The impact of ethnic-racial socialization messages from socialization agents on Black ethnic-racial identity

by

Denzel Lamont Jones

B.S., Campbell University, 2013
M.S., Appalachian State University, 2015

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

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College of Human Ecology

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Abstract

It is known that ethnic-racial socialization messages received by Black youth are critical to their ethnic-racial identity development. Despite recognition that identity achievement is rarely completed by the end of adolescence and Black youth are embedded in larger multicultural familial, communal, and societal contexts, previous studies almost exclusively focus on parents as the isolated provider of ethnic-racial socialization messages during adolescence. Using a sample of 171 Black emerging adults, this retrospective study focused on the influence of four unique types of ethnic-racial socialization messages from diverse ethnic-racial socialization agents throughout adolescence and emerging adulthood on the development of Black ethnic-racial identity during emerging adulthood. Participants reported that although parents, adult family members, and siblings were the most influential socialization agents during adolescence, they became less influential during emerging adulthood as peers gained more influence. Across all developmental periods, emerging adults reported the strongest messages they received were egalitarian and racial pride messages and the weakest messages they received were negative messages. Additionally, seven different profiles of ethnic-racial identity development during emerging adulthood were identified and were predicted by the types of ethnic-racial socialization messages emerging adults received from adolescence through emerging adulthood. These results highlight the importance of receiving racial pride and racial barrier messages along with minimal egalitarian and negative messages from socialization agents in order to foster a healthy and positive Black ethnic-racial identity during emerging adulthood. Clinical implications, family life education implications, implications for diverse socialization agents, and areas for future research based on the findings of the present study are discussed.

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Approved by:

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Amber V. Vennum, Ph.D.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my mother, Matilda “Cricket” Austine Jones (7 April 1963 – 24 February 2016). Although she has been my strongest support throughout my entire journey, she was unable to see me graduate. Thank you for keeping your promise as I have worked hard to keep mine. Rest in Power.

As every night brings a new day and darkness turns to light, a mournful death brings exciting new life. For my nephew, Austin “A.J.” Josiah Jones (b. 14 December 2017).

Chapter 1 - Introduction

Black youth within the United States continue to experience increasingly elevated risk for adverse health behaviors and outcomes (e.g. suicide; SPRC, 2013). Black youths' ability to successfully navigate these adverse challenges and health risks are partially influenced by their ability to form a strong ethnic-racial identity (ERI). Racial identity is defined as, "an enduring, fundamental aspect of the self that includes a sense of membership in an ethnic group and the attitudes and feelings associated with that membership" (Phinney, 1996, p. 922). A strong Black ethnic-racial identity (BRI) has been found to serve as a protective factor for Black youth by contributing to healthy psychological and emotional functioning, fewer negative health outcomes, enhanced connection to cultural values, higher self-esteem, and greater academic achievement (Rivas- Drake et al., 2014; Smith, Levine, Smith, Dumas, & Prinz, 2009). The development of ERI depends on many factors, one of which is how youth are socialized to think about their ethnic-racial background (see Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014). Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) is defined comprehensively as, "specific verbal and non-verbal messages transmitted to younger generations for the development of values, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs regarding the meaning and significance of race and racial stratification, intergroup and intragroup interactions, and personal and group identity" (Lesane-Brown, 2006, p. 403). Among ethnic-racial minorities, positive ERS messages can improve psychosocial outcomes (Caughty, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002), and among Black youth specifically, ERS messages compensate for, and protect against the effects of, Black racial discrimination experiences (Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007; Neblett, Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006; Neblett et al., 2008).

Although Black youth are embedded in larger family and social contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Priest et al., 2014), previous studies almost exclusively focus on influences on ERI development from parents (Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014). Further, despite acknowledgement that identity achievement is rarely completed by the end of adolescence (Waterman, 1999), there are also few ERS and ERI studies that focus on developmental periods outside of adolescence (e.g. Bair & Steele, 2010; Quintana, 1998; Reynolds et al., 2017; Syed & Azmitia, 2009). As identity development continues through the early twenties, emerging adulthood offers opportunity for self-exploration and clarification of identities (Arnett, 2004). Black emerging adults continue the process of identity exploration, and modification, as a result of race-related experiences (Hurd, Sellers, Cogburn, Butler-Barnes, & Zimmerman, 2013; Parham, 1989). Given the importance of continued BRI development for Black youth throughout adolescence and emerging adulthood and the association between ERS messages and healthy BRI development, the purpose of this study is to gain basic understanding of primary ERS agents from early adolescence through emerging adulthood, the types of ERS messages Black youth receive during adolescence and emerging adulthood, common BRI profiles experienced during emerging adulthood, and the impact of the timing and type of ERS messages on BRI development during emerging adulthood.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

Ethnic-racial Socialization in Multidimensional Ecological Systems

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory posits that individuals develop within a multidimensional social context. Applied to ERS, the multidimensional social context impacts when, how, and why socialization agents deliver ERS messages to Black youth. According to Brofenbrenner (1979), an individual's environment and social context is divided into five different levels: (1) microsystem, (2) mesosystem, (3) exosystem, (4) macrosystem, and (5) chronosystem, and within each level are unique developmental processes, interactions, and relationships. Taking a larger ecosystemic approach may be key to understanding diverse avenues through which youth receive ERS messages and how BRI develops. For example, Robbins and colleagues (2007) found that interventions to reduce Black adolescents drug abuse that incorporated mesosystemic and exosystemic levels were more effective than just family focused interventions, and that the positive impact of the ecosystemic intervention on family functioning was key to positive ERS processes.

Microsystemic influences. The microsystem refers to the system that most immediately and directly impacts an individual's development as the individual interacts with others within the system. This system typically includes family, peers, and neighbors. ERI development is heavily influenced by support or stress within various social contexts. The family may be the most significant social context that influences ERI development (Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, & Updegraff, 2013) as familial ERS (Hughes et al., 2006) and warm relationships with parents are associated with positive ERI (Huang & Stormshak, 2011). There is extensive literature to suggest that parents, specifically, play a critical role in their children's ERS (Priest et al., 2014), but there has been minimal exploration of the influence on BRI development of other microsystem agents,

such as family members (Robbins et al., 2007; Sanders Thompson, 1994), peers (Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, & Sellers, 2005), and teachers (Smith, Atkins, & Connell, 2003).

The limited research that has been done on the influence of multiple socialization agents has found that Black adolescent and college students report receiving ERS messages from parents, other family members, other adults, and peers evenly (Lesane-Brown et al., 2005), and several studies in the education literature suggest teachers are influential ERS agents as they play a primary role in teaching students about racial and cultural diversity (Mickan, 2007; Paluck & Green, 2009). Smith and colleagues (2003) conducted a study with Black fourth graders to assess the influence of parents, teachers, and the community on Black children's ethnic-racial attitudes and found that teachers who exhibited higher levels of ethnic-racial trust (i.e. attitudes of trust toward individuals of other ethnic-racial backgrounds and behaviors in developing interracial relationships and interactions) were more optimistic about their children's ethnic-racial interactions and life possibilities and were more likely to have students who reflected similar optimistic attitudes than teachers who exhibited lower levels of ethnic-racial trust.

In looking at familial socialization agents, Sanders Thompson (1994) compared parents to non-parental family socialization agents in a sample of Black adults ages 18 – 85 years old and found that Black adults reported that non-parental family members used more ERS messages than parents and adult non-parental family members' ERS messages were more influential to their BRI development than parents' ERS messages. It is rather uncommon for Black youth to receive *no* ERS messages from parents, but Brega and Coleman (1999) found that youth who did not receive ERS messages from their parents received messages from other family members.

Exosystemic influences. The exosystem involves settings in which an individual does not have an active role, yet the individual is still influenced. At the exosystem level, Black youth

may be influenced by their socialization agents' experiences of oppression and discrimination. For example, Black parents who experience discrimination are more likely than their counterparts to believe that their children are (or will be) experiencing discrimination and provide their children with tools to cope with experiences of discrimination (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). These tools may include cultural socialization messages (practices that promote ethnic-racial pride; Berkel et al., 2009; Hughes & Johnson, 2001) and preparation for bias messages (messages that prepare youth to deal with race-related negative treatment; Berkel et al., 2009; Hughes, 2003). Specifically, Crouter, Baril, Davis, and McHale (2008) found that Black parents of children ages 10 – 19 who experienced higher levels of workplace discrimination were more likely to engage in cultural socialization practices and deliver preparation for bias messages than Black parents who experienced lower levels of workplace discrimination.

Macrosystemic influences. The macrosystem includes the cultural context in which an individual lives. Members within a macrosystem share a common identity and cultural values. Cultural influences within the macrosystem manifest through different medium, such as institutional discrimination and injustice, political messages, and media influences. Race and ethnicity becomes particularly salient as ethnic-racial minorities attempt to preserve their sense of self as a member of a devalued group (Schwartz, Vignoles, Brown, & Zagefka, 2014) when interacting in broader, macro-level social contexts (e.g., neighborhoods, community, school, work, and the larger society). Research suggests perceived discrimination among Black adolescents is associated with negative feelings toward their own ethnic-racial group (private regard; Seaton, Yip, & Sellers, 2009) and negative views of how others view their ethnic-racial group (public regard; Seaton et al., 2009; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). These findings indicate

that 1) Black youths' experiences of perceived racial discrimination are potentially linked to negative views about their own BRI, and 2) Black youths' experiences of perceived racial discrimination may influence the degree to which Black youth perceive that others hold negative views about their BRI. Similar to perceived discrimination experiences, Black media messages are also associated with BRI. Black youth with positive private regard agree more with positive messages of Black media and agree less with negative messages of Black media compared to Black youth with negative private regard (Adams-Bass, Stevenson, & Kotzin, 2014).

Chronosystemic influences. Bronfenbrenner (1979) describes the chronosystem as the dimension of time over an individual's life course. Shifts in ERI development follow changes in cognitive and social functioning across childhood through early adulthood. During middle childhood, ethnic-racial knowledge and ethnic-racial labeling are largely present in the process of ERI development. During this period, youth begin to identify and categorize themselves and others based on labels (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). As children transition into adolescence their cognitive abilities advance and they begin to interpret and make meaning of previous ERI labels (Cross & Cross, 2008). This process involves exploring ERI and internalizing values from one's own racial and ethnic groups (Quintana, 1998). Another developmental change during adolescence is increased autonomy and independence. Independence during early adolescence involves forming peer relationships separate from their parents, and youth begin to rely more on peers in constructing ERI (Lerner, Freund, DeStefanis, & Habermas, 2001). Once in middle adolescence, youth move more toward their own exploration process instead of relying strictly on parental and peer socialization influences (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014) as a result of increased resistance to peer pressure (Steinberg & Monahan, 2007).

Changes over time may influence the types of ERS messages socialization agents declare appropriate for Black youth. Previous literature suggests parents' ERS messages shift as children age to account for changes in children's experiences and cognitive abilities (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Although parents deliver cultural socialization messages to children of all ages, messages to prepare their child for ethnic-racial bias are commonly used only as the child ages (Priest et al., 2014) as parents believe it is not developmentally appropriate to discuss these issues with younger children (Suizzo, Robinson, & Pahlke, 2008). Specifically, parents present cultural socialization messages when their children are, on average, between 4 and 14 years old (Hughes & Chen, 1997) and do not begin to present preparation for bias messages until their children reach ages 9 – 14 (Hughes & Chen, 1997) in relation to when parents believe their children begin to experience increased discrimination (Lalonde, Jones, & Stroink, 2008). Additionally, cultural socialization messages are often more dominant than preparation for bias messages for youth between the ages of 10 and 12 years old (Hughes, 2003; Johnston et al., 2007; Lalonde et al., 2008). A combination of adolescents' ERI exploration process, increased likelihood of experiencing racism and discrimination, and their ability to reflect on such experiences may also prompt adolescents to initiate conversations about race and BRI with their parents (Hughes & Johnson, 2001).

Although ERS and ERI research has predominately focused on adolescence, emerging adulthood is also a developmental period critical to ERI development. ERI development during emerging adulthood is a continuation of ERI development from adolescence with a greater emphasis on integrating other social identities (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Consistent with previous findings in the childhood and adolescence literatures (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013), Reynolds and

colleagues (2017) found a positive association between ERS and BRI within a college sample. Additionally, earlier ERS messages received by emerging adults may influence the degree to which emerging adults' ERI is resilient in the face of larger societal messages. For example, in another study on Black college students, students who received more protective messages (preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust) from parents during childhood were more likely to reject color-blind attitudes as emerging adults compared to students who did not receive protective messages from parents during childhood (Barr & Neville, 2008).

Theory and research indicate that BRI may become more rich, developed, and comprehensive as emerging adults engage in a deeper understanding of the adult world than previously experienced during adolescence. As emerging adults build and engage in intimate relationships with significant family members, peers, and romantic partners (Demir, 2010), ERS messages from diverse socialization agents may have great value in providing emerging adults culturally relevant messages which may be associated with healthy BRI development during emerging adulthood.

Black Ethnic-Racial Identity and Expanded Nigrescence Theory

BRI development in the Unites States has been conceptualized through various theories and models, and one of the most developed theories of BRI is the nigrescence theory (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Nigrescence is defined as "the process of becoming Black" (Cross, 1991). Cross's nigrescence theory outlining the stages of Black consciousness development was originally introduced in 1971 (Cross, 1971), but has since been revised (Cross, 1991) and expanded (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) to discuss nigrescence as Black identity attitudes as opposed to developmental stages.

Nigrescence theory – expanded (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) includes eight exemplars of Black identity that fall into three categories: Pre-encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. The attitudes that indicates non-engagement in Black culture is known as Pre-Encounter attitudes. According to the theory, Black individuals begin with Pre-Encounter attitudes, and an individual will likely experience a racial-cultural "encounter" that causes the individual to go through a conversion experience that fosters a new identity, Immersion-Emersion, that engages Blackness and signifies the initial transition from a non-engaged to an engaged identity. The identity in which people engage more richly in Black culture is called Internalization, and "internalization-commitment" exhibits continued and consistent engagement in Black culture.

Exemplars of the nigrescence theory are operationalized based on the following question and criterion (Cross & Vandiver, 2001):

> What type of Black identities increase the probability that the person will join with other Blacks to (a) engage in struggles against the problems and challenges that beset Black people, and (b) engage in the search, codification, dissemination, protection, and celebration of Black culture and history? (p. 374)

Six of the eight exemplars were operationalized in the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver et al., 2000; Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004) that was developed to measure BRI. The six exemplars included in the CRIS are used in the present study to conceptualize BRI development and are explained below. The three Pre-Encounter exemplars included in the CRIS are Assimilation (PA), Miseducation (PM), and Self-Hatred (PSH). Assimilation is an exemplar of a Black individual whose identity is fixated on being an individual and an American with little value being placed on ethnic-racial group identity. This individual ranges from non-engagement

in Black culture and Black issues to showing disdain toward Black culture and Black groups. Miseducation is a Black identity exemplar where an individual accepts stereotypical forms of cultural-historical misinformation as truth. This person hesitates to engage in the Black community and Black issues as they see little value in the Black community. This individual works to separate their self-image from the perceived stereotypic, negative Black group image. Self-Hatred is an exemplar of a Black individual that experiences negative, internalized self-loathing feelings because they are Black. Due to personal and group hatred, this individual does not engage in Black culture or Black issues.

The only Immersion-Emersion exemplar included in the CRIS is Anti-White (IEAW), which represents a Black individual who is nearly consumed by hatred of the dominant White society. This individual engages in Black culture and Black issues but is full of pent-up anger and is often erratic and explosive. Finally, the two Internalization exemplars are Afrocentric (IA) and Multiculturalistic Inclusive (IMCI). An Afrocentric identity represents a Black individual that engages in Black culture and Black issues while holding proud Black perspectives about oneself, other Black people, and the surrounding world. A Multiculturalistic Inclusive identity is exemplified by a Black individual whose identity infuses three or more social identities with nearly equal weight given to each identity. This individual engages the Black community and also values a variety of cultural activities and events. This individual also seeks out solutions to issues that address multiple oppressions. Refer to Table 1 for a summary of nigrescence exemplars and attitudes included in this study.

Black Ethnic-Racial Identity Development in a Social Context

Black youth and adults face many challenges in developing a positive BRI. Black youth grow up in environments where they often experience discrimination, oppression, and structural

barriers that limit access to opportunities and advancement in society (Lesane-Brown et al., 2005). ERS messages are vital to the nigrescence process and forming a positive BRI in the face of such challenges. Previous literature suggests that parental ERS is associated with BRI development in Black youth (Bennett, 2006; Neblett et al., 2008; Willis et al., 2007) and adult offspring (Sanders Thompson, 1994). Pre-school aged children display Eurocentric ideology, and as they reach age seven, children become more neutral or Afrocentric as parents deliver ERS messages (Spencer, 1983). For example, Black children are more likely to question dominate worldviews and shift from pre-encounter ethnic-racial attitudes to attitudes similar to the encounter attitudes of nigrescence theory (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) when they receive ERS messages from parents compared to Black children who do not receive ERS messages from parents (Hughes et al., 2006).

Additionally, the type of ERS message delivered may have differential outcomes on BRI development. For example, Demo and Hughes (1990) found that among Black adults, egalitarian messages (messages that promote interracial equality and multiethnic coexistence; Bowman & Howard, 1985) received during childhood were associated with positive Black in-group evaluation during adulthood, racial barrier (i.e., preparation for bias) messages received during childhood were associated with Black separatism (attitudes that Blacks should embrace Black culture and Black cultural advancement and hold social relationships with other Blacks whenever possible, and have stronger feelings of closeness toward other Blacks) during adulthood, and racial pride (i.e., cultural socialization) messages received during childhood were associated with feelings of closeness toward Blacks during adulthood.

Neblett and colleagues (2008) suggest that racial pride and racial barrier messages, along with socialization behaviors, may send the message that race is important and lead to the

integration of Blackness as a central part of identity in Black adolescents. Racial pride messages have consistent positive associations with BRI across the literature (see Lesane-Brown, 2006; Hughes et al., 2006), and racial pride messages are also linked to greater racial awareness, more positive ethnic-racial in-group attitudes, and increased closeness with Black in-groups compared to other types of ERS messages (Davis, Smith-Bynum, Saleem, Francois, & Lambert, 2017; Demo & Hughes, 1990; O'Connor, Brooks-Gunn, & Graber, 2000; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990).

Preparation for bias messages may also be important to healthy BRI development as Black adolescents who embrace teachings about racism are more likely to endorse more advanced stages of BRI development than their counterparts (Marshall, 1995; Stevenson, 1995). Specifically, Hughes and Johnson (2001) found that Black children who received preparation for bias messages were more likely to engage in making meaning of race and BRI exploration than Black children who did not.

While there is empirical evidence that supports the positive relationship between racial pride messages and BRI outcomes, there is not yet a strong enough body of literature examining the association between other types of ERS messages, specifically racial barrier, egalitarian, and negative messages (messages that reinforce negative stereotypes about Black people; Neblett et al., 2008), and BRI to proclaim positive or negative outcomes. Studies addressing racial barrier messages have inconclusive and mixed findings. Some studies suggest that receiving racial barrier messages is associated with internalized Afrocentric attitudes (Spencer, 1983) and more advanced stages of BRI development (Marshall, 1995; Stevenson, 1995). Other studies suggest racial barrier messages are linked to negative outcomes such as fostering negative and unhealthy private regard (Davis et al., 2017) and discourages Black youth from trusting and interacting

with others outside of their ethnic-racial group (Biafora et al., 1993; Marshall, 1995). Further, little is known about the association between receiving egalitarian and negative messages and BRI outcomes. Previous findings on the association between egalitarian messages and BRI have produced mixed findings. Some studies found negative relationships between Black youth receiving egalitarian messages and BRI. Specifically, receiving egalitarian messages is linked to internalized negative stereotypes, unrealistic intergroup relations, and poor coping abilities among Black youth when faced with experiences of racial discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Spencer, 1983; Stevenson, 1995). However, Demo and Hughes (1990) found a positive relationship between Black youth receiving egalitarian messages and BRI; specifically, receiving egalitarian messages during childhood is associated with positive Black in-group evaluation during adulthood. Neblett and colleagues (2008) conducted a longitudinal study with Black adolescents to examine the associations between patterns of racial socialization experiences and BRI and found that receiving negative messages from parents at Time 1 was associated with assimilationist ideology of Black youth after a one-year follow-up. Accordingly, further research is needed to understand the influence of diverse ERS messages from diverse socialization agents on BRI development across adolescence and into emerging adulthood.

The Present Study

This study used a retrospective approach (see Hardt & Rutter, 2004) to understand the impact of salient ERS messages received by Black emerging adults from diverse socialization agents during early adolescence, late adolescence, and emerging adulthood on Black emerging adults' current stage of BRI development. Specifically, the purpose of this study was to gain a basic understanding of primary ethnic-racial socialization agents prominent in the memories of emerging adults from early adolescence to emerging adulthood, the types of racial socialization

messages remembered from those times, common BRI profiles experienced by Black emerging adults, and the impact of the timing and type of ERS messages Black youth received on BRI development during emerging adulthood. The knowledge gained from this study may be used to provide specific recommendations on the optimal types and timing of ERS messages from specific groups of socialization agents to improve Black youth identity development and enhance Black youths' skills of dealing with adverse ethnic-racial experiences. In order to meet these goals, several research questions were explored:

1) Who/what are the primary racial socialization agents salient to emerging adults thinking back through different developmental periods?
2) Which types of ERS messages were the most strongly remembered within each developmental period?
3) During which developmental period were specific types of ERS messages most strongly remembered?
4) What are common BRI profiles experienced during emerging adulthood?
5) What is the association between the types of ERS messages emerging adults remember from different developmental periods and common BRI profiles during emerging adulthood?

Finally, several control variables were included in the analysis to account for extraneous variation due to known effects on the content and frequency of ERS messages and BRI development. Gender was included because ERS messages are used more frequently with girls than boys (Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown, & Ezell, 2007; Caughy, Randolph, & O'Campo, 2002), and boys receive more messages of overcoming racism than girls (Thomas, 1999). Parents' socioeconomic status (education and income) was included because studies show

that parents from different socioeconomic backgrounds hold different attitudes about race and ethnicity along with differences in content and frequency of presented ERS messages (Caughty et al., 2002; Hughes et al., 2006; McHale et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2008). Black emerging adults' educational background was also included due to increased cultural diversity and diverse worldviews in the "consciousness-raising environment" of college settings (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Racial community composition was included as neighborhoods vary in ethnic-racial composition and in patterns of intergroup relations (Hughes et al., 2006), and studies have found greater preparation for bias messages in integrated neighborhoods (Caughy, Nettles, O'Campo, & Lohrfink, 2006; Stevenson et al., 2002; Stevenson, McNeil, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2005) compared to predominately White (Caughy et al., 2006) or predominately Black neighborhoods (Stevenson et al., 2002). Lifetime discrimination experiences was included as studies suggest Black parents deliver promotion of mistrust messages to their children when parents perceive their children has been treated unfairly by adults and when their children perceive they have been treated unfairly by peers (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Further, research shows that Black adolescents' experiences of discrimination prompt frequent ERS messages from their parents (Miller & MacIntosh, 1999). Lastly, Black youths' level of comfort in engaging in ethnic-racial socialization practices with primary socialization agents was included as a control because of literature suggesting that Black parents who have a positive relationship with their children use ERS messages more frequently (Frabutt, Walker, & MacKinnon-Lewis, 2002), and positive parenting practices have a positive impact on Black youth's BRI development (Caldwell, Zimmerman, Bernat, Sellers, & Notaro, 2002; Murry, Brown, Brody, Cutrona, & Simons, 2001; Swenson & Prelow, 2005; Reynolds et al., 2017).

Chapter 3 - Method

Sample and Procedure

An online Qualtrics (Qualtrics, 2014) survey was created for this cross-sectional, retrospective study, and IRB approval was obtained before the survey was made available to participants. Black individuals between 19 and 25 years of age were recruited to participate in the present study through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk; Amazon, 2005-2018), an Amazon web service and crowdsourcing internet marketplace, where requesters and researchers generate tasks and surveys for participants to complete. The Qualtrics survey was made available through MTurk to potential participants who met the inclusion criteria of the study. The inclusion criteria for this study included self-identifying as African, African-American, Black, West Indian/Caribbean Black, Hispanic Black, or Black-mixed; being between the ages of 19 and 25 years of age; and continuously living in the United States since the age of 10 years old. Participants included in the study also required internet access and were willing and able to undergo the informed consent process. Before having full accesses to the survey, participants were required to agree to the informed consent provided which included information such as the purpose of the study, eligibility criteria, study procedures, anticipated risks or discomforts, anticipated benefits, extent of confidentiality, and terms of participation. Participants were notified that the survey would take approximately 60 minutes to complete (the average completion time was approximately 25 minutes), and participants who completed the study and provided the correct verification code were compensated $2.00 via MTurk for their participation in the study.

Of the 200 individuals who completed the survey, 29 participants were removed from the final sample due to inaccurate responses to quality check questions. Thus, the final sample for

this study included 171 participants. Among the 171 participants in the final sample, the average age of participants was 23 years of age (SD = 1.70), 66% were male, and 55% self-identified as African-American. Table 2 provides descriptive information on participants included in the study.

Measures

Black ethnic-racial identity. The Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver et al., 2000; Worrell et al., 2004) was used to assess participants' racial attitudes. The CRIS is a 40-item instrument based on Nigrescence Theory – Expanded (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) which consists of six racial attitude subscales (5 items each): Pre-Encounter Assimilation (α = .88), Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred (α = .82), Pre-Encounter Miseducation (α = .89), Immersion-Emersion Anti-White (α = .88), Internalization Afrocentricity (α = .79), and Internalization Multiculturalistic Inclusive (α = .83) and 10 filler items not used in scoring. Filler items were included in the development of the scale to provide separation between items on the same subscale. Each subscale was scored by computing the averages of the individual subscale items, and a higher score on each scale reflected stronger attitudes associated with the scale. Participants rated attitudinal statements corresponding to each of the 6 exemplars on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) with 4 (*neither agree nor disagree*) as a neutral response. Similar to the present study, previous studies with adolescent, emerging adult, and adult samples have been found to be internally consistent with alpha estimates ranging from .78 to .90 (Worrell et al., 2004).

Socialization agents. In order to assess the primary socialization agents in the lives of Black emerging adult individuals, participants were asked to respond to the question "As you reflect on your (past) experiences from [developmental period], rank in order which sources

shape your idea of how you see yourself as a Black person. (1 = most influential and 12 = least influential).” The socialization agents participants ranked were *parents*, *siblings*, *adult family members*, *peers (of the same race as myself)*, *peers (of a different race than myself) neighbors*, *teachers*, *mentors*, *community leaders*, *American media*, *Black media*, and *other*. Primary socialization agents were determined to be the top three ranked agents, and participants ranked each agent at three different developmental periods: *early adolescence* (ages 11-14)*, late adolescence* (ages 15-18)*,* and *emerging adulthood* (ages 19-25).

Ethnic-racial socialization message content. A brief version of the Racial Socialization Questionnaire - Teen (RSQ-t; Lesane-Brown, Scottham, Nguyên, & Sellers, 2006) was used to examine the content of ERS messages participants received from their primary ethnic-racial socialization agents (the top three agents reported from previous socialization ranking question), during early adolescence, late adolescence, and emerging adulthood. The RSQ-t is a 26-item instrument consisting of six subscales based on the content of socialization messages: Racial Pride, Racial Barrier, Egalitarian, Self-Worth, Negative, and Racial Socialization Behaviors. The Racial Pride subscale measures the extent to which socialization agents encourage individuals to take pride in their racial group (e.g. “You should be proud to be Black”). The Racial Barrier subscale measures the frequency of messages that prepare participants for racial adversity in the broader society (e.g. “Blacks have to work twice as hard as Whites to get ahead”). The Egalitarian subscale measures the extent to which socialization agents communicate the importance of interracial equality (e.g. “You should try to have friends of all different races”). The Self-Worth measures the frequency with which socialization agents communicate that participants have value as an individual (e.g. “You should be proud of who you are”). The Negative subscale measures the extent to which socialization agents communicate negative

messages about Black people (e.g. "Learning about Black history is not all that important"). The Racial Socialization Behaviors subscale measures the extent to which socialization agents engage in activities or behaviors related to Black culture (e.g. "Bought you Black toys or games"). In the original scale, participants respond to each item using a 3-point Likert scale (0 = *never*, 2 = *more than twice*) indicating the frequency that socialization agents engaged in various racial socialization practices.

The RSQ-t was modified in two ways for the present study. First, one item was created to represent the idea central to each of the following subscales of the RSQ-t: Racial Pride, Racial Barrier, Egalitarian, and Negative. The Self-Worth subscale was not represented because it more closely addresses overall self-worth as opposed to self-worth as a Black individual, and the Racial Socialization Behavior subscale was not represented because it emphasizes socialization actions and practices in which some socialization agents in the present study (e.g. Black media) would be unable to engage participants. Second, the number of Likert scale response options was expanded to increase variance and reliability and the anchors were changed to reflect level of agreement rather than frequency, which may be more susceptible to recall bias, resulting in a scale that ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) with 3 (*neither agree nor disagree*) as a neutral response. Participants indicated on this scale the extent to which they agreed with each of the four statements: "[Socialization agent] expressed to me the importance of appreciating Black culture" (Racial Pride), "[Socialization agent] expressed to me that Blacks face more obstacles than Whites because of the color of their skin" (Racial Barrier), "[Socialization agent] expressed to me the importance of building relationships with people of different races" (Egalitarian), and "[Socialization agent] expressed to me that Black people are inferior to White people" (Negative). Participants responded to each of the four items for their

top three socialization agents per each developmental period, totaling 36-item responses for this scale.

Control variables. Gender (1 = *male*; 2 = *female;* 3 = *other*), participant's highest level of education (1 = *elementary school*; 2 = *middle school*; 3 = *some high school*; 4 = *high school diploma/equivalent*; 5 = *business or trade school*; 6 = *some college*; 7 = *associate or two-year degree*; 8 = *bachelor's or four-year degree*; 9 = *some graduate/professional school*; 10 = *graduate or professional degree*), primary caregiver's highest level of education (1 = *elementary school*; 2 = *middle school*; 3 = *some high school*; 4 = *high school diploma/equivalent*; 5 = *business or trade school*; 6 = *some college*; 7 = *associate or two-year degree*; 8 = *bachelor's or four-year degree*; 9 = *some graduate/professional school*; 10 = *graduate or professional degree*), and household income (0 = *less than $10,000*; 1 = *$10,000-19,999*; 2 = *$20,000-29,999*; 3 = *$30,000-39,999*; 4 = *$40,000-49,999*; 5 = *$50,000-59,999*; 6 = *$60,000-69,999*; 7 = *$70,000-79,999*; 8 = *$80,000-89,999*; 9 = *$90,000-99,999*; 10 = *more than $99,999*) were demographic variables used as control variables. Additional demographic variables were obtained to assess the racial composition of the community in which participants were raised. Participants were asked to respond to the single question item "How would you describe the racial composition of the community you primarily lived in from ages [developmental period ages]?" in which participants responded 1 = *mostly black*, 2 = *mostly white*, 3 = *mixed*, or 4 = *other*. Participants responded to this question on three separate occasions to account for experiences during early adolescence, late adolescence, and emerging adulthood. A single-item was computed by combining racial community responses across the three developmental periods to create a globalized, average racial community score, and this item was included as a control variable. Further, a single question was used to assess participants' level of comfort in engaging in ethnic-racial

socialization practices with primary socialization agents. Participants were asked to respond to the question items "How comfortable were/are you exploring race and ethnicity with [primary socialization agents] from ages [developmental period age]?" in which comfort was assessed using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *very uncomfortable*, 5 = *very comfortable*). Participants responded to this question on three separate occasions to account for experiences during early adolescence, late adolescence, and emerging adulthood. A single-item was computed by combining comfort responses across the three developmental periods to create an average comfort score accounting for participants' experiences over time, and this item was included as a control variable.

The Schedule of Racist Events (SRE; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) was used to assess participants' experiences of discrimination. The SRE is a 53-item instrument aimed to access Black individuals' experiences of specific racist events. The SRE consists of three discrimination subscales: recent racist events (α = .97), lifetime racist events (α = .95), and appraised racist events (α = .92). The recent racist events subscale is an 18-item subscale that measures the frequency of experiencing racism within the past year (e.g. How often have you been treated unfairly by your *employers, bosses and supervisors* because you are Black? How many times in the past year?), the lifetime racist events subscale is an 18-items subscale that measures the frequency of experiencing racism during participant's entire life (e.g. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *teachers and professors* because you are Black? How many times in your entire life?), and the appraised racist events subscale is a 17-item subscale that measures participants' stress responses to specific experiences of racism (e.g. "How stressful was this for you?"). Participants respond to each item of the recent racist events subscale and the lifetime racist events subscale using a 6-point Likert scale measuring frequency (1 = *If this NEVER*

happened to you, 6 = *If this has happened ALMOST ALL OF THE TIME*), and participants respond to each item of the appraised racist events subscale using a 6-point Likert scale measuring relevance of emotional responses (1 = *Not at All*, 6 = *Extremely*). The lifetime racist events subscale was used to create a control variable for the present study to account for participants' lifetime experiences of discrimination. The lifetime racist events subscale score was computed by averaging the individual subscale items, and a higher score on the subscale reflected more frequent experiences of racist events throughout participants' lives; thus, creating a lifetime discrimination experiences control variable.

Data Analysis Plan

The purpose of this study was five-fold: 1) to gain a clearer understanding of who, or what, emerging adults perceived as the primary racial socialization agents throughout their adolescence and current developmental period (RQ1), 2) which types of ERS messages emerging adults perceived to be the most salient within each developmental period (RQ2), 3) which developmental periods specific types of ERS messages were most strongly remembered (RQ3), 4) common BRI profiles experienced during emerging adulthood (RQ4), and 5) the association between the types of ERS messages emerging adults remember from different developmental periods and common BRI profiles during emerging adulthood (RQ5). It is important to note that the present study is a retrospective study. Retrospective studies examine retrospective recall of childhood experiences (Hardt & Rutter, 2004), and in this study, participants were required to remember and recall adolescence experiences during their emerging adult life. Data were analyzed in SPSS-IBM 25 (IBM, 2017) and M*plus 8* (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2017) structural equation modeling software. Skewness and kurtosis was assessed to determine how non-normality in the distribution of the data would be handled, and a skewness greater than 2 and

kurtosis greater than 7 presents severely non-normal data (Finney & Distefano, 2006; Kline, 2011).

RQ1. Descriptive statistics were examined in SPSS-IBM 25 to determine who/what were the primary racial socialization agents salient to emerging adults thinking back through different developmental periods. Specifically, mean scores were analyzed to determine which socialization agents shaped participants' idea of how they perceived themselves as a Black person from most influential (most influential = highest mean rank = smallest mean score) to least influential (least influential = lowest mean rank = largest mean score). Additionally, multiple repeated measures analysis of variances (ANOVA; Fields, 2013) were conducted using SPSS-IBM 25 to examine how the reported influence of each socialization agent changed over time. The independent categorical variable was time (early adolescence, late adolescence, and emerging adulthood) and the continuous dependent variable was socialization agents mean ranking scores. Wilks' Lambda was assessed to determine if there was a significant difference in the mean rankings of each socialization agent between at least two of the time periods, and Wilks' Lambda is statistically significant at p-values less than .05 (Fields, 2013). Bonferroni's post hoc test was conducted to assess the significant difference between mean ranking scores of each socialization agent, and the pairwise comparisons are significant at p-values less that .05 (Fields, 2013).

RQ2. Several repeated measures ANOVAs were conducted using SPSS-IBM 25 to examine which types of ERS messages were the most strongly remembered within each developmental period. The independent categorical variable was ERS message content (racial pride, racial barrier, egalitarian, and negative) and the continuous dependent variables were ERS message scores during each developmental period. Wilks' Lambda was assessed to determine if

there was a significant difference between ERS message scores among at least two types of ERS messages, and Bonferroni's post hoc test was conducted to assess the significant difference between each set of ERS message scores.

RQ3. Multiple repeated measures ANOVAs were conducted using SPSS-IBM 25 to determine during which developmental period specific types of ERS messages were most strongly remembered. The independent categorical variable was time (early adolescence, late adolescence, and emerging adulthood) and the continuous dependent variables were scores on the four ERS message content items. Wilks' Lambda was assessed to determine if there was a significant different in each ERS message score between at least two of the time periods, and Bonferroni's post hoc test was conducted to assess the significant difference between each set of ERS message scores.

RQ4. A latent class analysis (LCA; McCutcheon, 1987) was conducted using M*plus 8* to develop racial attitude profile classes, or subgroups of individuals with similar patterns of scores across the six exemplars of the CRIS (Vandiver et al., 2000; Worrell et al., 2004). Initially, the model fit of a single-class model was tested against a two-class model. Subsequently, models with two, three, four, five, six, seven, and eight classes were each tested against the fit of the preceding model until model fit was optimized. Loglikelihood (Pinheiro & Bates, 1995), bootstrapped likelihood ratio test (BLRT; McLachlan, 1987), sample-size adjusted Bayesian Information Criterion (ABIC; Sclove, 1987), Lo–Mendell–Rubin Likelihood Ratio Test (LMR; Lo, Mendell, & Rubin, 2001), and entropy (Esteban & Morales, 1995) were the model fit indices used to determine the optimal model. The optimal number of classes and best model fit was indicated by lower values for loglikelihood and ABIC and higher values for entropy. An LMR

and BLRT significance value of $p < .05$ indicated the model with a determined number of classes (k) fit significantly better than a model with one fewer class ($k - 1$).

RQ5. After classes were determined posterior probabilities were used to assign each participant to a class. Once participants were assigned to a single class, a multinomial logistic regression (Kwak & Clayton-Matthews, 2002) was conducted using M*plus 8* to assess the association between the types of ERS messages emerging adults remembered from different developmental periods and common BRI profiles during emerging adulthood. Missing data were handled with full information maximum likelihood (FIML; Enders & Bandalos, 2001) methods. Lastly, the model controlled for gender, participant's education, primary caregiver's education, household income, racial composition of community in which participant was raised, participant's lifetime discrimination experiences, and participant's level of comfort in engaging in ethnic-racial socialization practices with primary socialization agents.

Chapter 4 - Results

Socialization Agents

Descriptive statistics were analyzed in order to examine which socialization agents shaped participants' idea of how they perceived themselves as a Black person from most influential (most influential = highest mean rank = smallest mean score) to least influential (least influential = lowest mean rank = largest mean score). Means, standard deviations, and sum scores were assessed at three different developmental periods: early adolescence (ages 11-14), late adolescence (ages 15-18), and emerging adulthood (ages 19-25). Interestingly, participants' average ranking of most to least influential socialization agents during early and late adolescence was identical (see Table 3 for rankings, means, and standard deviations): parents were the most influential socialization agents on participants' BRI development followed by siblings, adult family members, peers of the same race, peers of a different race, teachers, neighbors, mentors, American media, Black media, community leaders, and "Other." Interestingly, although participants also reported that parents were the most influential socialization agents on their BRI development during emerging adulthood, now peers of the same race were reported as the second most influential socialization agents followed by siblings, peers of a different race, and adult family members. The remaining socialization agents remained in the same rank order as during early and late adolescence apart from community leaders (ranked 11th during adolescence; ranked 10th during emerging adulthood) becoming more influential than Black media (ranked 10th during adolescence; ranked 11th during emerging adulthood) during emerging adulthood. Additionally, multiple one-way repeated measures analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted to examine the null hypothesis that there is no change in the influence of socialization agents across early adolescence, late adolescence, and emerging adulthood.

Parents, siblings, adult family members, and peers. To examine the relative shift in the average ranking score of parents, family members, and peers from adolescence to emerging adulthood, several one-way repeated measures analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted in which the independent categorical variable was time and the continuous dependent variables were parents, siblings, adult family members, and peer mean ranking scores. The results of these ANOVAs indicated a significant time effect on the influence of parents, siblings, adult family members, peers of the same race, and peers of a different race on emerging adults' BRI development; thus, there is significant evidence to reject the null hypotheses that there is no change in the influence of specific socialization agents from adolescence to emerging adulthood.

Post-hoc comparisons indicated a significant increase in parent mean score (larger mean score = lower mean rank = less influential) between early adolescence and emerging adulthood ($p < .001$) and late adolescence and emerging adulthood ($p < .001$). Similarly, adult family member mean score increased between early adolescence and emerging adulthood ($p < .001$) and late adolescence and emerging adulthood ($p < .001$), suggesting that parents and adult family members became less influential socialization agents as participants moved from early adolescence through to emerging adulthood. Additionally, comparisons indicated a significant increase in sibling mean score (larger mean score = lower mean rank = less influential) from late adolescence to emerging adulthood ($p < .001$), suggesting that siblings were more influential socialization agents during late adolescence than emerging adulthood. Finally, mean scores for the influence of both same race and different race peers were significantly lower (smaller mean score = higher mean rank = more influential) in early (same race = $p < .01$; different race = $p < .001$) and late (same race = $p < .001$; different race = $p < .01$) adolescence than during emerging

adulthood, suggesting that peers were more influential socialization agents during emerging adulthood than adolescence.

Neighbors, teachers, mentors, community leaders, American media, Black media, and other socialization agents. Based on the consistency of rank order in the influence of these seven socialization agents on participants' BRI development across developmental periods, additional ANOVAs were conducted in order to confirm that there was no significant shift in emerging adults' perception of the level of influence of neighbors, teachers, mentors, community leaders, American media, Black media, and other socialization agents from adolescence through emerging adulthood. As expected, there was no significant time effect across developmental periods, indicating emerging adults' perceived influence of these seven socialization agents remained relatively consistent across early adolescence, late adolescence, and emerging adulthood.

Types of ERS Messages within Developmental Periods

Multiple ANOVAs were conducted to examine the null hypothesis that there is no difference in the prominence of ERS message content (racial pride, racial barrier, egalitarian, and negative) received by participants within each developmental period (early adolescence, late adolescence, and emerging adulthood). To test this null hypothesis, the independent categorical variable was ERS message content and the continuous dependent variable was ERS message scores during each developmental period. Means and standard deviations of the prominence of each type of ERS content reported during each developmental period by participants is reported in Table 4.

Early adolescence. The means in Table 4 suggest that participants perceived that the most prominent ERS messages they received during early adolescence were egalitarian and

racial pride messages and the least prominent ERS messages they received during early adolescence were negative messages. The results of the ANOVA indicated the differences in participants' perceived prominence of these messages was statistically significant: Wilks' Lambda = .86, $F(3, 163) = 8.85$, $p < .001$, $n^2 = .14$. Thus, there was significant evidence to reject the null hypothesis. Follow up comparisons indicated that multiple pairwise differences were significant ($p < .05$). Specifically, racial pride messages were significantly more prominent than racial barrier messages ($p < .05$) and negative messages ($p < .001$). Egalitarian messages were significantly more prominent than racial barrier messages ($p < .001$) and negative messages ($p < .001$). Lastly, racial barrier messages were significantly more prominent than negative messages ($p < .001$)

Late adolescence. In the second ANOVA, the independent categorical variable was ERS message content and the continuous dependent variable was ERS message scores during late adolescence. Participants indicated that, on average, the most prominent ERS messages they received during late adolescence were egalitarian and racial pride messages and the least prominent ERS messages they received during late adolescence were negative messages. The results of the ANOVA indicated a significant difference in ERS message content (Wilks' Lambda = .85, $F(3, 162) = 9.67$, $p < .001$, $n^2 = .15$); thus, there is significant evidence to reject the null hypothesis. Follow up comparisons indicated that multiple pairwise differences were significant ($p < .01$). Specifically, racial pride messages were significantly more prominent than racial barrier messages ($p < .01$) and negative messages ($p < .001$). Egalitarian messages were significantly more prominent than racial barrier messages ($p < .001$) and negative messages ($p < .001$). Finally, racial barrier messages were significantly more prominent than negative messages ($p < .001$).

Emerging adulthood. In the final ANOVA, the independent categorical variable was ERS message content and the continuous dependent variable was ERS message scores during emerging adulthood. Similar to participants' perceptions of the prominence of ERS messages during early and late adolescence, these results suggest that the most prominent ERS messages received during emerging adulthood were egalitarian and racial pride messages and the least prominent ERS messages received during emerging adulthood were negative messages. The results of the ANOVA indicated a significant difference in ERS message content (Wilks' Lambda = .86, $F(3, 162) = 8.82$, $p < .001$, $n^2 = .14$); thus, there is significant evidence to reject the null hypothesis. Follow up comparisons indicated that multiple pairwise differences were significant ($p < .05$). Racial pride messages were significantly more prominent than racial barrier ($p < .01$) and negative messages ($p < .001$). Egalitarian messages were also significantly more prominent than racial barrier ($p < .001$) and negative messages ($p < .001$). Lastly, racial barrier messages were significantly more prominent than negative messages ($p < .001$).

ERS Messages across Time

Multiple ANOVAs were conducted to examine the null hypothesis that there is no change in ERS message content received by participants across early adolescence, late adolescence, and emerging adulthood.

Racial pride ERS messages. In the first ANOVA, the independent categorical variable was time and the continuous dependent variable was racial pride message scores. The results of the ANOVA indicated a significant time effect (Wilks' Lambda = .94, $F(2, 169) = 5.55$, $p < .01$, $n^2 = .06$); thus, there is significant evidence to reject the null hypothesis. Follow up comparisons indicated a significant increase in scores from early adolescence to late adolescence ($p < .01$),

suggesting that racial pride messages received by participants were more prominent during late adolescence than during early adolescence.

Egalitarian, racial barrier, and negative ERS messages. In subsequent ANOVAs, the independent categorical variable was time and the continuous dependent variables were egalitarian, racial barrier, and negative message scores. There was no significant time effect on racial barrier messages (Wilks' Lambda = .99, $F(2, 165) = .94$, $p > .05$, $n^2 = .01$), negative messages (Wilks' Lambda = .98, $F(2, 169) = 2.15$, $p > .05$, $n^2 = .03$), or egalitarian messages (Wilks' Lambda = .97, $F(2, 166) = 2.44$, $p > .05$, $n^2 = .03$); thus, there is significant evidence to suggest that participants received racial barrier messages, negative messages, and egalitarian messages relatively consistently across early adolescence, late adolescence, and emerging adulthood.

Black Ethnic-Racial Identity Profiles

A latent profile analysis (LPA) was conducted to determine BRI profiles. Model fit was assessed for 2-, 3-, 4-, 5-, 6-, 7-, and 8-class solutions (see Table 5), but warnings in M*plus 8* suggested that the standard errors of the 8-class model parameter estimates may not be trustworthy for some parameters, indicating potential statically unreliable results from these data due to model nonidentification. Examination of LMR test revealed that there was no significant difference between the 6- and 7-class models, and the entropy value for the 7-class model (.88) was slightly lower than the entropy value for the 6-class model (.90). However, upon further examination, the 7-class model outperformed the 6-class models on LL, ABIC, and BLRT. Taken together, the statistical indicators provided evidence that the 7-class model was the best fit to the data. Of the 171 participants included in the analysis, 10% were members of the Racially Avoidant class (class 1), 1.8% were members of the Personal Exception class (class 2), 9.9%

were members of the Colorblind Inclusive class (class 3), 26.2% were members of the Racially Ambivalent class (class 4), 12.4% were members of the Multicultural Inclusive class (class 5), 14.1% were members of the Socially Attractive class (class 6), and 25.6% were members of the Low Race Salience class (class 7). The seven classes that emerged from the LPA are shown in Figure 1.

The Racially Avoidant class. Accounting for 10% of participants, the Racially Avoidant class had average low scores across the attitudes of nigrescence; however, there was variability across the different racial attitudes. The highest average scores for this group were for assimilation and multiculturalistic inclusive attitudes followed by self-hatred attitudes. In other words, individuals in the Racially Avoidant class are aware of racial issues and disparities, but they actively avoid facing or addressing these issues while attempting to suppress their own ethnic-racial identity.

The Personal Exception class. The Personal Exception class was by far the smallest class (1.8% of participants) and had particularly high scores on miseducation attitudes and low scores on other attitudes of nigrescence. The personal Exception class also had particularly low scores on assimilation attitudes and anti-white attitudes. In other words, individuals in the Personal Exception class hold highly favorable views of White people and American culture, yet these individuals perceive themselves more as a part of a racial group than holding an "American" identity. In addition, individuals in the Personal Exception class have relatively low scores on self-hatred attitudes and exceptionally high scores on miseducation attitudes, meaning they hold extremely negative views about Black people and Black culture, yet they also hold extremely positive views about themselves as a Black individual. Consequently, individuals in

the Personal Exception class perceive themselves as a personal exception; they are different than those “other” Black people and are one of the few good Black people.

The Colorblind Inclusive class. The Colorblind Inclusive class (9.9% of participants), had the highest average score of all the classes on assimilation attitudes and the second highest average score on multiculturalistic attitudes in combination with the lowest average scores on miseducation and self-hatred of any of the classes. Mean scores for this class on anti-white and internalization of Afrocentricity attitudes were also very low compared to other groups. This pattern of responses indicated that individuals in this class are likely to engage in and encourage multicultural contact and inclusion but do so because they do not see, or place value on, racial differences (i.e., seeing themselves and others as American, or human, while ignoring diverse racial-ethnic experiences).

The Racially Ambivalent class. The Racially Ambivalent class was the largest class (including 26.2% of participants) and had relatively neutral, or ambiguous, attitudes across attitudes of nigrescence except for the low score on anti-white attitudes. Individuals in this class have mixed and conflicting view about themselves as a Black individual, their Black reference group, and Black culture. In addition, individuals in this class also have mixed and conflicting views about the dominant Eurocentric culture and members of the dominant culture. Individuals in this class struggle in determining when, how, and why to engage in Black culture.

The Multicultural Inclusive class. The Multicultural Inclusive class (12.4% of participants) was similar, in some regards, to the Colorblind Inclusive class. Although both groups had low scores on miseducation, self-hatred, and anti-white attitudes combined with extremely high multiculturalistic inclusive attitudes, the multicultural inclusive class displayed substantially lower assimilation attitudes and substantially higher Afrocentricity attitudes than

the Colorblind Inclusive class. In other words, individuals in this class value Black culture and themselves as Black individuals, and they also value multiple cultures and others outside of their own ethnic-racial reference group (i.e. being proud of their Black culture while also engaging in and encouraging multicultural contact and inclusion).

The Socially Attractive class. The Socially Attractive class (14.1% of participants) had high scores on assimilation attitudes, miseducation attitudes, and multiculturalistic attitudes along with low scores on self-hatred attitudes, anti-white attitudes, and Afrocentricity attitudes. Individuals in this class present to be socially attractive, or desirable, in the sense that on some level they perceive themselves as more American than belonging to a racial group and hold negative attitudes about Black people and culture. However, they also value multiple cultures and others outside of their own ethnic-racial reference group. This combination of scores on attitudes of nigresence can be viewed as assimilation into a piece of the dominant society that is seemingly more "open minded" and inclusive on the surface in an attempt to achieve social desirability.

The Low Race Salience class. The second largest class (25.6% of participants), the Low Race salience class had consistently neutral, or indifferent, attitudes across all attitudes of nigrescence. These average scores across attitudes of nigrescence indicates low race saliency, meaning individuals in this class have passive awareness or concern with their Black identity and culture. Individuals in the Low Race Salience class engage more apathetically with their Black identity and culture compared to other classes; not because they suppress or actively refuse to acknowledge their Black identity and culture but more so because their Black identity is not as prominent compared to individuals in other classes. With multiple competing identities, Black identity is not a primary focus of individuals belonging to this class.

Multinomial Logistic Regression to Predict Class Membership

Preliminary analysis of class differences. After assigning participants to a single class based on their highest posterior probability (see Table 6), mean-level differences between these seven classes of BRI were compared using on-way ANOVAs. When the homogeneity of variance between classes for all ERS message and CRIS variables were not the same across classes (determined by a significant value of the Levene's test; Schultz, 1985), Welch's *F* was used. Welch's *F* is an alternative *F*-ratio that adjusts *F* and residual degrees of freedom to be robust when homogeneity of variances is violated (Field, 2005). The Games-Howell post-hoc (Toothaker, 1993) was used to examine mean differences between specific pairs of classes. In general, there were significant differences between classes for all variables, $p < .05$. See Table 7 for mean comparisons between latent classes on nigrescence attitudes and ERS messages. Additionally, in order to examine significant associations between potential control variables for the multinomial logistic regression predicting racial classes, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) with a Games-Howell post-hoc was conducted. Participants' gender, racial community, level of education, primary caregiver's level of education, and household income were removed from the final model for parsimony due to non-significant associations with racial class.

Multinomial logistic regression path analysis. Controlling for lifetime discrimination experiences and comfort in engaging in ERS practices with socialization agents, results from the multinomial logistic regression run in M*plus 8* indicated that receiving different types of ERS messages during adolescence and emerging adulthood was significantly associated with forming different Black identity profiles during emerging adulthood, with the *Multicultural Inclusive* class set as the reference class. A one-unit increase in racial pride messages was associated with

a 99% reduction in odds of belonging to the *Personal Exception* class compared to the *Multicultural Inclusive* class. Also, a one-unit increase in racial barrier messages was associated with a 61% reduction in odds of belonging to the *Low Race Salience* class and a 53% reduction in odds of belonging to the *Socially Attractive* class compared to the *Multicultural Inclusive* class. Additionally, approaching significance at $p = .05$, a one-unit increase in racial barrier messages was associated with a 51% reduction in odds of belonging to the *Colorblind Inclusive* class compared to the *Multicultural Inclusive* class. Conversely, a one-unit increase in egalitarian messages was associated with a 4.13 times increase in the likelihood of belonging to the *Colorblind Inclusive* class compared to the *Multicultural Inclusive* class, and a one-unit increase in negative messages was associated with a 13.43 times increase in the likelihood of belonging to the *Low Race Salience* class and a 8.34 times increase in the likelihood of belonging to the *Racially Ambivalent* class compared to the *Multicultural Inclusive* class. Additionally, approaching significance at $p = .05$, a one-unit increase in negative messages was associated with a 25.7 times increase in the likelihood of belonging to the *Personal Exception* class compared to the *Multicultural Inclusive* class. Table 8 provides the unstandardized, standardized, significance values, and odds ratios the model.

Chapter 5 - Discussion

Despite recognition that identity achievement is rarely completed by the end of adolescence (Waterman, 1999) and Black youth are embedded in larger multicultural familial, communal, and societal contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Priest et al., 2014), previous studies almost exclusively focus on parents as the isolated provider of ERS messages during adolescence (Hughes et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014). Grounded in ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the purpose of this study was to gain a basic understanding of primary ERS agents that influence Black youth from early adolescence through emerging adulthood, the types of ERS messages Black youth receive during adolescence and emerging adulthood, common BRI profiles experienced during emerging adulthood, and the impact of the timing and type of ERS messages on BRI development during emerging adulthood.

Identifying Primary Ethnic-Racial Socialization Agents

Consistent with previous findings from literature on human development during adolescence (Lerner et al., 2001) and literature on ERI during adolescence and into young adulthood (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), although Black emerging adults ranked parents as the most influential socialization agents (followed by siblings, adult family members, and peers) from early adolescence through emerging adulthood, the strength of this influence waned as participants aged and peers gained influence. These findings may be due to the continual increase in autonomy and independence youth experience during adolescence (Lerner et al., 2001) and through emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2004) that foster more reliance on peers in constructing ERI. During adolescence, youth build peer relationships as they establish one core group of friends (Brown, 1990) that continuously expands into multiple peer groups over time. Peer groups that adolescents associate with largely take on support roles as adolescents seek

input and support from their peers (Buhrmester, 1996). As Black youth become more autonomous and independent and seek support from peers during adolescence, they may become more open, yet selective, in choosing who they openly engage with in ERS processes. Thus, it is likely that Black adolescents build intimate relationships with significant peer groups, and consequently, Black adolescents may be more likely to engage in ERS processes with peers while searching for their input and support than they would during childhood.

Additionally, the relationships between emerging adults and their parents become more egalitarian as youth enter adulthood, and emerging adults and their parents take each other's points of view more seriously (Arnett, 2004). Potentially, Black emerging adults and their parents share a more bi-lateral and open dialogue on ethnic-racial experiences and processes than during adolescence because of this newfound relationship based on mutual respect and understanding. This back-and-forth relationship dynamic may allow Black parents to continue to play a critical role in their emerging adult offspring's ERS processes by sharing experiences, values, and ideas similar to that of an equal peer. As emerging adults build multiple close relationships over time with parents, peers, and romantic partners (Demir, 2010), it is likely that Black emerging adults engage in ERS processes with those who they have built intimate relationships with.

Findings of the present study do not support strong influences from socialization agents that would have larger macrosystemic influences on Black youth and emerging adults' BRI development. These macro-level socialization agents include teachers in school settings; neighbors, mentors, and community leaders in community settings; and media in larger cultural settings. Additionally, there is also no difference in the influence of these socialization agents on Black youths' perception of how they see themselves as a Black person across adolescence and

emerging adulthood. These non-significant findings are surprising given race and ethnicity are particularly salient to ethnic-racial minorities interacting within broader social contexts as ethnic-racial minorities attempt to preserve their sense of self as a member of a devalued group (Schwartz et al., 2014). Black youth and emerging adults may perceive these socialization agents to be less influential than microsystemic socialization agents due to the lack of opportunity in building and maintaining intimate relationships over time with macrosystemic socialization agents compared to microsystemic socialization agents. Black adolescents and emerging adults may not feel as influenced by macrosystemic socialization agents, who may actually have stronger indirect influences than accounted for in the present study, as a result of their perceptions of influential socialization agents being dominated by the direct influences of and close relationships with microsystemic socialization agents. However, it is more likely that these non-significant results are due to measurement issues. This issue is further discussed in the limitations along with future suggestions for addressing this shortcoming.

Socialization Agents and ERS Messages within and across Time

Findings from the present study indicate that the most prominent ERS messages that Black emerging adults received during adolescence and emerging adulthood were racial pride and egalitarian messages, and the least prominent messages they received were negative messages. These findings are consistent with previous research focused on parent-child ERS processes that suggests racial pride messages are commonly delivered by parents of Black youth of all ages (Priest et al., 2014) and negative messages are the least common messages delivered by parents of Black adolescents (Neblett et al., 2008). Interestingly, the present study found that Black emerging adults received more prominent racial pride messages during late adolescence than during early adolescence. Previous literature suggest racial pride messages are associated

with greater racial awareness, more positive ethnic-racial in-group attitudes, and increased closeness with Black in-groups (Davis et al., 2017; Demo & Hughes, 1990; O'Connor et al., 2000; Thornton et al., 1990), and racial pride messages may send the message that race is important and lead to the integration of Blackness as a central part of identity in Black adolescents (Neblett, 2008). Accordingly, as autonomy increases and Black youth in late adolescence are preparing to launch into emerging adulthood (i.e. leaving home, making independent decisions, becoming self-sufficient, and exploring identity; Arnett, 2004), socialization agents may increase the provision of racial pride messages to prepare Black youth for the transition into emerging adulthood while maintaining an integrated BRI.

The present study also extends previous literature by highlighting the high prominence of egalitarian messages received by Black emerging adults over time. Previous research, albeit limited, suggests that Black adolescents and emerging adults receive egalitarian messages less frequently than racial pride messages (Neblett et al., 2008); however, findings of the present study indicate that the prominence of egalitarian messages were similar to the prominence of racial pride message received by Black emerging adults over time. Black emerging adults may receive strong egalitarian messages from socialization agents as socialization agents attempt to prepare Black youth for the transition into emerging adulthood where they have greater opportunity explore diverse experiences and identities (Arnett, 2004) while continuing to hold an identity that is integrated with Blackness. This supposition supports findings from Demo and Hughes (1990) that posits Black adults who receive egalitarian messages during childhood hold more positive attitudes about their Black in-group during adulthood compared to Black adults who do not receive egalitarian messages during childhood. Understandably, socialization agents may hold beliefs that delivering egalitarian messages may impact Black emerging adults in a

manner that encourages multiculturalistic inclusive attitudes (see Cross, 1991) within Black emerging adults. Hence, socialization agents may believe that the promotion of interracial equity and multicultural coexistence will foster sophisticated ideation of Blackness among Black emerging adults that support a positive BRI while also supporting attitudes that value diverse cultural experiences and the positive aspects of other cultures and identities.

Additionally, previous literature suggest racial barrier messages are not typically delivered by parents of Black youth until their Black youth offspring reach ages 9 – 14 (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Priest et al., 2014) and that Black adolescents and emerging adults receive racial barrier messages less frequently than racial pride messages, on par with egalitarian messages, and more frequently than negative messages (Neblett et al., 2008). However, although findings from the present study suggests that Black emerging adults receive stronger racial barrier messages than negative messages over time, Black emerging adults reported weaker racial barrier messages than racial pride and egalitarian messages over time. There are a few different alternatives that could explain these results. First, these findings could suggest that socialization agents believe that it is most important to stress ethnic-racial pride and the importance of establishing and engaging in relationships with others outside of one's ethnic-racial in-group than coping with ethnic-racial adversity for Black youth. Ethnic-racial socialization agents may genuinely believe that socializing Black youth and emerging adults in this manner is in the best interest of Black individuals as well as larger cultural and intercultural systems. Another potential explanation could be that socialization agents find it difficult to discuss discrimination, oppression, and injustice with Black youth and emerging adults. This may lead to less frequent racial barrier conversations or racial barrier conversations that are incomplete and not fully engaging or enriching (e.g. socialization agents alluding to ethnic-racial hardships without

directly addressing discrimination experiences and providing skills to cope). There could be multiple reasons as to why socialization agents may feel uncomfortable or less equip to have those difficult conversations such as a feeling of uncertainty in effectively addressing their own discrimination experiences, their own ERI and its influences on how they talk about discrimination experience and deliver racial barrier messages, or their beliefs on the importance of timing in having these conversations. Further research on racial barrier messages, socialization agents' discrimination experiences, and socialization agents ERI is needed to support these suppositions.

Further, findings of the present study indicate that racial barrier messages received by Black emerging adults remained relatively consistent across early adolescence, late adolescence, and emerging adulthood. These finds are contradictory to previous findings that posits Black parents provide more racial barrier messages to their children as their children age (Priest et al., 2014) and in relation to when parents believe their children begin to experience increased discrimination (Lalonde et al., 2008). Although racial barrier and other protective messages are influenced by age, these messages may also be influenced by the ethnic-racial composition of the setting in which Black adolescents and emerging adults reside (Priest et al., 2014). For example, some studies found that ethnic-racial minority college students reported receiving more racial pride messages than racial barrier messages from their parents (e.g. Bowman & Howard, 1985; Lesane-Brown et al., 2005; Rivas-Drake, 2011), however, Barr and Neville (2008) found that Black college students who attended a predominately White university reported receiving more protective messages (e.g. racial barrier) than proactive (e.g. racial pride) messages from parents. Hence, present and previous findings emphasizing the use of racial barrier messages must be viewed in conjunction with broader social contexts. Black emerging adults of the present study

consistently lived in racially mixed communities, which may explain the consistency of racial barrier messages across time. Further research that also address broader social contexts are needed to better understand racial barrier processes between socialization agents and Black emerging adults.

Identifying Classes of Black Ethnic-Racial Identity Profiles

Since the expanded nigrescence model moved from a developmental progression to a typology of attitudes, the present study attempted to explore the ways in which the racial attitudes of the nigrescence model co-existed within Black emerging adults to enhance understanding of BRI development. Using a latent profile analysis, the present study proposes evidence for seven classes of BRI based on the patterned arrangement of the racial attitudes of nigrescence. Based on these patterns of racial attitudes, Black emerging adults of the present analysis became members one of the seven listed classes: Racially Avoidant, Personal Exception, Colorblind Inclusive, Racially Ambivalent, Multicultural Inclusive, Socially Attractive, or Low Race Salience. The development of these classes is best understood through the lens of nigrescence theory (Cross, 1991; Cross & Vandiver, 2001) in conjunction with the developmental aspects of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2004). Arnett (2004) proposes that one of the most central features of emerging adulthood is that it is the time where individuals are able to explore possibilities for their lives in various areas. Emerging adulthood offers opportunity for individuals to engage in processes of self-exploration and clarification of identities by exploring multiple areas of one's life to better understand who they are and what they want out of life. Black emerging adults continue the process of BRI exploration and adaptation as a result of race-related experiences (Hurd et al., 2013; Parham, 1989), and Cross (1991) describes these race-related experiences as "encounters." Encounters are ethnic-racial experiences and events that

likely introduce identity reconstruction and transformation in Black emerging adults. Most Black people experience multiple racist or discriminatory events throughout their lifetime (Cross, 1991), and these ethnic-racial encounters have the potential to modify BRI and change attitudes about race and ethnicity. As Black emerging adults have experienced multiple racial encounters over their life course (Lesane-Brown et al., 2005), according to nigrescence theory it would be unlikely that they would continue to hold pre-encounter Eurocentric worldviews and attitudes on race and ethnicity. This would explain why the Personal Exception class, the BRI profile holding the strongest Eurocentric views, would be the smallest class. Black individuals belonging to this class may not have internalized ethnic-racial experiences, and their pre-encounter worldviews and attitudes may have gone unchanged. The process of internalizing ethnic-racial encounters may also explain why the Low Race Salience class, a profile of Black individuals who possess indifferent attitudes about race and ethnicity, make up only a quarter of the total sample in the present study while all other classes that engage, on some level, in race and ethnicity make up three-fourths of the sample. Developmentally, by the time a Black individual has reached emerging adulthood, it is unlikely that they have gone without internalizing at least some ethnic-racial encounters that result in the reconstruction of their BRI. Conversely, a Black individual who has internalized ethnic-racial encounters may initially respond to such encounters with alarm and confusion (Cross, 1991) as one's pre-existing Eurocentric worldviews and attitudes are challenged and previous neutral, or unfavorable, attitudes toward Blackness are questioned. The self-exploration opportunities provided during emerging adulthood combined with confusion experienced during encounters may result in Black emerging adults becoming uncertain and conflicted in their understanding of themselves, Black culture, others outside of their Black in-group, and other cultures. This would explain why the Racially Ambivalent class,

a BRI profile that experiences mixed and competing ethnic-racial worldviews and attitudes, would be the largest class. Further, Black individuals with a Multicultural Inclusive identity express worldviews and attitudes that are exponentially more sophisticated than other common BRI profiles presented in the present study. It is unlikely that Black emerging adults, particularly those in early emerging adulthood (ages 19 – 25), have yet to develop this rich and intricate BRI profile due to their early engagement in emerging adulthood self-exploration processes. This would explain why the Multicultural Inclusive class, a BRI profile that values multicultural experiences and integrates Blackness along with other intersectional identities into their own identity, is relatively small compared to most other classes in the present study.

The present examination adds to previous nigrescence cluster work (e.g. Chavez-Korell & Vandiver, 2012; Telesford, Mendoza-Denton, & Worrell, 2013; Whittaker & Neville, 2010; Worrell, Vandiver, Schaefer, Cross, & Fhagen-Smith, 2006) by highlighting the latent structures used to determine class-solutions and class belonging based on probabilistic modeling. An advantage of latent class analyses is that latent class analyses allow for the examination of model fit and the ability to describe the patterned distribution of data (McCutcheon, 1987). A comprehensive understanding of BRI profiles can be obtained through these probabilistic modeling methods.

Previous cluster work found BRI profiles based on clusters of nigrescence attitudes among Black emerging adult college students with similar cluster assignments. The aforementioned studies found five to six cluster-solutions that included some combination of Assimilated, Self-Hatred, Miseducated (Negative Race Salience), Immersion (Conflicted), Afrocentric, Multiculturalistic, and Low Race Salience attitudes. Comparatively, some BRI profiles evident in previous studies are similar to some BRI profiles of the present study:

Socially Attractive (Assimilated), Personal Exception (Miseducated), Racially Ambivalent (Immersion), Multicultural Inclusive (Multiculturalistic), and Low Race Salience. These findings suggest that there are at least five common BRI profiles among Black emerging adults. The present study did not include Self-Hatred or Afrocentric profiles evident in previous studies, however, the present study introduces unique Racially Avoidant and Colorblind Inclusive profiles. The differences in BRI profiles between previous studies and the present study may largely be due to the differences in sampled populations. Previous studies specifically sampled Black college and university students whereas the present study sampled Black emerging adults who are both currently enrolled and not enrolled in a college or university. Self-Hatred and Afrocentric profiles may be more prevalent in previous studies as college settings are "consciousness-raising environments" (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014) that encourage ethnic-racial discussion and engagement. Only 45% of the Black emerging adults in the present study currently attend college, which may explain the presence of elusion profiles (Racially Avoidant and Colorblind Inclusive) compared to committed profiles (Self-Hatred and Afrocentric).

ERS Messages and Black Ethnic-Racial Identity Profiles

Several studies have found associations between ERS messages and BRI (see Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Priest et al., 2014), but associations have yet to become established using a probabilistic class approach based on racial attitudes in determining BRI profiles.

Racial pride. Racial pride messages increased the likelihood of membership in the Multicultural Inclusive class compared to the Personal Exception class. These findings are consistent with previous literature that suggests racial pride messages are associated with positive Black in-group attitudes and feelings of closeness toward other Black people (Davis et

al., 2017; Demo & Hughes, 1990; O'Connor et al., 2000; Thornton et al., 1990). Further, findings of the present study suggest that receiving racial pride messages about Black race, ethnicity, and culture may socialize Black emerging adults to be more open to multicultural experiences and intercultural engagement (i.e. membership in the Multicultural Inclusive class), compared to Black emerging adults who don't receive strong racial pride message (i.e., membership in the Personal Exception class). These observations seem to support previous research findings that racial pride, healthy BRI, and positive public regard among Black adolescents is associated with greater favorable attitudes toward ethnic-racial out-groups, especially Whites (Sullivan & Ghara, 2015), and encouraging Black adolescents to explore their BRI could potentially improve in-group and out-group warmth (Whitehead, Ainsworth, Wittig, & Gadino, 2009).

Racial barrier. In addition, racial barrier messages increased the likelihood of membership in the Multicultural Inclusive class compared to the Low Race Salience class, the Socially Attractive class, and the Colorblind Inclusive class. This is consistent with research indicating that receiving racial barrier messages is linked to decreased colorblind attitudes (Barr & Neville, 2008), greater BRI exploration and ethnic-racial meaning making (Hughes & Johnson, 2001), increased Black separatism (Demo & Hughes, 1990) and internalized Afrocentric attitudes (Spencer, 1983), and more advanced stages of BRI development (Marshall, 1995; Stevenson, 1995). On the other hand, findings of the present study contradict previous research findings that suggests receiving racial barrier messages fosters negative and unhealthy private regard (Davis et al., 2017) and increased mistrust others outside of their ethnic-racial group among Black youth (Biafora et al., 1993; Marshall, 1995). Previous literature may have produced mixed results based on how racial barrier messages were operationalized, hence the

generation of incongruent BRI outcomes. Studies that construct racial barrier messages as preparation for biases (promotion of racial awareness and discrimination and preparing youth to cope with racial adversity; Hughes et al., 2006) may produce more positive outcomes than racial barrier messages that have been constructed as promotion of mistrust (promotion of wariness and distrust in interracial interactions; Hughes et al., 2006). As previous literature on the influence of racial barrier messages have had inconclusive and mixed findings, the present study supports claims that messages that prepare youth to cope with racial adversity may produce positive BRI outcomes.

Egalitarian. Interestingly, the present study also found that egalitarian messages decreased the likelihood of membership in the Multicultural Inclusive class compared to the Colorblind Inclusive class. These findings support limited, yet contradictory, findings of previous studies that suggest receiving egalitarian messages are linked to internalized negative stereotypes and unrealistic intergroup relations (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Spencer, 1983; Stevenson, 1995). However, other studies suggest that receiving egalitarian messages is linked to increased positive Black in-group evaluation (Demo & Hughes, 1990). Previous literature may have produced mixed results based on how egalitarian messages were operationalized, thus, generating incongruent BRI outcomes. Studies that construct egalitarian messages as messages that promote interracial equality and multiethnic coexistence (Bowman & Howard, 1985) may produce more positive outcomes than egalitarian messages that have been constructed as messages that emphasize the commonalities among all people and de-emphasize ethnic-racial group membership (Hughes et al., 2006). Even so, the present study operationalized egalitarian messages as those that promote equality and coexistence contrary to egalitarian messages that emphasizes sameness. Regardless of how egalitarian messages are operationalized, it may be

more appropriate to hypothesize that egalitarian messages are associated with higher assimilation attitudes and lower Afrocentric attitudes characteristic of the Colorblind Inclusive class compared to the Multicultural Inclusive class based on the association between egalitarian messages and the patterned classes of BRI based on nigrescence attitudes. The Multicultural Inclusive class and the Colorblind Inclusive class possess similar ethnic-racial attitudes on all other nigrescence attitudes except for assimilation attitudes and Afrocentric attitudes. Although egalitarian messages support inclusion, such as the Colorblind Inclusive class, egalitarian messages may fail to support active and intentional diversity characteristic of the Multicultural Inclusive class. By highlighting the assimilation and Afrocentric attitudes of the two comparative inclusive classes, findings of the present study could indicate that egalitarian messages encourage inclusion that emphasizes commonality and de-emphasizes racial differences while falling short in encouraging inclusion that emphasizes intentional multicultural coexistence. Further research is needed to investigate the relationship between egalitarian messages and BRI to solidify negative and/or positive outcomes.

Negative. Lastly, receiving negative messages decreased the likelihood of membership in the Multicultural Inclusive class compared to the Low Race Salience class and the Racially Ambivalent class and the Personal Exception class. These findings suggest that negative messages foster attitudes that range from 1) low ethnic-racial awareness or saliency to 2) competing and contradictory ethnic-racial attitudes or even 3) extremely negative private regard, which is consistent with previous literature that suggests receiving negative messages is associated with assimilationist ideology (Neblett et al., 2008). Receiving messages that reinforce negative stereotypes of Blacks over time may hinder Black emerging adults from engaging in ethnic-racial explorative processes. For Black emerging adults who do engage in ethnic-racial

explorative processes, receiving negative messages over time may either 1) inhibit their abilities to make sense of and give meaning to race, or 2) socialize them to hold negative stereotypes about Black people and culture as truth. This is important to consider because although negative messages are the least strongly remembered of the ERS messages, they have powerful, unfavorable influences on Black emerging adults that potentially produce outcomes detrimental to BRI and ethnic-racial attitudes. Specifically, for Black emerging adults with Racially Ambivalent BRI profiles, this could be the "moment of truth" in fostering a healthier, more advanced BRI, and receiving negative messages from socialization agents could sabotage the opportunity for BRI advancements. Black emerging adults with a Racially Ambivalent BRI profile likely engage in self-exploration processes where they are still more familiar with previous pre-encounter identities and attitudes that are to be transcended than the emerging identity that is to be embraced. If internalization processes of the new, emerging identity is supported through positive ERS processes then advanced identities can be integrated. However, prolonged or traumatic frustration (Cross, 1991) and negative ERS messages and processes may dismantle a Racially Ambivalent Black emerging adult's ambition to develop and internalize a healthier, more advanced identity. Not only do Racially Ambivalent Black emerging adults risk becoming stuck or lost in ethnic-racial ambiguity, they may also be at a heightened risk for regression back to previous pre-encounter identities and attitudes. Cross (1991) notes the process of regression occurs as a Black individual becomes discouraged by negative experiences that fail to reinforce growth toward the emerging identity, resulting in the rejection of Blackness. In turn, the Black individual will re-establish previous pre-encounter attitudes and identities. A unique type of pre-encounter identity that may result from receiving negative messages and enduring prolonged adverse experiences is a Personal Exception BRI profile. Specifically, negative ERS

messages may be linked to the exceptionally high miseducation nigrescence attitudes that are characteristic of Personal Exception BRI profiles. It is likely that these negative experiences foster poor private and public regard among Black emerging adults as they hold negative stereotypes about Black culture as truth and construct an identity based on pre-encounter Eurocentric attitudes. Socialization agents must remain mindful of the influences they have on Black youth and emerging adults and continue to be aware of the catastrophic impacts that negative ERS messages may have on Black emerging adult identity outcomes.

Implications

With a unique emphasis on an ecosystemic approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the present study adds to previous literature by providing further information useful to socialization agents, healthcare providers, and family life educators at various multisystemic levels in promoting diverse avenues though which Black youth and emerging adults receive ERS messages and develop healthy BRI. By addressing gaps in the literature, the present study provides knowledge that aids in identifying and fostering positive ERS messages with efficient timing, enhancing Black youths' skills of dealing with adverse ethnic-racial experiences, and supporting healthy BRI and a sense of belonging in Black culture.

Regardless of the socialization agent and their role of systemic influence on Black youth and emerging adults, socialization agents can aid Black youth and emerging adults in developing an advanced BRI by instilling a sense of value and self-worth in Black youth and emerging adults, honoring and celebrating Black culture, and fostering a positive and accurate understanding of Black individuals and Black culture. Some potential strategies socialization agents can utilize to enhance these areas of Black youth and emerging adults' experiences are openly addressing discrimination and racial adversity as encounters occur and discuss ideas on

how to cope with specific events; providing Black youth and emerging adults with constructive and accurate information on Black history and Black culture while actively discrediting misinformation; exposing Black youth and emerging adults to empowering Black media, prominent and resilient Black figures, and distinguished Black historical locations such as museums and monuments; exposing Black youth and emerging adults to acclaimed Black holidays, events, and celebrations; increasing Black youth and emerging adults' contact with other Black mentors; increasing Black youth and emerging adults' exposure, contact, and engagement in Black groups, communities, and organizations; and offering support in meeting unique and specific needs presented by Black youth and emerging adults as a trusted and respected socialization agent.

Primary Socialization Agents

The findings of the present study suggest that multiple members of Black youths' and emerging adults' microsystems, specifically parents, siblings, adult family members, and peers, significantly influence the development and internalization of Black emerging adults' BRI through ERS processes. These findings emphasize the importance of microsystemic socialization agents' continual awareness of their processes of overtly and covertly delivering ERS messages to Black adolescents and emerging adults. The present study also suggests the continuous importance of socialization agents being aware of their own ethnic-racial attitudes and larger cultural systems that they are immersed in as their own experiences are likely associated with the timing and types of ERS messages and practices they engage in with Black youth and emerging adults (e.g. Crouter et al., 2008; Hughes, 2003; Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Most importantly, findings of the present study propose that the possibility of having multiple influential socialization agents could potentially be a strong resiliency factor

in fostering healthy BRI among Black youth and emerging adults. Black youth and emerging adults likely have multiple important socialization agents available to assist parents in fostering healthy BRI for their children, and it is essential that parents communicate and collaborate with other socialization agents to understand what types of ERS messages are being delivered to their children and to strengthen positive ERS messages for optimal outcomes. Lastly, based on these findings, it is critical that healthcare professionals and educators involve diverse socialization agents in the services provided to Black youth and emerging adults aimed at providing holistic support of positive BRI outcomes.

Clinical

The field of marriage and family therapy prides itself on its unique systemic approach in providing care for clients. Specifically, there are many therapy models that emphasize individual, family, and societal experiences, empowerment, challenging oppressive culture-based assumptions, promoting societal transformation (e.g., feminist family therapy, collaborative language systems and narrative family therapy), increasing independence and autonomy (e.g., Bowenian family therapy and contextual family therapy), and promoting growth and personal identity development (e.g., experiential models; see Crethar, Snow, & Carlson (2005) and Snow, Crethar, Robey, & Carlson (2005) for an overview of models of therapy).

The present study emphasizes the need for clinicians who work with Black adolescent and emerging adult populations to continue to be aware of their power and influence in socializing clients and supporting socialization agents. Clinicians need to continue to be aware of their influential power and continue to do their own self-of-the-therapist work (therapists' own introspective work to address issues in their life that impacts the therapeutic process in negative and positive ways; Timm & Blow, 1999) to address any negative biases or oppressive attitudes

that they may hold that would indirectly and negatively affect Black youth and emerging adult outcomes and BRI. Clinicians have a unique social position as they empower Black youth and emerging adults in making sense of their experiences, fostering healthy identity, challenging oppressive culture-based assumptions, and increasing autonomy while also advocating for clients and taking social action to transform societies. Clinicians can use the findings of the present study to deconstruct and re-author (the creation of new stories that are free of the problem, in turn reducing the impact of the problem on clients' lives; Winek, 2010) negative and adverse messages and experiences that may produce unfavorable BRI, in-group, and out-group attitudes. As prominent racial pride and racial barrier messages increase the likelihood of developing a Multicultural Inclusive identity, clinicians could focus on externalizing and highlighting these messages and practices to foster healthy dominate stories and foster positive BRI. Emphasizing an ecosystemic approach, clinicians can also seek to involve socialization agents in clinical processes and interventions that Black youth and emerging adult clients deem as important and influential in shaping how they view themselves as Black people. Clinicians could provide psycho-education to socialization agents on the influences that different types of ERS messages have on BRI among Black youth and emerging adults, model positive and effective communication skills and appropriate delivery of ERS messages, and strengthen the relationship and bond between socialization agents and Black youth and emerging adult clients.

Family Life Education

Family life education programs can be effective in providing individuals, families, and communities with tools, resources, and educational knowledge that address the importance and significance of the influence of different types of ERS messages on BRI, encourage appropriate use and delivery of ERS messages, and support healthy BRI exploration. Working directly with

Black youth and emerging adults, family life educators can prepare Black youth and emerging adults for adverse, discriminatory experiences. This process would require educators to provide information on discrimination, deliver racial pride and racial barrier messages, and enhancing Black youth and emerging adults' skills in coping with discrimination experiences. Suggestions for coping strategies to implement in programs with Black youth and emerging adult audiences coping with discrimination experiences include encouraging emotional debriefing (expressing oneself creatively in response to stress; Utsey, Adams, & Bolden, 2000), fostering communalistic coping (relying on others within one's support system to aid in coping processes; Utsey et al., 2000), and supporting spiritually-centered coping (spiritually-based support from spiritual leaders and/or a higher power; Utsey et al., 2000). These suggested coping strategies are supported by finding of Gaylord-Harden and Cunningham (2009) that suggest Black youth may prefer culturally-specific coping strategies (coping strategies based on Afrocentric worldviews grounded in historical and cultural traditions; Chambers et al., 1998; Utsey et al., 2000) over mainstream coping strategies (coping strategies based on individualistic Eurocentric worldviews; Utsey et al., 2000). Specifically, educators can facilitate creative group activities to process/deconstruct negative experiences and process/empower positive experiences (emotional debriefing/communal support); read passages from the Bible, a meditation book, or similar books (spiritual support); lead, or ask group members to lead, a prayer and/or invite spiritual or religious leaders from the community to provide blessings (spiritual/communal support); and allow group members to be the experts in their own experiences through the sharing of feelings, allow group members to seek advice from other group members, and allow group members opportunities to provide suggestions on how to handle specific situations (communal support). The presented coping strategies can be utilized in various group dynamics and compositions (e.g.

peer groups, parent-child groups, student-mentor groups, etc.), and it is necessary that educators cultivate an environment that nurtures effective coping strategies and Multicultural Inclusive BRI. An educator can create such an environment by supporting open dialogue on ethnic-racial experiences, processing and deconstructing internalized ethnic-racial experiences and messages with Black emerging youth and adult audiences, empowering and highlighting strengths and resiliency factors of Black emerging adults, encouraging emotional involvement, and ensuring the physical environment is appropriate and welcoming to accommodate for increased anxiety likely to ensue during difficult discussion and exploration. Most importantly, an effective educator will use themselves as an instrument by taking on a facilitator role; providing structure to the group, being adaptable by assessing the needs of the group and responding accordingly, and remaining open to change and growth. Through the facilitation of these coping strategies in an environment conducive to fostering healthy Multicultural Inclusive identities, educators can provide Black youth and emerging adults resources to enhance racial pride and prepare for ethnic-racial adversity.

Through family life education programs, educators can also encourage and facilitate contact between positive influential socialization agents and Black youth and emerging adults within communities. This may be particularly important for educators developing programs where participants in these programs may be individuals who hold an ERI that is not Black but wish to work more closely with Black people and advocate for Black needs to create larger social changes. For example, family life educators may need to provide unique, additional tools and resources to White individuals who wish to be advocates for Black people, engage with Black issues, and eradicate systemic barriers to Black advancement and care. In doing so, it may also be advantageous to promote reflection on White ERI and how White ERI impacts ERS practices

when interacting with Black youth and emerging adults. This would involve an introspective, self-analytical process to increase understanding of Whiteness and white privilege. This process would not only focus on increased awareness of Whiteness, unconscious biases, and potentially differing worldviews influenced by the dominant culture, but this process would also emphasize the importance of power and influence that is linked to white privilege and how it can be a positive and effective tool for advocating for Black needs and taking social action.

Institutional Systems

At macrosystemic levels, the present study seeks to support social and institutional and organizational systems in providing resources and strategies to benefit socialization agents who influence ethnic-racial experiences of Black youth and emerging adults. Findings of the present study can provide larger institutions and organizations information needed to deliver culturally-competent trainings to improve workplace environments and organizational member relationships. Further, findings of the present study provide evidence for the need to shift counterproductive policies and practices that may be ingrained in larger macrosystemic institutions and organizations. Previous literature suggest that racial pride messages may be linked to more positive ethnic-racial in-group attitudes (Davis et al., 2017; Demo & Hughes, 1990; O'Connor et al., 2000; Thornton et al., 1990). Further, racial pride, healthy BRI, and positive public regard among Black youth and emerging adults may be associated with greater favorable attitudes toward ethnic-racial out-groups (Sullivan & Ghara, 2015), thus, providing a healthy environment for Black youth and emerging adults to engage in and build a healthy BRI could potentially improve in-group and out-group warmth (Whitehead, Ainsworth, Wittig, & Gadino, 2009) within the workplace, school environments, and other larger institutions. Strategies to support healthy environments in larger institutions and organizations include

promoting protection from physical and emotional harm; fostering respectful relationships among peers and authority figures; increasing empathy and prosocial behaviors among peers and authority figures; recognizing, accepting, and valuing individual differences and experiences; and encouraging the sharing of individual experiences and ideas.

More importantly, adequate training of potential socialization agents within larger institutions and organizations that work with Black youth and emerging adults on a daily basis (e.g. teachers and employers) is needed to support BRI development. Whether intentional or not, negative messages from these influential socialization agents can produce adverse outcomes among Black adolescents and emerging adults as well as a poorly developed BRI. Discrimination experienced by Black youth is associated with negative private and public regard (Seaton et al., 2009) as Black youth attempt to preserve their sense of self as a member of a devalued group (Schwartz et al, 2014) when engaging in larger social contexts. In adherence to the present findings, individuals of these larger macrosystems should be trained to promote positive racial pride, eradicate negative messages, and address racial adversity within their social spheres of influence and communities. This is especially important as workplace discrimination experienced by socialization agents influence the ERS messages they deliver to Black youth and emerging adults (Crouter et al., 2008).

Limitations

Socialization Agent Rankings

The findings of the present study should be viewed alongside a few limitations to the data. First, the number of options of socialization agents participants were asked to rank during the most to least influential socialization portions of the survey may have overwhelmed the participants. The intention behind including the selected number of socialization agents was to

allow for a richer and more developed understanding of diverse socialization agents and ERS processes. However, findings may suggest that participants placed greater emphasis on ranking the first few socialization agents based on temporal ordering while neglecting some socialization agents in the latter portion of the list. Participants ranked each of the socialization agents close to the exact order they were presented in the survey, and this phenomenon becomes increasingly evident as the rank order progresses; possibly alluding to responder fatigue. This could explain why there was variability across time in the reported influential socialization agents that were presented in the first half of the list and socialization agents in the latter half of the list remained relatively consistent across time. It may be appropriate to assume that teachers and media, for example, were highly influential socialization agents at some developmental period, and in actuality, their influences may have shifted over time. Future research examining various socializations may take one of two approaches: 1) conduct a study that focuses specifically on determining influential socialization agents from most influential to least influential and ERS processes to allow greater attention to be paid to fewer survey items, or 2) consider grouping socializations agents based on commonalities to create fewer socialization agents to rank (e.g. *parents* (parents), *other family members* (siblings and adult family members), *peers* (of the same race, peers of a of a different race, and neighbors), *mentors* (mentors, teachers, and community leaders), *media* (American media and Black media), and *other* (other)). The former approach would provide deeper understanding and greater detail of influential socialization agents and ERS processes compared to the latter.

Latent Profile Analysis Model Fit Indices

Another limitation of the study is connected to the determination of the appropriate number of classes in a latent profile analysis. In latent profile analyses, fit indices commonly

support different conclusions in determining the appropriate number of classes (Berlin, Williams, & Parra, 2013). In the present study, not all of the model fit indices supported the seven-class model. Compared to the six-class model, the seven-class model performed better on three of the five model fit indices, but the entropy value was slightly higher for the 6-class model compared to the seven-class model. There was also no significant difference between the remaining model fit index when comparing the seven-class model against the six-class model. In addition to a combination of model fit indices, scholars use theoretical examination in determining the most appropriate model to use (Wang & Hanges, 2011). I decided to use the seven-class model over the six-class model because most of the model fit indices supported the seven-class model and the class profiles made the most theoretical sense.

Retrospective Recall Validity

This study also presents a single limited strength, which is related to the nature of its retrospective approach. A study conducted by Hardt and Rutter (2004) calls into question the validity of retrospective studies. Hardt and Rutter (2004) reviewed empirical studies of adolescent and adult samples reporting on their adverse childhood experiences (i.e., sexual, physical, and verbal abuse) and concluded that retrospective approaches present validity issues when measuring serious adverse experiences of childhood. Adolescent and adult participants in retrospective studies likely provide underestimates of incidences experienced during childhood (Hardt & Rutter, 2004). Hardt & Rutter (2004), however, also argue that retrospective studies confined to serious adversities that are operationalized and utilize high quality measurement is acceptable. The present study was robust to these concerns in several ways. First and foremost, the present study did not focus on serious adverse childhood experiences, and secondly, the present study did not focus on strict quantification of specific experiences (i.e., either this event

happened or it did not happen). Instead, the present study focused on salient memory recall of childhood themes based on experiences. Further, the language of the present study (e.g., perceive, your idea, prominent) intentionally encouraged participants to recall subjective experiences instead of frequency of exact experiences. This allowed participants to focus on the meaning made of salient experiences opposed to recollection of exact occurrences, as the meaning made of these experiences was likely more influential on current BRI development. Lastly, scales that measured frequency of experiences were modified to reflect agreeance as frequency may be more susceptible to recall bias.

Significant Advancements

Despite these limitations, the findings of the present study constitute several significant steps that advance research on socialization agents, ERS messages, and ERI. First, the use of an ecosystemic approach drives the field of ERS and ERI vertically by investigating the relative ERS contributions of diverse socialization agents in order to understand the complexity of ERS processes. The intricate and profound findings of the present study affirm the momentous role of diverse micro- and macrosystemic socialization agents' involvement in influencing the BRI development of Black youth and emerging adults. Where previous research mainly emphasized the importance of parents-child ERS interactions during adolescence, the present study takes critical steps in asserting the need to integrate ERS processes of various socialization agents across time to better understand how ecosystems influence Black emerging adults' BRI. This is exceptionally evident as the present study suggest that although parents remain Black adolescents and emerging adults' primary socialization agent across time, their influences began to wane as peers become more influential socialization agents to Black emerging adults' BRI development. Further, in addition to racial pride messages, the present study explores the impact

of racial barrier, egalitarian, and negative messages from various socialization agents on Black emerging adults' BRI. Findings underscore the significance of intentional and continual socializing practices of providing favorable racial pride and racial barrier message in cultivating Multicultural Inclusive BRIs among Black emerging adults. Lastly, the retrospective nature of the present study introduced further examination on the ERS messages presented by diverse socialization agents and received by Black youth and emerging adults across key developmental periods. Special emphasis was placed on the prominence of ERS message content, the change in the prominence of ERS message content across time, and the impact of ERS messages from key socialization agents over time on BRI during emerging adulthood. Socialization agents' constructive involvement in Black youth and emerging adults' experiences of developing a ripened BRI is pivotal in protecting against adverse health risks and impaired social functioning commonly experienced by Black youth and emerging adults in the United States. Additional strengths of this study include the use of measures with strong psychometric properties and the inclusion of relevant control variables.

Future Directions

Initial Advancements

Scholars conducting future research may choose to begin addressing inconsistencies in how specific ERS message constructs are operationalized. Inconsistencies in operationalizing constructs have caused confusion and discrepancies across ERS and ERI studies. The current literature would not only benefit from more consistency in terminology and operationalization of constructs, but continuing to differentiate more nuanced similarities and differences in a linguistic overhaul to develop more unique constructs would also be advantageous to the field. Based on the findings of the present study, more rigorous research is also needed on different

types of ERS messages, particularly egalitarian and negative messages; and racial barrier messages to a lesser degree. The current body of research addressing the influence of egalitarian and negative messages on BRI is not yet large enough to make substantial assertions based on newly developing research findings. A combination of inconsistent terminology, inconsistent operationalization of constructs, and limited research findings make it challenging to build a vigorous body of literature.

Ecosystemic Research Designs

The current state of the literature is lacking in terms of preliminary understandings of the connection between various socialization agents and their influence on ERS and BRI among Black youth. Addressing this mesosystemic shortcoming in future research may involve 1) exploring how ERS messages from a specific socialization agent may interact with ERS messages from other socialization agents during specific developmental periods and/or 2) exploring how a specific socialization agent may interact with other socialization agents. Further, future research may go further in determining how mesosystems impact BRI. By conducting this type of research, scholars can begin to provide an extra layer of knowledge that is currently lacking, yet integral to individuals living, workings, and behaving within systems. Overall, further research is needed that is grounded in ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) as Black youth and emerging adults, along with diverse socialization agents, are social beings that develop within a multidimensional social context.

Advancing Analyses

Greater opportunity for more advanced analyses is becoming prevalent as the ERS and ERI literature becomes more robust and ample. In the present study, contextual and demographics variables were included as controls, however, future studies can use such variables

as moderators. For example, previous literature suggests parents from different socioeconomic backgrounds hold different ethnic-racial attitudes, and parents from different socioeconomic backgrounds deliver different types of ERS messages to their children at different frequencies (Caughty et al., 2002; Hughes et al., 2006; McHale et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2008). Thus, socioeconomic status could be used as a moderator to test its moderating effect on the relationship between different types of ERS messages received and common BRI profiles. Such studies would allow for deeper understanding of how contextual factors affect the relationship between ERS message predictors and BRI outcomes. Further, latent class analyses can be conducted to create classes of ERS messages based on patterns of different types of ERS messages. It is unlikely that socialization agents only present one type of ERS message throughout the duration of the socializer's and the socializee's life. Generating classes of ERS message patterns and using ERS message classes as predictors to predict BRI outcomes would tell a more comprehensive story compared to individualized ERS messages as predictors. Additionally, Worrell (2008) conducted a cross-sectional investigation comparing nigrescence attitudes of three samples (adolescents, emerging adults, and adults) using the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver et al., 2000; Worrell et al., 2004). The patterns of means of nigrescence attitudes were exceptionally similar across the three samples (Worrell, 2008), supporting the hypothesis that Black parents and their children may share similar nigrescence attitudes and other Black socialization agents may also share similar nigrescence attitudes with Black youth. Based on those finding in relation to the ERS and BRI findings of the present study, future studies could assess the relationship between socialization agents' ERI and Black youth and emerging adults' BRI and how ERS messages mediate or moderate the relationship between socialization agents' ERI and Black youth and emerging adults' BRI. Finally, the present

retrospective study, in addition to the large body of other cross-sectional studies designs, indicates a need for more longitudinal research approaches. Longitudinal research designs are needed to fully understand Black youth and emerging adult ERS processes over time and the causal relationship between ERS processes and BRI. In addition, future longitudinal studies would provide clearer indication of when, how, and potentially why diverse socialization agents may start, stop, or change their socialization behaviors over time.

Conclusion

To date, the literature on the influence of ERS messages on BRI has almost exclusively focused on parents as the sole socialization agent in the lives of Black adolescents. However, the present study offers insight into ERS processes as Black youth development does not manifest in a vacuum. Through an examination of Black emerging adult ERS experiences from early adolescence through emerging adulthood, this study found that parents, siblings, and adult family members were the most influential socialization agents during Black emerging adults' adolescence years; however, they became less influential during emerging adulthood as peers became more influential. Across development periods, Black youth and emerging adults received prominent racial pride and egalitarian and weak negative messages. Additional findings suggest the importance of receiving strong racial pride and racial barrier messages, and weak egalitarian and negative messages, from socialization agents in order to develop a positive BRI during emerging adulthood. This phenomenon gives insight into the significant contribution that diverse socialization agents have in shaping Black emerging adults' BRI through the use of salient messages. In order to foster a Multicultural Inclusive BRI, Black emerging adults require resources and support from their family and peers at microsystemic levels, and it is also imperative that individuals and groups at macrosystemic levels cultivate healthy environments

for continued BRI exploration. These positive experiences are exceptionally vital during emerging adulthood due to the high prevalence of malleable, yet vulnerable, racially ambivalent Black emerging adults. Developing and maintaining a Multicultural Inclusive BRI is critical to the overall well-being of Black individuals, and as systemic influences are multi-lateral, our communities and larger society as a whole reap the benefits of nourishing positive, healthy Black people.

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Appendix A – Figures

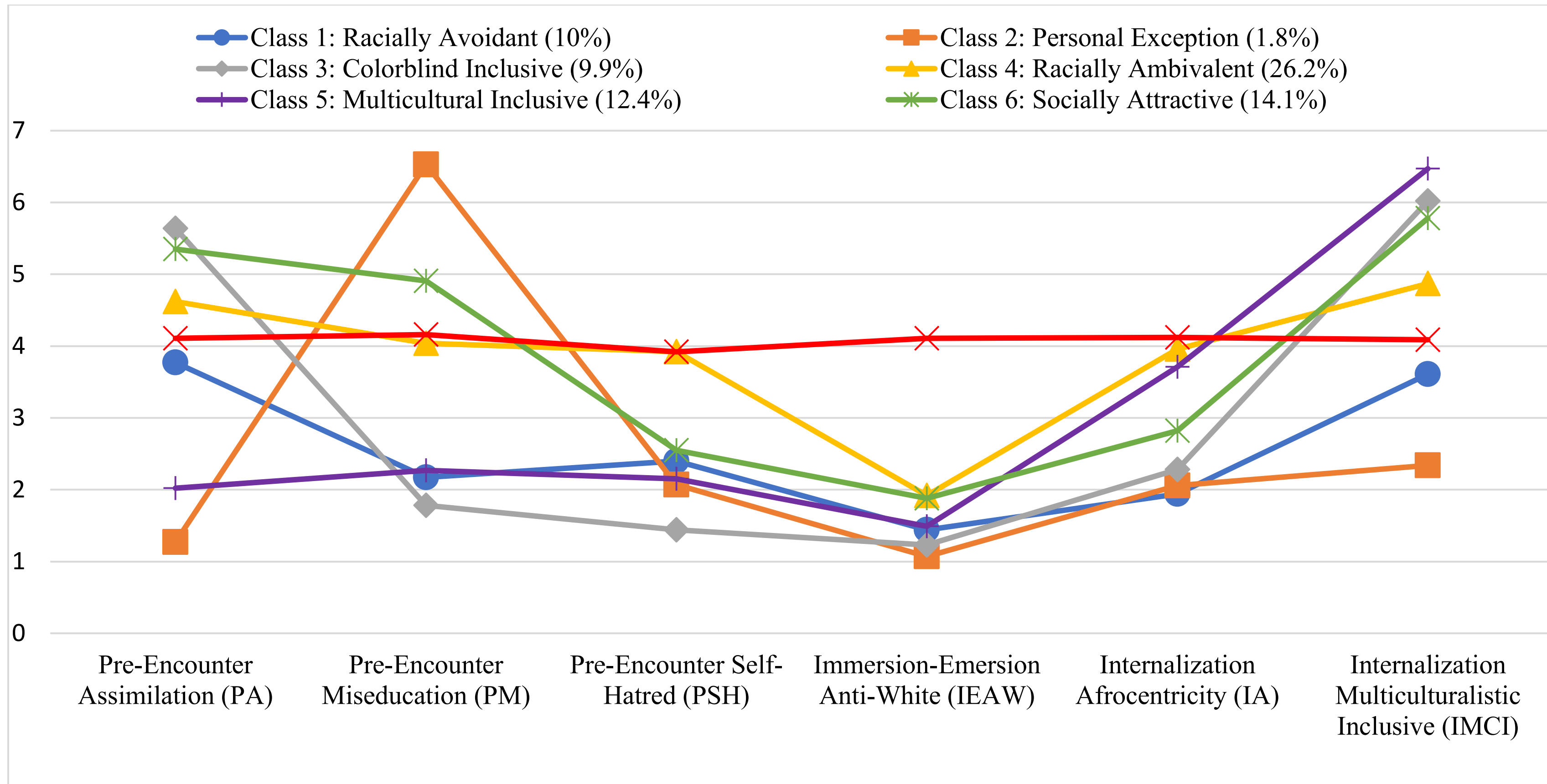

Figure 1. Seven Latent Classes Defined by Means of Racial Attitudes on the Cross Racial Identity Scale (n = 171)

Appendix B – Tables

Table 1. Summary of Nigrescence Attitudes (Cross, 1991; Cross & Vandiver, 2001)

Exemplar	Description of Attitudes	Engagement in Dominant Culture	Engagement in Black Culture
Pre-Encounter			
Assimilation (PA)	Fixated on being an individual and an American as opposed to a member of a racial group	Integration into and acceptance by White culture	None; blame-the-victim analysis of Black problems
Miseducation (PM)	Accepts stereotypical forms of cultural-historical misinformation as truth	Culturally biased to the fact that there are experiences and histories outside of American/Western civilization	None; distorted interpretation of Black history, culture, and potential
Self-Hatred (PSH)	Experiences negative, internalized self-loathing feelings because they are Black	Hold positive stereotypes of White people/culture	None; perspectives dominated by racist stereotypes
Immersion-Emersion			
Anti-White (IEAW)	Consumed by hatred of the dominant White society	Liberation from Whiteness; often erratic and explosive toward White culture	Altruism; commitment to Blackness
Internalization			
Afrocentric (IA)	Holds proud Black perspectives about oneself, other Black people, and the surrounding world	Controlled anger at oppressive systems and racists institutions; limited openness to White culture	Conception of Blackness becomes more open, expansive, and sophisticated; high salience to Blackness - only Black salience (nationalist) or one of two saliences (biculturalism)
Multiculturalistic Inclusive (IMCI)	Self-identity infuses three or more social identities with nearly equal weight given to each identity; values a variety of cultural activities and events	Controlled anger at oppressive systems and racists institutions; openness to positive White, and other, cultures	Conception of Blackness becomes more open, expansive, and sophisticated; high salience to Blackness - many saliences (multiculturalism)

Table 2. Participants' Demographic Statistics (N = 171)

Variables	M or %	SD	Range
Age	23.06	1.70	19 – 25
Gender			
Male	65.5%		
Female	34.5%		
Ethnic-Racial Background			
African	1.8%		
African-American	55.0%		
Black	18.1%		
West Indian/Caribbean Black	1.2%		
Hispanic Black	14.0%		
Black-mixed	9.9%		
Born in the United States[a]	93.0%	.26	1 – 2
Racial Community			
Early Adolescence (ages 11-14)			
Mostly Black	15.8%		
Mixed	49.7%		
Mostly White	33.9%		
Other	.6%		
Late Adolescence (ages 15-18)			
Mostly Black	13.5%		
Mixed	48.0%		
Mostly White	38.6%		
Emerging Adulthood (ages 19-25)			
Mostly Black	9.9%		
Mixed	57.9%		
Mostly White	31.6%		
College/University Student[b]	45.0%	.50	1 – 2
Employment Status			
Employed Full-Time	58.5%		
Employed Part-Time	18.7%		
Self-Employed	4.1%		
Unemployed – Seeking Work	3.5%		
Student - Unemployed	10.5%		

Military	2.3%		
Homemaker	2.3%		
Education			
Some Primary Education/ Highschool Diploma or Equivalent	19.3%		
Some College	38.0%		
College Degree, Business School, or Trade School	38.6%		
Some Graduate/ Professional School or Graduate/ Professional Degree	4.1%		
Primary Caregiver Education			
Some Primary Education/ Highschool Diploma or Equivalent	36.3%		
Some College	19.9%		
College Degree, Business School, or Trade School	36.6%		
Some Graduate/ Professional School or Graduate/ Professional Degree	7.0%		
Household Income			
Less than $20,000	12.9%		
$20,000 – $29,999	12.9%		
$30,000 – $39,999	15.2%		
$40,000 – $49,999	14.6%		
$50,000 – $59,999	14.6%		
$60,000 – $69,999	8.2%		
$70,000 – $79,999	6.4%		
More than $79,000	15.2%		
Lifetime Discrimination Experiences	2.33	.99	1-6

Note: [a]Country of Origin: 1 = *born internationally*, 2 = *born in the United States*. [b]College/University Student: 1 = *no*, 2 = *yes*; 45% of the sample are college students. Student – Unemployed is students who are not working whereas the College/University variable reflects anyone enrolled in as a student in a college/university setting.

Table 3. Means, Standard Deviations, and Sum Scores of Socialization Agents during Early Adolescence, Late Adolescence, and Emerging Adulthood (*N* = 171)

	Early Adolescence			Late Adolescence			Emerging Adulthood						
Socialization Agent	Rank	*M*	*SD*	Rank	*M*	*SD*	Rank	*M*	*SD*	*F*	*df*	*p*	n^2
Parents	1	1.74	1.73	1	1.90	1.85	1	2.62	2.14	12.18*	169	.00	.13
Siblings	2	4.04	2.64	2	3.81	2.47	3	4.22	2.47	3.14*	169	.05	.04
Adult Family Members	3	4.13	2.33	3	4.29	2.20	5	5.00	2.46	10.32*	169	.00	.11
Peers (same race)	4	4.64	2.26	4	4.65	2.16	2	3.88	2.23	8.80*	169	.00	.09
Peers (different race)	5	5.75	2.25	5	5.44	2.54	4	4.76	2.58	10.47*	169	.00	.11
Teachers	6	6.68	2.35	6	6.41	2.21	6	6.71	2.63	1.58	169	.21	.02
Neighbors	7	6.95	2.01	7	6.94	2.23	7	6.89	2.14	.06	169	.94	.00
Mentors	8	7.43	2.44	8	7.43	2.39	8	7.11	2.53	1.30	169	.28	.02
American Media	9	8.02	2.87	9	8.09	2.91	9	7.97	3.07	1.00	169	.84	.00
Black Media	10	8.17	3.07	10	8.42	3.16	11	8.49	3.22	.91	169	.40	.01
Community Leaders	11	8.57	2.11	11	8.75	2.05	10	8.48	2.23	1.28	169	.28	.02
Other	12	11.87	.82	12	11.88	.78	12	11.87	.82	.01	169	.99	.00

Note: highest mean rank = smallest mean score = most influential; lowest mean rank = largest mean score = least influential.
* = Welch's F.

Table 4. Means and Standard Deviations of Perceived Prominence of ERS Messages across Early Adolescence, Late Adolescence, and Emerging Adulthood ($N = 171$)

	Early Adolescence		Late Adolescence		Emerging Adulthood	
ERS Message Content	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Racial Pride	3.44	1.05	3.60	1.04	3.59	1.10
Racial Barrier	3.18	1.19	3.25	1.21	3.28	1.24
Egalitarian	3.62	1.03	3.72	1.09	3.75	1.04
Negative	1.95	1.02	1.98	1.08	2.06	1.16

Table 5. Criteria for Assessing Fit for Different Number of Classes ($N = 171$)

	2-Class	3-Class	4-Class	5-Class	6-Class	7-Class	8-Class
LL	-1667.61	-1628.46	-1559.51	-1573.16	-1556.44	-1537.90	-1525.18
ABIC	3372.75	3308.28	3264.19	3225.32	3205.72	3182.45	3170.84
Entropy	.89	.85	.87	.89	.90	.88	.89
LMR	-1744.58*	-1667.61*	-1628.46	-1599.51	-1573.16	-1556.44	-1537.90
BLRT	-1744.58*	-1667.61*	-1628.46*	-1599.51*	-1573.16*	-1556.44*	-1537.90*
% of participants per class							
Class 1	69.4%	40.8%	11.4%	22.0%	1.8%	10.0%	4.6%
Class 2	30.6%	33.2%	26.7%	10.5%	11.9%	1.8%	1.8%
Class 3		26.0%	30.2%	29.4%	10.0%	9.9%	9.3%
Class 4			31.7%	11.3%	14.2%	26.2%	8.9%
Class 5				26.7%	29.4%	12.4%	25.9%
Class 6					32.7%	14.1%	25.6%
Class 7						25.6%	14.4%
Class 8							9.6%

Note: *p < .001 (two-tailed)

Table 6. Classification Table for Seven-class Model ($N = 171$)

Class	%	Average posterior probability associated with each class						
		Racially Avoidant	Personal Exception	Colorblind Inclusive	Racially Ambivalent	Multicultural Inclusive	Socially Attractive	Low Race Salience
Racially Avoidant	10	0.937	0.001	0.018	0.013	0.016	0.015	0.000
Personal Exception	1.8	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Colorblind Inclusive	9.9	0.010	0.000	0.953	0.018	0.013	0.006	0.000
Racially Ambivalent	26.2	0.038	0.000	0.012	0.852	0.015	0.048	0.034
Multicultural Inclusive	12.4	0.000	0.000	0.017	0.022	0.950	0.011	0.000
Socially Attractive	14.1	0.004	0.000	0.020	0.115	0.007	0.854	0.000
Low Race Salience	25.6	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.042	0.000	0.000	0.985

Table 7. Mean Comparisons between Latent Classes on Nigrescence Attitudes and ERS Messages (*N* = 171)

Variables	Racially Avoidant	Personal Exception	Colorblind Inclusive	Racially Ambivalent	Multi-culturalistic Inclusive	Socially Attractive	Low Race Salience	*F*	*df*	*p*
Attitudes										
Assimilation	3.75_a	1.47_b	5.66_c	4.57_a	2.03_d	5.43_c	4.10_a	32.37*	170	.00
Miseducation	2.66_a	6.53_b	1.68_c	4.00_d	2.26_a	4.90_e	4.17_d	48.45	170	.00
Self-Hatred	2.31_a	2.07_a	1.39_a	3.95_b	2.20_a	2.47_a	3.90_b	21.04	170	.00
Anti-White	1.38_a	1.07_a	1.25_a	1.92_b	1.48_a	1.18_a	4.11_c	107.80*	170	.00
Afrocentricity	1.79_a	2.07_a	2.21_a	3.94_b	3.71_b	2.82_c	4.15_b	26.33*	170	.00
Multiculturalistic Inclusive	3.63_a	2.33_b	6.04_c	4.84_d	6.52_c	5.83_c	4.06_a	54.12	170	.00
Messages										
Racial Barrier	2.54_a	3.74_a	3.03_a	3.43_a	4.10_b	2.82_a	3.14_a	4.78*	167	.00
Negative	1.28_a	2.04_a	1.31_a	2.31_b	1.22_a	1.46_a	2.88_c	20.35*	170	.00
Racial Pride	2.69_a	2.11_a	3.93_b	3.72_b	4.06_b	3.56_b	3.32_b	6.30*	170	.00
Egalitarian	3.57_a	3.11_a	4.58_b	3.68_a	3.98_a	3.77_a	3.27_a	5.00*	167	.00

Note: Means sharing a subscript in a row indicate that they are not significantly different from each other. * = Welch's F.

Table 8. Unstandardized, Standardized, Significance Values, and Odds Ratios for the Multinomial Logistic Regression Model with ERS Messages Predicting BRI Profiles during Emerging Adulthood ($N = 171$)

Parameter Estimate	*Unstandardized*	*Standardized*	*p*	*Odds Ratio*
Racially Avoidant →				
Racial Pride	-.92	-.46	.07	.40
Racial Barrier	-.68	-.40	.10	.51
Egalitarian	.51	.26	.31	1.67
Negative	.47	.26	.61	1.61
Personal Exception →				
Racial Pride	-4.25	-.82	.02**	.01
Racial Barrier	2.14	.48	.23	8.46
Egalitarian	2.26	.43	.19	9.54
Negative	3.25	.67	.05*	25.69
Colorblind Inclusive →				
Racial Pride	-.30	-.15	.55	.74
Racial Barrier	-.74	-.44	.05*	.48
Egalitarian	1.42	.72	.05**	4.13
Negative	1.40	.76	.08	4.05
Racially Ambivalent →				
Racial Pride	-.05	-.02	.92	.95
Racial Barrier	-.56	-.30	.12	.57
Egalitarian	.21	.10	.66	1.23
Negative	2.12	1.04	.00***	8.34
Low Race Salience →				
Racial Pride	-.66	-.19	.26	.52
Racial Barrier	-.95	-.31	.03**	.39
Egalitarian	.50	.14	.39	1.65
Negative	2.60	.79	.00****	13.43
Socially Attractive →				
Racial Pride	-.20	-.12	.68	.82
Racial Barrier	-.76	-.53	.04**	.47
Egalitarian	.04	.02	.93	1.04
Negative	1.34	.86	.06	3.80

*Note: *$p < .1$, **$p < .05$, ***$p < .01$, ****$p < .001$ (two-tailed)*

Appendix A - *Measures*

The Racial Socialization Questionnaire - Brief

[Socialization agent] expressed to me…

The importance of appreciating Black culture. (Racial Pride)

That Blacks face more obstacles than Whites because of the color of their skin. (Racial Barrier)

The importance of building relationships with people of different races. (Egalitarian)

That Black people are inferior to White people. (Negative)

Likert Response Scale: (1) Strongly disagree; (2) Disagree; (3) Neither agree nor disagree; (4) Agree; (5) Strongly agree

Schedule of Racist Events

We are interested in your experiences with racism. As you answer the questions below, please think about your ENTIRE LIFE, from when you were a child to the present. For each question, please circle the number that best captures the things that have happened to you. Answer each question TWICE, once for what has happened to you IN THE PAST YEAR, and once for what YOUR ENTIRE LIFE HAS BEEN LIKE. Use these numbers:

Circle 1 = If this has NEVER happened to you
Circle 2 = If this has happened ONCE IN A WHILE (less than 10% of the time)
Circle 3 = If this has happened SOMETIMES (10%-25% of the time)
Circle 4 = If this has happened A LOT (26%-49% of the time)
Circle 5 = If this has happened MOST OF THE TIME (50%-70% of the time)
Circle 6 = If this has happened ALMOST ALL OF THE TIME (more than 70% of the time)

1. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *teachers and professors* because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

2. How many times have you been treated unfairly by your *employers, bosses and supervisors* because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

3. How many times have you been treated unfairly by your *coworkers, fellow students and colleagues* because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

4. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *people in service jobs* (store clerks, waiters, bartenders, bank tellers and others) because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

5. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *strangers* because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

6. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *people in helping jobs* (doctors, nurses, psychiatrists, case workers, dentists, school counselors, therapists, social workers and others) because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

7. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *neighbors* because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

8. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *institutions* (schools, universities, law firms, the police, the courts, the Department of Social Services, the Unemployment Office and others) because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

9. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *people that you thought were your friends* because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

10. How many times have you been *accused or suspected of doing something wrong* (such as stealing, cheating, not doing your share of the work, or breaking the law) because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

11. How many times have people *misunderstood your intentions and motives* because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

12. How many times did you *want to tell someone off for being racist but didn't say anything*?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

13. How many times have you been *really angry about something racist that was done to you*?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

14. How many times were you *forced to take drastic steps* (such as filing a grievance, filing a lawsuit, quitting your job, moving away, and other actions) to deal with some racist thing that was done to you?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

15. How many times have you *been called a racist name like nigger*, coon, jungle bunny or other names?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

16. How many times have you *gotten into an argument or a fight about something racist that was done to you or done to somebody else*?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

17. How many times have you been *made fun of, picked on, pushed, shoved, hit, or threatened with harm* because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely

How stressful was this for you? 1 2 3 4 5 6

18. How *different* would your life be now if you *HAD NOT BEEN* treated in a racist and unfair way

In the past year?

Same as now	A little different	Different in a few ways	Different in a lot of ways	Different in most ways	Totally different
1	2	3	4	5	6

In your entire life?

Same as now	A little different	Different in a few ways	Different in a lot of ways	Different in most ways	Totally different
1	2	3	4	5	6

Instructions for Scoring the SRE

1. Sum the subjects' rating for past year frequency of events on all 18 items. This equals their recent racist events score (range = 18-108).
2. Sum the subjects' rating for entire lifetime frequency of events on all 18 items. This equals their lifetime racist events score events score (range = 18-108).
3. Sum the subjects' rating for how stressful each event was on the first 17 items. This equals their appraised racist events score (range = 17-102).

(SRE; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996)

Appendix B - *Informed Consent*

Welcome to the research study!

The Impact of Ethnic-racial Socialization Messages from Socialization Agents on Black Ethnic-racial Identity

Purpose of the study: The purpose of this research is to gain a basic understanding of (1) primary sources of ethnic-racial socialization messages from adolescence through emerging adulthood, (2) the types of ethnic-racial socialization messages received during those times, and (3) the impact of ethnic-racial socialization messages on ethnic-racial identity development.

Eligibility criteria: In order to be considered eligible for this survey, you must meet the following criteria: (1) be at least 19 years of age and no more than 25 years of age, (2) have lived in the United States since age 10, and (3) self-identify as African, African-American, Black, West Indian/Caribbean Black, Hispanic Black, or Black-mixed.

Study procedures: This study involves an online survey that should take you around 60 minutes to complete and asks about your perceptions and experiences of racial-ethnic socialization messages, your ethnic-racial identity, social attitudes, and discrimination experiences. Please note that there are questions in the survey that may not be related to what we are assessing. These may be prompts where we tell you to pick a specific response to a statement or reply to a factual question. These help us ensure the integrity of our data. If you answer them incorrectly, we will determine you have not successfully met our quality control criteria, and you will not be compensated. Also, please note that this survey will be best displayed on a laptop or desktop computer. Some features may be less compatible for use on a mobile device.

Anticipated risks or discomforts: As you complete this online survey, you may experience distress from answering questions about your life experiences as a racial-ethnic minority. You are not required to complete any question items you feel uncomfortable with, and you can withdraw from the survey at any time. If you experience a response that requires immediate assistance, contact 911, the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline (1-800-273-8255 or visit https://suicidepreventionlifeline.org/) or the Crisis Text Line (Text CONNECT to 741-741). Each of these services is available 24/7. Additionally, therapist locator (www.therapistlocator.net) may be used to locate a therapist in your area.

Anticipated benefits: You will receive $2.00 for your participation. These data will be used to advance what is known about the relationship between socialization messages and identity development. Findings from this study will be used to improve interventions for fostering

positive ethnic-racial identity development in racial minority youth.

Extent of confidentiality: No personally identifying information is collected through this survey; all responses will remain anonymous and data will be kept on a password protected computer. Should you choose to email the requester, you understand that your name, MTurk worker ID, and email address will be seen by the requester and could be theoretically linked with your responses - and you do so at your own risk.

Terms of participation: I understand this project is research, and that my participation is voluntary. I also understand that if I decide to participate in this study, I may withdraw my consent at any time, and stop participating without explanation, penalty, or prejudice.

By clicking the button below, I acknowledge that my participation in the study is voluntary, I am 18 years of age, and that I am are aware that I may choose to terminate participation in the study at any time and for any reason.

- ○ **I consent to begin the study**

- ○ **I do not consent and do not wish to participate**