's (1994) scale validation study, the use of "should" statements was intended to extract the respondent's personal endorsement of ERS by understanding the degree to which they feel the Black community as a whole should engage in ERS. Stevenson (1994) found that factors pertaining to protective and proactive forms of ERS (i.e., racial barrier and racial pride messages respectively) were endorsed by youth as meaningful and important to the Black community as a whole.

Forgoing this indirect approach, Tran (2019) explicitly asked a racially diverse sample of 263 first-year undergraduates how valuable they felt ERS was in their life. First, students answered 14 ERS items addressing the frequency with which their parental guardians communicated messages of cultural socialization (5 items), preparation for bias (5 items), and promotion of mistrust (4 items). Then, for each of those 14 ERS items, a follow-up question was asked on a scale of 1-5 (1=not at all, 5=extremely), "How important or valuable do you feel your parent(s) doing the above action has been in your life?" (Tran, 2019, p. 212). A personal valuation (PV) subscale was created for each ERS dimension by averaging follow up items (cultural socialization PV, preparation for bias PV, promotion of mistrust PV). Lastly, participants were asked to respond to measures of life satisfaction, positive affect, and negative affect as indicators of their subjective well-being. Through a series of moderation analyses, Tran (2019) found that regardless of receiving frequent positive messages of cultural socialization from parents, young adults reported greater feelings of unhappiness, hostility, and lethargy when they reported low valuation of cultural socialization messages. This finding reveals that the extent to which an individual places value on a certain ERS message can overpower the intent of that same parental ERS message. This contradicts prior research that has found racial pride socialization being predictive of positive psychological outcomes for youth and young adults (Butler-Barnes et al., 2018; Hughes, 2003). However, if personal valuation of ERS has the power to challenge this established finding in the field, then what other effects could it have? Are there mechanisms through which youth evaluate or appraise ERS messages from caregivers? A handful of studies has revealed that young adults have specific beliefs about the ERS their parents communicate to them (Sanders Thompson, 1994; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009; Tran, 2019), but none has investigated *how* Black young adults in college come to appraise messages of ERS from their parents or any other socializing agents.

The Current Study

The purpose of this study was to understand the lived experiences of Black students who attend an institution in which they are underrepresented and who have previously received messages from parents and peers about what it means to be Black. Specifically, I was interested in students' thoughts, feelings, and appraisal of how useful such racial messages are and have been in their life. My focus on Black college students was motivated by a desire to better understand how aspects of the college context allow for Black emerging adults to reflect upon, challenge, question, and/or reinforce certain racial messages shared with them throughout their late adolescent years. College serves as an ideal environment to study appraisal as it has been regarded as an incubator for “ethnic-racial self-awareness” (Tran, 2019, p. 211). Since ERS is largely understood as protective against the negative effects of experiencing and/or witnessing racial-ethnic discrimination, it is important to understand the longevity and malleability of ERS messages for Black individuals. In other words, if reflected upon, can Black emerging adults identify ways in which they sustain or alter the ERS messages communicated to them to effectively navigate racial stressors? This is the first study, to my knowledge, to examine Black emerging adults’ appraisal and meaning-making processes of ERS; therefore, this study will take a qualitative approach to provide some foundational research on ERS appraisal as a new concept. The following research questions were addressed in Study 2:

(1) What types of messages do Black college students recall receiving from their parents and peers about what it means to be Black?

(2) How do Black college students make sense of and appraise these messages from parents and peers?

Due to its relative novelty in the literature, no hypotheses were formed for the above research questions; it was my expectation that the qualitative data obtained through interviews would sufficiently answer this study’s research questions and serve as a means to explain the aforementioned parent and peer ERS dynamic discovered in Study 1 of this dissertation.

Researcher Statement of Positionality

I identify as a Black/African American woman. I was raised in Atlanta, Georgia, the nation's 4th largest Black-majority city situated in a state that is majority White. This notion that most of Georgia's Black population is concentrated in Atlanta was often reinforced by my mother's warning when travelling outside of Atlanta, "Remember, once you leave Atlanta, you in confederate Georgia. Make sure you act right." My mother's warning to my four siblings and me suggests that entering into majority White spaces as a person of color was dangerous and that in order to be safe, we had to alter our behavior. My interest in parental messages of racial socialization is sparked by my mother's role in preparing my siblings and me for cross-racial encounters and the recent events of police brutality against Black lives. Watching the news and hearing reporters rake through the details of different encounters young Black men and women have with police reminds me of "the talk" that many Black families have with their children (Diaquol, 2017, p. 513). These conversations, although centered on law enforcement, are without a doubt racialized and can fall into the catalog of racial socialization messages. This talk about how to interact with racially biased police is deemed important in many Black households as it was in mine. Having spent most of my academic trajectory (pre-K through college) in majority Black environments, my first educational experience in a setting where I was a part of the underrepresented group was not until I started my graduate studies at UCLA. I received "the talk" all throughout childhood and I never questioned it, however the recent shift in my educational environment sparked my curiosity and has now influenced my research, which speak to my unique positionality in this work.

Method

Participants

Interviews were conducted with seven Black-identifying emerging adult undergraduates (60% female) between the ages 18 and 25. All interviewees were either actively enrolled or recently graduated students at two of the public universities in the University of California school system across Northern and Southern California. Initially, I proposed to interview a subsample of UC Black undergraduates that would have been from a larger sample of UC Black undergraduates for the aforementioned dissertation study – Study 1. This mixed method procedure would have allowed me to follow up a participant's survey responses with an in-depth interview at the end of the survey data collection. However, I experienced difficulties with obtaining a sample of quality responses. After a six-month period of active survey data collection, I collected only 32 qualified survey responses and less than 10% (n=3) expressed an interest in participating in a follow-up interview. This was not sufficient to address this dissertation's research questions. As a result, I employed Qualtrics Research Services to obtain additional quality data from a broader population. Per Qualtrics' survey distribution protocol, it was prohibited to ask for personal-identifying contact information for a follow-up interview. So, recruitment for interview participation was conducted separately. See Table II.1 for demographic information, including gender, racial/ethnic background, school classification, and parents' racial/ethnic background.

Procedures

Interviews were conducted between November 2021 and January 2022. Participants were recruited to the study through an advertising flyer posted in a Black student-lead/operated group chat hosted on a communication platform called "GroupMe" and through emails sent out via listserv databases maintained by the Black Student Unions at nine of University of California campuses. Eligibility requirements were outlined in the advertising flyer for individuals that attended a UC institution as an undergraduate, were between the ages of 18 and 25 years old, and self-identified as “Black”. Given the similarity in recruitment criteria, the 32 eligible participants from Study 1 may have signed up for an interview – these prospective participants were not screened out of the interview sample.

Students simultaneously expressed their interest and eligibility through a google-based screening form hyperlink that was included on the advertising flyer. The screening/interest form asked if they fell into the 18–25-year age range, their race/ethnicity, their gender, and the UC institution they attend. An equivalent balance of males and females were recruited for interviews to ensure the experiences of both genders were well represented. A sample size of 10 was initially selected and all 10 potential participants were contacted for an interview. Two selected individuals had limited availability that presented multiple time conflicts and one selected individual failed to respond. So, a final sample of seven (N=7) participants were interviewed. Selected participants engaged in a virtual, semi-structured interview for 60 minutes and were compensated with $20 for their participation via a money sharing app of their choice (e.g., CashApp, Zelle, Venmo). I conducted and audio-/video-recorded the interviews on Zoom. Interviews recordings were transcribed verbatim using the Zoom transcript function and further cleaned and edited by an undergraduate research assistant.

The interview protocol was influenced by an existing ethnic-racial socialization semi-structured interview protocol (Watford et al., 2021), existing research on appraisal processes, and question items from the adapted Race Socialization Questionnaire-teen (Lesane-Brown et al., 2006) used in Study 1. The adapted RSQ-t possesses dimensions of ERS that speak directly to the Black American experience. For example, the adapted RSQ-t inquiries about how often a respondent has heard their parent and their friends say the commonly used expression in the

Black community: “Black people have to work twice as hard as White people to get ahead” (Lesane-Brown et al., 2006). So, when discussing ERS from parents and peers, I asked participants to speak specifically to how those messages are associated with the Black American experience. In addition, I wanted to gather participants’ appraisal of the ERS messages they received. Due to the novelty of ERS appraisal as a concept, this study used the Scale of Racial Socialization (SORS-A; Stevenson, 1994), a measure that assesses Black adolescents’ beliefs about parental ERS to ask about Black undergraduates’ ERS appraisal. For instance, the SORS-A prompts a respondent to evaluate parent ERS messages with items such as “teaching children about Black history will help them to survive in a hostile world”. The SORS-A prioritizes how Black respondents process the ERS messages shared with them. Therefore, this study used SORS-A to develop interview questions related to Black undergraduates’ appraisal of parent and peer messages about race. I probed participants to speak about *how* the parental and peer ERS messages they have received “helps” or hinders them in different social settings. Before conducting the interviews, the protocol and interview prompts were pilot tested with a fellow Black graduate student to passively test its construct validity. See Table II.2 for base interview questions and protocol.

Data Analysis

I employed thematic analyses to identify themes of ERS and ERS appraisal in the data. Thematic analysis detects patterns that surface from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Considering the salience of the Black Lives Matter movement and the temperature of the racial climate in the U.S. at the time of the study, data were analyzed through a constructionist approach, which speculates how the sociopolitical context of society impact participants’ accounts of their experiences (Braun & Clarke as cited in Atkin, 2020). Data analyses also included an inductive and deductive coding approach. The inductive coding approach involves the process of naming new themes for areas of study that are particularly novel to the field, such as ERS appraisal or ERS from fellow Black peers. Considering the lack of a theoretical framework that identifies dimensions of ERS appraisal for Black emerging adults or the processes that contribute to peer ERS, an inductive scheme for analysis allowed coders to generate new themes based on the data. Deductive coding was performed to identify themes and patterns that aligned with existing codes linked to the ERS literature. Existing codes were developed from dimensions of ERS in the adapted RSQ-t such as parental cultural socialization, racial pride, preparation for bias, and racial denial, peer communication of such ERS (Wang & Benner, 2016), and an appraisal mechanism adapted from Tran (2019), which centered an individual's valuation of ERS teachings.

The current study followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phases of thematic analysis. The initial step recommends familiarizing oneself with the data. As the principal investigator and interviewer, I was already quite familiar with the data. The research assistant (RA) transcribed each interview, but she further familiarized herself with the data by reading over each interview before coding. Next, the RA and I generated initial codes to capture what types of ERS messages Black undergraduates receive from their parents and their peers and their thoughts/judgements of the messages they received from parents and peers. Codes were kept in a codebook as they were developed. The third phase involved searching for themes and assigning codes to emerging themes in the codebook. The coding of the data was guided by dimensions of peer and parent ERS in the adapted RSQ-t and an appraisal mechanism for ERS adapted from Tran (2019). So, when relevant, codes were organized into themes that related to types of ERS messages, who they came from (i.e., a parent, family member, peer), and how they appraised the ERS message recalled (i.e., acceptance, challenging, questioning, rejection).

Broader themes were reviewed in the fourth phase of thematic analysis by creating a word cloud in Dedoose (Figure II.1). In the fifth phase, titles and descriptions of themes were compared to each other and refined to align with the overall research questions and supporting data from the interviews. After this phase of refinement, themes were condensed. Lastly, trustworthiness and validity of the coding process was demonstrated through interrater reliability procedures.

Trustworthiness

To establish trustworthiness and maintenance of a quality coding scheme, each transcript was coded separately by myself and an undergraduate research assistant. We employed Dedoose computer software to organize codes and demographic descriptors for analyses. Coding software such as Dedoose allows multiple researchers to assign codes across multiple transcripts and link codes to demographic descriptors. Dedoose was selected as the program of analysis specifically for its efficient and user-friendly interface, affordability, and mixed-method functionality.

The RA and I coded all 7 transcripts separately and met virtually to compare codes twice and further refine the codebook. We kept a record of the codes we each generated from excerpts in the data. Interrater reliability was calculated using the formula for Cohan's kappa, a coefficient that accounts for "chance agreement" by comparing similar and conflicting ratings for codes (MacPhail, Khoza, Abler, & Ranganathan, 2015):

$$\kappa = \frac{p_o - p_e}{1 - p_e} = 1 - \frac{1 - p_o}{1 - p_e}$$

For instance, yes ratings represented agreed upon codes, while no ratings represented code discrepancies. Most code discrepancies were reconciled through discussion and support from the literature. The resulting Kappa coefficient presented fair agreement, $\kappa = 0.36$, 95% CI, [0.30, 0.42], $p < .001$.

Results

Parent Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Parent Ethnic-Racial Socialization involved conversations, messages, and behaviors from parents to Black emerging adults in college that centered the prevalence of racial bias and notions of racial denial as a means of protection from racial bias. There were no clear reportings of parental racial pride or cultural socialization.

Overwhelmingly, parents communicated about race in more implicit forms. For example, Kayla (Third-year, Black/African American) said, “I feel like it's more on the like ‘didn't really say much about it’ side...like everything was just an unspoken rule” when recalling what her mother said about race. Justin (Fourth-year, Black/African American) said, “I feel like if anything [messages about race were] probably more implicit. I feel like in general…I don't really remember any concerted conversations about race”. Likewise, Dean (Recently Graduated, Black/Multiracial) stated, “But nothing, I would say super intentional. I would think more of the cliches of, you know, being pulled over, listen because you don't have the threshold that other people have…But I would say nothing too intentional for sure.” Although participants deemed their parents’ conversations about race to be more implicit in nature, there were instances where participants recounted explicit conversations about race particularly when it was in response to a nationally recognized racial injustice. Subsequently, when parent ERS messages were explicit, Black undergraduates were more vocal about their appraisal/evaluation of their parents' conversations about race.

Parent Preparation for Racial Bias messages

One theme from the study was *parent preparation for racial bias*, which involved conversations about the awareness of racial discrimination and racism and how to avoid experiencing racial mistreatment. To prompt Black students to talk more concretely about the messages their parents sent to prepare them for racial bias, I asked questions specifically about phenomena such as the Summer 2020 Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement and if they were ever told to modify behavior or appearance to avoid racial bias. Asking about phenomenological accounts gets "inside the common experience of a group of people" and reveals what the participants have experienced and the meanings they create from their experience (Harper, 2007; see also Moustakas, 1994). Thus, I concluded that it would be best to target these two topics (i.e., 2020 BLM movement, modifying behavior and appearance) of parental preparation for bias to encourage Black undergraduate to recall more salient experiences and examples of parent preparation for bias. While conversations about racial bias were more implicit overall for Black students, messages that were explicit and direct happen to be reactive, in that parents were responding to an experience of racial mistreatment. For example, Justin (Fourth-year, Black/African American) explained how he and his mother talked more candidly about racial bias due to the racial climate of the United States following the January 6th insurrection at the Capitol[1]:

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[1] On January 6th, 2021, around 2,500 supporters of the former president Donald Trump attacked the Capitol Building in Washington D.C. in efforts to protest his loss in the 2020 presidential election.

> "I mean I feel like just because [of] the climate that we're in now, like you kind of can't skirt around it anymore…I'm more conscious of like when I'm out driving like [my mother saying] 'don't be on your phone, go the speed limit', things of that nature, where I'm just like very hyper aware of my identity as a Black man and how I might come across. But I'd say between me and my mom…we'll talk about just like the state of things in the United States and like we were just talking about the insurrection on January sixth of last year, and how…if that was Black people doing that or if that was any of us doing it, it would have been a totally different situation."

I assert that racially charged events like the January 6th Capitol insurrection raise a sense of urgency and severity in parents' motives to talk about racial bias, making it reactive and explicit. Likewise, Natasha (Fourth-year, Black/Multiracial) spoke about how her father engaged her family in reactive preparation for bias socialization amid the Black Lives Matter protests during Summer 2020[2]. When asked how her family responded to the protests and rallies for the Black Lives Matter Movement, she said:

> "My dad asked my family to come together and watch the Oprah like um, Oprah did a series interview or a series of interviews with different professors and things like that, asking them about their take on [the Black Lives Matter movement], everything that happened, and that was really interesting because my dad usually would never explicitly ask us to watch something that's just about race".

Here, Natasha's father emphasizes preparation for bias socialization through a television series rather than a conversation, but the participant noted that her father's use of media to bring awareness to a racial matter like the Black Lives Matter movement was different from his usual silence around race, which further emphasizes how parents are more motivated to prepare their young adult children for racial bias following racially charged events in the United States. When Dina (Third-year, Black/African) was asked about how her family responded to the Summer 2020 Black Lives Matter protests and rallies, she also noted her father's use of media through news articles as a way to fuel conversation about racial bias. Dina said, "There were definitely lots of conversations in my house about what was going on. My dad talked to us about it a lot; he sent us articles, he would always talk to us when we're driving:' do this, be safe, this and this.'

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[2] Between the months of May and August 2020, there were several, consecutive Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests worldwide following the wrongful murder of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd by police violence.

Parents also discussed ways to avoid racial mistreatment through one's appearance – this, too, was done in reaction to a racially charge event. Jayden (Second-year, Black/African) noticed that his parents started to put more emphasis on what he wore after the death of Trayvon Martin[3]:

> Interviewer: So looking back, if you had to go back to maybe like year 13 through 17…Can you tell me about some of the things that your parents did or said?
>
> Jayden: "[My parents saying]…'to' carry yourself different. Uh 'you can't wear certain things'. I know I like wearing my hoodie a lot, like [my parents would tell me to] wear my hood up. Like 'you can't really do that because you'd be looked at different because if you do that outside walking around', so just stuff like that. I remember around like that uh, with Trayvon Martin when he unfortunately got killed, so yeah. Just like wearing the hoodie thing. And really just carrying yourself and knowing where you're at because you'll be looked at differently like you get targeted in some areas. So that's what I remember. And I used to use that to how I carry myself even nowadays".

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[3] In February 2012, Trayvon Martin was fatally shot by George Zimmerman during a physical altercation that conspired after Zimmerman approached Martin because he looked suspicious and "up to no good" – a seemingly racially-motived judgement bas on the appearance of young Trayvon Martin.

Data show that parent messages of preparation for racial bias were communicated more explicitly when in response to a national occurrence of racial injustice. While some of the participants stated that talks about preparation for bias were typically implicit between them and their Black parents, others spoke in detail about the more explicit preparation for racial bias messages in response to a nationally recognized, racially charged event.

Preparation for racial bias socialization was certainly a commonly recalled form of socialization among participants with at least one Black parent. However, one participant, Dean (Recently Graduated, Black/Multiracial) noted that he was raised by a single White-identifying mother and didn't "recall a certain situation or conversation with [his] mother…being that she wasn't Black". He continued by describing preparation for racial bias messages he received from other adults in his life (i.e., "play aunts" or close Black family friends):

> "I would hear more of the cliches of, you know, being pulled over, 'listen because you don't have the threshold that other people have', mostly from my play aunts…I had a lot play aunts, like a whole bunch of play Black aunts that were close friends with my mom, and that would come over and hang out and I would call [them] auntie. And I think I had more conversations with them, being able to relate to them more just because they were Black".

Several Black students mentioned the ways that their parents and other adult figures talked to them about racial bias – whether implicit, explicit, proactive, or reactive – it was evident that Black students were socialized to anticipate racial bias. However, these messages were not "passively received" by young adults (Tran, 2019, p. 210). Rather, these were questioned, challenged, and in some cases, reluctantly accepted.

Parent preparation for racial bias appraisal. Black college students engaged in two main appraisal processes for their parents' preparation for racial bias: acceptance and questioning. The first appraisal process Black students expressed was a contemptuous acceptance of their parents' preparation for racial bias. In other words, Black students felt that their parents' preparation for bias was unfortunate and limiting but necessary for survival in the United States. Kayla (Third-year, Black/African American) was asked "what are the ways that your parents tell you to modify your behavior, your appearance? Is there something that you feel like is helpful to people when we go out, to kind of have to modify behaviors or do you think that there's another way to kind of be, in a way? Kayla responded:

> I think that the first thought that comes to mind is 'wow it sucks that it is that way'. I feel it is kind of necessary sometimes…to at least be aware that the way you dress or talk or speak, or the things you do can be perceived a certain way by certain people. Because if you don't know then something worse could happen, because at least if you do know…I don't think you can ever really be prepared for getting stopped by the cops just for existing, but at least you would know, [stumbling on words] you can like … you could be like, 'this is probably happening for this reason, I just need to keep my cool and try to listen to what they're saying so I can make it out of this situation alive'.

Likewise, Jayden (Second-year, Black/African) talked about the salience of his parents' preparation for racial bias when he was younger. In his adolescence, he questioned "why do I have [to do] all this, [racism is] not gonna happen to me", but as he reflected, he described his parents' preparation as "a good foundation to like build and grow up on…it helped a lot".

The second appraisal process that emerged was questioning parent preparation for bias and its effectiveness. The act of questioning in this regard included contemplating the goal of parents’ preparation for bias or formulating other avenues for handling racial bias. Dina (Third-year, Black/African) discussed her father’s emphasis on exceptionalism as a way to protect his children from racial bias by encouraging them to “work hard” and “never fail”. This idea of exceptionalism stems from the widely shared message in Black communities that insist “you must work twice as hard as White people to get ahead”. Dina did not explicitly express this statement but implicitly alluded to it while giving her critique:

> Interviewer: Can you recall any messages around like the ways that you should act in certain spaces or carry yourself or dress? Or any other specific ways that your parents talked about, engaged you around like your identity?
>
> Dina: So, when I talked to him about how the system is not set for us it's set up to where it puts us at a disadvantage and stuff of that sort he started to slowly listen, but then he kept trying to talk about ‘well I always put myself in spaces, where I try to work really hard’ and then that African mentality of you got to work hard, work hard, work hard, never fail, and then everything will be okay. And it's like even when we work hard, work hard, work hard, and try to never fail we’re [still] being punished[4].

Here, Dina is questioning the goal of her father’s preparation for bias messages. Although her father’s messages of exceptional work ethic are a highly regarded form of preparation for/ protection against racial bias for Black individuals (Butler-Barnes et al., 2018), Dina still felt just as vulnerable to racial bias. Ciara (Third-year, Black/African American) offered a critique of her father’s preparation for racial bias when asked how the Summer 2020 Black Lives Matter protests and rallies. She shared a conversation in which her dad frowned upon those that were protesting and that he more so endorsed a “pulling yourself up by the bootstrap” perspective for how other Black individuals can be prepared for – and even avoid – racial mistreatment:

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[4] Referring to on-going instances of police brutality in the United States.

> “My dad would say like ‘yeah but [those that were protesting] could try…,’ like he kept using the “but, they could…” almost like a pull yourself up by their bootstraps kind of thing but not explicitly saying that…he would always use like, ‘oh, we can do it and people around us did it, so people are just not trying or they're not wanting to be better.’ And I'm like how can you not understand that this is as a result of all these other things put in place”.

Dina and Ciara both referenced the presence of a “system” or “things put in place” as the source of Black individuals inevitable experience of racial bias, discounting parental messages of exceptionalism and “working twice as hard” as appropriate preparation for/protection against racial bias.

Parent Racial Denial messages

Parental messages of racial denial emerged as a prominent theme when Black undergraduates discussed the talks they had with their parents about race. Parental racial denial is a dimension of ERS that advises Black individuals to distance oneself from Black culture. It is important to note that participants subsequently talked about their parents’ messages of racial denial when asked questions that were meant to inquire about parental messages of preparation for racial bias. To clearly mark the difference between parental preparation for racial bias messages and racial denial messages, comments from parents about speaking “proper”, avoiding the use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE)[5], endorsing negative stereotypes, prohibiting rap/hip-hop music, and encouraging their households to not wear "traditional" African garments in front of guests were coded as parental messages of racial denial.

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[5] African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is an informal variety of English spoken mostly in Black urban communities. AAVE has its own unique grammatical, vocabulary, and accent features.

Dina (Third-year, Black/African) spoke about how her parents, who were both immigrants from Ghana, endorsed negative stereotypes of Black/African Americans and shamed the use of AAVE:

> "But they would always talk about how there was this stereotype, and they would kind of reinforce those stereotypes that white people had on them as always being loud, or being lazy, or being "ghetto" and stuff of that sort…or how they don't speak…properly…using AAV…AAVE language, and stuff of that sort, that was not proper to my parents".

Natasha (Fourth-year, Black/Multiracial), whose mother identified as European/African, described the ways that her mother modifies the Black cultural norms in their household for guests:

> "Growing up, I realized that it kind of turned into just don't play rap in front of [mom]…if you have a friend in the car, don't play that, like play Adele or something more palatable to other people. I realized that my mom won't play African music if we have guests over or she won't wear traditional clothes if we have guests over. Or usually we eat with our hands, but if we have other people over we'll always eat with cutlery and things like that".

Natasha also talked about her father and how he, as a Black/ African American man, was "very into speaking properly at all times".

Parent racial denial appraisal. Parental messages of racial denial seemed to generate quite explicit appraisal processes from Black emerging adults in college. Participants were vocal in rejecting and challenging their parents' racial denial socialization. Ciara (Third-year, Black/African American) discussed how her, and her father get into arguments when she challenges the way he endorses negative stereotypes about Black people:

> "I do know that like he does make comments on people…who aren't trying to better themselves. He'll talk about sagging pants or people with lots of piercings or tattoos on their face. And yes, lots of comments on how to speak…he's like 'see those are kind of dudes that…' X, Y Z, insert whatever thing about black people. And then I call him out and say that he's just being misogynistic and erring on the side of white supremacy. And then he gets mad and that hurts his feelings".

Dina (Third-year, Black/African) spoke at length about her rejection of the messages her Ghanaian parents sent to her and her siblings about there being a difference between them and Black Americans:

> "Yeah. Um, something that I explicitly remember, and I can recall, and lately I've been telling my siblings about it so we could like get in spaces to unpack it because my parents were wrong. They were definitely wrong for having this idea…[that] there was a difference between Africans and Black Americans, and they made it very clear".

She continues by describing how she learned the negative connotation of a term her parents had used before through social media:

> “But recently…I saw it on Twitter, is where a lot of Africans have this…I'm not sure if the word, stigma would be appropriate, but they have this like feeling towards Black Americans. And my parents used to say the word ‘akata’ which means…Black American. And when I talked to my parents about this once or twice, they would say ‘oh, it's just people…that, let's say their great grandmother or their ancestors were brought here to this country as enslaved people and stuff of that sort and America’s their life’…they wanted to make it seem like Africans were like the elite Black people…and like Black Americans are not the elite Black people. And at the end of the day, we're all Black.”

Likewise, Natasha (Fourth-year, Black/Multiracial) rejected their parents’ attempts to set their family apart from Black culture through beliefs of Black elitism and colorism. Natasha criticizes her family linage in “Jack and Jill”, a social group for Black upper-class individuals:

> “I don't really ascribe to it…I only…learned about Jack and Jill because my grandfather had like a mini autobiography and then I read it, I was like ‘what the hell even is that? It sounds really elitist and classist, and definitely has colorism embedded in it. It definitely holds the sentiment of like ‘we were free people’ and that indicates that somebody whose ancestry was not free is somehow lesser, and I just don't like what it implies”.

Altogether, it is clear that Black college students, specifically Black female college students, are challenging and rejecting some of the racial denial messages their parents communicate to them. The most prominent message of racial denial that Black female participants were denouncing was the idea that one can separate themselves from Black culture by othering Black people that do not speak “proper” and placing negative stereotypes on Black people whose ancestry is linked to American enslavement.

Peer Ethnic-Racial Socialization

ERS from peers included both one-on-one conversations and group discussions with other Black college students about the “threat” of racial bias on and off their college campuses. No distinct reporting of cultural socialization, racial denial, or racial pride from peers emerged in the data. Preparation for bias socialization from college peers occurred most naturally in dedicated Black safe spaces at their respective UC institutions. For instance, several Black students mentioned having conversations centered on racial bias either during or following a meeting/event hosted by their respective Black student-led organizations. Kayla (Junior, Black/African American) talked about one of the discussions she witnessed during an event hosted by the Black Student Union (BSU) at her institution, UC Davis: “Sometimes BSU will have events where they are discussing issues happening in the Black Community, so sometimes the discussion will happen at BSU and then we’ll meet and then talk about it again”.

Natasha (Senior, Black/Multiracial) brought up how her involvement in a Black student-led organization initiates conversations between her and her Black peers. She said, “Well I work for *NOMMO*, by the way, which is the Black magazine at UCLA. So sometimes I'll just tell them like ‘oh I’m going to write a piece about this. What do you think about this?’…they’ll give me their input, that's always great. Likewise, Darius (Recently Graduated, Black/Multiracial) mentioned having talks with his peers about colorism and when asked to expound this, he said:

> “Yeah, I mean I didn't know colorism was a thing until college…I’m in a group, CADSA, so there’s CADSA UC Davis, and there’s CADSA National, which is a pretty dope group, Coalition of African Diaspora Student Athletes…I'm now a co-director of outreach for the National Group.”

It is not surprising that Black students associated peer ERS messages with the Black campus community at their schools. For many Black UC students, Black student-led organizations are the primary spaces where they feel well-represented and supported. For instance, Kayla said:

> "There's not a lot of Black students on campus, I think it's like 2%, so it's a pretty small population…[but] your experience as a Black person is really impacted by the Black people you surround yourself with. Because in high school there weren't many Black students on campus and even in college there's still not that many, but I feel like it's a really different experience now in college. It's like everyone's aware of the fact that there's not a lot so we all want to support each other and create this sense of community that a lot of people didn't have before."

Many participants credited Black student-led organizations and campus community as the province for peer ERS. Black students found a sense of campus community, whether in an organization or with their living arrangements to be a safe space to exchange messages shared by their peers, especially messages about racial bias.

Peer Preparation for Racial Bias messages

Black participants had conversations with their peers in which they discussed racial bias on and outside of campus. While most Black students noted conversations with their peers about racial bias outside of campus, two participants talked about how they discuss racial bias on campus and more specifically in academic settings. One participant, Kayla (Junior, Black/African American) recounted a conversation with one of her friends about the difference in guidance between Black and non-Black academic advisors at UC Davis:

> Interviewer: So, I want to talk a bit about UC Davis. I know you're involved in a lot of the Black orgs on campus; What about your peers, have they ever spoken to you about what it's like to be Black on campus?
>
> Kayla: I know I've heard [friends] say when they go to advisors and stuff outside of the Black staff, not that they're being treated differently because they're Black, but they just have a different experience…I have a friend who was like 'yeah my advisor told me that I should take all these classes,' and she was like 'and I was telling her that I couldn't handle it and she was like sure you can,' but she really couldn't and it turned out bad. So, I feel like for her she's probably thinking like 'oh, if I went to a Black advisor they would have actually listened to my concerns and maybe given me different advice'.

When asked about their college peers and the conversations they had about being Black on campus, another participant, Ciara (Junior, Black/African American) described how she, and her roommate talk about the constant lack of affirmation they experience in the classroom, she said:

> "…we always make a point to like we'll have a conversation throughout the week about something with our Blackness, it's never not a point of conversation, especially like just going to classes and people, you know, challenging your ideas or not affirming your Blackness or having to bring up your Blackness in classes. And I feel like that's something that happens literally… something every week, it's always something".

Conversations about the expectation of racial bias outside of campus were more common among Black students and their friends. Black students pointed to their experience with finding off-campus housing and the distress of being seen as a threat with a particular orientation toward gendered racial bias. Kayla (Junior, Black/African American) described how she, and her friends talked about an experience where they witnessed their Black male colleagues be treated differently when searching for off campus housing at UC Davis. Kayla mentioned that when she and her friends went to view a house in Davis, they were welcomed and complimented by an older White couple showing the house: “they were like ‘oh wow, you guys are so pretty. I'm sure all the boys are chasing after you. Here's all the information about the house.’” She went on by describing the different treatment given to her Black male colleagues: “And then our group of guy friends went, three Black guys, and they stopped them at the door and they were like ‘oh, the house’s rented out already.’ And then we were like but it's not because they told us a few hours ago that they were going to review all the applications after it was over”. In recapping this experience, Kayla expressed how she and her friends felt that the older White couple showing the house were being prejudice toward Black men and that “for Black men it might be a little bit of a different experience in general”.

Jayden (Sophomore, Black/ African) and his male friends had similar sentiments about Black men and their susceptibility to racial bias. He said:

> “…most of my friend group are Black men, so it’s really just like…you don't know what could happen anywhere you go. You don't know what could take place. Especially us…it's really eye opening. Just saying like we be looking out for each other and we’re going to be there for each other. Just know our surroundings”.

On the other hand, Dina (Junior, Black/ African) spoke about the definiteness of dangerous stereotypes ascribed to all Black people. Dina says, “I would say with friends at UCLA, we’ve all definitely been on the same page that the color of our skin is always going to be seen as a threat”.

Peer Preparation for racial bias appraisal. Black students only discussed a few instances in which their friends exchanged messages with them about racial bias. Of the instances that were described, Black students did not explicitly recall any appraisal processes for their friends' preparation for racial bias. Considering that most Black students used phrases like "most of my friend group", "we've all", and "my friends and I", it can be assumed that Black students are among friends they generally agree with on matters pertaining to race and racial bias.

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to illuminate the ERS messages that Black college students received from their parents and their Black college peers. In addition, this study's attention to the appraisal processes that Black students employed in response to their parents' and peers' communication of ERS is a seminal contribution to the vast landscape of ERS research. These aims were addressed through themes derived from interviews with a sample of Black undergraduates from two University of California (UC) institutions: UC Los Angeles and UC Davis. Five themes representing the content and appraisal of parent and peer ERS messages emerged from the analysis of the interviews: parent preparation for racial bias messages, appraisal of parent preparation for racial bias, parent racial denial messages, appraisal of parent racial denial messages, and peer preparation for racial bias messages. A summary of each theme can be found in Table II.3. As prompted in the interview protocol, Black students talked about parent and peer ERS messages as separate occurrences, with little to no discussion about a possible joint influence of parent and peer ERS. Prompting participants to recall a relationship between parent and peer ERS they received was especially difficult as many participants naturally separated their home life with their parents from their social life with their peers and this was reflected in how they discussed ERS messages from their parents and peers. Although this is a limitation of the current study, the qualitative findings in this study about the nature of parent and peer ERS messages received by Black students offer a novel, nuanced prospective to the study of ERS.

Parent ERS and Black Students' Appraisal

Parent ethnic racial socialization consisted of messages that addressed how Black emerging adults might experience stereotypes, prejudice, and racial discrimination (i.e., preparation for racial bias) and messages that endorsed a separation from aspects of Black culture (i.e., racial denial). A new finding from this study was that parents' racial denial socialization was communicated for means of protection from prejudice. Specifically, this study found that parents suggested that seizing the use of AAVE language, not wearing traditional African garments, or prohibiting hip-hop music could help Black emerging adults in college to succeed in professional and academic settings and ultimately, shield them from prejudice or racial discrimination.

Racial denial as "Racial code-switching"

The concept of separating from common aspects of Black culture for protection has phenomenological underpinnings in "racial code-switching" research (Doss & Gross, 1994; McCluney et al., 2021; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Researchers have defined racial code-switching as a "impression management strategy" that people of color, and Black people specifically, use to control how they are perceived by adapting to the characteristics and behaviors of the dominant culture, usually established by White Americans (McCluney et al., 2021, p. 1). Motivation to engage racial code-switching in this regard can be fueled by the dangers of stereotypes, misrepresentation, and racial discrimination. A wealth of research has pointed to how negative stereotypes and forms of racial discrimination detrimentally affects the psychological and academic outcomes of Black/African American individuals (Brody et al., 2006; English et al., 2014; Neblett et al., 2006; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Seaton et al., 2008). So, it is within reason to speculate that a parents' endorsement of racial denial or racial code-switching is used to protect individuals. In this study, participants talked about a number of racial code-switching tactics their parents encouraged: refrain from listening to hip-hop music, avoid wearing Afrocentric garments around non-Black others, and cease the use of AAVE. Here, parents are sending messages of racial code-switching to encourage their adult children to mirror the manner of speaking, interest, and appearance of the dominant White culture (McCluney et al., 2021). Interestingly, the Black students in this study were not receptive to their parents' racial denial/racial code-switching socialization.

Challenging parents' racial denial/racial code-switching socialization

In general, Black students rejected and challenged their parents' racial denial socialization through blatant disapproval and illumination of the adverse effects that racial code-switching brings about (i.e., promoting Black elitism, endorsing notions of White supremacy). It is not surprising that Black college students in this study appraised parental messages of racial denial negatively; all participants were virtually involved in Black student-led organizations on campus and active on social media platforms, of which they credited as an information hub for their censorious appraisal. With so many of the participants being active members of online communities that center Black culture and ideals that are important to the Black community, it makes sense for their parents' advice to separate from Black culture to be rejected as a viable option to avoid prejudice and racial discrimination. Although Black students did not speak extensively about why they rejected their parents' racial denial socialization, their stern, collective rejection served as an indicator that racial denial is not a favored form of socialization among Black emerging adults, particularly those emersed in Black cultural spaces.

Accepting and questioning parents' preparation for racial bias

When it came to parental messages of preparation for racial bias, Black undergraduates had mixed appraisal processes. Some students expressed a sense of reluctant acceptance toward their parents' messages of preparation for racial bias. In other words, there were Black students that felt that their parents' cautionary messages about racial discrimination were unfortunate but necessary. This finding is somewhat consistent with previous research in which racial/ethnic minorities in college (i.e., African American, Asian American, Hispanic, Middle Eastern/Arab American, Native American, and Multiracial students) found preparation for racial bias socialization from their families to be more important in their life when compared to White college students. Other researchers have found that Black parents, in particular, find preparation for racial bias to be an important and necessary form of socialization for their Black children (Butler-Barnes et al., 2018; Hughes, Hagelskamp, et al., 2009; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Lesane-Brown, 2006). While many research studies on parent ERS objectively examines the burdens and/or benefits of parent socialization conversations, the current study offers a more personal, nuanced view on how Black college students process their parents telling them that they must be aware of and anticipate racial discrimination because "it's just how the world works". I speculate that some of the participants in this study realized that the necessity of parent preparation for racial bias is a sad reality. However, this was not the case for all participants.

There were a few Black students who questioned the need for their parents' preparation for racial bias by pinpointing a "system" that enables unfair treatment of Black individuals. Previous ERS research can help us understand more of what the participants in this study meant when they called out a system of mistreatment while questioning parent preparation for racial bias. In an investigative study on the differential effects of ERS for Black adolescents who can perceive personal and institutional racial discrimination, Salem and Lambert (2016) defined systematic discrimination or institutional racial discrimination as social policies, initiated by governing entities, that restrict access to resources and opportunities for certain racial/ethnic groups. For example, the educational content youth learn in most public schools are dictated by a governing board of education. If that governing board decides that learning about Black history more extensively is "anti-American" and prohibit it in schools, that can have a trickle-down effect on the identity formation of Black youth and young adults (Simon et al., 2021). Dimensions of parental ERS as we know it do not protect against, let alone address, systematic forms of racial discrimination. Even Saleem and Lambert (2016) found that neither cultural socialization nor preparation for racial bias socialization from parents protected Black adolescents against institutional racial discrimination.

In the current study, Black college students made it clear that they were aware of systematic discrimination and cited it as a way to push back on their parents' preparation for racial bias. The parent preparation for racial bias that participants mentioned reflect the heavily studied markers of preparation for racial bias as a dimension of ERS: working twice as hard to be where privileged others are in their career and schooling, actively modifying behaviors to avoid negative stereotypes, expecting mistreatment and underrepresentation in different social spaces. The way that Black participants' question preparation for racial bias from their parents points out the meek, subservient, and powerless role that Black individuals are encouraged to play in order to survive and/or succeed in the U.S. All the while, systems of oppression and racism that marginalize Black people are maintained. So, it makes sense for Black college students who recognize these systems to challenge parent ERS and its tone of complacency. This form of pushback may be an indication that Black youth and young adults would benefit from more advocacy/activist centered ERS, in which they are taught how to protest or get involved with governing entities to advocate for more equitable policies that affect their lives. Future research should investigate the relevance of an advocacy/activist dimension of ERS and strive to develop ERS assessments that include how parents and other agents (i.e., peers, teachers, authority figures) can teach aspects of social justice activism.

Peer ERS and Black Students' Lack of Appraisal

Just as preparation for racial bias was a prominent ERS message communicated by Black undergraduates' parents, it was also a noticeable ERS messages among Black peers. Almost all Black participants mentioned that they talked to their friends about racial bias whether casually or in dedicated discussions about race. It is important to note that participants associated discussions about racial bias amongst their peers with their involvement in different Black student-led organizations (i.e., Black student unions, Black journalism clubs, sororities, and fraternities). These Black student organizations provided a neutral space not so much for the preparation of racial bias, but more so for the *discussion* of racial bias. In other words, peers were not teaching or cautioning Black participants to be aware of racial discrimination; it was evident that both the participants and their peers were already well-aware of racial discrimination. However, the participants and their peers talked about racial bias, more in terms of sharing support amongst each other and forming a sense of solidarity, consistent with previous research (Nelson et al., 2018). While previous research uncovered peer preparation for racial bias as a way Black emerging adults supported each other, findings from this study contributes details to this dynamic by highlighting the college environment and involvement in Black student-led organizations as "safe spaces" for discussion of racial bias, on and off campus.

Unlike the appraisal processes Black students used for their parents' ERS, Black students did not share any explicit appraisal for their friends' discussion of racial bias. I speculate that Black students in this study fostered friendships with others that they agreed with on matters pertaining to race and racial bias. In fact, past research has found that racial/ethnic minority friend pairs show more homophily on concepts of racial/ethnic identity than White and mixed friend pairs (Syed & Juan, 2012; Tatum, 2007). Beverly Tatum's scholarly work, *Can We Talk About Race?: And Other Conversations in an Era of School Resegregation* and *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?: And Other Conversations About Race,* she conceptualizes the importance of surrounding oneself with people and symbols of one's racial identity. Tatum (2007, 2017) asserts an institution's goal of diversity should not merely focus on numerical representation but a collective appreciation for one's cultural differences, and that the exclusive gathering of same-race peers is essential and beneficial to racial/ethnic minorities. This predisposition for racial/ethnic minorities to have friends in which they share similar outlooks on identity formation could explain why the current study observed no Black undergraduate appraisal of their peers' preparation for racial bias. With so few ERS studies bringing attention to the ways that peers serve as impactful agents of ERS, this study's qualitative approach digs into this novel area of research and contributes knowledge about the ERS messages Black peers communicate and the assumed agreement among friends on matters of race and identity.

Study 2 Tables and Figures

Table II.1

Demographic Details of Study 2 Participants

Pseudonym	Ethnicity/Race	Gender	School Classification	UC Institution	Preferred Pronouns
Dina	Black/African	Female	Junior	UCLA	She/Her/Hers
Kayla	Black/African American	Female	Junior	UC Davis	She/Her/Hers
Dean	Black/Multiracial	Male	Recently Graduated	UC Davis	He/Him/His
Natasha	Black/Multiracial	Female	Senior	UCLA	She/Her/Hers
Justin	Black/African American	Male	Senior	UCLA	He/Him/His
Jayden	Black/African	Male	Sophomore	UCLA	He/Him/His
Ciara	Black/African American	Female	Junior	UCLA	She/Her/Hers

Table II.2

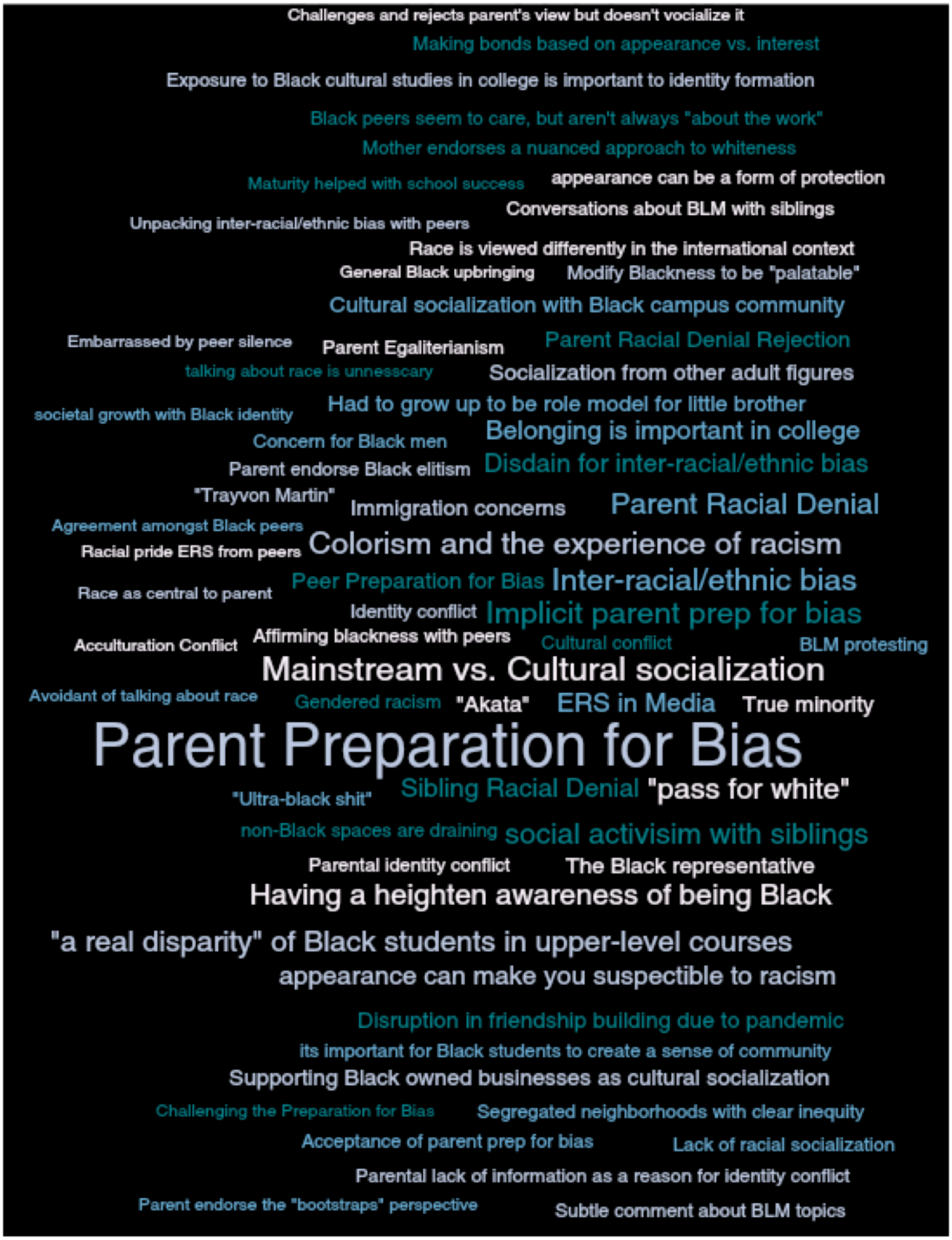
Study 2 Semi-structured Interview Protocol and Questions

Ethnic Racial Socialization Interview Protocol	
1. Begin with one facilitator providing introductory comments:	Welcome and thank the individual for volunteering to participate.
	Introduce yourself as the interviewer and give a very brief overview of the project (5 minutes)
2. Provide basic guidelines for the interview and review them with participants:	"If you feel uncomfortable during the meeting, you have the right to leave or to pass on any question. There is no consequence for leaving. Being here is voluntary."
	"This interview is not meant to be a counseling session or support group. If you need support, information will be provided about counseling and psychological services and resources."
Ethnic Racial Socialization Interview Questions	
What was it like for you growing up Black in your home/community?	
Looking back, can you talk to us about what your parents said or did to teach you or communicate with you (whether directly or indirectly) about what it means to be Black: a.) In the context of one's family? (role as brother/ sister, son/daughter, father/mother) c.) How should you talk, dress, and carry yourself? d. What conversations occurred in your household about the Summer 2020 Black Lives Matter movement? d.) What do you think about those teachings and conversations?	
What about your peers? Looking back, can you talk about how you and your best friends talked about race? Were there ever conversations in which they shared advice or instructions about "how to be Black"? a.) What do you think of those conversations now?	
What are your experiences as a Black student at this university?	
Of everything we have talked about, what was most relevant or important to you?	

Table II.3 *Ethnic Racial Socialization Themes*

Ethnic Racial Socialization Theme	Summarized qualitative statements (examples)
Parent preparation for racial bias	• Preparation for bias is like an unspoken rule/ implicit • Teach child to be mindful of how they present • Media fuels conversations about preparing youth for bias • Educated parents prepare their children for bias often • Other adult figures share preparation for bias messages
Appraisal of parent preparation for racial bias	• Some Black students think their parents' preparation for bias is necessary • Other Black students challenge parents' preparation for bias • Disagreement with parent perspective of race • Acceptance of parent preparation for bias
Parent Racial Denial	• Parents err on the side of White supremacy • Inter-racial/ethnic bias othering Black/African Americans from Black/Africans • Modifying Blackness to be more "palatable" • Parents endorse Black "elitism"
Appraisal of parent racial denial	• Black students collectively reject parent racial denial socialization • Challenges and rejects parents' view but doesn't vocalize it
Peer preparation for racial bias	• Black Lives Matter protesting • Concern for Black men on campus • Having a heighten awareness of being Black • Agreement among Black peers on Black issues

Figure II.1 *Initial packed code cloud generated in Dedoose software*



GENERAL DISCUSSION

The first aim of this dissertation was to investigate the conjoint effect of parent and peer ethnic racial socialization messages on Black undergraduate adjustment and wellbeing. As expected, I found that Black undergraduates reported more positive outcomes when specific combinations of parent and peer ERS communication was present. The second aim of this dissertation was to qualitatively capture more personal, perceived accounts of parent and peer ERS and unearth an appraisal mechanism that Black undergraduates use to make sense of the ERS messages they received from parents and peers. I found that Black undergraduates recalled receiving messages about racial bias from both their parents and peers, but ultimately, parental ERS generated a stronger sense of appraisal. Findings from this dissertation contribute to the ERS literature in several important ways.

One way is that it expands the well-studied area of parent ERS. Scholars have investigated several factors and dimensions associated with ERS and its impact on an individual's development. Previous research asserted that racial/ethnic minority college students presented better outcomes when they received different types of ERS messages from parents and peers while other studies suggested that the positive effects of parental ERS could be altered by undergraduates' valuation of such ERS messages (Nelson et al., 2018; Tran, 2019). Results from this dissertation put these two past findings to the test and revealed that as Black emerging adults navigated the college environment, ERS became more intricate.

In Study 1, we learned that plurality in ERS communication as opposed to a single form of ERS from one agent (i.e., a parent) was most effective for Black emerging adult adjustment and well-being in college. For example, Black undergraduates who received cultural socialization from parents coupled with preparation for racial bias from peers reported more positive adjustment, stronger racial/ethnic identity affirmation, and greater exploration of their racial/ethnic identity. These findings aligned with Nelson and colleagues' (2018) work which asserted that racial/ethnic minority college students presented better outcomes when they received message of cultural socialization from parents and preparation for racial bias from peers. Thus, special attention to the plurality of ERS is important when studying its salience in college student samples.

Unique to current ERS research, Study 1 also revealed a positive effect on college adjustment for Black undergraduates who reported frequent cultural socialization from parents and frequent racial denial socialization from peers. This finding was unexpected since racial denial socialization has *only* been associated with poor psychological adjustment outcomes in previous parental ERS literature (Neblett et al., 2008). To my knowledge, Study 1 is the first to adapt dimensions of the Race Socialization Questionnaire-teen (RSQ-t; Lesane-Brown et al., 2006) to capture both parent and peer socialization. Therefore, this unique conjoint effect of parent cultural socialization and peer racial denial offers a new perspective on peer racial denial. Perhaps, Black undergraduates are finding some advantage in their peers' racial denial socialization. Study 2 of this dissertation was designed to offer some insight to the intricate, unique quantitative findings of Study 1 through qualitative interviewing of Black undergraduates. Unfortunately, overlap in the data collection periods between the two studies (due to a time restraint and recruitment error) prevented me from specifically probing Black undergraduates to discuss received parent and peer ERS in conjunction. Black students were prompted to talk, in general about parent and peer ERS messages as separate occurrences, with little to no discussion about a possible joint influence of the two. This limitation blocks us from shedding light on the novel conjoint benefit of parent cultural socialization and peer racial denial. However, Study 2 still presented some fascinating findings that advance ERS research.

In Study 2, we learned that Black emerging adults attending a UC institution spoke more about the conversations they had with their parents and peers on topics of racial bias and racial denial than any other form of ERS. Nevertheless, when it came to appraising those messages, Black undergraduates were more inclined to appraise the preparation for racial bias and racial denial messages they received only from their parents. Black undergraduates' appraisal processes of parental messages included reluctant acceptance and adamant questioning. While some Black students found necessity in their parents' preparation for racial bias, others questioned it. Parental racial denial socialization also found its way into Black students' line of questioning. I noticed that the parental preparation for racial bias and racial denial socialization that participants perceived all emphasized a personal responsibility to be aware of or accommodating to racial discrimination. In other words, it was typical for the recipient of ERS to "look out for", "be aware of", or "modify behavior" to avoid racial discrimination but there was less emphasis on how systems and policies, as one participant mentioned, enabled racial discrimination and injustice to persist on a societal level. Thus, a new prospective ERS dimension focused on advocacy might better support Black emerging adults, specifically those in college. Collectively, the two studies presented in this dissertation offer a fresh perspective on the combined efforts of parents and peers to further the ERS of Black emerging adults in college and what those college students think of it.

Implications

The main goals of this dissertation were to promote Black social health and wellness across familial generations, inspire clinical intervention development that address the mental health of college students from different racial/ethnic groups, and promote the development of a more relevant ERS measurement tool. Surely, findings lend themselves to some significant takeaways for Black families, university mental health clinicians, and scale developers.

To date, the Engaging, Managing, and Bonding through Race (EMBrace; Anderson et al. 2018) intervention is one of a few prominent interventions that focus on how Black families can communicate messages of ERS to their youth in order to reduce the racial stress and trauma that follows experiences of racial discrimination. Insight from this dissertation could build on the established intervention work like EMBrace to inform university mental health clinicians on the complicated matters of race and ethnicity for marginalized college students across the nation. Providing validation and a safe space to process the emotionality that can arises when young adults explore their more critical appraisals of ERS messages can be essential in delivering sound counseling to marginalized college students.

I have a deep desire for this work to reach Black families. Like all families, Black families want to keep their younger members safe. However, Black parents and guardians have a unique burden in the socialization process as many see it as necessary to prepare their children for experiences of racial discrimination. As I write the final piece of this dissertation on May 17th, 2022, the aftermath of a horrendous racial hate crime in Buffalo, NY has stunned the nation. Ten Black Americans were shot and killed while shopping in their local supermarket by a young, White male motivated by racist, White supremist ideals. This attack adds to the increasingly long list of Black people – young and old – who have been murdered at the hands of citizens who feel emboldened by the United States' rooted history in White supremacy and an unjust system that disregards Black life. I recognize that at a time like this, Black families carry a reasonable fear of what can happen when racism, of any severity is tolerated. Shifting away from teaching Black children and young adults to anticipate and brace for racial mistreatment to communicating more about lessons about cultural pride, mindful activism, and advocacy could, as this dissertation suggest, empower individuals to disrupt systems of oppression and structural racism. “Systems do not change themselves – people change systems” (Atkin, 2020, p. 100).

The current study seeks to insert the prevalence of mindful activism and advocacy as a dimension in ERS scale development research. While several study participants highlighted the pervasiveness of systemic racial discrimination to show that parental preparation for racial bias encourages compliancy with America’s social structures of racism, I speculate that socializing Black young adults toward social justice activism could address this critical appraisal. One way to gauge if and how parents can send messages of social justice activism as a form of ERS is to consult Black parents of late adolescent and young adult children and develop the appropriate measurement tools. Study 2’s qualitative focus on students’ ERS appraisal offer some initial implications for new and relevant ERS scale development.

Directions for the Field

Implications from this dissertation offer promising directions for the future of ERS research. As I have ventured into disentangling the complexities of conjoint ERS from parent and peers and Black emerging adults ERS appraisal tactics, attention should be given to emerging adults in different college environments (i.e., HBCUs, HSIs) and emerging adults who do not go to college. Understanding the differences in how parent and peer ERS affects Black young adults at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) verses Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) can shape the way we conceptualize new dimensions of ERS from different sources relevant to the college experience (sources such as social media, instructors, and peers). Given the distinctions in the founding principles of many HBCUS and PWIs, it is assumed that Black students' experience and perceptions of ERS could differ. Future studies should consider the college environment as a central factor in ERS from multiple sources. In addition, future studies should examine perceived parent and peer ERS from emerging adults who choose to not go to college. What factors in their day-to-day lives, workplace environments, and navigation of family and friends impact the ERS messages they receive from different voices of socialization? It is reasonable to speculate that young adults have a different perception of ERS when the resource-rich college environment is not a factor.

This dissertation serves as a sufficient start to understanding the conjoint effect of parent and peer ERS and appraisal processes for Black young adults in college. However, as the research featuring peers as additional, equal, and impactful agents of ERS for Black individuals picks up momentum (e.g., Golden et al., 2021; Nelson et al., 2018; Wang & Benner, 2016), future studies should consider parent and peer ERS effects for other emerging adults of color. Simon's (2020) scoping review of how racial/ethnic identification can determine the magnitude and impact of ERS for different racial/ethnic communities already illustrates the salience of ERS in diverse populations. Expanding this concept of an "optimal combination" of ERS messages from parents and peers to other college students of color could provide an even stronger effort for making sure that ERS messages are focused on helping all youth and young adults of color.

As I conclude this dissertation, I would like to offer a quote from Chang's (2016) book that discusses the experience of raising Multiracial children, but has a particular relevance to the implications of this dissertation:

> [Children] must be able to gain the strength of collective resistant heritage from us, their family, and community networks. They must be stimulated to think critically, taught to

see complexity and nuances in all people, raise their consciousness through self-inquiry and parallel dialogue with others…They must be able to reject myths of white superiority and refocus their energies to raise celebrations of who *they* are. They must know white society well and become experts on how to respond to discriminatory actions. We must discuss the work of activist with them, help them to learn anti-racist counter framing... and gain strategies of protest which may be passed across many generations. (p. 217)

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