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Racial Socialization from Parents and Peers: Implications for Coping with Discrimination

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RACIAL SOCIALIZATION FROM PARENTS AND PEERS:

IMPLICATIONS FOR COPING WITH DISCRIMINATION

by

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Under the Direction of

Gabriel Kuperminc, PhD and Ciara Glover, PhD

ABSTRACT

Black emerging adults (ages 18 – 25) often encounter race-related stressors, such as discrimination. Racial socialization has been theorized to help individuals cope with race-related stress (Harrell, 2000), but the literature focuses primarily on parents despite long-standing calls to investigate additional socialization agents, such as peers (Hughes, McGill, Ford, & Tubbs, 2011; Priest et al., 2014). The purpose of this study was to examine how *parent* and *peer* racial socialization messages contribute to the types of coping strategies Black emerging adults use when faced with discrimination.

Self-identified Black college students ($N = 202$; $M_{age} = 19.63$) completed measures of perceived discrimination, racial socialization, and coping strategies used in response to specific discriminatory events. Results from regression analyses revealed that parental socialization was associated with problem solving, whereas peer socialization was associated with seeking social support. Racial socialization was unrelated to avoidance coping. Using latent profile analysis, four patterns of racial socialization experiences were identified and were categorized based on the congruence of messages from parents and peers. The *Congruent High* and *Congruent Low* profiles included participants who reported similar frequencies of racial socialization messages from both socialization agents. The *Incongruent Low Peer* and *Incongruent Low Parent* profiles were characterized by contrasting frequencies of messages from parents and peers. Black emerging adults with a *Congruent Low* profile were more likely to use avoidance coping and less likely to seek social support or use problem solving to cope with discrimination than those in the other profiles. Results indicate that receiving at least a moderate frequency of racial socialization messages from any socialization agent is associated with more adaptive forms of coping.

Findings from this study highlight the importance of both parents and peers to the racial socialization process during emerging adulthood. In particular, the results suggest that parents and peers each play a unique role in helping young adults cope with discrimination. Building on this study, future research should continue to include peers as socialization agents and examine associations between racial socialization, coping with discrimination, and the well-being of Black emerging adults.

INDEX WORDS: Racial socialization, Coping, Discrimination, Parent, Peer, Profile analysis

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DEDICATION

To my grandma – Joyce – for always believing me.

To my parents – Jacob and Christiana – for their unwavering support and sacrifice.

To my husband – Todd – for being my rock.

To my baby – Celsus – the light of my world, and my greatest motivation.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Racial discrimination is defined as the behavioral manifestation of prejudice and includes actions that deny equitable treatment to individuals, or groups of people, on the basis of race (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999). Perceiving racial discrimination is a common experience for Black college students between the ages of 18 and 25, a developmental period classified as *emerging adulthood* (Arnett, 2000; Arnett & Brody, 2008; Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Emerging adulthood is marked by increasing autonomy and, for many Black college students, exposure to novel settings wherein they must confront race-related issues independently (Arnett & Brody, 2008; Hope, Hoggard, & Thomas, 2015; White-Johnson, 2015). During this period, many college students transition beyond the contexts of home, family, and neighborhood, and begin to navigate larger society (Arnett & Brody, 2008; Phinney, 2006). This shift may signify increased opportunities for exposure to racial discrimination or contexts that make one's race more salient (e.g., interethnic living or working environments, college classrooms where one is a minority, courses that increase one's consciousness) (Phinney, 2006).

Indeed, research confirms that racial discrimination is a significant part of the college experience for many Black emerging adults (Banks, 2010; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003). For example, Swim et al. (2003) reported that two-thirds of the Black college students in their study experienced a discriminatory event at least every other week. The prevalence of discriminatory experiences is disturbing given that race-related stress is associated with a number of adverse outcomes (Clark et al., 1999; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Specifically among Black college students, researchers have found a link between perceived racial discrimination and depressive symptoms, stress, anger, anxiety, and psychological distress

(Banks, 2010; Bynum, Burton, & Best, 2007; Pieterse, Carter, Evans, & Walter, 2010; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003).

Fortunately, many Black emerging adults receive race-related messages (i.e., racial socialization) that equip them with strategies or beliefs necessary to cope with their experiences of discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003; White-Johnson, 2015; Womack & Sloan, 2017). Effective coping can help mitigate the damaging effects of racial discrimination (Brondolo, ver Halen, Pencille, Beatty, & Contrada, 2009; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Polanco-Roman, Danies, & Anglin, 2016). Researchers have argued that racial socialization functions primarily to enable Black youth and young adults to cope effectively with racial stressors such as discrimination (Gaylord-Harden, Burrow, & Cunningham, 2012; Harrell, 2000; Hughes et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2008). Several conceptual models, such as the cultural asset framework by Gaylord-Harden and colleagues (2012) and the integrative model for the study of developmental competencies (Garcia Coll et al., 1996) position racial socialization as the mechanism through which Black youth learn to cope with discriminatory experiences. However, empirical attempts to assess the association between racial socialization and coping with discrimination are limited.

A preponderance of the racial socialization literature examines parents as the sole agents of socialization whereas little is known about the influence of peers, who are particularly important during emerging adulthood (Hughes, McGill, Ford, & Tubbs, 2011; Nelson, Syed, Tran, Hu, & Lee, 2018; Priest et al., 2014). Moreover, existing literature has not considered how racial socialization from multiple sources operate in tandem. This study investigates the association between parent and peer racial socialization and coping responses to perceived discrimination. Ultimately, the aim of this research is to contribute to a larger body of literature

examining factors that influence the experience of race-related stress and informs efforts to curtail the harmful effects of discrimination.

1.1   Theoretical Framework: Racial Discrimination as a Stressor

Harrell's (2000) multidimensional theory of racism-related stress offers a model for understanding how African Americans experience discrimination. Drawing on Lazarus & Folkman's (1984) transactional stress and coping framework, Harrell conceptualizes racial discrimination as a pernicious and chronic stressor for African Americans of all ages. Race-related stress is defined as interactions between an individual and their environment that occur as a result of racism. These stressful interactions, depending on one's appraisal of the event as a threat, can set the stage for negative physical and psychological outcomes (Harrell, 2000). Indeed, scholars suggest that, for African Americans, discrimination exerts a unique impact on well-being, distinct from the demands of general life stressors, such as financial distress or interpersonal conflicts (Brondolo et al., 2009; Plummer & Slane, 1996). The theoretical framework posits that the negative impact of race-related stress can be alleviated through behavioral responses (i.e., coping) that occur following exposure to discrimination (Harrell, 2000; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Further, Harrell's model suggests that an individual's particular coping strategy results from an integration of factors such as individual characteristics (e.g., race, age), encounters with discrimination, and racial socialization experience.

1.2   Coping

Coping is defined as an individual's efforts to alleviate stress or manage a stressful experience (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). The initial phase of the coping process includes an evaluation of an event whereby an individual assesses whether a situation is offensive, poses a threat, or presents a challenge (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). This subjective assessment is

important for contextualizing the subsequent response and potential impact of the stressor (Harrell, 2000). Having determined that an event is indeed stressful, an individual then decides on a particular coping strategy. Approach coping strategies involve active engagement in efforts to resolve the stressor (e.g., soliciting support from friends and family, planning and executing a solution to the problem). Avoidant coping responses orient an individual away from the stressor (e.g., disengaging from the experience, denying that the situation occurred, merely wishing that things were different) (Amirkhan, 1990; Brondolo et al., 2009; Roth & Cohen, 1986).

It is important to explore factors that might engender the use of approach versus avoidance coping strategies because evidence indicates differential outcomes based on the type of coping one uses (Roth & Cohen, 1986). Although avoidant coping may offer immediate relief from a stressor, these types of behaviors tend to have negative long-term effects on mental and physical health (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Roth & Cohen, 1986). For example, using denial as a coping strategy could inhibit someone from dealing with negative emotions brought on by a discriminatory event (Roth & Cohen, 1986). On the other hand, approach-oriented coping strategies might minimize the harmful effects of discrimination by "enabling an individual to challenge the validity of discriminatory events and reduce negative feelings about the self" (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009, p. 533).

The protective role of approach coping in the link between perceived discrimination and mental health has been documented in a number of studies with diverse participant samples (Brondolo et al., 2009; Krieger & Sidney, 1996; Nadimpalli, Kanaya, McDade, & Kandula, 2016; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Polanco-Roman et al., 2016). For example, approach coping attenuated the link between discrimination and psychological distress in a sample of Koreans in Canada whereas avoidance exacerbated negative outcomes (Noh & Kaspar, 2003). To measure

approach coping, Noh and Kaspar (2003) used two scales: problem solving (*talked or reasoned with the offender*) and seeking social support (*talked to family and relatives about it*). They also used two scales to measure avoidant coping: passive acceptance (*did not react, took it as a fact of life*) and distraction (*watched TV or played video games to forget*). Similarly, other researchers found that ethnic-minority adults who responded to racial discrimination by "accepting it" or "keeping it to [themselves]" (i.e., avoidance) reported significantly more psychological distress than those who responded by "trying to do something about it" or "talking to others about it" (i.e., approach) (Nadimpalli et al., 2016; Polanco-Roman et al., 2016). In each of these investigations, participants first completed a questionnaire reporting a range of personal experiences with discrimination, defined as unfair treatment due to race. They then answered questions about how they responded to their experiences of perceived discrimination. These studies on coping with discrimination did not account for participants' appraisal of the events. According to the stress and coping framework, self-reported coping responses are most accurate when considering the extent to which an individual perceives an incident as stressful (Harrell, 2000; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). The present study examines how individuals cope only with discriminatory experiences they consider bothersome.

Much of the research on coping with race-related stress examines coping as a predictor or mediator variable to explain the link between stress and mental health or physical health outcomes (Clark et al., 1999; Harrell, 2000; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). This line of work has established that coping has important implications for well-being. There is less understanding around what prompts the use of particular forms of coping. Here, coping is considered an outcome variable because the goal of this study is to understand factors that help Black emerging adults cope effectively in the face of race-related stress.

According to theoretical frameworks of stress and coping (Harrell, 2000; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), responses to stress are bounded by an individual's culture-specific experiences. For Black emerging adults, one such culture-specific experience is racial socialization, or the process of receiving race-related messages. Scholars propose that racial socialization can prepare individuals to effectively cope with discrimination. However, there is a dearth of empirical research linking socialization messages to coping with race-related stress (Scott, 2003).

1.3 Racial Socialization

Racial socialization is defined as the transmission of race-related messages for the purposes of fostering a sense of cultural pride and preparing individuals for the stigma they may face in society because of their race (Bowman & Howard, 1985). Although the literature primarily focuses on the transmission of messages from parents to children and adolescents, racial socialization also occurs in multiple contexts (e.g., extended family, school, friendships, media) and across the lifespan (Barr & Neville, 2014; Hughes et al., 2011; Hughes et al., 2006). Racial socialization has been theorized as a protective practice that helps Black youth and young adults establish a positive sense of self, maintain positive ethnic group identification, cultivate resilience, and develop resources to cope effectively with experiences of discrimination (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Gaylord-Harden et al., 2012; Hughes et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2008).

Reflecting the primary goals of racial socialization, two commonly assessed types of messages are racial pride and racial barrier messages. Racial pride refers to messages that encourage appreciation of cultural identity and heritage (e.g., talking about positive figures in Black history, encouraging individuals to be proud of their Black features). Racial barrier messages are those that instill an awareness of potential stigmatization (e.g., warning individuals

that they may be treated poorly because of the color of their skin) (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006).

Messages that emphasize pride have consistently been associated with positive outcomes such as self-esteem, academic achievement, and better psychological functioning (Hughes et al., 2006). Racial pride messages offer Black youth and young adults an alternative narrative to the pejorative messages they receive about their racial group from larger society (Neblett et al., 2008). The link between racial pride socialization and positive developmental and psychosocial outcomes suggests that these types of messages may engender the use of adaptive coping strategies in the face of discrimination. For example, receiving positive messages about their racial group may help emerging adults cognitively reappraise a negative racial encounter or consider productive responses to the incident (Scott, 2003).

Research concerning racial barrier messages has generated mixed findings. Some studies have found that racial barrier messages were associated with lower levels of anger control, poor academic outcomes, and a sense of helplessness (Hughes et al., 2006), while others have reported that alerting individuals to potential discrimination attenuates their susceptibility to poor mental health and fosters a personal sense of efficacy (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes et al., 2006). The equivocal findings regarding racial barrier messages are more pronounced in studies with young children and adolescents. Findings among Black college students and emerging adults have been more consistently positive (i.e., barrier messages correlated with positive outcomes), potentially signifying a developmental shift. Racial barrier messages can be protective by offering Black emerging adults an opportunity to attribute discriminatory behavior to external sources, rather than internalizing the negative experience. Previous research has found that Black college students who believed that others viewed their racial group negatively were protected

against the harmful effects of discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). It could be that Black emerging adults who have been prepared for the reality of racism through the process of racial socialization may be more adept at employing effective coping strategies when faced with discrimination.

1.4   Racial Socialization and Coping

While scholars have contended that racial socialization helps individuals develop a repertoire of adaptive coping strategies to draw upon when faced with discrimination (Harrell, 2000), only a handful of studies have addressed this association empirically. Parental racial barrier messages have been positively related to the use of approach coping (e.g., problem-solving, seeking social support) and unrelated to the use of avoidant coping (e.g., accepting discrimination as a fact of life, ignoring) in response to perceived discriminatory experiences among Black adolescents (Scott, 2003) and Latinx college students (Sanchez, Smith, & Adams, 2018). Likewise, parental racial pride messages have been positively related to the use of approach coping and unrelated to the use of avoidant coping in response to general life stressors among Black college students (Womack & Sloan, 2017). Using a composite score of parental pride and barrier socialization, Anderson and colleagues (2018) also reported that a higher frequency of messages was positively related to Black adolescents' use of approach coping and unrelated to avoidance coping in response to general life stressors.

These studies offer promising empirical evidence for the conceptual link between racial socialization and coping. From this research, we learn that receiving race-related messages more frequently can generate the use of approach coping in response to a variety of stressors. This is encouraging because approach coping is postulated to be more advantageous than avoidant coping (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Roth & Cohen, 1986). However, this research is also

limited with regards to coping with salient race-related stressors. Only a couple of these studies have examined the association between racial socialization and coping with perceived discrimination (Sanchez et al., 2018; Scott, 2003), while others focus on coping with general life stressors (Anderson et al., 2018; Womack & Sloan, 2017). It is possible that racial socialization messages might function differently when considering how Black emerging adults cope with perceived discrimination. For example, Womack and Sloan's (2017) finding that racial barrier messages were not significantly associated with coping for general life stressors does not preclude the possibility that barrier messages may be important for coping with discrimination, as evidenced in other studies (Sanchez et al., 2018; Scott, 2003). That barrier messages have been linked to coping with discrimination is not surprising because these messages are often intended to prepare individuals to deal with such experiences.

These studies are also limited in that they investigate parents as the sole source of racial socialization. Little is known about additional racial socialization agents for Black emerging adults (Nelson et al., 2018). In order to advance knowledge on the association between racial socialization and coping with discrimination, this study examines messages received from parents and peers.

1.5   Peers as Agents of Racial Socialization

Extant literature recognizes parents as the primary agents of socialization (Hughes et al., 2006). In a systematic review of racial socialization literature, Priest (2014) found that 86 out of 92 studies examined parents as the sole socialization agent. Despite the burgeoning autonomy that many emerging adults experience once they enter college, parental racial socialization messages continue to play a role in a host of outcomes (Arnett, 2007). Scholars have reported that parental racial socialization is associated with psychological well-being (Bynum et al.,

2007), academic adjustment (Anglin & Wade, 2007), and prosocial involvement (White-Johnson, 2015) among Black college students. Nonetheless, it is important to consider additional sources of influence, as racial socialization is a complex process involving multiple agents and contexts (Hughes et al., 2011; Nelson et al., 2018; Wang & Benner, 2016). Conceptual rationale and an emerging body of evidence point to peers as meaningful agents of racial socialization, particularly during this developmental period.

In college, emerging adults spend a considerable amount of time with friends and less time with parents. Friendships during emerging adulthood are characterized by a greater degree of intimacy and increased communication about sensitive topics, such as politics, race, and culture (Arnett, 2007). Indeed, friendships are shaped by the broader socio-cultural context (Way, 2006). In one study, participants reported with whom they discussed personal incidents of perceived discrimination. Of the sources listed, friends were the most common among Black college students (Swim et al., 2003). Lesane-Brown and colleagues (2005) asked a sample of Black college students how frequently they received messages about "what it means to be Black" and "how to deal with people outside of your race" from a variety of sources. A majority of the sample reported that they receive race-related messages from their peers "at least sometimes." Consistent with these findings, Barr and Neville (2014) reported that Black college students received a variety of racial socialization messages from peers, with messages about racial pride and racial barriers being the most frequent types. Although no known studies have assessed peer racial socialization and coping, there is some evidence that peer socialization is related to other positive outcomes, such as ethnic-racial identity development and well-being (Hu, Zhou, & Lee, 2017; Nelson et al., 2018; Wang & Benner, 2016). It is possible, then, that peer socialization messages also contribute to coping strategies for race-related stress (Arnett & Brody, 2008; Hope

et al., 2015). Establishing an association between peer socialization messages and coping with discrimination may have important implications for interventions and efforts to mitigate the negative effects of discrimination for Black emerging adults on college campuses (Hope et al., 2015).

1.6   Multiple Socialization Agents

Recognizing that racial socialization is received from multiple sources, examining peer and parent socialization practices simultaneously is necessary for a better understanding of this process. Researchers are beginning to address longstanding calls for an examination of multiple socialization agents. For example, in a narrative study, Syed (2012) reported that ethnically diverse college students discussed issues about prejudice (racial barriers) more frequently with friends, but were more likely to discuss positive race-related issues (racial pride) with parents. Among Black emerging adults, Nelson and colleagues (2018) found that, after accounting for the effect of parental socialization, peer racial barrier messages contributed to ethnic-racial identity development. These studies provide insight into the relative contributions of parent and peer socialization and present a more holistic picture of racial socialization. However, this research does not give insight into how messages from multiple agents coalesce.

The process of racial socialization represents a confluence of different types of messages from multiple sources (Hughes et al., 2006). That is, Black emerging adults have been exposed to messages from both parents *and* peers. Whether or not these processes occur simultaneously, they all shape the worldview of the individual, engendering psychological, affective, and behavioral responses to race-related stress. Thus, another aim of this study is to explore the synergistic nature of racial socialization by using a person-centered approach.

Previous studies have considered how different types of racial socialization messages operate in tandem with each other (Caughy, Nettles, & Lima, 2011; Neblett et al., 2008) and with other contextual factors (Ajayi & Syed, 2014; Smalls, 2010; Smalls & Cooper, 2012) to influence psychological and academic outcomes. For example, Neblett et al. (2008) found that a higher frequency of racial barrier messages was not directly correlated with Black adolescents' well-being. However, using person-centered analysis, the researchers discovered that a profile including high frequencies of racial barrier as well as other racial socialization messages was found to be a strong indicator of psychological well-being. Likewise, in Smalls' (2010) study, Black youth belonging to a subgroup that included higher frequencies of pride messages, barrier messages, and positive parenting practices reported better academic outcomes, even though barrier messages were not independently associated with these outcomes.

Only one known study has used person-centered analysis to explore patterns of racial socialization in multiple contexts. Wang and Brenner (2016) accounted for socialization messages that adolescents received from family and friends. Their analyses yielded two profiles in which the frequency of messages from both sources was similar, or congruent, and one profile in which the frequencies were incongruent. Adolescents with congruently high socialization (that is, greater frequencies of messages in both contexts) had better psychosocial outcomes than those with congruently low or incongruent socialization. Overall, these studies highlight the value of the person-centered approach for understanding how multidimensional constructs are configured within individuals, and accounting for how racial socialization processes occur in real life.

1.7   Study Aims and Hypotheses

The literature suggests that racial socialization may be connected to the coping strategies that Black emerging adults use when facing unfair treatment due to their race. Receiving

frequent messages that instill a sense of pride in one's racial group and promote awareness of potential discrimination may provide individuals with the opportunity to consider effective approaches to reducing race-related stress (Brondolo et al., 2009; Harrell, 2000; Hughes et al., 2006). Moreover, receiving these messages from peers in addition to parents may be particularly beneficial during this developmental period (Arnett, 2007; Nelson et al., 2018). To further investigate these ideas, this study had three objectives.

1.7.1   Study Aim 1

The first aim was to examine associations of parental and peer racial socialization messages with the coping strategies in response to discrimination. Consistent with previous studies (Anderson et al., 2018; Sanchez et al., 2018; Scott, 2003; Womack & Sloan, 2017), it was expected that parental racial socialization messages would be positively associated with the use of approach coping. There is some evidence that peer racial socialization is beneficial for other positive developmental outcomes (Hu et al., 2017; Nelson et al., 2018; Wang & Benner, 2016). Thus, it was expected that peer messages would also have a direct association with approach coping. Given the salience of peer influence during emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2007; Nelson et al., 2018), it was hypothesized that peer racial socialization messages would have an independent positive association with approach coping after accounting for the effect of parental messages.

Further, it was expected that the frequency of discriminatory experiences would inform participant reports of racial socialization as well as coping strategies. Thus, the frequency of discrimination was examined as a covariate in this current study.

1.7.2   Study Aim 2

Representing an exploratory avenue of research in this field, the second aim was to identify patterns of racial socialization across two different types of messages (racial pride and

racial barrier) and two different socialization agents (parents and peers). This approach offers a holistic understanding of the racial socialization process, as it accounts for the experiences of the individuals rather than the mechanics of the variables. It was difficult to specify an empirically driven a priori prediction as to the number and nature of profiles to emerge from the data because only one known study has considered multiple socialization agents in a person-centered approach (Wang & Benner, 2016). Based on this limited research, at least two kinds of patterns were anticipated. It was hypothesized that analyses would yield at least one profile in which parental and peer messages are congruent (i.e., frequencies are similar) and at least one in which they are incongruent (e.g., frequency of parental messages is high, while frequency of peer messages is low or vice versa).

1.7.3   Study Aim 3

The final aim of this study was to investigate whether the patterns of racial socialization are associated with coping responses to discrimination. No hypotheses were specified due to the exploratory nature of this and the previous aim.

2   METHOD

2.1   Participants

Demographic information can be found in Table 1. The sample included 202 self-identified Black undergraduate students attending a large public southeastern university. Participants were able to select from the following options for gender: woman, man, transgender woman, transgender man, non-binary, and prefer not to answer. Seventy percent of the sample selected 'woman'. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 25 years old ($M = 19.63$, $SD = 1.65$). Ethnically, a majority of participants (73%) identified as African American. Others identified as

multi-ethnic, Caribbean, African, or Latinx. Almost all participants (97%) were born in the

United States. Most participants reported either living on campus with roommates (35%) or with

their parents/guardians (35%).

Table 1. Sample Demographics

	N	Percentage
Classification		
Freshman	94	46.5%
Sophomore	63	31.2%
Junior	30	14.9%
Senior	15	7.4%
Gender		
Woman	142	70.3%
Man	59	29.2%
Ethnicity		
African American	147	72.8%
Multi-ethnic	36	17.8%
Caribbean	9	4.5%
African	7	3.5%
Hispanic/Latinx	3	1.5%
Nationality		
U.S. born	196	97%
Non-U.S. born	6	3%
Living Arrangements		
On-campus with roommates	71	35.1%
On-campus alone	17	8.4%
Off-campus with roommates	30	14.9%
Off-campus alone	11	5.4%
With parents/guardians	70	34.7%

2.2   Procedure

All study procedures were approved by GSU's institutional review board (IRB) prior to

participant recruitment. Undergraduate students were recruited via the psychology department

research subject pool website, on which they were able to read a brief description of the study, complete a screener of inclusion criteria, and access a link to the survey. The screener asked respondents for their age and race. Only those who answered that they were between the ages of 18-25 and identified as Black continued on with the survey. The study was administered using Qualtrics, an online survey platform. On average, participants completed the survey in about 15 minutes. Upon completion, participants received 0.5 units of course credit.

2.3   Measures

Complete study measures can be found in Appendix A.

2.3.1   *Perceived discrimination*

The Daily Life Experience scale of the Racism and Life Experience Scales (RaLES; Harrell, 1997), was used to assess the frequency of everyday racial hassles. Examples of racial hassles include "being accused of something or treated suspiciously" and "not being taken seriously" *due to your race*. Participants read each of the 20 racial hassles and indicated how often (*0 = never, 1 = rarely, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often)* they experienced each event in the past year. Internal consistency was high ($\alpha = .91$).

2.3.2   *Parental racial socialization*

Participants completed the racial pride and racial barrier subscales of the Racial Socialization Questionnaire-teen (RSQ-t) (Lesane-Brown, Scottham, Nguyên, & Sellers, 2006). Items inquire about messages participants received from parents within the past year. The racial pride subscale ($\alpha = .84$) includes four items that measure the frequency with which parents communicated messages emphasizing positive attitudes about Black people ("How frequently did your parents/guardians tell you that you should be proud to be Black?"). The racial barriers subscale ($\alpha = .89$) includes four items pertaining to messages about racial inequity ("How

frequently did your parents tell you that some people try to keep Blacks from being successful?"). Participants rated each item on a 3-point scale (*0 = never*, *1 =* one or twice, and *2 = more than twice*).

2.3.3   Peer racial socialization

All 8 items from the racial pride and racial barriers subscales of the RSQ-t were adapted to capture participants' perceptions of racial socialization messages from their peers by changing the word "parents" to "close friends." A similar adaptation of racial socialization scales has been used in previous studies (Hu et al., 2017; Nelson et al., 2018). In the present sample, internal consistency was high for the peer socialization subscales (α = .87 for peer pride messages; α = .89 for peer barrier messages).

2.3.4   Coping with discrimination

The Coping Strategy Indicator (CSI; Amirkhan, 1990) is a 15-item multidimensional self-report measure of the coping strategies used in specific stressful situations. Grounded in the stress and coping framework, the CSI was selected for use in this study due to independence of each subscale, its psychometric properties, and its purpose in measuring situation-specific coping (Amirkhan, 1990). To elicit responses to salient race-related stressors, participants were shown a menu of the 20 racial hassles from the Daily Life Experiences scale (described above; Harrell, 1997). Participants selected which hassles they have experienced that have bothered them. Participants were then shown the list of hassles that they indicated had bothered them and were instructed to complete the CSI with reference to those specific incidents. If a participant indicated that they had never experienced any of the racial hassles or that none of the hassles bothered them, they did not complete the CSI.

The CSI includes three subscales (5 items for each): Problem Solving ("I tried to carefully plan a course of action rather than acting on impulse"; "I tried different ways to solve the problem until I found one that worked"), Seeking Social Support ("I confided my fears and worries to a friend or relative"; "I sought reassurance or advice from those who know me best"), and Avoidance ("I wished the situation would just go away"; "I refused to believe that it had happened"). Participants rated the extent (1 = *not at all,* 2 = *a little*, and 3 = *a lot*) to which they have used each coping strategy in response to the indicated incident(s). Subscale scores are comprised of the sum of participant responses to each item, for a range of 5 to 15 for each subscale. Higher scores represent greater use of a given coping strategy. In the current sample, internal consistencies were good for the Problem Solving (α = .79) and Seeking Social Support (α = .82) subscales and moderate for the Avoidance (α = .60) subscale.

2.4   Data Analysis Plan

Data analysis began with an assessment of descriptive statistics (i.e., frequencies, skewness, kurtosis) to check for normality, input errors, and outliers. No unusual occurrences were found in the data. Less than 4% of data were missing on any one variable. Bivariate correlations were used to examine associations among socialization variables, coping, and frequency of perceived discrimination. In addition, mean differences among the four types of socialization messages (parent barrier, parent pride, peer barrier, and peer pride) and among the three types of coping behaviors (seeking social support, problem solving, and avoidance) were assessed. A series of one-way ANOVAs were conducted, examining differences in reports of racial socialization and coping strategies by demographic variables and perceived discrimination. Variables that were related to both racial socialization and coping were used as covariates in subsequent analyses (Jaccard, Guilamo-Ramos, Johansson, & Bouris, 2006).

To address the first aim of the study, which was to examine the contributions of parent and peer socialization to coping, hierarchical regression models were constructed. Models were tested for each type of racial socialization (racial barrier and racial pride) and for the three dependent variables (problem solving, seeking social support, and avoidance), yielding a total of six regression models. Racial discrimination was entered in the first step as a covariate. Parent socialization was entered in step 2 and peer socialization was selected in step 3.

The second aim of the study was to identify profiles, or subpopulations, in the data based on the response patterns of parent and peer racial socialization messages. To achieve this aim, latent profile analysis was conducted using Mplus version 8.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2018). The four socialization variables – parent barrier, parent pride, peer barrier, and peer pride– were regressed on categorical latent variables representing profiles. Five models were estimated. Following recommendations from Tein and colleagues (2013), model fit was assessed using the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), the bootstrap likelihood ratio test (BLRT), and entropy. Lower values of BIC are indicative of a more parsimonious model. The BLRT tests whether each model is an improvement over the one before it; a small probability value ($p < .05$) indicates that the model is a better fit (Nylund, Asparouhov, & Muthén, 2007; Tein et al., 2013). Entropy values higher than .80 indicate that the solution accurately assigns participants to profiles and that the profiles are substantially discriminant (Nylund et al., 2007; Tein et al., 2013). These statistical criteria along with an assessment of the interpretability of the profiles were used to determine the most appropriate solution. Next, chi-square tests and an ANOVA (analysis of variance) were conducted to assess whether profiles differed by demographic variables (i.e., gender, ethnicity, nationality, living arrangements) and previous discrimination experience. Finally, three ANCOVAs (analysis of covariance) were conducted to investigate the relation

between the profiles and coping behavior. Pairwise comparisons were examined to identify specific differences between groups.

3 RESULTS

3.1 Preliminary Analysis

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics, reliability coefficients, and zero-order correlations among study variables. On average, participants reported receiving racial socialization messages from parents and peers approximately once or twice within the past year. There were no significant differences in the frequency of pride messages received from parents ($M = 1.26$, $SD = .65$) and pride messages received from peers ($M = 1.30$, $SD = .68$), $t(201) = -.97$, $p = .33$. Also, no significant differences were found for barrier messages from parents ($M = 1.28$, $SD = .71$) and those received from peers ($M = 1.25$, $SD = .72$), $t(201) = .40$, $p = .70$.

Mean differences among coping strategies were examined. Participants reported seeking social support ($M = 10.34$, $SD = 3.17$) more often than using problem solving ($M = 9.36$, $SD = 2.91$), $t(193) = 4.16$, $p < .01$ or avoidance strategies ($M = 9.19$, $SD = 2.44$), $t(193) = 3.66$, $p < .01$.

There were several significant bivariate relationships among study variables (see Table 2). For example, racial socialization variables were all positively intercorrelated ($r \geq .35$). Both types of parent racial socialization messages (racial barrier and racial pride) were positively correlated with approach coping (problem solving and seeking social support). Peer racial socialization was also positively correlated with approach coping strategies and negatively correlated with avoidance. Approach coping variables were positively intercorrelated, and negatively associated with avoidance coping. The frequency of perceived discrimination was positively correlated with all racial socialization and approach coping variables and was thus included as a covariate in subsequent analyses (Jaccard et al., 2006).

Table 2. Correlations and Descriptives of Study Variables

Variables	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Parent Pride	----							
2. Parent Barrier	.64**	----						
3. Peer Pride	.47**	.35**	----					
4. Peer Barrier	.43**	.39**	.78**	----				
5. Problem Solving	.26**	.30**	.22**	.20**	----			
6. Social Support	.16**	.21**	.31**	.29**	.43**	----		
7. Avoidance	-.13	-.13	-.15*	-.16*	-.10	-.18*	----	
8. Discrimination	.20**	.29**	.32**	.35**	.36**	.43**	-.03	----
Range	0 - 2	0 - 2	0 - 2	0 - 2	5-15	5-15	5-15	0 - 3
Mean	1.26	1.28	1.30	1.25	9.36	10.34	9.18	1.23
SD	.65	.71	.68	.72	2.91	3.17	2.44	.64
α	.84	.89	.87	.90	.79	.82	.60	.91

*Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. $N = 202$

Table 3 summarizes some data for participant experiences with racial discrimination. On average, participants reported experiencing 13.32 ($SD = 5.26$) of the 20 racial hassles listed in the RaLES inventory at least once during the past year. The average reported frequency of each hassle was between "rarely" and "sometimes" ($M = 1.23$, $SD = 0.64$). Twenty-five participants (12%) reported experiencing all 20 of the incidents at least once within the past year. Four participants (2%) reported never experiencing any of the incidents in the past year.

Regarding associations between primary study variables and participant demographics, findings were significant for living arrangements, $F (4, 100.97) = 3.24$, $p = 0.02$. Participants who lived on campus with roommates ($M = 1.40$, $SD = 0.66$) reported receiving more barrier-related messages from their peers than participants who lived with parents/guardians ($M = 1.04$,

SD = 0.79). There were no other significant differences in racial socialization messages for the

other types of living arrangements (on campus alone, off campus alone, off campus with

roommates). Coping did not differ based on living arrangements. In addition, there were no

significant differences in coping styles or racial socialization based on based on gender, age, or

ethnicity. Thus, these demographic variables were not used as covariates in subsequent analyses

(Jaccard et al., 2006).

Table 3. Mean Frequency and Occurrence of 5 Most Frequent Racial Hassles

Racial Hassle	Mean frequency	% of participants reporting occurrence
Overhearing or being told an offensive joke or comment	1.53	78.7
Being stared at by strangers	1.53	74.8
Being treated rudely or disrespectfully	1.51	84.2
Being treated as if you're "stupid"	1.41	75.2
Not being taken seriously	1.39	71.8
Being observed or followed while in public places	1.37	71.3

Note. Items taken from The Racism and Life Experience Scales (RaLES) (Harrell, 1997). Reprinted with permission. Frequency was rated: 0 = never, 1= rarely, 2 = sometimes, 3=often. *N* = 202.

3.2   Aim 1: Associations Between Racial Socialization and Coping

Six hierarchical regressions were used to assess the relative contribution of parent and

peer socialization (racial barrier and racial pride messages) to coping strategies (problem solving,

seeking social support, and avoidance). Given the strong correlations between the racial

socialization messages (see Table 2), analyses were performed to evaluate whether assumptions

of multicollinearity were violated. An examination of all regression models revealed that

tolerance and variance inflation factor (VIF) statistics were well within acceptable limits,

suggesting that multicollinearity did not pose a problem. Due to its correlation with both

socialization and coping, racial discrimination was entered in step 1 as a covariate in each model.

Step 2 included parental socialization. Peer socialization was selected at step 3.

Table 4 details the analysis of the association between racial socialization and problem solving. After controlling for the significant effect of discrimination experiences in step 1, $F(1,192) = 28.30$, $p < .01$, $R_2 = .13$, parental barrier messages, $F(2,191) = 9.40$, $p < .01$, $R_2 = .17$, and parental pride messages, $F(2,191) = 8.45$, $p < .01$, $R_2 = .17$, were both significant, explaining an additional 4% of the total variance in the use of problem solving coping strategies. In step 3, after accounting for the significant variance explained by parental socialization, neither peer racial barrier socialization, $F(3,190) = .16$, $p = .70$), nor peer pride socialization, $F(3,190) = .28$, $p = .60$) were related to problem solving. Discrimination remained significant in all steps.

Table 4. Regression Analysis Predicting Problem Solving

Variable	Racial Barrier Messages				Racial Pride Messages			
	B (SE)	β	R_2	ΔR_2	B (SE)	β	R_2	ΔR_2
Step 1			.13				.13	
Discrimination	1.67 (.32)	.36*			1.67 (.32)	.36*		
Step 2			.17	.04*			.17	.04*
Discrimination	1.38 (.32)	.29*			1.50 (.32)	.32*		
Parent RS	.88 (.29)	.21*			.87 (.30)	.20*		
Step 3			.17	.00			.17	.00
Discrimination	1.35 (.34)	.28*			1.46 (.33)	.31*		
Parent RS	.84 (.30)	.20*			.80 (.33)	.18*		
Peer RS	.12 (.30)	.03			.17 (.33)	.04		

Note. RS = racial socialization; *$p < .05$. $N = 194$

Results for the analysis of the association between racial socialization and seeking social support are shown in Table 5. After controlling for the effect of discrimination experiences in step 1, $F(1,192) = 43.89$, $p < .01$, $R_2 =.19$, neither parental barrier socialization, $F(2,191) = 1.81$, $p = .18$, $R_2 =.19$, nor parental pride socialization, $F(2,191) = 1.48$, $p = .19$, $R_2 =.19$, explained additional variance in seeking social support. However, peer barrier socialization, $F(3,190) =$

4.44, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .21$, and peer pride socialization, $F(3,190) = 6.90$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .23$, were

significant predictors, explaining an additional 2% and 4% of the variance in seeking social

support, respectively.

Lastly, neither the racial barrier socialization model, $F(3,191) = 2.06$, $p = .11$, $R^2 = .03$,

nor the racial pride socialization model, $F(3,191) = 1.72$, $p = .16$, $R^2 = .03$, significantly explained

variance in avoidance coping (see Appendix B).

Table 5. Regression Analysis Predicting Seeking Social Support

Variable	Racial Barrier Messages				Racial Pride Messages			
	B (SE)	β	R^2	ΔR^2	B(SE)	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1			.19				.19	
Discrimination	2.20 (.33)	.43*			2.20 (.33)	.43*		
Step 2			.19	.01			.19	.00
Discrimination	2.01 (.35)	.40*			2.12 (.34)	.42*		
Parent RS	.41 (.31)	.09			.39 (.32)	.08		
Step 3			.21	.02*			.23	.04*
Discrimination	1.87 (.36)	.37*			1.91 (.34)	.37*		
Parent RS	.21 (.31)	.05			.00 (.31)	.00		
Peer RS	.67 (.32)	.15*			.91 (.35)	.20*		

Note. RS = racial socialization; *$p < .05$. $N = 194$

3.3   Aim 2: Racial Socialization Profiles

Latent profile analysis was used to identify subgroups of participants based on patterns of

racial socialization messages received from parents and peers. Summary statistics for the five

estimated latent profile models are presented in Table 6. As shown, overall model fit improved

with each additional profile. Entropy was acceptable for all solutions. While BIC values

continued to decrease, this decline leveled off between the 4-profile and 5-profile models

(Nylund-Gibson & Choi, 2018). Upon further examination of the characteristics of the profiles

within each solution, two of the groups in the 5-profile solution were not qualitatively different, and one of those included fewer than 10% of the participants in the sample. Researchers have advised against retaining such a solution as it may be unstable (Nylund-Gibson & Choi, 2018). Thus, the four-profile solution was selected.

Table 6. Model Fit Statistics for Latent Profile Analysis

	1 Profile	2 Profiles	3 Profiles	4 Profiles	5 Profiles
Parameters	8	13	18	23	28
BIC	1733.60	1461.29	1405.59	1369.19	1356.69
Entropy		0.89	0.91	0.88	0.90
BLRT p value		$p < .05$	$p < .01$	$p < .01$	$p < .01$

Note. BIC = Bayesian information criterion; BLRT = Bootstrap likelihood ratio test. $N = 202$.

Table 7 displays the raw and standardized means of each racial socialization variable for the entire sample and for each of the four profiles. These data were used to describe and label each profile. In addition, profiles were labeled based on congruence of parent and peer socialization (Wang & Benner, 2016). Congruence refers to the extent that the frequencies of messages from each socialization agent are similar. The largest profile (45% of the sample, $n = 90$) was labeled *Congruent High* and was characterized by relatively high frequencies (at least .6 standard deviations above the mean) of barrier and pride messages from parent and peers. The second largest profile (26% of the sample, $n = 53$) was labeled *Incongruent Low Peer* and included participants who reported a relatively low frequency of peer socialization and moderate frequencies of parent socialization. The third largest profile, *Congruent Low*, included 16% of the sample ($n = 32$) and was characterized by low frequency (over 1 standard deviation below the mean) of both types of messages from both socialization agents. Finally, the smallest profile (13% of the sample, $n = 27$) was labeled *Incongruent Low Parent.* Participants in this subgroup

reported low frequencies of parent socialization (almost 1 standard deviation below the mean) and a relatively high frequency of peer socialization. Figure 1 illustrates the four profiles using standardized means of the variables.

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed that the profiles differed on all four racial socialization variables, with a couple of exceptions. There were no significant differences in the frequency of parental racial social socialization messages in *Congruent Low* and *Incongruent Low Parent* profiles. Similarly, the frequency of peer racial socialization messages did not significantly differ in the *Congruent High* and *Incongruent Low Parent* profiles.

Table 7. Raw and Standardized Means of Racial Socialization by Profile

Variable	Full Sample	*Congruent High*	*Incongruent Low Peer*	*Congruent Low*	*Incongruent Low Parent*
Raw means (SD)					
Parent Barrier	1.28 (.71)	1.72 (.38)	1.38 (.54)	.41 (.56)	.63 (.57)
Parent Pride	1.26 (.65)	1.73 (.33)	1.31 (.48)	.40 (.41)	.60 (.38)
Peer Barrier	1.25 (.72)	1.81 (.28)	.69 (.40)	.21 (.29)	1.73 (.29)
Peer Pride	1.30 (.68)	1.80 (.31)	.91 (.46)	.32 (.41)	1.60 (.45)
Standardized means					
Parent Barrier		0.63	0.15	-1.21	-0.92
Parent Pride		0.72	0.07	-1.27	-0.97
Peer Barrier		0.76	-0.75	-1.41	0.67
Peer Pride		0.71	-0.57	-1.40	0.49
N	202	90	53	32	27

3.3.1 Characteristics of Participants in each Profile

Chi-square analyses were conducted to assess whether profiles differed by participant gender, nationality, ethnicity, or living arrangement. The profiles were not significantly different based on any of these demographic variables. An ANOVA assessing differences in experiences with racial discrimination by profile membership revealed a significant main effect, $F(3,198) = 10.21$, $p < .01$. Post hoc comparisons indicated that participants in the *Congruent High* profile (*M*

= 1.47, *SD* = .64) reported experiencing racial discrimination significantly more often than those in the *Incongruent Low Peer* (*M* = 1.05, *SD* = .53), and the *Congruent Low* (*M* = .86, *SD* = .65) profiles. Additionally, participants in the *Incongruent Low Parent* profile (*M* = 1.27, *SD* = .53) reported significantly more frequent experiences with racial discrimination than the *Congruent Low* group.
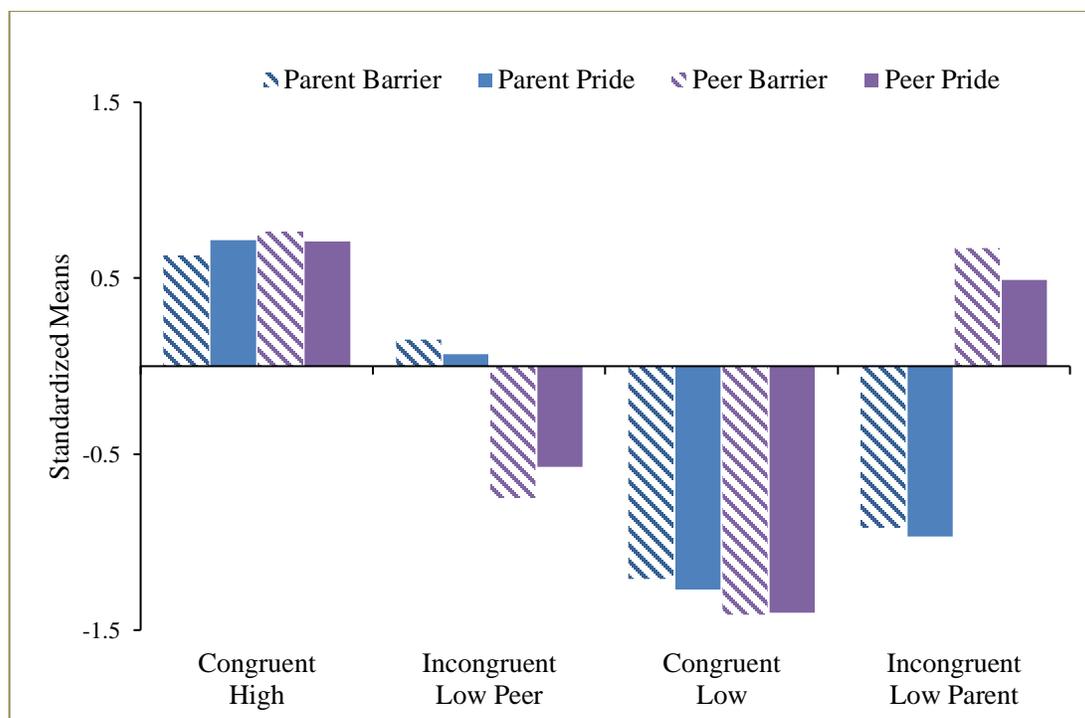
Figure 1. Summary of racial socialization profiles using standardized means

3.4 Aim 3: Racial Socialization Profiles and Coping

Three ANCOVAs were used to examine differences in coping strategies by racial socialization profile, controlling for perceived discrimination. Results are displayed in Table 8. Overall, there were significant profile differences in problem solving, $F(4,189) = 11.29$, $p < .01$, seeking social support, $F(4,189) = 15.54$, $p < .01$, and avoidance coping, $F(4,190) = 3.02$, $p < .05$. Participants in the *Congruent High* group were more likely to use problem solving strategies

than those in the *Congruent Low* and *Incongruent Low Parent* profiles. Among participants in

the *Incongruent Low Peer* profile, problem solving was used significantly more often compared

to participants in the *Congruent Low* profile. Participants in the *Incongruent Low Peer* profile

also used problem solving more frequently than those in the *Incongruent Low Parent* profile, but

this difference did not reach statistical significance ($p = .06$). Participants in the *Congruent Low*

profile sought social support less frequently and used avoidance coping strategies more

frequently than those in the other three profiles.

Table 8. Differences in Coping by Socialization Profile

Coping Strategy	Congruent High Mean	Incongruent Low Peer Mean	Congruent Low Mean	Incongruent Low Parent Mean	F
Problem Solving	9.97$_{a, b}$	9.57$_c$	8.09$_{a, c}$	8.37$_b$	11.29**
Social Support	10.77$_a$	10.42$_b$	8.43$_{a, b, c}$	10.82$_c$	15.54**
Avoidance	9.01$_a$	8.80$_b$	10.60$_{a, b, c}$	8.96$_c$	3.02*

Note. Means sharing the same subscript differ at $p < .05$; *$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. $N = 194$.

4   DISCUSSION

Racial socialization has been posited to help individuals cope with racial discrimination,

yet research on this association is sparse. Moreover, extant literature focuses almost exclusively

on parents as racial socialization agents, despite peers being a significant source of influence.

The purpose of the current study was to address these gaps in the literature. Specifically, the aims

were to 1) understand how parent and peer racial socialization relate to coping with

discrimination, 2) identify profiles of racial socialization from parents and peers, and 3) examine

associations between racial socialization profiles and strategies for coping with discrimination.

Preliminary analyses revealed that, regardless of the socialization agent, participant reports of racial pride messages were strongly and positively correlated with racial barrier messages. This finding is consistent with existing racial socialization literature (Bowman & Howard, 1985; White-Johnson, 2015) and suggests that parental discussions that encourage an appreciation of racial and cultural identity are likely to be accompanied by conversations about stigmatization based on race. Adding to the racial socialization literature, these results also suggest that Black emerging adults who have these conversations with their parents are likely to also be engaging in similar dialogue with their friends.

4.1   Racial Socialization and Coping

It was hypothesized that racial socialization would be associated with coping with discrimination, particularly with approach-oriented strategies (problem solving and seeking social support). The data supported this prediction and echoed previous work on racial socialization and coping (Anderson et al., 2018; Sanchez et al., 2018; Scott, 2003; Womack & Sloan, 2017). In general, racial socialization was positively associated with approach coping, but unrelated to avoidance.

Racial socialization, by its very nature, makes race more salient. For example, racial barrier messages alert Black youth to the realities of racism. Therefore, when facing race-related stress, those who have been racially socialized know what to expect and may have a working model of how to actively cope with instances of discrimination (Scott, 2003; Womack & Sloan, 2017). It follows, then, that avoidance coping strategies, which involve orienting oneself away from a stressor by means of denial or disengagement, would be incompatible with racial barrier socialization (Blackmon et al., 2016). Such an interpretation would suggest an inverse relation between racial socialization and coping. However, this association was not significant in the

current study. One explanation is that the avoidance subscale of the CSI demonstrated relatively low reliability ($\alpha = .60$) in this sample. More work is needed to identify reliable measures of avoidance that encompass a broad range of behaviors.

The use of approach coping is typically associated with positive adjustment outcomes (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Roth & Cohen, 1986). Thus, the findings support the theoretical assertion that racial socialization prepares Black young adults for the realities of racial discrimination and helps them cope effectively with such experiences (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Gaylord-Harden et al., 2012; Harrell, 2000; Hughes et al., 2006). Previous research has demonstrated that racial socialization attenuates the association between racial discrimination and poor mental health outcomes (Fischer & Shaw, 1999). Previous research has also demonstrated the benefit of approach-oriented coping strategies (e.g., problem solving and seeking social support) in mitigating the association between racial discrimination and poor mental health outcomes (Nadimpalli et al., 2016; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Polanco-Roman et al., 2016). The current study's finding that racial socialization contributes to approach-oriented coping provides evidence that contextualizes this existing research. Future studies should work to synthesize these findings into one cohesive model in order to establish connections and possible pathways between discrimination, racial socialization, coping strategies, and psychosocial outcomes. Such a model would provide empirical evidence for existing frameworks, such as the cultural asset framework or the integrative model for the study of developmental competencies, which conceptualize the experiences of Black youth and young adults who are often confronted with the realities of racism (e.g., Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Gaylord-Harden et al., 2012; Harrell, 2000).

4.2   Contribution of Parents versus Peers

Regarding the relative contribution of each socialization agent, it was hypothesized that peer socialization would be positively related to coping above and beyond the effects of parent socialization. Although this hypothesis was not supported, the results did indicate differential effects of socialization agent on approach coping strategies. Parental socialization was only associated with problem solving and peer messages were only associated with seeking social support when accounting for both socialization agents and discrimination experiences. In one of only few prior studies examining racial socialization and coping with discrimination, Scott (2003) found that Black adolescents with more frequent parental racial socialization experiences were more likely to use problem-solving coping strategies. However, similar to this study, the association between parental socialization and seeking social support did not reach significance. In the current study, the significant association between peer racial socialization and seeking social support underscores the importance of investigating multiple socialization agents. Specifically, racial socialization from multiple sources may help individuals build a more comprehensive repertoire of effective coping strategies.

The distinct associations between parent and peer racial socialization with coping strategies may also indicate differences in the *content* of racial socialization messages from each source or the *context* in which race-related conversations occur. Previous research indicates that a common antecedent of racial socialization is parents' own encounters with racial bias (Hughes et al., 2006). With personal encounters in mind, many parents impart race-related messages that include instructions for what their children should do when faced with discrimination (Smalls-Glover, Williams, Zuckerman, & Thomas, 2013). Such messages are framed and interpreted as

preparation for discriminatory experiences and consequently may prompt individuals to plan a response or brainstorm possible solutions (i.e., problem solving).

Research indicates that experiencing discrimination is common among Black emerging adults in college (Banks, 2010; Bynum et al., 2007; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Swim et al., 2003). Thus, peer racial socialization might occur in contexts where Black emerging adults are commiserating with friends who have had similar experiences. Such conversations with peers may, in and of themselves, represent seeking social support. The developmental context also provides support for this explanation. Lesane-Brown and colleagues (2015) found that college students were more likely than adolescents to report receiving racial socialization messages and also more likely to report socialization from peers. With increasing distance away from parents and family, emerging adults in college tend to deepen their reliance on friends as a source of social support (Arnett, 2007), particularly when dealing with race-related stress (Lesane-Brown et al., 2005; Swim et al., 2003; Syed, 2012).

4.3   Profiles of Racial Socialization

The second objective was to explore profiles, or subgroups, within the sample based on different patterns of racial socialization experiences. Consistent with a previous study by Wang and Benner (2016), the four profiles that emerged in the current study were categorized based on the congruency of messages from each socialization agent. Interestingly, the profiles differentiated the extent to which participants reported receiving socialization from parents versus peers, rather than by the types of messages received. This finding is not surprising given the strong bivariate correlations between racial barrier and racial pride messages.

The largest profile, *Congruent High,* included almost half of the sample. Individuals in this profile reported receiving a relatively high frequency of racial barrier and racial pride

messages from parents and peers. In previous person-centered research, profiles have emerged wherein frequencies of parental barrier and pride messages are similarly high (Caughy, Nettles, & Lima, 2011; Neblett, Smalls, Ford, Nguyên, & Sellers, 2009; Neblett et al., 2008). Such profiles also comprised the largest proportion of participants. The *Congruent High* profile parallels the results from the bivariate correlations indicating that, on average, Black emerging adults receive a balance of racial socialization messages across the two socialization agents. This finding represents racial socialization as a normative process among this population. However, using a person-centered analysis allowed for consideration of individuals whose experiences with racial socialization deviate from this norm.

Previous studies on parental racial socialization have found that Black parents who do not communicate with their children about race, or who do so infrequently, represent a minority (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Neblett et al., 2008). Consistent with those studies, the smallest two profiles in the current study consisted of individuals who reported receiving low frequencies of parental racial socialization messages. In the *Congruent Low* profile, low parent socialization was accompanied by low peer socialization. These individuals seem to be engaging in fewer conversations about race, at least within these proximal contexts. In contrast, participants in the *Incongruent Low Parent* profile, despite being exposed to relatively less frequent racial socialization from their parents, reported engaging in race-related conversations with their peers as frequently as those in the *Congruent High* profile. For many emerging adults, college offers a unique context where issues of race and ethnicity become more salient and where discussions about such topics become more common among peers (Arnett & Brody, 2008; Syed, 2012; White-Johnson, 2015). The *Incongruent Low Parent* profile may represent the experiences of those who engage in race-related conversations for the first time with peers. In order to

contextualize these experiences, more research is needed to understand the circumstances under which peers are communicating about race within the college environment.

There were profile differences regarding discrimination experience. Black emerging adults in the profiles with relatively high peer socialization (*Congruent High* and *Incongruent Low Parent*) reported experiencing racial hassles more often than those in profiles with low frequencies of peer socialization. Due to the correlational nature of the study, the direction of this association is unknown. These results could imply that receiving frequent racial socialization messages may prime Black emerging adults to be more likely to interpret social interactions as discriminatory. On the other hand, it is possible that frequent experiences of racial discrimination make racial socialization messages more salient, or prompt Black emerging adults to actively seek out opportunities to engage in conversations about race, particularly with their peers.

4.4   Racial Socialization Profiles and Coping with Discrimination

The third aim was to investigate the relations between racial socialization profiles and coping with discrimination. As this aim was exploratory, hypotheses were not specified. When faced with discrimination, participants who reported little or no racial socialization from parents and peers (*Congruent Low* profile) were more likely to avoid dealing with the situation, less likely to seek support from others, and less likely to plan and execute a solution to the problem than those in the other profiles. It is important to note that those in the *Congruent Low* profile also reported significantly fewer experiences with discrimination than those belonging to the other profiles. The lack of experience with discrimination coupled with the lack of race-related messages might signify fewer opportunities for these individuals to consider effective coping strategies when faced with discriminatory events.

With regard to problem solving, results parallel those of the variable-centered analysis. The differences between profiles seem to be driven by the frequency of parent messages. Individuals in profiles that included moderate or high parental socialization were more likely to use problem solving, even when accompanied by relatively low frequencies of peer socialization, such as in the *Incongruent Low Peer* profile. Taken together, these results suggest that receiving at least a moderate frequency of racial socialization from at least one socialization agent is linked with more adaptive forms of coping.

4.5   Coping as an Outcome

The present study adds to the literature by investigating the use of coping strategies as an outcome variable, whereas it has often been considered a predictor or mediator of psychosocial outcomes (Polanco-Roman et al., 2016). Since coping has important implications for well-being (Brondolo et al., 2009; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Roth & Cohen, 1986), it was imperative to understand what contributes to effective coping. One strength of this study is its adherence to theoretical frameworks of stress and coping (Harrell, 2000; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). In particular, the measurement of coping used in this study was modified to account for the subjective experience of race-related stress. Prior to completing the Coping Strategy Indicator (Amirkhan, 1990), participants were prompted with a list of discriminatory events that they had endorsed as being bothersome. This method ensured that reported coping strategies were relevant to the stressor, rather than an indication of one's global coping style. Insofar as coping is a response to stress, it important to first establish that an event is indeed perceived as stressful (Harrell, 2000; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

4.6   Limitations and Direction for Future Research

The current study is unique in its incorporation of multiple racial socialization agents and its use of both variable- and person-centered analyses to empirically assess the theoretical link between racial socialization and coping with race-related stress. While the results are important in advancing this line of work, there are some limitations to consider as well as several implications for future research.

First, the correlational nature of this study precludes an understanding of the direction of indicated associations. Future research should use prospective study designs to establish the direction of relations among racial socialization, racial discrimination, and coping with discrimination. Next, this study is limited by its reliance on self-report data for socialization experiences. Some research has shown that adolescent reports of parental cultural socialization are consistent with their parents' reports (Peck, Brodish, Malanchuk, Banerjee, & Eccles, 2014). However, it is unknown how well participant's reports correlate with parent and peer reports among emerging adults. As this study is novel in its consideration of parent and peers using latent profile analysis, replication of this method with other samples would highlight the extent to which these patterns of racial socialization are generalizable.

While the literature has recognized the important role of parental racial socialization in the lives of Black youth and young adults (Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006; White-Johnson, 2015), the current study represents an emergent body of work that considers peers as additional socialization agents (Nelson et al., 2018; Wang & Benner, 2016). Importantly, this study provides evidence not only that peers matter for helping Black youth cope effectively with discrimination, but that their contribution is unique and differs from that of parents. The

inclusion of peers is not only compelling for the current study, it also prompts several questions for future research to consider.

Given that the types of racial socialization messages (racial pride and racial barrier) were highly correlated regardless of socialization agent, and yet results indicated differential effects on coping strategies, conversations about race with parents and peers may be *qualitatively* different. The intentions or events that precipitate peer racial socialization, the content of these messages, and the transactional nature of race-related conversations are all areas that future research can consider. That is, what are peers actually saying, why and how are they saying it, and how are the messages interpreted? Including multiple informants (e.g. friendship dyads or groups) in future research would provide additional insights. Furthermore, this study did not account for the racial composition of participants' friend groups or the background of the friend whom they referenced when reporting peer socialization. These factors could be important for understanding socialization experiences.

The idea that parent socialization differs qualitatively from peer socialization also raises a question about the quantitative measurement of the latter. Future research should consider whether it is adequate to modify measures of racial socialization designed to probe *parent* socialization practices or if peer socialization requires different measurement. Furthermore, given the findings from the current study that peer racial socialization is associated with seeking social support, future research should consider *from whom* Black emerging adults are seeking social support. If social support is occurring with the same friends who are referenced as the socialization agents, scholars should endeavor to distinguish which aspects of these processes account for socialization and which are the coping strategy. Mixed methods studies including both quantitative and qualitative measures of socialization (i.e. interviews with participants and

their close friends, observations of race-related conversations between friends) would elucidate the nuances of these processes.

Another limitation is the measurement of coping. Although one strength of this study is that it accounted for the appraisal of specific stressors, there are several nuances of coping with discrimination that are not considered. For example, discrimination can occur on different levels (i.e. institutional, individual), and can be blatant or subtle (Harrell, 2000) The context of the discriminatory experience can inform one's ability to cope or the type of strategy they choose (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Future research can consider how coping differs as a function of discriminatory context.

Finally, a critical next step in this line of research is to integrate the literature in such a way that supports theoretical frameworks on the associations between racial discrimination, racial socialization, coping with discrimination, and psychosocial outcomes. Specifically, taken together, the literature suggests that the effects of racial discrimination on psychosocial outcomes is contingent upon the type of coping strategies used, and that coping strategies depend on racial socialization from parents and peers.

4.7   Conclusion

In conclusion, this study is particularly timely in the wake of heightened awareness and media exposure to discriminatory incidents targeting Black individuals. Race-related stress is a salient aspect of Black emerging adult life. Efforts to mitigate the negative effects of this stress should be prioritized. Examining contributors to effective coping strategies represents such efforts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Measures

<u>**Demographic Questions**</u>

1. What is your age?

    o 18
    o 19
    o 20
    o 21
    o 22
    o 23
    o 24
    o 25
    o Prefer not to answer

2. What is your gender?
    o Man
    o Woman
    o Transgender Man
    o Transgender Woman
    o Non-binary
    o Prefer not to answer

3. Please specify your ethnicity:
    o African American
    o African
    o Caribbean/West Indian
    o Latino/Hispanic
    o Multi-ethnic
    o Other (please specify)
    o Prefer not to answer

4. Were you born in the United States?
    o Yes
    o No

5. (If answered No to previous question) How long have you lived in the U.S.?
    o Less than 1 year
    o 1 to 5 years
    o 6 to 10 years
    o More than 10 years
    o Prefer not to answer

6. What is your classification?
   o Freshman
   o Sophomore
   o Junior
   o Senior
   o Graduate Student

7. Which best describes your current living arrangement?
   o I live in on-campus housing (e.g. dorms, university apartments) alone
   o I live in on-campus housing (e.g. dorms, university apartments) with roommates
   o I live in off-campus housing alone
   o I live in off-campus housing with roommates
   o I live with my parents/guardians
   o Other

Racial Socialization Questionnaire – Teen (RSQ-t; Lesane-Brown et al., 2006)- PARENTS*:

Please indicate how frequently your **parents** have done this in the past year:
        0 = Never
        1 = Once or twice
        2 = More than twice

Racial barrier messages

1) Told you that some people think they are better than you because of their race
2) Told you that some people tried to keep Blacks from being successful
3) Told you that Blacks have to work twice as hard as Whites to get ahead
4) Told you that some people may dislike you because of the color of your skin

Racial pride messages

5) Been involved in activities that focus on things important to Black people
6) Talked to you about Black history
7) Told you that you should be proud to be Black
8) Told you never to be ashamed of your Black features

* The peer racial socialization measure was identical to the parent measure, with the exception of the exchange of the word "parents" for "close friends".

Racism and Life Experiences Scale- Daily Life Experience (Harrell, 1997)*

These statements ask you to think about experiences when you were treated poorly **because of your race** within the past year. 1. Determine how often you have had each experience. 2. Indicate how much this experience bothered you when it happened. (Select N/A if it has never happened).

How often has this happened?   *How much did it bother you?*

0 – Never   0 – N/A
1 – Rarely   1 – Not at all
2 – Sometimes   2 – Somewhat
3 – Often   3 – A lot

1) Being ignored, overlooked, or not given service
2) Being treated rudely or disrespectfully
3) Being accused of something or treated suspiciously
4) Others reacting to you as if they were afraid or intimidated
5) Being observed or followed while in public places
6) Being treated as if you were "stupid", being "talked down to"
7) Your ideas or opinions being minimized, ignored, or devalued
8) Overhearing or being told an offensive joke or comment
9) Being insulted, called a name, or harassed
10) Others expecting your work to be inferior
11) Not being taken seriously
12) Being left out of conversations or activities
13) Being treated in an "overly" friendly or superficial way
14) Being avoided, others moving away from you physically
15) Being mistaken for someone who serves others (i.e., janitor, bellboy, maid)
16) Being stared at by strangers
17) Being laughed at, made fun of, or taunted
18) Being mistaken for someone else of your same race
19) Being asked to speak for or represent your entire racial/ethnic group
20) Being considered fascinating or exotic by others

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Coping- indicating bothersome race-related instances

Below is a list of experiences you may have had **because of your race.** Think about the ones that you have had that have **bothered you the most**. Check all that apply.

- ☐ Being ignored, overlooked, or not given service
- ☐ Being treated rudely or disrespectfully
- ☐ Being accused of something or treated suspiciously
- ☐ Others reacting to you as if they were afraid or intimidated
- ☐ Being observed or followed while in public places
- ☐ Being treated as if you were "stupid", being "talked down to"
- ☐ Your ideas or opinions being minimized, ignored, or devalued
- ☐ Overhearing or being told an offensive joke or comment
- ☐ Being insulted, called a name, or harassed
- ☐ Others expecting your work to be inferior
- ☐ Not being taken seriously
- ☐ Being left out of conversations or activities
- ☐ Being treated in an "overly" friendly or superficial way
- ☐ Being avoided, others moving away from you physically
- ☐ Being mistaken for someone who serves others (i.e., janitor, bellboy, maid)
- ☐ Being stared at by strangers
- ☐ Being laughed at, made fun of, or taunted
- ☐ Being mistaken for someone else of your same race
- ☐ Being asked to speak for or represent your entire racial/ethnic group
- ☐ Being considered fascinating or exotic by others
- ☐ I have never had any of these experiences Or None of these experiences bothered me

Below are the experiences that you reported having.

- Qualtrics software was programmed to populate a list of the selected items on a separate page. If a participate selected the last item, "*I have never had any of these experiences Or None of these experiences bothered me*," then no list was populated, and they skipped the Coping Strategies Indicator.

<u>Coping Strategy Indicator (Amirkhan, 1990)</u>
Think about the experience(s) you indicated above. When you experienced these things, how often did you respond in the following ways?

1 = not at all
2 = a little
3 = a lot

Problem Solving

1) Tried to solve the problem
2) Tried to carefully plan a course of action rather than acting on impulse
3) Brainstormed all possible solutions before deciding what to do
4) Drew on past experiences, I had been in a similar situation before
5) Tried different ways to solve the problem until I found one that worked

Seeking Social Support

1) Confided my fears and worries to a friend or relative
2) Sought reassurance or advice from those who know me best
3) Talked to people about the situation because talking about it helped me to feel better
4) Accepted sympathy and understanding from friends who had the same problem
5) Went to a friend for advice on how to change the situation

Avoidance

1) Avoided being with people in general
2) Wished that the situation would just go away
3) Went on as if nothing happened
4) Refused to believe that it had happened
5) Didn't let it get to me

Appendix B: Regression Analysis Predicting Avoidance

Variable	Racial Barrier Messages				Racial Pride Messages			
	B (SE)	β	R_2	ΔR_2	B (SE)	β	R_2	ΔR_2
Step 1			.00				.00	
Discrimination	-.12 (.28)	-.03			-.12 (.28)	-.03		
Step 2			.02	.02			.02	.02
Discrimination	.03 (.29)	.01			-.03 (.29)	-.01		
Parent RS	-.45 (.26)	-.13			-.48 (.27)	-.13		
Step 3			.03	.01			.03	.01
Discrimination	.16 (.30)	.04			.08 (.29)	.02		
Parent RS	-.31 (.27)	-.09			-.30 (.30)	-.08		
Peer RS	-.47 (.27)	-.14			-.42 (.30)	-.12		

Note. RS = racial socialization; $N = 195$