

# DISCRIMINATION AND DEVIANCE: RACIAL SOCIALIZATION MATTERS

by

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(Under the Direction of Ronald L. Simons)

## ABSTRACT

Recent work has reinvigorated scholarly attention to the criminogenic potential of racial discrimination. This research confirms that experiencing discrimination is a strong predictor of crime and deviance among African Americans. Consistent with Agnew's general strain theory (1992) and stress models (Pearlin 1989), this research also suggests that negative emotions mediate a portion of the discrimination—deviance link. The present study extends this work and examines not only a social stressor that may lead to deviance, but also cultural adaptations to such structural stress in the form of racial socialization practices and how such practices may moderate the deviance-fomenting effects of racial discrimination. Two forms of caregiver racial socialization are examined: cultural socialization and preparation for bias. I hypothesize that higher levels of racial socialization will compensate for and/or buffer the deleterious effects of discrimination on negative emotions and deviance. African American youths who have been taught about the realities of racial relations in America as well as strategies for coping with racist experiences might be better equipped to deal with the negative emotional and cognitive effects of experiencing discrimination. In the same vein, African American youths who are exposed to African American culture and history who share the successes and supports of the Black community might be better equipped to deal with racist events. I test these hypotheses using self-reports of discrimination from a sample of approximately seven hundred African American youths and their primary caregivers over three waves of data.

Results suggest that racial socialization practices are factors that provide resilience against discrimination by diminishing some of its negative effects. Specifically, I find that caregivers' preparation for bias inculcates competencies that diminish deviant responses to racial discrimination. Cultural socialization, while not diminishing the effects of racial discrimination on distress or deviance, apparently engenders general competencies relevant for adaptive functioning, including decreased distress and deviance. While further research is needed to replicate these findings, the results reported herein represent an important contribution to the literature on patterns of distress and deviance in response to racial discrimination. Among a diverse sample of African American adolescents, racial socialization influences patterns of deviance.

INDEX WORDS: Racial discrimination, Deviance, Racial socialization, Crime, Stress, Parenting

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## DEDICATION

To my family: thank you for everything.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Racial discrimination persists. Although de jure forms of racial discrimination were proscribed through the civil rights movement of the 1960s and there is evidence of liberalizing trends in whites' racial attitudes over the past fifty years (Tuch & Martin 1997; Schumann et al. 1997), sociological research continues to indicate that race-based discrimination and anti-black affect are enduring features of American life. Thus, many African Americans still negotiate racial discrimination in their daily lives. Research indicates that racial discrimination is a virtually ubiquitous experience for African Americans. For example, in their studies of Black adults, Landrine and Klonoff (1996; Klonoff & Landrine 1999) found that more than 96% of the respondents reported experiencing at least one racist event in the previous year.

Experiencing discrimination hurts. Confirming common sense, research shows that experiencing discrimination feels bad (Krieger 2000; Polednak 1997; Williams 1997; Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson 1997). Qualitative studies of racial discrimination frequently describe subjects' expressed feelings of being worthless, fearful, powerless, looked down upon, and helpless (Essed 1991; Feagin 1991). Survey research finds these experiences to be degrading and demeaning, inducing frustration, stress, anger, sadness, and anxiety (e.g., Salgado de Snyder 1987; Simons, Simons, Burt, et al. 2006; Williams 1997). Moreover, the harm caused by discrimination is not ephemeral. Research evinces strong connections between perceived discrimination and a range of negative health outcomes (e.g., Williams, 1997). Reviews of this literature document associations between discrimination and physical disorders, ranging from increased risks for coronary artery disease and hypertension, to more general ailments such as physical disabilities and chronic health

problems (e.g., Brown, Williams, Jackson, et al. 2000; Krieger 2000; Williams & Collins 1995, see Williams & Mohammed 2009 for a review). No less important, a growing body of research documents the adverse effects of racial discrimination on psychological health and deviant behavior. African Americans who experience discrimination report lower levels of eudemonic well-being, self-esteem, life satisfaction, and happiness (e.g., Ryff, Keyes, & Hughes 2003; Williams & Chung 2002) and have an increased risk for conduct problems, including crime and substance use (e.g., McCord & Ensminger 1997; 2002; Nyborg & Curry 2003; Simons, Chen, Stewart, & Brody 2003).

The weight of the evidence supports the hypothesis that experiencing discrimination is significant social stressor that jeopardizes the physical and mental health of African Americans and increases the risk of a range of negative outcomes, ostensibly resulting from taxed coping resources (Agnew 2001; Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams 1999; Harrell 2000; Peters & Massey 1983). Thus, the next task for scholars is to explain differential patterns in responses to this pernicious stressor. Research has only begun to investigate those factors that mitigate the impact of discrimination, and those studies that have been conducted suggest promising avenues whereby this work should proceed.

In recent years, scholars have focused on culturally-specific child-rearing strategies as an important factor for understanding resilience in African American youths (e.g., Brega & Coleman 1999; Bynum, Burton, & Best 2007; Fischer & Shaw 1999; Neblett Jr., Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers 2006). This work has attempted to explain the process and mechanisms through which African Americans develop competencies for dealing with a racist society. This research has identified a class of adaptive and protective practices utilized by Black families to promote a positive racial identity and prepare minority youths to succeed in the face of racism (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer 2006; Peters 1985; Peters & Massey 1983). Known as racial

socialization, these caregiving practices have been suggested as an important contributing factor in explaining variations in the responses to and Blacks' strengths in the face of racial discrimination.

Working within a risk and resilience framework (Garmezy 1991; Zimmerman & Arunkumar 1994), research on the effects of racial socialization practices on youth outcomes indicates that several forms of these practices have compensatory and/or protective effects on youths (see Hughes et al. 2006 for a review). Compensatory factors are those that are associated with more positive outcomes for groups and individuals across all levels of risk (Zimmerman, Bingenheimer, & Notaro 2002). In other words, the presence of such a factor would compensate for the negative influence of discrimination on an outcome. Protective factors are those that buffer the negative effects of a risk factor on an outcome (Zimmerman et al. 2002). Thus, the relationship between discrimination and a negative outcome would be weaker for individuals who possess higher levels of a protective factor than those with lower levels of the factor.

Although few in number, the studies that have examined racial socialization as a resilience factor suggest that parents teachings about racial pride and cultural heritage and their efforts to successfully prepare children to cope with societal discrimination are negatively associated with maladaptive outcomes (compensatory effect) and/or reduce the effects of discrimination on negative outcomes (protective effect; Bynum, Burton, & Best 2007; Fischer & Shaw 1999; Harris-Britt et al. 2007; Neblett Jr., Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers 2006). While these authors should be commended for the creativity and thoroughness of their work, the strength of the conclusions that can be drawn is vitiated by several limitations in their studies. In particular, the studies' use of small, cross-sectional, and/or college student samples as well as the omission of quality parenting as a control behoove scholars to replicate their analyses. Additionally, no scholars to date have examined the moderating effects of racial socialization on the link between discrimination and deviance despite

the fact it is becoming increasingly apparent that perceived discrimination is associated with violence, substance use, and other deviant behaviors.

Thus, the primary goal of this proposed study is to address the lacunae in the literature by investigating the buffering effect of a culturally-specific parenting practice on the link between discrimination, negative emotions, and deviant behavior in a sample of African American youths. In doing so, I build on the work discussed above as well as previous work utilizing the same sample employed in the present study. In a recent study, Simons and colleagues (2006) found that supportive parenting moderated the effect of discrimination on violence among a sample of several hundred African American males. Supportive parenting achieved its buffering effect in two ways. First, it decreased the likelihood that perceived discrimination would lead to anger and a hostile view of relationships; second, it reduced the risk that anger or a hostile view, when they did develop, would result in violence. The present research study extends this study in a number of ways. First, a sample of both males and females is examined. In addition, it broadens the notion of psychological distress to include not only anger but also depression as well as the externalizing outcome to include crime, substance use, and risky sexual behaviors. Finally, the present study investigates the buffering effect of a race-specific factor—racial socialization, whilst controlling for supportive parenting.

The analysis proceeds in several steps. First, I will test the hypothesis that discrimination is prospectively linked to deviance (including crime, substance use, and risky sex). Next, consistent with the general strain theory of crime and stress models, I will examine the extent to which negative emotions mediate the relationship between discrimination and deviance. Finally, I will assay the hypothesis that racial socialization practices moderate the negative effects of discrimination. These hypotheses will be tested using the first, second, and third waves of the Family and Community Health Study (FACHS), a sample of African American children and their primary caregivers in Georgia and Iowa. The first wave was collected when the youths were in late childhood, ages 10-12;



subsequent waves were collected 2 and 5 years thereafter. Thus, the youths were ages 12-14 at wave 2 and 15-17 at wave 3. This data set will allow for the examination of hypotheses with data spanning adolescence, a time when racial socialization practices peak (Hughes et al. 2006).

Although I draw heavily on Agnew's (1992) general strain theory, the more general framework guiding this study is the stress process model (e.g., Pearlin 1989) and the transactional model of stress and coping (Lazarus and Folkman 1984). Sociological inquiries into the stress process seek to identify and explain patterns of stress linked to social structural arrangements. Pearlin (1989:242) writes: "The essential element of the sociological study of stress is the presence of similar types and levels of stress among people who are exposed to similar social conditions, who are incumbents in similar social roles, and who come from similar situational contexts." This study examines the effect of discrimination stress experienced by African Americans as well as their adaptations to such stress. In particular, I am interested in explaining why some Black youths exposed to discrimination respond with deviance while others do not. While individual coping responses play an important role in this process, I do not focus on individual coping as such. Instead, I examine the social precursors to individual coping, "the shared, normative basis of individual coping" (Pearlin 1989:250). In other words, my focus is not on the actions that individuals take to lessen the impact of the particular instance of discrimination in their particular circumstance, but rather whether (and, if so, how) racial socialization is associated with patterned behavioral responses to racial discrimination distress. In doing so, I hope to illuminate some of the unique challenges African American adolescents face as well as unique strengths they possess to overcome these challenges.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to emphasize at the outset that while my research focuses on various individual and familial strategies for buffering the adverse effects of discrimination, these practices are no substitute for large-scale social changes. In the wake of such changes, identifying protective strategies for individuals and families who experience such injustices is worthwhile.

## CHAPTER 2

### RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

*“Race has always been my biggest burden. Having to live as a minority in America. Even now it continues to feel like an extra weight tied around me”*

Former tennis star Arthur Ashe (Ashe & Rampersad 1995:306) responding to a query suggesting that his medical condition (heart disease and AIDS) must be his greatest burden.

The struggle of being Black in America has a long, onerous history. African Americans inceptive experience of being brought over against their will and sold into slavery has been compounded by centuries of acts on the part of white America to sustain Blacks' status as subordinate. In 1787 the U.S. Constitution declared slaves to be “three fifths of all other persons” for the purposes of representation; in the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (60 U.S. 393, 1857) the Supreme Court reaffirmed slaves as property of whites; and in 1896, the Supreme Court confirmed the constitutionality of segregation. It was not until 1954, when the Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (347 U.S. 483) that separate is “inherently unequal”, and 1964 when the Civil Rights Act guaranteed broad equality and legal protections, that the legal bases for treating African Americans as second class citizens were rescinded (Franklin & Moss 1994; Fredrickson 1988; Jones 1972).

Decades of legal segregation and de jure discrimination ended following the civil rights revolution of the 1950s and 1960s, ushering in widespread societal changes and the entry of Blacks into areas of society formerly off limits. Despite myriad improvements in sociopolitical policy since the Civil Rights movement, white racism remains pervasive in American society (Clarke, Anderson, Clark, & Williams 1999; Feagin & Sikes 1994). Following the great demise of traditional legal segregation, the behavioral manifestations of white racism, or racial discrimination, have evolved into new forms that are more subtle and informal (Feagin & Eckberg 1980; Jones 1996). Even so,

racial discrimination endures across a variety of arenas, ranging from employment (Feagin 1991; Feagin & Feagin 1978; Idson & Price 1992; Krieger 1990) and housing (Feagin & Sikes 1994; Feagin & Feagin 1978; Landrine & Klonoff 1996; Massey & Denton 1993; Polednack 1997; Turner, Struyk, & Yinger 1991; Yinger 1995) to the criminal justice system (Miller 1996; Petersilia 1983; Walker, Spohn, & DeLone 2000), health and social services (Harrison 1994; Polednak 1997), and face to face interactions (Bell 1992; Broman 1997; Cose 1993; Landrine, Klonoff, Alcaraz, Scott, & Wilkins 1995). Moreover, racist discrimination is reflected by the socioeconomic gulf between European Americans and African Americans (Harrell 2000).

Although my focus centers on racial discrimination, it is important to clarify how the term relates to similar concepts such as racism and prejudice. Attending first to racism, while there are many definitions in the literature, I adopt Feagin and Sikes's (1994:3-4) use of the term racism "in a broad sense to refer not only to the prejudices and discriminatory actions of particular white bigots but also to institutionalized discrimination and to the recurring ways in which white people dominate Black people in almost every major area of this society." From his examination of the multitude of definitions of racism in the literature, Jones (1997) concluded that all of them subsume the notion of group privilege, possessing the power to maintain and define it as natural, and to repudiate those who deviate from their (self-reflecting) standards and conventions. Franklin and Boyd-Franklin (2000:35) write that "[white] racism gives whites permission to disregard or devalue those attributes that do not reflect their privileged status, and to be reactive to those that pose a threat to them."

Racial *prejudice* is a negative judgment generalized to a particular person that is based on attitudes or beliefs held about the racial group to which the individual belongs (Jones 1972). Whereas prejudice generally refers to negative attitudes, *discrimination* is concerned with behavior (unequal treatment). I employ Feagin and Eckberg's definition (1980:9, drawing and revising the

definition provided in Feagin (1977) and Feagin & Feagin (1978)) of racial discrimination as “the practices and actions of dominant race-ethnic groups that have a differential and negative impact on subordinate race-ethnic groups.” Notably, this definition focuses explicitly on actions with negative effects and makes no assumptions or requirements about the motives or intentions of the perpetrators of the unfair, unequal, or disparaging treatment (for a contrast, see e.g., Jackson, Brown, & Kirby 1998). Thus, racism provides the backdrop for the development and maintenance of—and persists, in part, due to—prejudice and discrimination (Lott & Maluso 1995).<sup>2</sup>

Here I am concerned with the effects of experiencing discrimination – unequal or negative treatment. Specifically, I focus on interpersonal discrimination (also referred to as interpersonal or micro-level discrimination) rather than that at the macro or institutional level. Feagin and Sikes (1994:20) define anti-Black discrimination at the individual level “as the blatant, subtle, and covert actions taken by white people, willfully or half-consciously, to exclude, restrict, or otherwise harm black people.” They and other scholars (e.g., Essed 1984; Harrell 2000) highlight racism as a lived experience and reveal its pervasive influence on the routine situations of everyday life for African Americans. “The real drama is not racism but the fact that racism is an everyday problem” (Essed 1984:10).

Interpersonal racial discrimination is a pervasive phenomenon in the lives of African Americans, occurs across a wide array of situations (Ayres & Siegelman 1995; Farrell & Jones 1988; Forman et al. 1997; Kirshcenman & Neckerman 1991; Yinger 1995), and can be blatant (e.g., racial slurs) or subtle (e.g., being watched closely by security guards while shopping; Essed 1994; Feagin &

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<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding the clear differences in definitions, the distinction between the cognitive (prejudice) and behavioral (discrimination) aspects of racism is somewhat arbitrary. “In everyday life the cognitive and behavioral aspects of racism operate synchronically as part of the same process” (Essed 1984:50). Scholars’ usage of the terms racism, prejudice, and discrimination vary widely, with some scholars employing the term racism while others use racial discrimination. My research has led me to conclude generally that racism is the term used in theoretical and critical work, while discrimination is utilized in empirical studies that operationalized the construct. Of course, there are many exceptions to this general trend. Although I use the term discrimination most frequently, I will also utilize the terms racism and race-related stress especially when discussing scholarly work that employs those terms.

Sikes 1994; Swim Cohen, & Hyers 1998). Importantly, racial discrimination is not restricted to poor or uneducated Blacks, but is reported by Black middle-class professionals as well (Cose 1993; Feagin & Sikes 1994). In their study of African American adults from a random sample of 10 middle- and working-class census tracts, Klonoff and Landrine (1999) found that 96% reported experiencing racial discrimination in the past year, including 83% reporting discrimination from waiters and store clerks, 50% being called a racist slur, and nearly 50% reporting being hit, shoved, harmed or threatened with physical harm because of their race. In a national sample, Kessler and colleagues (1999) found a lifetime prevalence rate of 81% for African Americans experiencing day-to-day racial discrimination. Furthermore, while most research has focused on adult respondents, recent research suggests that racial discrimination is widely experienced by adolescent and pre-adolescent African Americans (Gibbon, Gerrard, Cleveland, Wills, & Brody 2004; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman 2003). In study of African American youths an urban school district in Michigan, only 16% reported not having experienced racial discrimination in the past year (Sellers et al. 2003). Similarly, Gibbons and colleagues (2004), using the same panel of youths used in the present study, found that 91% of pre-adolescent Blacks reported experiencing discrimination in the previous 12 months. Sellers and colleagues (2006) found that 20% of the youths in their study reported experiencing each of the 17 racial hassles measured in their study within the past year, whereas only 6% of the sample reported that they had not experienced any of the hassles during the past year. These studies suggest that experiencing racial discrimination is a common occurrence for African American adults and youths alike.

Given the historical legacy and continued existence of racism in American society, one might think that there would be a sizeable literature dating back many years examining the effects of racism on African Americans. One would be wrong. Until recently, there has been little research examining

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the prevalence or consequences of discrimination on its victims (Allison 1998; Feagin & Sikes 1994; Harrell 2000). For years most of the social psychological work in the area of prejudice and discrimination was concerned with the perspective of the perpetrators or the “psychology of the powerful” (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey 1999). Some notable exceptions include Allport’s (1954) description of the effect of prejudice on minority group members; Clark’s (1955) studies of identity problems; Frazier’s (1949) documentation of the psychological anguish black Americans experienced in their oppressed role; Kardiner & Ovesey’s (1962) psychoanalytic foray into the personality marks of oppression and corroboration of Frazier’s work; and Grier & Cobbs (1968) examination of Black rage.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, some scholars have argued that the best documentation of prejudice and discrimination in this era is found in Ralph Ellison’s (1952) literary classic *The Invisible Man*.

The cause of the general social scientific neglect of the consequences of discrimination is certainly complex and multifaceted and should not be explained by a simple lack of concern with the plight or experiences of African Americans, although that undoubtedly played a part (Jones 1972). Certainly, consciously and unconsciously, Whites’ interest in their own social and psychological processes played a role. Work on the genesis and history of research on white racism; however, suggests additional reasons for the gap in understanding (e.g., Jones 1972). Chief among these was the intersection of social thought and social action, which along with the dominant paradigms, shapes understanding of the role of the social scientist.

Following excellent works by scholars of race and African American life in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (e.g., Dubois 1899; 1915), social scientists began to focus more explicitly on the problems of racism. At this time, scholars focused more intently on racism with the ostensible goal of documenting the problems to change them—the goal being the eradication of racism. Research in the 1920s and 1930s focused on racist attitudes, or racial prejudice, and sought to document the

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<sup>3</sup> Notably, this early work on the psychological effects of racism tended to overemphasize pathology to the relative

attitudinal precursors to racist-behavior, with the idea that if one could understand the attitudes causing discrimination, one could change them. For example, Bogardus's (1925, 1928) work, in particular his development and use of the social distance scale, was undertaken in order to document racial attitudes clearly so that agents of change would know how to intervene. Bogardus wrote (1928:256): "The social distance test would indicate what changes in attitudes and opinions the native American [sic] would need to undergo in order to give the immigrants a square deal, what changes the immigrants must make, and where racial conflicts are likely to take place."

While great strides were made in our knowledge of racial attitudes and their links with discrimination (Allport 1920; Bogardus 1925, 1928; Katz & Braly 1933, 1937; Lasker 1929; Thurstone 1927), the relevance of this work for social change was vitiated by the tenuous link between attitudes and behavior (e.g., Lapier 1934) as well as the quite obvious difficulties in altering individuals' attitudes. However, this work set the stage for the next phase of research: change through contact (e.g., Campbell 1958; Clark & Clark 1947; Festinger & Kelley 1951). This research helped catalyze various positive social and legal reforms such as school desegregation and the end of Jim Crow

Fast forwarding to the 1980s—through the Monynihan Report (1965), the Coleman report (1966), the Kerner Report (1968), and the reactionary and empirical work they stimulated—to the present. White racism and discrimination continue and quite obviously (see below for empirical documentation) adversely affect the lives of Black Americans. Although a sparse body of literature had accumulated documenting the adverse affects of discrimination on the health and wealth of African Americans (see Cross (1991), for a review), the reality of continuing discrimination coupled with the shifting focus of social science on documenting the effects of social structural arrangements on the individual, especially the link between social stress and mental health, ushered in a new wave

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exclusion of healthy functioning (e.g., Kardiner & Ovesey 1962; Grier & Cobbs 1968).

of research focusing on the prevalence and deleterious effects of racial discrimination on racial minorities, particularly the effects of white racism on African Americans. Unlike racism, scholars have argued, psychosocial resources that mitigate or buffer the deleterious effects of discrimination on racial minorities are often readily malleable (Barnes & Lightsey 2005).

Thus, in recent years, the disproportionate interest in the underlying attitudes of white racists and forms of discrimination have undergone a major shift as research attention has focused increasingly on the experience of discrimination for those who are its victims. This attention has resulted in and has been further stimulated by the development of several scales to measure discrimination or perceived racism (Allan-Claiborne & Taylor 1981; Barbarin 1996; Harrell 1997; Landrine & Klonoff 1996; McNeilly, Anderson, Clark, Corbett, Robinson, Pieper, & Lepisto 1996; Thompson, Neville, Weathers, Poston, & Atkinson 1990). These measures, in turn, have greatly facilitated the growth in knowledge of the consequences of experiencing discrimination.

Foreshadowing the discussion to follow, the development of scales to measure individual's experiences with racial discrimination has facilitated the study of discrimination as an individual stressor. It is argued that the stress occasioned by repeated exposure to discrimination (Clark et al. 1999; Harrell 2000) and the internalization of negative feedback about the self (Allport 1954; Mead 1934; Rutter 1988) are the mechanisms that underlie perceived discrimination's link with internalizing and externalizing symptoms. The stress process model that has framed much of the research on the effects of discrimination proposes that the impact of discrimination on individual functioning depends on contextual supports and the individual protective competencies they promote (Clark et al. 1999).

#### DISCRIMINATION AS A STRESSOR



Conditions are stressful when they are threatening (Pearlin 1989). Around the early 1980s, scholars began conceptualizing discrimination as a form of stress (e.g., Carter 1982; Dion 1979; Kessler & Neighbors 1986). Perceiving oneself to be a target of discrimination is, they suggested, a psychosocial stressor because it elicits cognitive appraisals of threat, such that victims impute stable, malevolent motives and intentions to the antagonist(s) and consider themselves as the deliberate target of malicious prejudices and behavior.

Following Vega and Rumbaut's (1991: 379) call for research that investigates the "mental health consequences of racism and racial discrimination," research on this topic from the victim's perspective has boomed. The stress model guides much of this work as researchers conceptualize discrimination as a potent stressor in the lives of African Americans (e.g., Allison 1998; Clark et al. 1999; Major, Quinton, & McCoy 2002; Meyer 2003; Sellers & Shelton 2002; Williams 1996; Williams et al. 2003; Meyer 2003). Conceptualizing discrimination as stress quite clearly fits well with the sociological notion of stress, which describes this concept as embedded in social structures. Pearlin (1983:5) asserted that stress can be understood as a "product of identifiable social conditions shared by large numbers of people and not simply as a result of randomly occurring circumstances." For African Americans stressful experiences are embedded in their person-environment transactions, which occur against the backdrop of a racist society.

Recently, two models of race-related stress have been developed (Clark et al. 1999; Harrell 2000). Although these models build on the transactional model of stress and coping (Lazarus & Folkman 1984), they advance the literature by tailoring perceptions of discrimination to the more general model.

In their influential article, Clarke and colleagues (1999) proposed a biopsychosocial model of stress. This model holds that stress is a transaction between situational and personal characteristics that leads a person to perceive an event as stressful. Specifically, stress is defined as "any

environmental, social, or internal demand which requires the individual to readjust his/her usual behavior patterns” (Thoits 1995:54, citing Holmes & Rahe 1967). The principle tenet of Clark and colleagues (1999: 806) model is that “the perception of an environmental stimulus as racist results in exaggerated psychological and physiological stress responses.” The “stress reaction,” or distress, “refers to the state of physiological or emotional arousal that usually, but not inevitably, results from the perception of stress or demand” (Thoits 1995:54). The model posits that stress stimulates efforts to cope with behavioral demands as well as the emotional reactions invariably induced by them (Lazarus & Folkman 1984).

Harrell’s (2000) model of racist-related stress is similar to Clark and colleagues (1999) model but more explicitly highlights the multidimensionality of racial discrimination and the ways in which the historical legacy of white racism affects the lives of African Americans in contemporary society. She demarcated six types of racism-related stress: life events, vicarious racism experiences, daily microstressors, chronic-contextual stress, collective experiences, and the transgenerational transmission of group traumas, and notes that these have analogues in the three primary sources of stress identified in the stress literature (Wheaton 1983): episodic stress (life events and vicarious racism experiences), daily hassles (racism microstressors), and chronic strain (chronic-contextual, collective, and transgenerational transmission).

According to Harrell (2000), racism-related life events are disruptive experiences that interfere with important life decisions and options. These stressors are likely memorable and are time-limited. Examples include being denied a scholarship or being harassed by the police. Vicarious racism experiences are stressors that exert their influence not through direct experience but through observation and report (Harrell 2000). Scholars have argued that a consideration of this type of racism is essential to understanding the nature and depth of racism as well as its effects on racial minority groups (Essed 1991; Root 1993). Examples include, witnessing or hearing about instances

on prejudice and discrimination that happen to ones friends or family (Steele et al.1982; Tatum 1987), as well as those involving strangers. For example, interviews with African Americans following the recent shooting of Oscar Grant illustrate how racism towards Black individuals can produce broad distress among African Americans. Grant was shot in the back on the platform of the Oakland transit as he pled for his life on New Years Day. The incident gained widespread attention after cellphone videos of the incident were posted on YouTube.<sup>4</sup> The following quote was taken from an interview with a Black journalist two weeks after the Grant killing and describes some of the effects of the incident on the African American community:

After that particular demonstration was over, then we had more of what people would describe as the rebellion that took place in the streets of Oakland. This time, the city center was the target for a lot of people's anger. Some people think it's just people doing it gratuitously. I was out there last night, and really what I feel, Amy, is that even though it's not my personal get-down, I just feel that there's a lot of people that are very angry, and this sort of incident is not one that can be resolved by—it can't be resolved just with one or two actions. Some people are so angry, I don't think they know how to even express it. When you talk to them, you just hear stories about "The cops have killed my friend," "The cops have abused me, I've been abused," "Family has been abused." You hear those stories over and over again. And I think this particular egregious crime has triggered something in a lot of people. Some people can express it better. They have a sense of direction. They have an idea and a plan of action that they can follow. And others are just, I think, literally traumatized (Democracy Now! 2009).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The link to a YouTube video of the shooting: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NVsncZ7K584>

<sup>5</sup> The interview on DemocracyNow! can be accessed at through the following link: from January 15, 1999: [http://www.democracynow.org/2009/1/15/ex\\_officer\\_charged\\_in\\_oakland\\_killing](http://www.democracynow.org/2009/1/15/ex_officer_charged_in_oakland_killing)

Clearly the distressing effects of the Grant shooting was not limited to Grant and his family, but rather influenced the wider Black community.

The third type of racism Harrell (2000) identifies is daily racism microstressors; such events occur regularly, but unpredictably, and constitute a majority of the lived experience of racism and discrimination in contemporary American society (Adams 1990; Cose 1993; Essed 1991; Feagin & Sikes 1994; Griffen 1991; Guthrie 1995). Pierce (1988) terms the array of interracial interactions conveying disregard, ambivalence, or contempt and which often come in the form of slights, as “microaggressions” or “psycho-pollutants.” As Kessler (1999) notes, much of this form of discrimination falls under the heading of character assaults. These serve as an ongoing reminder that racism is alive and well, “act as status reminders by their implicit suggestion of unworthiness, and have a leveling effect on the recipient (i.e., “Stay in your place!”; Franklin & Boyd-Franklin 2000: 36). Examples of microstressors include being treated with less respect or courtesy; being ignored or treated as threatening, and being followed or observed while in public (Feagin & Sikes 1994). Pierce (1995: 282) notes that a person may have thousands of such experiences over a lifetime, and while the accumulation of microstressors contributes to the stress load of the individual, “most microaggressions have to be allowed to pass, to protect one’s time, energy, sanity or bodily integrity.”

Chronic contextual stressors reflect social structural and political racism. Unequal distribution of resources and opportunity barriers are the primary exemplars of this form of racism (Harrell 2000). Collective experiences of discrimination are those that are felt at the individual level but are usually only detectable at the collective or group level. Environmental racism falls under this heading (e.g., Arora & Cason 1993; Bullard, Mohai, Saha, & Wright 2007). And, finally, transgenerational transmission incorporates the idea that “[a]spects of oppression-related historical

events can be transmitted across generations through discussion, storytelling, and lessons taught to children as well as observation of long-term effects” (Harrell 2000: 47; Greene 1990).

While Harrell’s (2000) taxonomy of race-related stress is useful in understanding the myriad forms that discrimination can take, in reality these distinctions are blurred and overlapping. This description is particularly propitious for illustrating how the legacy of discrimination compounds the experience of day-to-day experiences of race-related discrimination. Moreover, highlighting the ways in which facets of racism and discrimination that are not experienced firsthand (e.g., slavery, Jim Crow) influence individuals current experiences of racial realities enhances our understanding of the lived experience of racism in present-day society. Given the real sociopolitical changes that have occurred since slavery and Jim Crow as well as the social programs that have been implemented to aid minority group members (e.g., affirmative action programs), whites who believe that problems of discrimination are a thing of the past or have at least abated to extremely sporadic actions of a few bigots all too often fail to cognize how present discrimination is compounded by events of the past. As Essed (1984: 2) notes: “The experience of racism is a cumulative process. New experiences are interpreted and evaluated against the background of earlier personal experiences, vicarious experiences, and general knowledge of racism in society.” Microaggressions occur synchronously with chronic contextual stress, collective experiences of discrimination, and with the shared knowledge of transgenerational transmission.

Importantly though, both the Harrell (2000) and Clark et al. (1999) models provide theoretical frameworks to examine and understand the effects of racial discrimination on stress reactions among African Americans. Getting treated unfairly or disparagingly, something which we all experience at one time or another produces distress. The psychological cost of striving to maintain a positive sense of self while facing frequent exposure to discriminatory experiences is a particularly pernicious stressor that can tax coping resources, resulting in disillusionment,

depression, anger, anxiety, and the like (Brown et al. 2000; Williams et al. 1997). It may produce anger because one feels like he or she should be treated better, or sadness caused by powerlessness or an inability to do anything to alter the situation..

Insofar as discrimination is a stressor, it should produce distress symptoms, such as negative emotions and physiological arousal. Consistent with this idea, there is ample and growing evidence that racial discrimination produces negative emotions for African American adults (e.g., Branscome, Schmitt, & Harvey 1999; Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe, & Warden 2004; Jackson et al. 1996; Jackson, Williams, & Torres 1997; Kessler et al. 1999; Sellers & Shelton 2003; Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson 1997). Qualitative studies of racial discrimination describe respondents' reports of feeling angry, sad, worthless, frustrated, helpless, powerless, fearful, bitter, and embarrassed (Bullock & Houston 1987; Burke 1984; Essed 1991; Feagin & Sikes 1994; Goldberg & Hodes 1992). One respondent from Feagin & Sikes's (1994:65-66) study of middle-class Blacks described his feelings in an incident of police harassment: "I had tears in my eyes, but it wasn't tears of upset. It was tears of anger; it was tears of wanting to lash back..."

Quantitative surveys of African Americans have also documented the link between discrimination and mental health. Indeed, at least one study found that experiences of racism were a significantly more powerful predictor of psychological distress than general stressful life events (Utsey, Giesbrecht, Hook, & Standard 2008). Williams, Neighbors, and Jackson (2003) identified 25 studies that assessed the link between discrimination and distress from 1998 through 2002. Among these, 21 reported a positive association between discrimination and distress, three reported a conditional association, and one reported no association.<sup>6</sup> Several nationally representative samples

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<sup>6</sup> Williams et al. (2003) indicated that 20 studies found a relationship and two studies found not relationship. However, my own investigation revealed that one of the two studies that they classified as not finding a relationship between discrimination and distress actually did find such a relationship. Diaz and colleagues (2001) examined the impact of homophobia, racism, and poverty on the mental health of gay and bisexual Latino men in 3 U.S. cities. They found not only that heterosexist and racist discrimination independently predicted psychological distress, but also social isolation,

of adults have validated the distress-producing effects of discrimination. Using data from the National Panel Survey of Black Americans, a nationally representative, longitudinal survey, Brown (1999) found that Blacks who reported that they or their family member had been treated badly because of their race in the past month reported higher levels of psychological distress than those who had not been treated poorly because of their race. Williams and colleagues (Jackson et al. 1997; Williams et al. 1997) analyzed data from two U.S. national surveys (Americans' Changing Lives and National Study of Black Americans) to examine the impact of discrimination on a range of health outcomes. They found that past month discrimination was a powerful predictor of distress, including physical symptoms, depression, and compromised psychological well-being (Jackson et al. 1997). Using a national sample of adults, Kessler, Mickelson, and Williams (1999) found that experiencing discrimination was linked to increased depression, anxiety, and general psychological distress. Finally, Ren, Amick, and Williams (1999) investigated the consequences of discrimination in the National Survey of Functional Health. They found that respondents who were treated unfairly because of their race reported higher levels of distress and symptomology.

Community surveys of adults provide further evidence of the stress reaction caused by discrimination. Utilizing a probability sample of 200 Blacks living in the St. Louis metropolitan area, Sanders-Thompson (1996) found that experiences of racial discrimination in the past six months and one year were associated with higher subjective distress in the form of avoidance and intrusion symptoms. In several studies, Broman (1997; Broman, Mavaddat, & Hsu 2000) investigated discriminatory incidents that African Americans experienced in five domains: home, shopping in a store, getting hired, at work, and interactions with the police in a random sample of Detroit residents. This research indicated that respondents who reported experiencing racial discrimination

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lower self-esteem, and suicidal ideations. The other study that found no relationship (Jackson et al. 1996) suffered from several methodological shortcomings, including the use of a single item measure of discrimination in the past month.

in these domains during the past three years reported higher levels of psychological distress and lower levels of mastery. Klonoff, Landrine, and Ullman (1999) reported a link between experience with discrimination, measured with the schedule of racist events (SRE), and psychological symptomatology, including depression, anxiety, interpersonal sensitivity, obsessive-compulsive, somatization, and total symptoms) among a sample of 520 Black adults controlling for the effects of general stressful life events. Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey (1999) found in their sample of 139 African Americans adults that discrimination experiences were associated with a well-being scale comprised of a range of negative emotions (e.g., depression, weariness, helplessness, lifelessness, sadness, and unhappiness). Using the roughly six hundred African American respondents from the Detroit Area Study, Brown (2001) found that discrimination experiences were significantly associated with elevated depression and lower life satisfaction. Finally, employing a sample of African American women, Kwate, Valdimarsdottir, Guevarra, & Bovbjerg (2003) found that experiences with racist events were associated with overall psychological distress.

Research on other racial/ethnic minority adults provide further evidence of stress responses caused by discrimination (Amaro, Russo, & Johnson 1987; Pernice & Brook 1996; Rumbaut 1994; Salgado de Snyder 1987). Dion and colleagues' (Dion, Dion, & Pak 1992; Dion & Earn 1975; Dion & Giordano 1990) research on Canadian immigrants in Toronto identified links between racial/ethnic discrimination and higher levels of stress, anxiety, depression, paranoid ideation, phobic anxiety, psychoticism, hostility, and interpersonal sensitivity. More recently, discrimination experiences have been linked to distress in a study of Southeast Asian refugees in Canada (Noh Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens 1999); Caribbean, South Asian, and Chinese groups in Britain (Karlsen & Nazroo 2002); Hispanics and Asians in the U.S. (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton 2000); and Mexican-origin adults in California (Finch, Kolody, & Vega 2000).

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That their analyses were problematic was illustrated by their finding that cumulative experiences of racial discrimination



Although most research has focused on adults, findings from several recent studies that examine the relationship between racial discrimination and psychological distress among Black youths are consistent with the findings from adults. Simons and colleagues (2003; 2006), using the first two waves of the panel data used in the present study, found that racial discrimination experiences were linked to elevated anger and depressive symptoms. In their study of African Americans in their late teens, Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, and Zimmerman (2003) found that racial discrimination was linked to perceived stress and distress both contemporaneously and two years later. Gibbons and colleagues (2004) reported that youths (median age 11.5) who experienced racial discrimination had elevated depressive and anxiety symptoms concurrently and two years later. In a longitudinal study, Wong, Eccles, and Sameroff (2003) found that experiencing discrimination at school was positively related to anger and depressive symptoms. In a sample of African American adolescents, Clark, Coleman, and Novak (2004) found that perceived discrimination was positively related to internalizing problems (a composite measure of depression/anxiety scales, somatic complaints, and social withdrawal). Gaylord-Harden and Cunningham (2009) surveyed several hundred African American adolescents from five public middle schools and found that discrimination was associated with elevated anger and depression net of the effects of other life stressors. In sum, the relatively few studies that have been conducted on African American youths confirm the results found in studies of Black adults, namely that racial discrimination produces psychological distress.

In addition to psychological effects, recent research also provides evidence that for a link between racial discrimination and physiological stress responses, including hypertension (Dressler 1990; Guyell, Matthews, & Bromberger 2001; James, Lovato, & Khoo 1994) and atherosclerotic disease (increased risk of coronary heart disease; Troxel, Matthews, Bromberger, Sutton-Tyrrell

2003). Notably, Troxel and colleagues (2003) investigated the influence of discrimination as well as general life stress and found that only discrimination was significantly related to negative health.

Importantly, evidence from the few experimental studies suggests that experiences of discrimination can produce changes in psychological and physiological functioning. Several laboratory studies have demonstrated the causal effect of discrimination on increasing cardiovascular and psychological reactivity (Anderson, Myers, Pickering, & Jackson 1989; Armstead et al. 1989; Jones, Harrell, Morris-Prather, Thomas, & Omowale 1996; Morris-Prather, Harrell, Collins, Leonard, Boss, & Lee 1996; Sutherland & Harrell 1986). Other experiments have found subjects exposed to discrimination in an experiment have higher levels of negative emotions than controls (Dion 1975; Dion & Earn 1975; Hannah 1974; Pack, Dion & Dion 1991).

In sum, there is a well-established research that is consistent with the stress model that has framed much of the recent research on the negative effects of discrimination. Like other stressful life experiences and daily hassles, experiencing discrimination produces distress in the form of negative emotions and physical arousal. The distress occasioned by exposure to discrimination, and particularly the cumulative nature of repeated exposure, is the mechanism that underlies perceived discrimination's link with negative internalizing and externalizing problems. In the next chapter, I detail the theoretical mechanisms linking discrimination to deviance. Before moving on, a word on measurement.

Racial discrimination is a difficult construct to measure outside of the laboratory where it can be experimentally manipulated. Thus, scholars have taken a more indirect approach by assessing perceptions of discrimination, based on individual self-reports. Although discrimination can have deleterious effects even when the target does not consciously perceive the maltreatment or attribute it to racism, this study, along with the bulk of the research in this area, is concerned with the effect of racial discrimination that was directly experienced and perceived. The limitation to this approach

is that it relies on individual perceptions. Reports of discrimination are more apt to be influenced by perceptual biases than other forms of stress. This is so because racial discrimination is defined by the victim's appraisal of the perpetrator's intention to discriminate in conjunction with unfair or disparaging treatment (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams 1999; Meyer 2003; Phinney, Madden, & Santos 1998). Identifying an event as racial discrimination requires attributing motive to the perpetrator. Although there may be unequivocal instances of racial discrimination, many behaviors exist that one person may judge as discriminatory and another might not (Fischer & Shaw 1999).

As described later, while some of the questions of discrimination assessed in the present study are quite unambiguous (e.g., racial slurs) others have a subjective element. This potentially ambiguous component to individual measures of racial discrimination does raise questions about the validity of the measure given the influence of individual affective and cognitive factors in shaping perceptions. Measuring discrimination experiences among African Americans has been particularly criticized. As Feagin and Sikes (1994) note, some have argued that African Americans rush too quickly to charges of racism. Their research, however, found just the opposite, namely that Blacks carefully evaluated situations before judging them discriminatory. More generally, research indicates that there are self-protective effects to denying discrimination, namely allowing individuals to maintain a sense of personal control over negative happenings (Branscombe et al. 1999; Crocker & Major 1989; Crosby 1984). Most importantly for validity purposes, research suggests that people's perceptions of personal and group discrimination are actually quite accurate (Taylor, Wright, & Porter 1994), and they are more likely to make attributions to discrimination when the stimulus is unambiguous (Ruggiero & Taylor 1995) or intense (Wilson & Bennett 1994). Thus, to the question of whether perceptions of discrimination are valid indicators of "objective" discrimination, research suggests a qualified yes.

There are compelling theoretical reasons for utilizing perceived discrimination and taking these measures seriously. As Thomas and Thomas (1928:572, cited in Forman 2003) write, “[if individuals] define situations as real, they are real in their consequences.” Given that I am interested in patterned responses to experiences with discrimination, the use of individual self-reports is the best measurement option.

A related concern to the measurement issue discussed above surrounds the issue of possible shared responses biases that might occur given that both the measure of discrimination and distress are based on respondents’ self-reports. In other words, reports of discrimination and health (mental or otherwise) are confounded based on selective recall as a function of current mental health status (Branscombe et al. 1999; Gibbons et al. 2004; Kessler 1997; Williams et al. 2003). Available research, however, suggests that these fears may be overstated and unwarranted (Williams & Neighbors 2001). For example, a national longitudinal study of Blacks found no association between baseline measures of depression or psychological distress and subsequent reports of discrimination (Brown, Williams, & Jackson 2000). Additionally, Branscombe and colleagues (1999) examined the relationship between perceptions of discrimination and well being (i.e., self-esteem and frequency of negative emotions). The authors estimated a variety of SEM models altering the paths between discrimination and well-being and found that discrimination significantly decreases well-being, but lower well-being does not significantly influence perceptions of discrimination. In the present study, I guard against such a confounding effect by examining the effect of discrimination on negative emotions controlling for these negative emotions at previous time points.

## CHAPTER 3

### RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND DEVIANCE

In 1992 Robert Agnew revitalized the stagnant strain theory of crime and delinquency (Merton 1938, Cohen 1955, 1965; Cloward & Ohlin 1960) by recasting the theory within the transactional model of stress and coping and adding a healthy dose of research on aggression and justice/equity from social psychology. Distinguishing this model from the classic strain theories, which were differentiated from other crime theories primarily by their focus on structural motivations to crime, Agnew (1992) name this version General Strain Theory (hereafter, GST). Analogous to the models that tailored racist discrimination to stress process models, Agnew's (1992, 2005) GST tailored stress models to predict crime/delinquency as coping. Consistent with the terminology of classic strain theories and sociology in general, GST utilizes the concept of "strain" instead of "stress." Appellation notwithstanding, strain and stress are tantamount.<sup>7</sup>

Although GST has a number of weaknesses, in particular the overly simplistic conceptualization of crime as a response to stress combined with a convoluted theoretical scheme linking stress to crime, it provides a useful theoretical framework for understanding the link between a particular stressful event, such as discrimination, and crime/deviance. In addition, Agnew (1992) improves upon the stress literature by more clearly articulating three types of events which can cause stress and places a greater emphasis on one stress reaction—anger—than the stress model (discussed below). In the following paragraphs, I provide a relatively brief discussion of GST; this is followed by a consideration of discrimination as a criminogenic stressor within the theory.

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<sup>7</sup> To maintain consistency with the stress and coping models discussed previously, I use the terms stress instead of the term strain.

Unlike other dominant criminological theories, GST directs etiological significance to negative relations or experiences – i.e., stress – as antecedent factors influencing criminal or delinquent outcomes (Agnew 1992; 2005). Stress is defined as negative relations with others, and, thus, distress results when individuals are not treated as they want or expect to be treated (Agnew 1992). GST demarcates three types of stress: goal blockage, the loss of positive stimuli, and the presentation of negative stimuli. First, an individual experiences stress when others prevent or threaten to prevent her or him from achieving a positively valued goal. This form of stress is analogous to that conceptualized by classic strain theorists. Unlike the classic strain theories, in GST a positively valued goal can be anything that an individual desires, including relatively immediate goals, whereas classic strain theories focused on the long-term goal of achieving (or maintaining) middle class status. Indeed, Agnew (1985, 1992) argues that most individuals are concerned with relatively immediate goals, such as getting to participate in a sports game, rather than more abstract long-term ones. To be sure, the blockage of more important or long-term goals still falls in this category. A second form of stress occurs when others remove or threaten to remove positively valued stimuli, such as the loss of a friend or a position on the varsity sports team. The third type of stress, and the one that is most relevant to racial discrimination, is the presentation or threat of presentation of noxious stimuli. Most acts of everyday discrimination fall under this category, such as being called a racial epithet or being disrespected.

Drawing on the stress model, GST proposes that experiencing stress causes distress; specifically, the theory focuses on psychological distress in the form of negative emotions. That is, stress may cause individuals to experience frustration, anger, depression, anxiety, and the like. Anger “occupies a central role in GST” because it “reduces the ability to engage in effective problem-solving, reduces awareness of and concern for the costs of crime (individuals are ‘consumed with rage’), creates a desire for revenge, fosters the belief that crime is justified (since the crime is done to

‘right a perceived wrong’), and energizes the individual for action” (Agnew 2006: 104, citing Averill 1982; Berkowitz 1982; Kemper 1978; Kluegel & Smith 1986; Zillman 1979).<sup>8</sup> In addition, anger disrupts cognitive processes in ways that impede constructive and legitimate coping and creates a sense of power or control (Agnew 2001).

Additionally, depression may also produce psychological conditions similar to anger that increase deviant responses. As Simons et al. (2003:849) argued, “[p]ast research has shown that depressed adolescents tend to be irritable, impatient, and explosive (Berkowitz 1989)....Empathy and concern for others recedes as [depressed adolescents] become self-absorbed and preoccupied with their personal problems. Hopelessness and disinterest in long-term goals are a concomitant of depression (American Psychiatric Association 1994) and this perspective reduces the person’s stake in conformity by generating the perception that there is nothing to lose (Harris, Duncan, & Boisjoly 2002).” In other words, depression tends to increase impatience and hostility and to reduce inhibitions and self-regulation. Thus, analogous to anger, depression might increase deviant responses to racial discrimination.

These negative emotions create pressure for corrective action, and deviant behavior is one possible coping response. Negative emotional states may pressure individuals to (1) attempt to achieve their goals or attain positively valued stimuli through illegitimate channels, (2) attack, escape, or seek revenge on the source (or a substitute for) of their negative emotions, and/or (3) manage or avoid their distress through other behaviors (Agnew 1992). Phrased alternatively, deviant responses to stress may vary from being instrumental (e.g., engaging in theft), retaliatory (e.g., beating up the

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<sup>8</sup> Agnew (1992, see footnote 9) maintains that the “focus on anger/blame represents a major distinction between the general strain theory and the stress literature” because of the stress model’s focus on general distress. I would argue that the focus on anger is part of the tailoring of the stress model to explain delinquency rather than a major distinction from the theory, in the same way that my focus on discrimination as a stressor represents a focused test of GST rather than a major distinction from it.

person who caused the stress), or escapist (i.e., using drugs, risky sex). In this way, GST represents an elaboration of the stress and coping model designed to predict criminal/deviant coping.

Of course, we all frequently experience stress and very few of us engage in deviant coping in response to a particular stressor; thus, a major part of the theory (and the source of its complexity) is attempting to identify *which* stressors cause *which* individuals to engage in deviant coping.<sup>9</sup> In particular, Agnew (2001) argues that stressors that are seen as unjust and are high in magnitude (degree) are most likely to lead to deviant or criminal coping. Stressors are most likely to be viewed as unjust, according to Agnew (2001: 329) drawing on the attributions literature, when “individuals believe that [they involve] *the voluntary and intentional violation of a relevant justice norm*” (emphasis in original). Unjust stressors are likely to provoke angry stress reactions, making them more conducive to deviant coping.

The magnitude of stressors refers to their degree/amount, duration and frequency, and centrality. Agnew (2001) argues that stressors higher in magnitude are more difficult to cognitively minimize; moreover, various salutary coping resources are taxed by stressors high in magnitude. Data suggests that stressors of long duration or high frequency (chronic stressors) do have a greater negative effect on individuals (Leopore 1995; Turner & Wheaton 1995). In addition, while only tangentially related to magnitude, research indicates that stressors that are unresolved have a substantially greater impact on individuals than those that have been resolved (Herbert & Cohen 1996; Turner & Avison 1995, cited in Agnew 2001). Finally, stressors that are high in centrality—the extent to which the stress threatens the core goals, identities, needs, activities, and the like—are

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<sup>9</sup> Perhaps noticeably absent from the conditional statement was the *when*. Analogous to most other criminological theories (e.g., social learning theory and control theories; routine activities theory is a notable exception (Marcus & Felson 1997)), GST was not designed to explain or predict the occurrence of the criminal event. That is, the theory is not well-suited for predicting when an act of crime or deviance will occur. Such a limitation does not hamper the present examination since I am not attempting to predict the occurrence of a deviant event.



more conducive to deviant coping than those that are less central (Agnew 2001; Berkowitz 1993; Burke 1996; Thoits 1991; Wheaton 1996).

Scores of studies have tested aspects of GST (see Agnew 2006 for a review). In brief, this research indicates that stress, operationalized in terms of negative life events and relationships, is associated with crime and deviance, both cross-sectionally and longitudinally. In addition, consistent with the theory (and the stress model) the effects of stress on deviance is at least to some extent mediated by negative affective states, especially anger, but also depression, frustration, and guilt (e.g., Agnew & Brezina 1997; Agnew et al. 2002; Broidy 2001; Hay 2003; Mazerolle & Piquero 1997, 1998).

More recently, researchers have turned their attention to factors conditioning the stress—deviance relationship, such as self-esteem, self-efficacy, mastery, delinquent peers, social support, self-control, attachment, sex, and gender identity (e.g., Agnew et al. 2002; Aseltine, Gore, & Gordon 2000; Burt 2004; Hoffman & Cerbone 1999; Mazerolle & Maahs 1998; Paternoster & Mazerolle). Although conditioning effects are notoriously difficult to detect (McClelland & Judd 1993; see Mazerolle & Maahs 2000 regarding difficulties in identifying conditioning effects in GST), research has identified factors that moderate the effects on strain. For example, Agnew, Brezina, Wright, and Cullen (2002) found that youths high in negative emotionality and low in constraint were more likely to respond to stressors with delinquency. Similarly, Mazerolle and Maahs's (2000) research indicated in a nationally representative sample of adolescents that individuals who were low in constraint, high in deviant peers, and high in beliefs favorable to crime were more likely to cope with stresses by offending. It is also worth noting, that consistent with GST's conceptualization of deviance-as-coping, research indicates that youths do indeed utilize deviance as a coping mechanism and that deviance may effectively alleviate distress in the short-run (Brezina 1996, 1998; but see Simons et al. 2003 for a different pattern of findings).

## RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AS DEVIANCE-PRODUCING

Given the historical neglect of the consequences of racial discrimination on its victims, it should come as no surprise that until very recently criminologists have ignored the role that discrimination may play as a risk factor for crime and deviance. This neglect is especially remarkable, however, given the racial differences in offending for African Americans compared to whites. Evidence from a variety of self-report studies suggests that African American youths engage in more crime and delinquency than their white counterparts (e.g., Elliot, Huizinga, & Menard 1989; Hawkins 2003; Tittle & Paternoster 2000).<sup>10</sup> Recently, Unnever and colleagues (*forthcoming*) discussed this “criminological blind spot” and possible causes for this neglect of discrimination in research on crime. In particular, the scholars pointed to the role that Travis Hirschi’s (1969) analysis of the Richmond Youth Project data played in this “chapter in the sociology of knowledge.” They argue that Hirschi’s failure to probe the relationship between measures of discrimination and his focus on other sources of strain that were not related to increased offending sunk the strain theory ship, and, with it, the focus on pushes to crime such as racial discrimination.<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, Unnever and colleagues (*forthcoming*) re-examined the Richmond Youth data and found that the experience of discrimination was significantly related to increased offending, even while controlling for the comprehensive measures of social bonds utilized by Hirschi.

Agnew’s (1992) revitalization of strain theory set the stage for the recognition of racial discrimination as a criminogenic factor. In his 2001 piece, “Building on the foundation of General Strain Theory: Specifying the types of strain most likely to lead to crime and delinquency,” Agnew

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<sup>10</sup> Due to discrimination in the criminal justice system (Walker, Spohn, & DeLone 2000), race differences are greater in official than self-report data (e.g., Elliott 1986; Farrington, Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber 2003).

<sup>11</sup> Unnever and colleagues note that Du Bois (1899) first articulated the effects of white racism on crime and deviance among African Americans. Later, Cloward & Ohlin (1960) proposed that the unjust deprivation of racial discrimination foments crime. Soon after, however, Hirschi’s (1969) attack on strain theory and findings unresponsive of other aspects of strain theory, relegated the entire strain theory to the storage bin, including the idea that discrimination is criminogenic – an idea that was not tested by Hirschi and was not revisited until recently.

identified nine stressors that should be strongly related to criminal coping. Among these was “experiences with prejudice and discrimination based on ascribed characteristics, like race and ethnicity” (p.346).

According to GST, racial discrimination is among the stressors most likely to lead to deviant coping for several reasons (Agnew 2001, 2006). First, racial discrimination is perceived as unjust, as by definition racial discrimination is in violation of fairness norms. In addition, racist discrimination is high in magnitude (degree). As aforementioned, racial discrimination is a pervasive feature in the lives of African Americans and occurs on a frequent basis (Feagin & Sikes 1994; Landrine & Klonoff 1996). Moreover, racial discrimination has high centrality as it threatens important goals, activities, and identities of African Americans. The recurrent nature and centrality of racial discrimination makes it a source of considerable distress, impedes cognitive reinterpretation or minimization, and taxes coping resources, thus making deviant coping more likely (Agnew 2001; Simons et al. 2003; Simons et al. 2006).

Following Agnew’s (2001) call for research examining the criminogenic effects of discrimination, recent research suggests that discrimination is a salient predictor of deviance among African American youths. In their excellent study, Dubois, Burk-Braxton, Swenson, Tevendale, and Hardesty (2002) examined the effects of racial discrimination in a sample of 190 Black youths selected randomly from the public schools (grades 5 through 8) in a medium-size Midwestern city. They found that discrimination, operationalized as major events and daily hassles, was significantly related to elevated externalizing problems (e.g., cruelty to animals, fighting, disobedience) and emotional problems (e.g., depression, anxiety). In two articles based on data from the Woodlawn Project (a sample of African Americans in a Chicagoan community who were studied in 1966 at the age of six and retraced 26 years later), McCord and Ensminger (1997, 2003) found that exposure to discrimination increased the probability of violent crime, especially among males. Although their

study was creative, their findings are vitiated by the fact that they used dichotomous measure of lifetime perceived discrimination, and, not surprising since the individuals were approximately 32 years of age, 80 percent of their sample reported experiencing discrimination. Their findings are strengthened, however, by the fact that this rough measure of discrimination was significantly related to violent crime even after controlling for childhood disruptiveness, education, criminal victimization, and sex.

Nyborg and Curry (2003) examined the effects of perceived racism on a sample of 84 African American boys from a medium-sized Southeastern city. They found that perceived racism was linked to both externalizing problems (aggression and delinquency) and internalizing problems (depression, anxiety, withdrawal) as well as lower self-concept and hopelessness. Moreover, consistent with GST, anger mediated a substantial portion of the link between race-related stress and both internalizing and externalizing problems. Caldwell and colleagues (2004) investigated the relationship between racial discrimination and violence in a sample of 325 Black youths in the Flint Adolescent Study. Controlling for demographic variables, racial identity, and violent behavior at an earlier wave, Caldwell et al. (2004) found that discrimination was strongly related to violent offending. Finally, as mentioned previously, in their reanalysis of the Richmond Youth Study data, Unnever and colleagues (forthcoming) found that discrimination was positively related to crime, net of the effects of social control measures and demographic variables.

In a series of studies using the Family and Community Health Study,<sup>12</sup> Ron Simons and colleagues have examined the effects of discrimination on distress and offending among African American youths. In these studies, which cover 1, 2, and 3 waves of data, demographic (e.g., sex, household income) and competing theoretical variables are controlled (e.g., deviant peers). In chronological order, these studies have found the following (1) Discrimination<sub>w1</sub> at the individual-

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<sup>12</sup> See Methods chapter for a description of the FACHS sample.

and community-level is associated with depressive symptoms<sub>w1</sub> (Simons et al. 2002); (2) Discrimination<sub>w2</sub> is directly associated with higher rates of delinquency<sub>w2</sub>, and indirectly through elevated anger, depression, and views of violence as legitimate (a.k.a., aggression justified; Simons et al. 2003), (3) Discrimination<sub>w1</sub> directly increases distress<sub>w1</sub> and distress<sub>w2</sub>, which in turn increases substance use<sub>w2</sub> (Gibbons et al. 2004); (4) Using latent growth curve modeling from waves 1 to 3, increases in perceived discrimination were associated with delinquency and depressive symptoms, the association between discrimination and delinquency was stronger for girls than boys, and supportive parenting, prosocial peers, and school efficacy buffered the effect of discrimination on offending and depressive symptoms (Brody et al. 2006); and (5) Discrimination<sub>w2</sub> and the increase in discrimination<sub>w2-w1</sub> were associated with increased violence<sub>w2-w1</sub> among the male subsample, anger<sub>w2</sub> and hostile views<sub>w2</sub> of relationships mediated the link between discrimination and violence, and supportive parenting<sub>w2</sub> buffered the effect of discrimination on anger and hostile views of relationships and their effects, in turn, on violence (Simons et al. 2006).

In sum, consistent with the logic of GST, several recent studies suggest that racial discrimination is a stressor that produces increased crime and deviance among Black youths. Additionally, negative emotions, specifically anger and depression, mediate at least a portion of this relationship. Thus, I hypothesize that experiencing discrimination augments emotional distress (operationalized as anger and depression), which in turn increases deviance (crime, substance use, and risky sex).

My choice of anger and depression as the negative emotional mediators is guided by the theory and research which proposes and finds, respectively, that racial discrimination not only leads to anger but also to depressive symptoms. As discussed above, these emotions are particularly conducive to deviant coping (e.g., Agnew 2005; Simons et al. 2003). Although research shows that there are individual differences in emotional responses to stress, my focus is on negative emotions as

evidence of distress. Thus, I conceptualize anger and depression as indicators of negative emotions, a construct which is indicative of distress. For this reason there is no theoretical reason to focus on anger and depression separately. There may, however, be empirical evidence that the two emotions represent different constructs. As will be discussed more thoroughly in the analysis sections, I will test this possibility empirically.

The dependent variable in this study is deviant behavior. I focus on this broader construct, rather than concentrating more narrowly on crime, substance use, or risky sex individually, because the goal is to understanding the link between discrimination and maladaptive behavioral patterns—outcomes that are potentially harmful for the individual and society and fall under the GST conceptualization of deviant coping. As such, none of these outcomes have a theoretical priority over the others. In contrast, however, there is a compelling theoretical reason to avoid reliance on a single outcome when examining the effects of a stressful social condition, namely that broader patterns could be missed by focusing myopically on one behavioral pattern. Importantly, these constructs are all instances of a class of behaviors that have variously been labeled as deviance, externalizing problems, or acting out. Moreover, for these youths, crime and substance use are both illegal behaviors, and all three behaviors are maladaptive because they jeopardize involvement in conventional lines of activity as well as the health of the youths. Finally, these behaviors are referred to as deviant because they attract social control. Because my aim is to contribute to knowledge of the effects of perceived discrimination on behavioral outcomes that have (or could have) serious negative effects on the youths' lives and attract social control, I focus on deviance, as indicated by involvement in crime, substance use, and risky sex. As with negative emotions, there may be an empirical reason for separating the constructs. For example, it may be that discrimination produces increases in one or two of the outcomes, but not the other(s), and this pattern could be obscured by

the combination of the constructs. To check for this possibility, in supplementary analyses, I will examine the outcomes separately.

Returning to the hypotheses, it is important to note that I do not hypothesize that negative emotions will fully mediate the effect of discrimination on deviance. There are several other avenues whereby discrimination can foment deviance. Perceiving discrimination may be linked through deviance through other negative emotions not captured in the measure, such as fear, anxiety, hostility, and guilt, as well as through cognitive and motivational changes (Jackson, Kubansky, Wright 2006). Threat caused by perceiving unfairness has been associated with decreased problem-solving abilities and lower self-control (Thoits 1994), two cognitive factors which are associated with deviance. Persistent experiences with discrimination may be expected to alter cognitive schemas about the way the world works and views of others; schemas that shape situational definitions and the legitimacy of various behaviors, including crime and deviance (see Simons & Burt, *in preparation*). Youth who experience blocked opportunities and other unfair treatment as a result of racial discrimination may come to see the system as unjust, as Cloward and Ohlin (1960) contended. These perceptions of an unfair system might justify or allow for behavior that violates its rules. Discrimination may also lead individuals to see people as untrustworthy and exploitative, and, thus, adopt the view that aggressive actions are necessary to defend oneself from others (Dodge 1980, 1986; Simons et al. 2003). Consistent with this idea, Simons and colleagues (2003; 2006) found that a hostile view of relationships as well as anger mediated the effect of discrimination on delinquency and violence. For these reasons, I hypothesize that discrimination will continue to have a direct (unmediated) effect on deviance after accounting for indirect effects through negative emotions.

Of course, discrimination does not perfectly predict deviance. Patterns of deviant and non-deviant reactions to discrimination are expected. Variations in responses to discrimination,

however, are not completely random or unpredictable. Instead, research has identified various individual and social factors that condition the discrimination—deviance relationship. This work indicates that supportive parenting, affiliation with prosocial peers, and school efficacy buffer the effects of discrimination, such that the link between discrimination and deviance is attenuated for individuals with higher levels of these variables (Brody et al. 2006; Simons et al. 2006). Conversely, the discrimination—deviance link is stronger for individuals with less supportive parenting, fewer prosocial peers, and/or lower school efficacy. Thus far, researchers have not examined the potentially buffering effects of culturally-specific factors on the association between racial discrimination and deviance. Incorporating both general and culturally specific conditioning factors is essential if the goal is to identify and predict patterned behavioral responses to discrimination, and that is the goal to which the present study attempts to contribute.

Thus, I build on these studies by adding a culturally-specific conditioning factor to the equation, namely caregivers' racial socialization practices, which are adaptive and protective caregiving practices used to promote positive racial identities and equip children with the skills needed to survive in the face of racial bias and adversity (Neblett, Jr. et al. 2008). In recent years, scholars have recognized that African Americans have developed patterns of coping with racial discrimination, strategies proven to be effective in the past that have been incorporated into Black families own socialization practices. This consideration of racial socialization broadens the focus beyond examining the pathological consequences of racial discrimination on African Americans to include their strengths in the face of it. In the next chapter I focus on these caregiving strategies as resilient factors that may attenuate the negative effects of discrimination, including its link with deviance.



## CHAPTER 4

### RACIAL SOCIALIZATION AS A RESILIENCE FACTOR

*“For Black families, [prejudice and discrimination are] a fact of life, taken for granted in the world they know. It is a 450-year-old legacy that Black parents cannot and do not ignore. Although they may hope for a better future world of fairness and racial equality, Black parents understand that they face an extraordinary challenge: to raise children who will be able to survive in a racist-oriented society.”* (Peters 1985: 159).

A primary task for families is to prepare their children to function successfully as members of society. This involves teaching children about the values and rules of society as well as expected future behavior (Clausen 1968). Through this process, known as socialization, individuals acquire an understanding of recognized roles, statuses, and prescribed behaviors and locate themselves and others in the social structure (Bush & Simmons 1990; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen 1990). Effective socialization, then, is that which provides children with the necessary skills to function and succeed in society.

In a series of influential articles Ogbu (1974, 1979, 1981) persuasively presented the idea that what constitutes effective socialization is culturally-specific.<sup>13</sup> Prior to this work, social scientists utilized a cultural deficit explanation to explicate differences in the achievements of Blacks and whites (e.g., Bloom, Davis, & Hess 1965; Denenberg 1970; Deutsch and Associates 1967; Frazier 1939; Moynihan 1965; Rees 1968). Research compared Black and white child-rearing strategies and documented marked differences across race.<sup>14</sup> This led some scholars to conclude that Black parents failed at socializing their children to succeed in mainstream American society.

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<sup>13</sup> Although the idea that the beliefs and behavior of African Americans are adaptations to the unique environment demands they face has a long history, dating back at least to W.E.B. DuBois (1909), it was not until Ogbu's (1978, 1981) work which built on earlier scholarly critiques of the cultural-deprivation paradigm (e.g., Inkeles 1968; Young 1970) that a multitude of scholars embrace the relativistic perspective.

<sup>14</sup> The different strategies and child-caregiver interaction styles utilized by Black caregivers were invariably couched in a negative light (e.g., Frazier 1939; Kardiner & Ovesey 1951; Moynihan 1965). For example, strict discipline was corporal punishment, individualism was considered a lack of structure, and increased role flexibility often led to a focus on the

Under this failure-of-socialization hypothesis, which placed white Anglo-Saxon Protestant socialization practices as the gold-standard and those that differed from this model as inferior, racial differences in achievements were not due to differences in starting positions, resources, or opportunities, but rather were seen as consequences of Black families' failure to impart the skills, attitudes, and motivations necessary to succeed (Ogbu 1979). Achievement deficits by Blacks were evidenced most clearly by African American children's failure in school—the socially-designated pathway to success—but elevated rates of poverty, crime, family instability, illegitimate births, and more generally African American's inability to achieve middle-class status were all viewed as outcomes of deficiencies in caregiver and cultural socialization.<sup>15</sup> According to the hypothesis, African Americans were culturally deprived, meaning they did not have the knowledge or abilities to teach their children the skills, values, and attitudes necessary to succeed in society. This, of course, was another blame-the-victim-while-ignoring-white-racism explanation; a prime example of a “one-model-fits-all” approach (Garcia Coll, Lamberty, Jenkins, McAdoo, Crnic, Wasik, & Garcia 1996), cloaked in the humanitarian idea that if these (white) scholars could intervene and change the ways Blacks socialized their young, the next generation of African Americans would achieve middle-class successes (Clarke-Stewart 1977; Gordon 1968; Hunt 1969).

This failure-of-socialization hypothesis greatly influenced social policies starting in the 1950s designed to enhance school performance and the overall social position of African Americans. Although these programs were moderately successful in achieving a few short-term goals, their effects largely disappeared or “faded out” over time (e.g., Goldberg 1971; Passow 1971; Wilkerson 1970). As Ogbu argued (1978, 1981; see also Inkeles 1968), these programs failed because they were based on an inadequate theory of socialization. Racial differences in socialization practices are

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dysfunctional gender roles of the family. Rather than focusing on the functional benefits of extended kinship supports, this was viewed as a regrettable consequences of the ostensible breakdown of the intact nuclear family among African Americans as evidenced by the higher rates of illegitimate births, single-mother families, and/or higher divorce rates.

*generated* by racial minorities' different (subordinated) positions in the social structure, including differential access to various social roles and institutions, not the *cause* of such differences (Ogbu 1978; 1981).

In his cultural-ecological perspective on socialization, Ogbu (1978, 1981) maintained that socialization is a goal-oriented, conscious effort by caregivers to prepare their children to function in society in current and future roles. The process involves the transmission to children of adaptive language, cognitive, motivational, social, and other skills appropriate for their locations in social space and the concomitant realities they face. These competencies, defined as “sets of skills which are essential for coping with existing realities” (Connolly & Bruner 1974, cited in Ogbu 1981) are not socially uniform, but rather are determined by groups' positions in the social structure (Ogbu 1981). Thus, competencies required for functioning and coping with social tasks and demands differ by sex, race, and class, to name the most obvious and perhaps influential ones, as well as by geographic region, religious affiliation, and many others.

In moving theory beyond the universal model of socialization and competence, the relativistic model paved the way for scholars to focus on the adaptive functions of culturally-specific socialization practices. This shift in perspective led to studies of Black family life as a viable and functional adaptation to the social spaces they inhabit (Aschenbrenner 1975; Gay 1972; Martin & Martin 1978; McAdoo 1978; Peters 1976; Stack 1974). This approach assumes that African American families have developed caregiving practices and styles that are appropriate for the constraints and opportunities in their lives. This perspective also assumes that black parents are competent and seeks to identify the creativity, resourcefulness, and strengths Black families utilize to survive in the American system (Nobles 1974; Peters & Massey 1983).

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<sup>15</sup> For critical reviews of this cultural-deprivation idea, see Clement & Johnson 1973; Ogbu 1978.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, researchers focused more explicitly on documenting the child-rearing strategies that African American caregivers adopted to inculcate adaptive and culturally-specific values and competencies (e.g., McAdoo 1985). This work was based on the recognition that Black parents face childrearing demands that are common to all parents as well as demands that are unique to their group given its history and position as a disadvantaged minority (Boykin & Toms 1985; Hill 1972; Nobles 1974; Peters 1985; Stack 1974; Taylor 1976; Willie 1976). This scholarship built on earlier works—which had been overlooked and marginalized and were thus absent from the dominant discourse, that chronicled the functionality of Black family forms and practices (e.g., Johnson 1934; Liebow 1967; Powdermaker 1939; Young 1969).<sup>16</sup> For example, research documented African American caregivers’ more strict disciplinary practices (e.g., Peters 1976, Young 1970), greater encouragement of individualism (Bossard & Boll 1960; Young 1970), increased role flexibility within the family (Hill 1972; Peters 1976; Willie 1976), and more extended kinship relations/support (Nobles 1976; Stack 1974; Young 1970) in comparison to white families.

In addition to racial divergences in general socialization values and strategies such as these, which could be deemed *racialized* socialization, research exploring how being Black affected the way parents reared their children documented “special things” that African American caregivers do “to prepare their children for being Black in this society” (Peters 1985:160; Peters & Massey 1983). Black parents realize that they are not simply raising a child, but an African American child whose situation and experience is distinct from that of other children and requires unique competencies (Peters & Massey 1983). African American parents have the responsibility not only to provide and care for their children but also to teach them how to survive in a white society—one of prejudice and discrimination. As Peters (1985: 161) articulately notes, African American caregivers are faced

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<sup>16</sup> Prior to the paradigm shift, researchers outside the cultural deficit tradition had chronicled differences in child-rearing strategies and their role in producing well-adjusted adults.

with “the responsibility of raising physically and emotionally healthy children who are black in a society in which being Black has negative connotations.”

Research indicates that despite their desire to raise their children in a color-blind society, African American parents are acutely aware of the fact that they have to prepare their children to adapt and cope with the various manifestations of racism (Peters & Massey 1983). Black families have developed resourceful and creative ways of coping with racism and inculcating a positive sense of self in their children in a society that is hostile, racist, and discriminatory towards them. Research indicates that Black caregivers see experiences of racism as unavoidable for their children, and these experiences as devastating and destructive if their children are not prepared to recognize racism and utilize techniques and strategies for coping (Peters & Massey 1983; Thornton 1997). “The knowledge that in America there is a pervasive negative stigma attached to being Black motivates some parents to emphasize Black identity, to teach children to respect, understand, and accept themselves as Black. [Black parents feel] that they have a dual task: to give their children a positive Black identity and to teach children how to cope in a hostile world” (Peters & Massey 1983:210).

Adaptive strategies of coping with oppression and cultivating a positive group identity that have proven to be successful are incorporated into families’ socialization efforts and passed along through generations (Ogbu 1981; Peters 1985). This process through which Black caregivers prepare children for being Black in this society is called racial socialization<sup>17</sup> (Bernard 1966; Peters

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<sup>17</sup> Both the terms racial socialization and ethnic socialization are used to refer to this class of socialization practices. Noting that the terms have been used interchangeably, with racial socialization being the term used “almost exclusively” in research on African Americans, Hughes and colleagues (2006:748-749) discussed the difficulties in determining when such socialization should be referred to as racial versus ethnic. Instead of trying to distinguish when one term should be preferred over the other, their solution was to combine the terms into one: ethnic-racial socialization. While I concur with their assessment that distinguishing between socialization that is ethnic versus one that is racial is tricky, I do not agree that the solution is to utilize both terms. More recently, Murry, Berkel, Brody, Miller, and Chen (2009) use the terms in a more correct manner. They refer to socialization practices that refer to issues of historical or cultural heritage as ethnic socialization while practices that concern social issues relating to being Black and concomitant generalizations and stereotypes related to skin color (i.e., preparation for bias) as racial socialization. Although I believe this is a better strategy if one is interested in demarcating socialization that is racial from that that is ethnic, for the present study I conjoin with the overwhelming majority of research in this area and use the term racial socialization. In doing so, I am not implying that these socialization practices are about race instead of ethnicity.

1985; Peters & Massey 1983). Although a variety of explicit definitions of racial socialization exist, they all share the basic conceptualization of the term as “the transmission from adults to children of information regarding race and ethnicity” (Hughes et al. 2006:748). More specifically, racial socialization is the class of adaptive and protective caregiving practices utilized to promote minority children’s pride and esteem in their racial group and to provide children with competencies necessary to succeed as a racial minority (Neblett Jr., et al. 2008; Peters & Massey 1983; Thornton 1997).

Studies of African Americans find that that racial socialization messages are a routine part of the parenting practices of most African American parents (Thornton 1997; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor & Allen 1990). In most studies of African American families more than 80% of parents reported engaging in racial socialization practices at some point with their children (Caughy, O’Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman 2004; Hughes 2003; Hughes & Chen 1997; Phinney & Chavira 1995). Furthermore, most children receive and recall these messages (e.g., Hughes et. al. 2006). In a study of African Americans, for example, Sanders-Thompson (1994) found that 79% of Black adults recalled receiving racial socialization messages from their caregivers.

Although current evidence indicates that a majority of Black parents engage in racial socialization, the content and intensity of these messages vary (e.g., Caughy et al. 2002; Hughes et al. 2006; Peters & Massey 1983; Thornton 1997). A number of scholars have developed specific typologies representing different content messages that parents send to their children (see Coard & Sellers 2005; Hughes et al. 2006 for an overview of the typologies). For example, Boykin and Toms (1985) identified three themes of racial socialization, including messages regarding mainstream societal values, minority status, and Black cultural context. Stevenson (1994) distinguished four types of racial socialization messages, but later altered his typology to the following five groups:

discrimination alertness, antagonism coping, cultural pride reinforcement, cultural legacy appreciation, and mainstream fitting (2003). Hughes and Chen (1997) conducted one of the few studies that asked parents directly what types of messages they convey to their children. They identified three themes in the messages that their sample of African American parents reported transmitting to their children: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. More recently, Hughes and colleagues<sup>18</sup> (2006) excellent review of the literature on racial socialization distilled four content themes, the three aforementioned, as well as an additional one—egalitarianism.

In general, most conceptualizations of racial socialization encompass parents' efforts to foster children's knowledge and appreciation of cultural values (cultural socialization) and to prepare children for experiences with racism (preparation for bias). The emphasis on cultural socialization and preparation for bias is consistent with the idea that the major goal of racial socialization is to protect African American children against the stigma they face in this society because of their race (Bowman & Howard 1985; Hughes & Chen 1999; Marshall 1995; Miller & MacIntosh 1999; Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor & Davis 2002; Thornton et al. 1990). Although some conceptualizations include additional themes, such as teaching respect for diversity and equality, religiosity/spirituality, these messages are not as frequently identified in studies on Black families (Hughes & Chen 1997; Hughes et al. 2006). Given the prevalence of the two aforementioned types of racial socialization as well as their relevance to protecting youths from discrimination (discussed below), I enjoin with recent work in this area and focus on cultural socialization, "or efforts to foster youths knowledge and appreciation of African American culture," as well as preparation for bias, that is "efforts to build awareness of and provide strategies for coping with prejudice and discrimination" (McHale et al. 2006:1388; Hughes et al. 2009).

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<sup>18</sup> It is worth noting that Stevenson is one of the colleagues authoring this paper, and thus he appears to endorse the

## CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION

A critical function of caregivers' racial socialization is to promote a sense of cultural well-being and pride in their children (Billingsley 1992; Bowman & Howard 1985; Caldwell et al. 2002; Harrison et al. 1990; Peters 1985; Stevenson et al. 1996). In a society that is hostile and derogating to Blacks, this is no facile task. African American parents employ creative and adaptive strategies and supportive child-rearing practices to buffer cruel and demeaning messages from society and instill in their children a positive view of self (Peters 1985; Peters & Massey 1983; Thornton 1997). Cultural socialization is one primary avenue through which African American caregivers attempt to inculcate in their children pride in their blackness and a sense of belonging to their racial group. Hughes and colleagues (2006:749) define cultural socialization as "parental practices that teach children about their racial or ethnic heritage; that promote cultural customs and traditions; and that promote children's cultural, racial, and ethnic pride, either deliberately or implicitly. Examples include talking about important historical or cultural figures; exposing children to culturally relevant books, artifacts, music, and stories; celebrating cultural holidays," and the like.

Learning about one's culture almost certainly occurs naturally in the home through tacit socialization (e.g., Boykin & Toms; Phinney & Chavira 1995). Yet, research indicates that among most Black parents, inculcating in their children a positive view of their blackness and positive regard towards Blacks amidst the societal derogations of their group is a conscious activity, and this includes specific cultural teachings (Hughes et al. 2006). The parents in Peter and Massey's (1983:210) study, for example, demonstrated a "strong desire...to emphasize black identity, to teach children that they are black and that being Black is something of which to be proud." The success of Black parents in this regard is evidenced dramatically by research assessing the self-esteem of Blacks (e.g., Crocker & Blanton 1999; Crocker & Major 1989; Taylor 1976).



By making culture salient and providing instruction about cultural practices and the achievements of group members, caregivers build pride and knowledge of cultural traditions and values that undergird youth's racial identities. Most studies of Black youth find a link between cultural socialization practices and youth's racial identities (e.g., Marshall 1995; McHale et al. 2006; Spencer 1983; Stevenson 1995; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman 2000) as well as in Black adults' retrospective accounts (Sanders Thompson 1994). Positive racial identities, in turn, are associated more positive mental health and general psychological well-being (Belgrave et al. 1994; Caldwell et al. 2002; Martinez & Dukes 1997; Phinney, Lochner, & Murray 1990; Smith, Walker, Fields, Brookins & Seay 1999; Stevenson 1998).

Cultural socialization has also been directly linked to better overall functioning among African Americans. Specifically, cultural socialization is associated with more favorable views of African Americans (Demo & Hughes 1990; Stevenson 1995), higher family and peer self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon 2002), higher global self-esteem (Stevenson et al. 1997), and higher academic achievement (Smith, Walker, Fields, Brookins, & Seay, 1999). Cultural socialization has also been inversely associated with negative youth outcomes, including externalizing behaviors (e.g., lower fighting frequency and better anger management, especially among boys) and internalizing problems (e.g., depression, anxiety, psychological distress; Bynum et al. 2007; Caughy et al. 2002; Stevenson 1997). In sum, studies that have examined cultural socialization in African American families consistently report that it is associated with adaptive functioning.

In addition to these compensatory effects, or resilient factors that are associated with more positive outcomes across all levels of risk (Zimmerman, Bingenheimer, & Notaro 2002), there is reason to believe that cultural socialization protects youths from the effects of discrimination. Scholars have argued that the racial pride and sense of belonging produced by cultural socialization

may help youths manage the challenges, such as discrimination, that accompany being Black in the U.S. (e.g., Barnes 1980; Hughes et al. 2006; Peters & Massey 1983).

To this author's knowledge, only two studies have examined the buffering effects of cultural socialization the negative effects of discrimination. Bynum, Burton, & Best (2007) investigated the buffering effect of "cultural pride messages" and "cultural resource coping"<sup>19</sup> on the relationship between discrimination and psychological stress and distress in a sample of African American college freshman. They found that cultural pride did not significantly reduce the effects of discrimination on either stress or distress; however, cultural resource coping did significantly attenuate the effects of discrimination on elevated stress, but not distress. In the second study, Harris-Britt, Valrie, and Kurtz-Costes (2007) found that cultural socialization reduced the effects of discrimination on lower self-esteem in their sample of 128 African American eighth-graders. Specifically, they showed that at low levels of cultural socialization, racial discrimination was significantly associated with lower self-esteem, but at moderate and high levels, the effect of discrimination was no longer significant.

Based theorizing and previous work, I expect that cultural socialization practices will have both a compensatory and protective effect. Specifically, I hypothesize that cultural socialization will be negatively related to negative emotions and deviance. In addition, I predict that cultural socialization will attenuate the effect of discrimination on negative emotions and deviance.

#### PREPARATION FOR BIAS

The painful truth is that African Americans will face discrimination in their lives; thus, a central skill African American parents need to teach their children is how to deal with the inevitable prejudice and discrimination. Indeed, Peters (1985) found that while parents thought inculcating a positive

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<sup>19</sup> These measures are subscales of Stevenson's (2002) Teenager Experience with Racial Socialization Scale (TERS).

racial identity was important, it was more important to teach children how to survive and cope with prejudice and discrimination. The various efforts by parents to increase their children's awareness of prejudice and discrimination and to provide them with coping strategies to overcome these racial barriers, called preparation for bias, are a critical component of African American racial socialization (Caughy et al. 2002; Hughes et al. 2006). Research finds that caregivers attempt to teach children coping behaviors that have proven to be helpful in the past, including the various strategies that allow racism to be absorbed, deflected, combated, and ultimately overcome (Peters 1985; Peters & Massey 1983).

Preparation for bias, at least in part, reflects the translation of social experiences into proactive child socialization practices, a process that involves caregivers anticipating their own children's exposure to analogous social situations and explicating strategies to enhance children's capacity to interpret, respond, and cope with them (Phinney & Chavira 1995). Consistent with this idea, research shows that caregivers' experiences with discrimination are related to higher levels of preparation for bias with their children (Hughes & Chen 1997; Thomas & Speight 1999). In addition, bias preparation reflects experiential wisdom passed along through generations. Hughes and Chen (1997) find that caregivers who received more messages about race and discrimination are more likely to communicate these adaptive coping strategies to their own children.

Spencer (1983:200; see also Stevenson et al. 1997) noted that Black youths who are not prepared to interpret and cope with racism are ill-prepared for American society and the "social injustices and stereotypes they will inevitably encounter." Scholars have noted, however, that an overemphasis on discrimination may also be maladaptive. That is, caregivers' frequent reminders of discrimination and racial barriers may lead adolescents to feel helpless and lacking in control, and thus that efforts to succeed in the face of such obstacles are futile (Hughes and Johnson 2001; Stevenson et al. 1997).

Fewer studies have examined the effects of preparation for bias than cultural socialization on youth and adult outcomes. Moreover, findings regarding the potentially beneficial consequences of this form of racial socialization are mixed (see review in Hughes et al. 2006). Some research has found that parental preparation for bias is positively related to adolescent functioning, self-esteem, and fewer depressive symptoms in youths (Bowman & Howard 1985; Hughes & Chen 1999; Stevenson et al. 1997). Findings regarding the positive consequences of preparation for bias, however, are tempered by research linking preparation to bias with negative outcomes. Ogbu (1974) found that parents' emphasis (ostensibly overemphasis) on racial barriers and discrimination undermined children's sense of efficacy and promoted distrust of and antagonism towards mainstream society, leading to maladaptive behaviors. Other studies have reported a link between parental socialization regarding racial barriers and negative outcomes, such as lower academic performances, feeling more stigmatized, and increased fighting frequency (Brega & Coleman; Hughes & Chen; Fisher et al. 2000; Stevenson 1997; Bowman & Howard 1985).

This research suggests that preparation for bias is not a compensatory factor, but rather may serve as a protective resilience factor in the face of discrimination. Preparation for bias potentially mitigates against the deleterious effects of discrimination both because it "prepares" youths for discrimination, thus making it less likely that they are caught off guard, blame themselves, or feel alone in circumstances where they experience discrimination, and because provides them with skills to deal with the effects of discrimination. Regarding the first reason, scholars have argued that it may help adolescents appropriately attribute unfair treatment that they may receive because of their race to external sources (Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major 1991; Neblett Jr. et al. 2008; Peterson & Siligman 1984). Related to the second, youths who have been taught prescriptions for coping with racist discrimination might be expected to handle discrimination experiences more effectively than those who have to figure out coping strategies anew (Hughes et al. 2006; Peters 1985; Spencer 1983).

At present, two studies have examined the buffering effect of preparation for bias on the deleterious effects of discrimination. In the first study to examine the protective effects of racial discrimination, Fischer and Shaw (1999) found that preparation for bias (“racism awareness teaching”) attenuated the effect of discrimination on decreased well-being and psychological distress in a sample of African American college students. More recently, Harris-Britt and colleagues’ (2007) results suggested preparation for bias buffers the effect of discrimination on lower self-esteem. To my knowledge these are the only two studies that examined the buffering effects of preparation for bias on the negative effects of racial discrimination.

Drawing on previous research, I hypothesize that preparation for bias buffers the effect of discrimination on negative emotions and deviance, such that the link between discrimination and these two outcomes are attenuated by higher levels of preparation for bias. Caregiver’s warnings about discrimination appear to be a protective factor rather than a compensatory one. Thus, I make no hypotheses about the direct effects of preparation for bias on negative emotions or deviance.

#### SUPPORTIVE PARENTING

Conclusions that can be drawn from previous studies examining the moderating effects of discrimination are vitiated by several limitations, such as their use of small, cross-sectional sample as well as the omission of quality parenting as a control. Racial socialization practices take place in the context of a general relationship context between caregivers and children (Frabutt, Walker, & MacKinnon-Lewis 2002; McHale et al. 2006). It is possible that the level of parental warmth and support influences the effect of racial socialization, thus necessitating the inclusion of supportive parenting as a control. For example, it may be that the influence of caregiver’s preparation for bias depends on the parental context (e.g., warm-supportive versus hostile-inconsistent) in which it is meted out. Although one study that examined this possibility did not find evidence that parental

warmth moderated the link between racial socialization and youths' racial identity, locus of control, or depressive symptoms (McHale et al. 2006), more recent studies do find that parental warmth and involvement influence the outcome of racial socialization messages (Cooper & McLoyd, *in press*; Smalls 2009).

Even more important, the omission of quality parenting as a control leaves open the possibility that supportive parenting is driving the observed effect of racial socialization. The effects of racial socialization may be spuriously related to these outcomes as racial socialization may be a part of what is more generally warm and supportive caregiving. Research has found modest positive associations between indices of involved parenting and a range of socialization practices (Caughy et. al. 2002; Frabutt, Walker, & MacKinnon-Lewis 2002). For example, Frabutt and colleagues (2002) found that parental warmth, positivity, involvement, and monitoring were associated with increased racial socialization. Although there is good reason to believe that racial socialization practices are unique compensatory and protective factors that protect African American youths from risks of discrimination, I attempt to fill this gap in research and incorporate a measure of supportive parenting in all of the models with racial socialization.

## CHAPTER 5

### PROPOSED MODEL

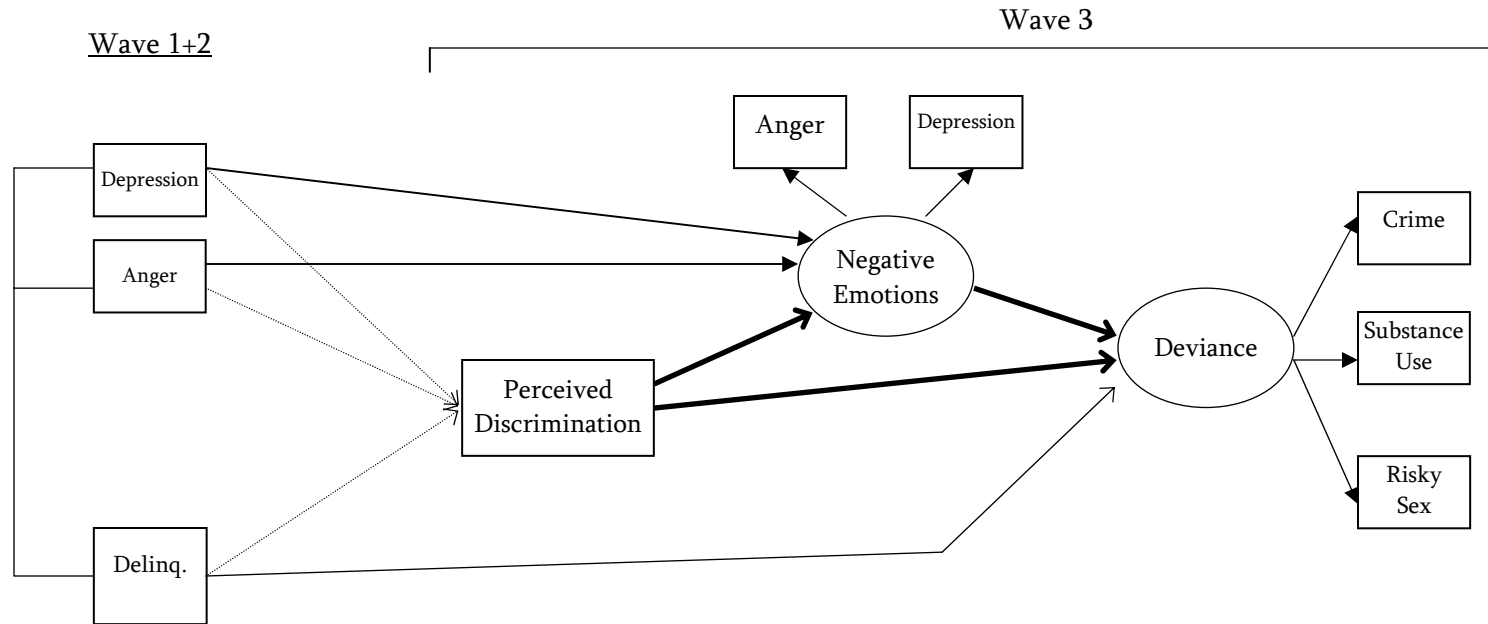
The present study seeks to contribute to knowledge on the sociology of stress and deviant behavior. Specifically, the primary goal of the present study is to more accurately explain the effects of racial discrimination, a stressor resulting from social arrangements, on deviant behavior. The research questions explored in the present study take as their starting point the assertion that historically and at present African Americans have been and continue to be exposed to unique stressors, especially discrimination. Theory and a growing body of research suggest that for some Black youths, the distress produced by racial discrimination creates pressures towards maladaptive behaviors, including crime, substance use, and risky sex. To enhance our understanding of this patterned process, this study investigates the possibility that racial socialization practices buffer the effects of discrimination on deviance.

The overarching goal of this study was to examine whether and, if so, how racial socialization interacts with experiences of discrimination to produce differences in deviant outcomes among African American youth. Drawing on theory (e.g., Ogbu 1981; Peters & Massey 1985) and previous research which shows that racial socialization buffers the effects of discrimination on self-esteem and academic outcomes, I predict that caregivers' cultural socialization and preparation for bias attenuate the effect of discrimination on elevated negative emotions and deviance. In addition, based on work indicating that racial socialization involves teaching youths how to cope with the negative consequences of discrimination such as negative emotions, I expect that preparation for bias and cultural socialization also attenuate the link between negative emotions and increased deviance. Due to the fact that caregivers' preparation for bias practices are intended to facilitate

minority youths' abilities to handle discrimination, I predict that the buffering effect of preparation for bias will be greater than that for collective socialization. I do not expect, however, that preparation for bias has a compensatory, or negative direct, effect on negative emotions or deviance due to its more narrow purpose, whereas I do expect that cultural socialization will have a compensatory effect on these two consequences of discrimination. The latter expectation is based on the notion that cultural socialization promotes general protective factors, such as a positive racial group esteem as well as identification with and a sense of belong to one's racial group.

The direct and indirect effects in the proposed model are displayed in Figure 1. Net of the effects of earlier negative emotions and delinquency, I hypothesize that perceiving discrimination produces increases in negative emotions, which in turn increase deviance. Thus, discrimination has an indirect effect on deviance through negative emotions. In addition, I predict that discrimination will continue to have a direct effect on deviance that is not mediated through negative emotions. The moderational effects are not presented in the model, but the three paths that are hypothesized to be attenuated by racial socialization are presented in bold. Due to the expectation that it is recent discrimination that increases deviance, the hypotheses are tested at wave 3, controlling for outcomes at waves 1 and 2 averaged. In the next chapter I discuss the methods used to test this proposed model.





**Figure 1:** Hypothetical Model\*<sup>1</sup>

\*NOTE: All paths shown represent positive relationships. Dotted lines indicate paths controlled; solid lines represent predicted paths; bold lines represent paths hypothesized to be attenuated by racial socialization.

<sup>1</sup> Resilience factors: Cultural socialization and preparation for bias not depicted.

## CHAPTER 6

### METHODS

#### DATA

The proposed model will be tested using the first, second, and third waves of data from the Family and Community Health Study (FACHS). The first wave was collected when the youths were in late childhood; subsequent waves were collected approximately 2 and 5 years later. Thus, the youths were ages 12 to 14 at wave 2 and ages 15 to 17 at wave 3. This data set will allow for the examination of hypotheses with data spanning adolescence. Complete data for the measures used in this paper was available for 701 youths and their primary caregivers. A primary caregiver was defined as a person living in the same household as the target youth and who was responsible for a majority of the youth's care.

The FACHS is a multisite study of contextual effects on health and development. It was designed to analyze the particular risks and resources that disrupt or promote African American family functioning and youth development in contexts other than inner cities. The sites sampled included rural, suburban, and metropolitan communities. Data were collected in Georgia and Iowa using identical research procedures; the samples were combined after data analyses indicated that they were comparable on demographic, community, and family process variables (Cutrona, Russell, Hessling, Brown, & Murry 2000).

### *Participants*

A total of 897 African American families (475 in Iowa and 422 in Georgia) were recruited for participation in FACHS. Each family included a fifth-grade target youth who was 10 (52%), 11 (45%), or 12 (3%) years old at wave 1. Slightly more than half (54%) were female. The targets and their primary caregivers were interviewed simultaneously but separately. Most (84%) of the primary caregivers were the target's biological mothers, of whom 37% were married at wave 1. The remaining primary caregivers were grandmothers (6%), biological fathers (5%), or other adults (5%). The caregivers' mean age at wave 1 was 37 years, ranging from 23 to 80 years; 92% identified themselves as African American. At wave 1, the primary caregivers' educational backgrounds ranged from less than a high school diploma (19%) to a bachelor's or advanced degree (10%); the majority (71%) was high school graduates. Their educational attainments changed little across the duration of the study. The mean family income across the three waves of data collection was \$32,259. The families resided in a variety of settings, none of which could be considered a densely populated inner-city environment. Based on criteria developed for the 2000 census (Dalaker 2001), the families' residential settings were characterized as urban ( $n = 120$ ), suburban ( $n = 563$ ), or rural ( $n = 101$ ).

Of the 897 families, 779 (87%) remained in the sample at wave 2, and 767 (86%) at wave 3. The present analyses included data from wave 1 to 3, collected in 1998, 2001, and 2004. The primary variables, including discrimination, racial socialization, and deviance were measured at wave 3 for several reasons. Chief among these is the age of the targets at the third wave; research has shown that parents' racial socialization is both more prevalent and more frequent during their children's adolescence years (Hughes & Chen 1997; Neblett Jr. et al. 2008). Studies with parents of children in middle childhood and adolescence find high levels of racial socialization, while studies of preschoolers and young children report much lower levels of socialization regarding racial issues

(Kofkin, Katz, & Downey 1995; Spencer 1983). At the same time, in contrast to youth who are in their late teens and early 20s, most youths at this age still reside in with their primary caregivers and thus engage with them on a frequent basis.

### *Sampling Strategy*

Families were enumerated from lists of families with African American children compiled by community coordinators in Athens, Georgia and by school officials in Des Moines and Waterloo, Iowa. The families lived in neighborhoods that varied considerably on demographic characteristics, such as racial composition and economic level. In selecting neighborhoods from which to draw the sample, researchers examined neighborhood characteristics at the level of block group areas.<sup>20</sup> Using 1990 Census data, BGAs were identified in both Iowa and Georgia in which the percent of African American families was high enough to make recruitment economically practical (10% or higher) and in which the percent of families with children living below the poverty line varied considerably. Relevant neighborhood characteristics of the sample taken from the census (measured at the tract-level) were as follows: proportion African American ( $\bar{x} = 44\%$ , range: 1%-100%), poverty rates, defined as the percentage of families living below the poverty line ( $\bar{x} = 24\%$ , range: 0%-64%); male unemployment ( $\bar{x} = 10\%$ , range: 0%-43%); and proportion of single parents ( $\bar{x} = 13\%$ , range: 0%-40%). In general, the sample was representative of the African American populations of the communities from which participants were recruited (Cutrona et al.2000).

### *Recruitment*

Recruitment strategies differed by state. In Georgia, the sampling procedures were analogous to those successfully utilized in earlier investigations of African American families (Brody & Flor 1997, 1998). BGAs in northeast Georgia that excluded inner-city Atlanta and met the criteria for racial

composition and poverty level were identified. The sample was drawn from 12 counties, of which all but two had populations of 30,000 or less. To incorporate more affluent African American neighborhoods, researchers also obtained participants from Athens and the Atlanta suburbs.

Within each BGA, community members who agreed to serve as liaisons between the University of Georgia researchers and the neighborhood residents were identified. The liaisons compiled rosters of children within each BGA who met the sampling criteria. In addition to their own direct knowledge, the liaisons used information from parents, teachers, youth groups, pastors, and various community organizations to compile the rosters.

In Iowa, researchers first identified BGAs that met the racial composition and extent of poverty criteria, all of which were located in two urban areas: Waterloo, with a population of 65,000 and Des Moines, population 193,000. Families with African American children between the ages of 10 to 12 were identified through the public schools. The schools provided rosters with the names and addresses of all African American students in grades four through six.<sup>21</sup>

Potential participant families, chosen randomly from the rosters, received an introductory letter, followed by a recruitment phone call, and a personal visit requesting the youth's and caregiver's participation in the study. The letter included a toll-free number through which families without home telephone service could contact the researchers. Complete data were gathered from 72% of the families on the recruitment lists. Recruitment rates did not significantly differ across sites (Cutrona et al. 2000). This recruitment rate was analogous to that achieved in the National Survey of Black Americans, a national probability sample of African American adults (Jackson 1991). Those who declined to participate almost always cited the amount of time the interviews would take

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<sup>20</sup> A BGA is a cluster of blocks within a census tract. The Census Bureau strives to use naturally occurring neighborhood boundaries when constructing BGAs (Cutrona et al. 2000).

<sup>21</sup> Notably, by relying on public schools for sampling, youths that attended nonpublic schools were not incorporated in the Iowa sampling. Only a small percentage (3%) of African American students in Iowa attended nonpublic schools in 1996/97 (Iowa Department of Education 1998), thus, it unlikely that this strategy substantially biased the sample.

as the reason (up to 3 hours for each of two visits at each wave). For further details about the FACHS sample and the recruitment process see Cutrona, et al. (2000); Simons and colleagues (2002); or Wills, Gibbons, Gerrard, & Brody (2000).

To enhance rapport and cultural understanding, African American university students and community members served as field researchers to collect data from the families in their homes. Prior to data collection, the field researchers received 1 month of training in the administration of the self-report instruments. Two home visits, each of which lasted 2 hours, were made to each family within 7 days as the families' schedules allowed. During the first visit, informed consent was obtained; primary caregivers consented to their own and their youths' participation; and the youths agreed to participate.

At each home visit, the self-report questionnaires were administered to the primary caregiver and the target youth in an interview format. Each interview was conducted privately between one participant and one researcher, with no other family members present or able to overhear the interview. The instruments were presented on laptop computers. Questions appeared in sequence on the computer screen, which both the researcher and the participant could see. The researcher read each question aloud and entered the participant's response using the computer keypad. The second wave of data collection took place approximately 2 years (25 months) after the first wave, and the third wave took place slightly more than 3 years (38 months). Caregivers received \$100 and youths received \$70 for their participation.

## MEASURES

The analyses utilize measures of deviance, negative emotions, supportive parenting, and racial socialization assessed at wave 3. I employ youth reports of anger, depression, and delinquency as controls from waves 1 and 2, averaged. Youth reports were used to construct the measures of crime, substance use, risky sex, discrimination, anger, depression, and racial socialization. In an

effort to reduce the problem of shared methods bias, caregiver and youth reports were used to form the assessment of supportive parenting. Although caregivers were asked to report about their racial socialization practices with their youths, these reports were not utilized. This decision to use the youth reports was based primarily on one important difference in the wording and scope of the racial socialization questions. The youths were asked about the racial socialization that they have received from adults in their family, whereas the caregivers report on their own racial socialization practices. Given that my interest in racial socialization is not limited to that imparted solely by their primary caregivers, I employ the broader target reports.<sup>22</sup> Two of the six subscales comprising the supportive parenting measure, however, are based on youth reports because caregivers did not report on these behaviors.

With the exception of deviance and negative emotions which are modeled as a latent endogenous variables, the SEM model is estimated with observed variables. This modeling decision was necessitated in part because of the single-indicator nature of those variables.

*Deviant Behavior.* The dependent variable in this study is a latent construct with three factor indicators: crime/antisocial behaviors, risky sexual behaviors, and substance use. The manifest indicators are youth reported multi-item scales which capture three maladaptive, deviant behaviors in which the youths might engage.

Crime/Antisocial Behavior. This construct was measured using youth self-reports on the conduct disorder section of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule for Children Version 4 (DISC-IV; American

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<sup>22</sup> The correlation between the youth and parent reports of preparation for bias and cultural socialization were approximately .20 and .18 ( $p < .001$ ), respectively. This is consistent with the correlations found in recent studies which examine the correspondence between maternal reports of their cultural socialization and preparation for bias and their children's reports (Hughes et al. 2009). Analogous to the present study which inquired into racial socialization by "adults in their family", the youths in the Hughes et al. (2009) study were asked about racial socialization by their parents. Thus, the different reference of the questions is likely responsible for at least part of the less than perfect correspondence between the two reporters.

Psychiatric Association, 1994). The DISC-IV includes the *Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition*, as well as the International Classification of Disease-9 criteria for diagnoses. The DISC was developed over a 15-year period of research on thousands of children and parents and has evinced reliability and validity (Shaffer et al. 1993). The instruments in the DISC can be used to generate both counts and diagnoses of symptoms. Symptom counts (counts of the number of different acts engaged in) were used for the analyses in this study.

The conduct disorder section contains a series of questions about how often during the preceding year the respondent engaged in 26 deviant/criminal acts such as shoplifting, physical assault, setting fires, cruelty to animals, vandalism, burglary, and robbery. The maximum score of 26 corresponds to a subject reporting that he or she engaged in all of the acts; not surprisingly, no respondent scored a 26. The maximum scores were 17, 16, and 15 for waves 3, 2, and 1, respectively. Coefficient alpha for the twenty-six-item instrument was above .90 at all three waves.

Risky Sexual Behaviors.<sup>23</sup> Youth responses to four items regarding sexual behaviors were used to assess this construct. Questions included: (1) “How old were you when you first had sex?” (reverse coded); (2) “With how many people have you had sex?” (3) “When you have sex, how often do you use a condom?”; (4) “When you have sex, how often do you use alcohol or drugs beforehand?” Response categories for the items were as follows: (1) age in years, (2) 0=none, 1=one, 2=two, 3=three or four, 4=five or six, and 5=7 or more people; (3) and (4) 0 = N/A, 1=never, 2=occasionally, 3=much of the time, 4=most of the time. Principle components factor analysis of the four items with varimax rotation yielded a single factor with loadings ranging from .76 (item 3) to .92 (item 1). Items were standardized and averaged to create the risky sexual behaviors scale. Coefficient alpha for the four-item scale was .86.



Substance Use/Abuse. Youth self-reports of their substance use in the past year for 7 different substances were used to assess this indicator. Respondents were asked how often in the past 12 months they used cigarettes, alcohol, marijuana, ecstasy, methamphetamines, and cocaine. In addition, youths indicated how frequently they injected drugs (not specified) in the past year. For cigarettes, response categories ranged from 0 = “I have not smoked in the past 12 months” to 4 “I have smoked everyday”. For alcohol use, rather than general frequencies, respondents were asked: “During the past 12 months, how often have you had a lot to drink, that is 3 or more drinks at one time?” Responses ranged from “Never” (0) to “Several times per week” (6). For the illicit drugs, respondents were asked to indicate how often in the past 12 months they had “done each of these in order to get high.” Response categories for these five items ranged from “Never” (0) to “More than once per week” (6). Youths’ responses to the seven items were standardized and averaged to create the substance use/abuse scale. Coefficient alpha for the scale was above .76.

Each of three indicators were severely non-normal in skew and left censored due to the fact that a substantial number of youths did not engage in the specific deviant behaviors. Illustratively, twenty-six percent (187) of the respondents did not report engaging in any of the criminal/antisocial behaviors, 49% (350) reported that they have never had sex, and 70% (500) reported no use of the seven substances in the previous year. For these reasons, a set of censored-normal regression equations linked the three factor indicators to the continuous latent variable externalizing problems. The variables were specified as below (or left) censored, and the censoring limit is determined from the data in MPlus. Confirmatory factor analyses revealed that the items loaded on a common construct. Standardized factor loadings (displayed in Figure 3) were .79 .77, and .79 for crime/antisocial, risky sex, and substance use behaviors, respectively.

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<sup>23</sup> It is worth noting that I neither make nor imply a value judgment on these sexual behaviors. Instead, these behaviors were chosen because they objectively increase the risks of negative outcomes, such as sexually transmitted diseases and

*Perceived discrimination.* At each wave of data collection, the target youths completed 13 items from a revised version of the Schedule of Racist Events (SRE; Landrine & Klonoff 1996). The SRE was designed for adult respondents; the FACHS researchers revised the items to make them relevant for youths in late childhood through adolescence (Simons, Chen, Stewart, & Brody 2003). The revisions included simplifying the language and replacing items dealing with discrimination in the workplace with items about discriminatory behaviors in the community. The first step in the revision process involved presentation of the revised scale to focus groups of African American primary caregivers and youths of the same age as those in the study population; the second step included psychometric and validity analyses.

In the first step, the revised scale was introduced to four focus groups. Two of the groups each included 10 African American primary caregivers with a child the age of the children in the study; the other two groups each included 10 African American youths 10 to 12 years of age. The group members were asked to indicate whether the revised scale adequately covered the discriminatory events that children and adolescents would encounter in their communities and were encouraged to suggest wording changes that might make the scale easier for youths to comprehend. All four focus groups reported that the revised scale effectively captured the discriminatory experiences that youths in their communities might encounter.

The analyses conducted in the second step confirmed the scale's reliability. Its validity was demonstrated through its association with variables that the literature suggests would be associated with perceived discriminatory experiences, such as anger (Clarke et al 1999; Landrine & Klonoff 1996), both in contemporaneous (Simons et al. 2002) and 2-year longitudinal assessments (Gibbons et al. 2004). These associations remained after family income, financial stress, negative life events, and parental education were controlled.

The items in the revised SRE instrument assessed the frequency during the past year, ranging from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*several times*), with which the respondent perceived specific discriminatory behaviors. Eleven of the 13 items were utilized in the present study. Two of the items asked respondents to indicate how often their friends and family members were treated unfairly because of their race or ethnicity. These items were not included because the focus of the present study is discrimination experienced by the respondents themselves.<sup>24</sup> The eleven-item measure incorporates racially based slurs and insults, physical threats, false accusations from law enforcement officials, and disrespectful treatment from community members. Sample items include, for example, “How often has”: “someone said something insulting to you because of your race or ethnicity,” “a store owner or sales person working at a business treated you in a disrespectful way because of your race or ethnicity,” “you encountered Whites who didn’t expect you to do well because of your race or ethnicity,” and “someone yelled a racial insult at you because of your race or ethnicity.” Coefficient alpha for the scale was .90. Appendix A displays the complete list of items used to create the measure.

Notably, respondents from Iowa reported more discrimination than those living in Georgia. The mean standardized scores on the Schedule of Racist Events were -.19 and -.19 for Georgian and Iowan youths, respectively. A *t*-test revealed this difference of .38 to be statistically significant ( $p < .001$ ). This difference in experiences of discrimination is likely due in part to regional differences in the racial compositions of the neighborhoods in which the youths resided. Most of the Iowan families resided in largely white communities, whereas many of the Georgia families resided in

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<sup>24</sup> These items are included in the instrument because they assess vicarious discrimination. As discussed in an earlier chapter and based on Harrell’s (2000) theoretical scheme, I do expect that vicarious racism influences youths in much the same way as personal experiences with racial discrimination. That said, there is likely to be marked variation in the extent to which these experiences influence the youths based on the non-specific wording of the items. For example, some youths may actually witness unambiguous discrimination and others may hear about it second- (or third) hand. Thus, I chose to use the youths’ personal experiences with discrimination in the analyses. For your information, the analyses were re-estimated using all 13 items in the discrimination scale, and the results were analogous to those presented herein.

largely Black communities. Thus, differential exposure to white persons in the respondents' residential communities likely accounts for a substantial portion of the mean difference in perceived discrimination across the two states. If this community explanation is true, one would expect that youths residing in the same neighborhood should report similar levels of discrimination. Moreover, it also follows that youth and caregiver reports of discrimination should be associated. Simons and colleagues (2002) found that both of these associations are present in this sample, a finding that bolsters the validity of the discrimination measure.

*Negative Emotions.* Two instruments were used to indicate this mediating construct. The exogenous controls for previous negative emotions were generated by averaging the wave 1 and 2 scores and incorporated into the model as separate, observed variables.

Anger. Symptom counts for 4 items from the DISC-IV (American Psychiatric Association, 1994) were used to create the measure of anger. Youths indicated whether in the past year they frequently lost their temper, felt angry and resentful, have been grouchy or vindictive, and gotten mad. Responses (1 = yes, 0 = no) were standardized and averaged. Coefficient alpha was .75 at wave 3, .69 at wave 2, and .79 at wave 1. Youths in Iowa reported significantly more anger than did those in Georgia at Wave 2 ( $p < .001$ ). The mean anger score was .10 for the Iowan youths and -.14 for the youths in Georgia. At wave 3, the divergence in mean anger scores virtually disappeared and was no longer significant (difference of .022).

Depression. The measures of depression, taken at waves 1, 2, and 3, consist of symptom counts for 22 items from the DISC's major-depression section. These questions gauge the extent to which the respondents felt sad, irritable, tired, restless, or worthless; either slept more than usual or had trouble sleeping; had difficulty focusing and making decisions; or thought about death or suicide in the past year. Alpha reliability for the 22-item scale was .89, .86, and .86 at waves 3, 2, and 1, respectively.

At waves 1 and 2, Iowan youths were significantly more depressed than the youths in Georgia. The mean counts of depression were 4.87 and 6.87 ( $p < .001$ ) for Georgia and Iowa at wave 1, and at wave 2 mean counts were 5.91 and 6.91 ( $p = .001$ ). There was no regional difference in the mean score for this instrument at wave 3.

In order to equate the scaling in the creation of the latent construct of negative emotions, the symptom counts variable was standardized to create the measure of depression used in the analyses. The correlation between anger and depression was .57 ( $p < .001$ ). The items loaded on a single factor in the main model, with factor loadings of .72 and .76 for anger and depression, respectively (displayed in Figure 2).

*Racial Socialization.* The items for the two racial socialization scales were adapted from instruments used by Diane Hughes and colleagues and have demonstrated high validity and reliability (e.g., Hughes & Chen 1999; Hughes & Johnson 2001). Item content for these measure were originally derived from stories and events described by African American parents participating in focus group interviews (Hughes & Dumont 1993). The items assessed the frequency of a range of parental behaviors and communications to children around the issue of race. Notably, the items focused on behaviors, rather than attitudes, values, or goals, which is apposite for my purposes since the model is based on the effect of actual racial socialization practices. For each item, youths indicated the number of times that adults in their family engaged in the specific behavior during the past 12 months. Response categories ranged from (1) never to (5) ten or more times. Items were standardized and averaged to create the measures. The items included in measures are displayed in Appendix B.

Cultural Socialization. Five items were used to assess this construct. Youths were asked to indicate how often in the past year adults in their family engaged in the following behaviors: “Celebrated

cultural holiday's of your racial group"; "Talked to you about important people or events in the history of your racial group"; "Taken you to places or events that reflect your racial heritage"; "Encouraged you child to read books concerning the history or traditions of your racial group"; and "Said or done things to encourage you to do something to learn about the history or traditions of your racial group?" Principle components factor analyses with varimax rotate revealed that for each respondent's scale the items loaded on a single factor with loadings above .60. Adequate variability existed in the measure and the distribution was nearly normal. The mean score for the unstandardized scale was 2.53; the modal response for all of the items was 1-2 times. Coefficient alpha for the measure was .84.

Preparation for Bias. Six items were used to assess messages youths received about prejudice and discrimination. The items covered explicit verbal communications regarding racial barriers (e.g., How often have adults in your family told you that people might try to limit you because of your race?) as well as inadvertent messages to their children (e.g., How often have adults in your family talked to someone else about discrimination or prejudice against your racial group while you were present?). As before, principle components factor analyses with varimax rotation identified a single factor for each respondent's scale; factor loadings ranged from .72 to .87. Coefficient alpha for the six item scale was also quite satisfactory at .87.

*Supportive Parenting.* Six different parenting practices were combined to form the composite measure of supportive parenting. Target youths reported on the extent to which their primary caregiver displays warmth and affection and avoids hostility. Both caregivers and youths completed scales tapping the extent to which the caregiver provides reasons for rules and decisions, engages in problem solving, eschews harsh discipline, and provides positive reinforcement. In all there were 10

scales combined to form the measure, including six target reported scales and four primary caregiver scales.

The items for the various scales were adapted from instruments developed for the Iowa Youth and Families Project (IYFP; Conger et al. 1992; Conger & Elder 1994) and assess the frequency with which caregivers have engaged in various parenting practices in the past year. Response categories ranged from 1 (never) to 4 (always). Focus group feedback prior to data collection indicated that these items are meaningful to African American parents. These measures have demonstrated high validity and reliability. Illustratively, analyses using the IYFP and the FACHS have shown that parent reports on the instruments correlated with child reports and observer ratings of parenting practices (Conger et al. 1992; Simons et al. 1996), are associated with community socialization practices (Simons et al. 2005), and predict various dimensions of child behavior across time (Burt et al. 2006; Simons et al. 2001).

Youths answered eight items regarding their primary caregivers' warmth (e.g., "How often during the past 12 months did your [caregiver relationship] tell you she loves you?"; "How often during the past 12 months did your [caregiver relationship] let you know she understands the way you feel about things?") Coefficient alpha was .90. Reverse-coded avoidance of hostility was assessed with 14 items (e.g., "How often does your [caregiver relationship] insult or swear at you?"; "How often does your [caregiver relationship] throw things at you?"). Alpha reliability for the scale was .81.

As noted, both caregivers and youths reported on reasoning, problem solving, positive reinforcement, and harsh disciplinary practices (reversed coded). The instruments used for the primary caregivers were identical in content but reworded in form for the youths, with the exception of problem solving, which was four items for the youths and two items for the primary caregivers. Five items were used to assess the extent to which caregivers provide reasons or explanations for the

decisions that they make regarding their children (e.g., “When you child doesn’t know how you make certain rules, how often do you explain the reason?”). Coefficient alpha for this inductive reasoning scale was .79 for parents and .81 for youths. Four and two questions inquired about problem solving for the youths and their caregivers, respectively (e.g., “When you and your child have a problem, how often can the two of you figure out how to deal with it?”). Coefficient alpha for this scale was .51 for caregivers and .67 for youths. Two items were used to assess positive reinforcement (i.e., “When [target name] has done something you like or approve of, how often do you let him/her know you are pleased about it?”; “How often do you give [target name] a reward like money or something else he/she would like when he/she gets good grades, does his/her chores, or something like that?”). Coefficient alpha was .58 for youths and .39 for the primary caregivers. Finally, the harsh discipline scale, which was recoded to reflect avoidance of harsh discipline, was measure with 5 items (e.g., When [target name] does something wrong, how often do you lose your temper and yell at him/her?; When you discipline [target name], how often do you hit him/her with a belt, a paddle, or something else?”). Alpha reliability was .58 for youths and .48 for the primary caregivers.

Next, I standardized each of the ten parenting scales, and, finally, I averaged the measures to create the measure of supportive parenting used in the analyses. Coefficient alpha for this 10-item scale composite measure was .76.

*Control variables.* Several variables were considered for inclusion as control variables. In all of the analyses, the sex of the youth (female) was controlled with a dummy variable coded 1 for females and 0 for males. Fifty-four percent of the youths were female (383 males and 323 females). The age of the respondents in months at the time of the interview was standardized and included in all models as a control. The age of the primary caregiver in years (PC Age) was also incorporated. Household income was considered for inclusion in the models, although preliminary analyses



indicated that it was not significantly correlated with any of the study variables, and thus it was not considered further.

#### ANALYTIC STRATEGY

Testing the research questions outlined above requires a two-stage analysis, which proceeds in multiple steps. Following a descriptive examination of the prevalence of youths' experiences with discrimination and racial socialization, I first examine whether, net of the influences of previous negative emotions and delinquency, youths' perceptions of discrimination increase negative emotions and deviance. This direct and indirect effects model, presented in Figure 1, will be examined using structural equation modeling (SEM) in MPlus, Version 5.1 (Muthén and Muthén 1998-2008). Second, to determine whether racial socialization practices moderate the effects of discrimination and negative emotions on the outcomes, I utilize econometric models and incorporate product terms between the constructs to test for moderational effects. More specifically, to accommodate their distributions, I estimate left-censored Tobit models to predict deviance and negative emotions in Stata 10.0 (Statacorp 2008). Deviance and negative emotions will be incorporated in these models as factor-weighted observed variables, based on their standardized factor weights. The *grinter* utility in Stata will be utilized to facilitate the interpretation of the interactions; the program provides graphs of the marginal effect of variables in an interaction along with confidence intervals and kernel density plots of the moderating variables.<sup>25</sup>

Before turning to the results, several more intricate features of the analyses should be noted. I capitalize on the longitudinal data and attenuate the risk of endogenous bias by estimating autoregressive models. In other words, across all of the models, I estimate the change in negative emotions and externalizing problems by controlling for the youths' averaged waves 1 and 2 scores

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<sup>25</sup> The *grinter* utility was written by Frederick J. Boehmke at the University of Iowa and can be found at the following interweb address: <http://myweb.uiowa.edu/fboehmke/stata/grinter>.

on these constructs.<sup>26</sup> As noted previously, in the SEM the factor indicators for externalizing problems will be estimated with censored-normal regressions in the model estimating direct effects. Following convention, the metric for both the factor indicators for the two latent constructs will be set by fixing the anger<sub>w3</sub> and crime/antisocial behavior loadings to 1 (Bollen 1993). The indirect effects and corresponding standard errors will be based on a model without censored regressions because censored-normal regressions require numerical integration, which is not compatible with the computations necessary to produce the indirect effects.<sup>27</sup> To the results I now turn.

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<sup>26</sup> Technically, I will not be able to control for the latent construct externalizing problems due to the fact that the risky sexual behaviors and substance use scales were incorporated after wave 2. Instead, I will control for the targets' previous crime/antisocial behaviors. Although not ideal, it is unlikely that this leads to endogenous bias for two reasons. First, crime/antisocial behavior is strongly correlated with risky sex and substance use and, two, it is unlikely that many of the youths had engaged in either of the latter two behaviors in the first two waves.

<sup>27</sup> The estimator for the censored-normal SEM is maximum likelihood with robust standard errors using a numerical integration algorithm, specifically, a regular (trapezoid) numerical integration with 15 integration points per dimension. The model used to calculate indirect effects will be estimated using maximum likelihood with robust standard errors; delta method standard errors will be computed for the indirect effects.

## CHAPTER 7

### RESULTS

The overwhelming majority (89%) of the youths reported experiencing discrimination in the past year. Within this majority, however, there is variation in both the number of different discrimination experiences (discrimination event count) and the frequency of their occurrence. Table 1 displays the discrimination items and their prevalence as well as the discrimination event count for the respondents (i.e., the count of different acts experienced at least once in the past year). The most prevalent discrimination experience, or that which was reported by the most respondents, was being insulted; 64% of respondents indicated that they were insulted because of their race in the past year. At the other extreme, the least common experience involved youths being threatened by physical harm because of their race; 14% of the youths reported experiencing such threats; and 3 percent indicated that they frequently encountered such threats. The modal response to all of the items was occurred 1-2 times in the past year; however, 22% of the sample reported that at least one of the discrimination items occurred on a “frequent” basis. Shown on the right side of Table 1, the discrimination event count reveals quite sufficient variability among the youths in the extent of their experiences with various forms of discrimination. On average (not shown) the youths experienced five acts of discrimination in the past year.

Table 2 presents the frequency of racial socialization practices by adults in the youths’ families in the past 12 months as reported by the youths. Looking first at cultural socialization, the most prevalent item that youths indicated adults in their family engaged in was saying or doing anything to encourage them to learn about the history or traditions of their racial group (87% reported at least 1 instance in the past year), followed by talking about important people or events in

the history of their racial group (81% reported at least 1 instance). The least prevalent cultural socialization item was adults taking the youths to places reflecting their racial heritage; 67% of youths reported that their caregivers engaged in this activity at least once. The incidence of cultural socialization is similar to prevalence and both are consonant with previous research on African Americans which report prevalence rates of approximately 80% for cultural socialization (e.g., Hughes 2003; Hughes et al. 2006).<sup>28</sup>

The frequencies of preparation for bias items are shown at the bottom of Table 2. The item with the greatest prevalence and incidence is, not surprisingly, adults talking with the youths about discrimination or prejudice against their racial group (80%). This is followed by adults telling youths that people might treat them badly or unfairly because of their race (75%) and explaining how something they saw on television showed poor treatment of their racial group (74%). The least common practice reported by the youths was adults telling youths they will have to be better than other people their age to get the same rewards because of their race; 55% reported that adults in their family engaged in such discussions. As with cultural socialization, incidences of the preparation for bias items are similar to their prevalence. Overall, approximately 6.5% (47) respondents reported that adults in their family never engaged in any of the six preparation for bias items. Thus, the prevalence of preparation for bias is 93.5%. This figure is slightly higher, but consonant with, that reported in other studies of African Americans (e.g., Hughes et al. 2006; Phinney & Chavira 1995).

Table 3 presents the means, standard deviations, and correlation matrix for the study variables. At the zero-order, there are significant associations between most of the variables. Deviant behavior is significantly related to all of the study variables with the exception of

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<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, with the exception of the early studies which often utilized small, convenience samples (e.g., Peters & Massey 1983; Phinney & Chavira 1995), few studies provide information about the prevalence of various racial

preparation for bias, state of residence, primary caregiver age, and household income. Importantly, and as predicted, discrimination, depression, and anger all have a significant positive associations with involvement in deviance, whereas supportive parenting and collective socialization have a significant inverse association with this outcome. Among the control variables, only sex and target's age are significantly correlated with deviant behavior, with being female and younger associated with less deviance. Turning to the measures of distress, as expected wave 3 depression and anger are strongly related ( $r = .57$ ) and are analogously associated with the other variables, with two exceptions: anger is associated with previous delinquency ( $r=.15, p<.01$ ) whereas depression is not ( $.07, ns$ ) and anger is positively related to primary caregiver's age ( $r=.08, p<.05$ ) whereas depression is not ( $r=.03, ns$ ). As predicted, both depression and anger are positively correlated with discrimination experiences ( $r=.17$  and  $r=.15, p<.01$ , respectively).

Turning to the racial socialization scales, the correlation between cultural socialization and preparation for bias indicates that these practices tend to co-occur ( $r=.45, p<.01$ ). Notably, preparation for bias has a strong positive relationship with discrimination experiences ( $r=.42, p<.01$ ), while cultural socialization has a smaller but still significant association with discrimination ( $r=.15, p<.05$ ). Given that racial socialization practices, particularly preparation for bias, involve raising youth awareness of white racism, these correlations are not surprising. Finally, underscoring the importance of controlling for quality parenting when examining the effects of racial socialization, cultural socialization is significantly associated with higher supportive parenting ( $r=.22, p<.001$ ). Thus, cultural socialization occurs more frequently in the context of a supportive caregiving context. Preparation for bias, on the other hand, is not significantly related to supportive parenting.

Attending to the control variables, youth age is significantly correlated with several study variables in addition to deviance. Older youths reported higher levels of anger and elevated

involvement in earlier delinquency. In addition, older youths reported receiving less cultural socialization from adults in their family in the past year. This inverse relationship between age and cultural socialization is consistent with research that suggests that racial socialization practices peak in mid-teenage years. Recall the youngest youths in the sample are 15 at wave 3. In addition, the age variable also potentially captures differences in time spent with caregivers, as the older youths in the sample are likely to spend more time away from home and, therefore, have less contact with adults in their family. The age of the primary caregiver is not significantly related to any of the parenting measures; in fact, at the zero-order, it is only significantly associated with higher levels of youth anger ( $r=.08$ ,  $p<.05$ ).

Given the dichotomous nature of the controls for state and sex, differences in mean scores across the study variables were compared and t-tests were used to determine the significance of differences observed across groups. Significant mean differences between the Georgia and Iowa subsamples were observed for four variables. Iowan youths reported engaging in more deviance, experiencing more discrimination, and receiving more preparation for bias. Youths in Georgia, on the other hand, manifested higher levels of supportive parenting than youths in Iowa. Sex differences in means were observed for four variables. Consistent with previous work (e.g., Mirowsky & Ross 1995), females had higher mean levels of both anger and depression, while males engaged in significantly more deviance and prior delinquency, on average, than females.

#### THE DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF DISCRIMINATION ON DEVIANCE

A SEM model was estimated to examine the direct and indirect first-order relations. Two constructs were specified as latent variables—negative emotions and deviance; the remaining eight were specified as manifest variables. Principle components confirmatory factor analyses with orthogonal

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are the mean scores for the scales (e.g., Fischer & Shaw 1999; Smalls 2009).

varimax rotation were conducted to verify that the indicators loaded on the latent constructs in a manner consistent with predictions.<sup>29</sup> As displayed in Figure 2, the results support the unidimensionality and cohesion of the constructs. All of the factor loadings are above .76.

The full SEM was specified as outlined in the hypotheses (see Figure 1 in Chapter 5). Exogenous variables included the control measures: sex, age, caregiver age, state, and averaged wave 1 and wave 2 depression, anger, and delinquency. The primary study variables, discrimination, negative emotions, and deviance, are endogenous and measured at wave 3.

First, I estimated the fully recursive SEM. Several of the paths were near zero and had low t-values. In an effort to obtain a more parsimonious model, seven paths with a t statistic of 1.0 or below were deleted, and the model was re-estimated.<sup>30</sup> The results for the reduced model are presented in Figure 2.<sup>31</sup> The Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) and Akaike's Information Criterion (AIC) statistics decreased with the elimination of the paths, indicating improved model fit and supporting the elimination of the seven paths. Thus, the reduced model appears to provide a more parsimonious fit to the data. Importantly, the model trimming did not modify the relative valence of the remaining paths in the model. The magnitude and significance levels for the paths shown in Figure 2 are comparable to those obtained in the fully recursive model. The model fit indices utilized to gauge model fit in SEMs are not available in this censored model due to the use of numerical integration. However, model fit indices are available for the continuous model, which was estimated to determine the significance of indirect effects. These model fit statistics all indicate that the model adequately fits the data: standardized RMSEA = .021, RMSEA = .040, CFI = .97, and TLI = .95. Providing further support for a satisfactory fit of the model to the data, the model

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<sup>29</sup> The confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted in Stata rather than MPlus. The loadings in the full model in MPlus were analogous to that in the CFA.

<sup>30</sup> The paths removed include the regression of discrimination on anger<sub>w1+w2</sub>, female, age, and caregiver age; deviance on Georgia and anger<sub>w1+w2</sub>, and negative emotions on delinquency.

<sup>31</sup> The correlations between the exogenous variable are not shown in the figure for brevity and clarity's sake.

explains a substantial portion of the variance in deviance ( $R^2 = .33$ ) and a non-trivial portion of the variance in negative emotions ( $R^2 = .16$ ).

The results shown in Figure 3 show support for the hypotheses. Consistent with the stress process model and GST, experiencing discrimination augments negative emotional distress ( $\beta=.18$ ;  $p<.001$ ), net of the effects of previous negative emotions. Emotional distress, in turn, increases deviance ( $\beta=.38$ ;  $p<.001$ ). Drawing on Agnew's GST (1992; 2006), I hypothesized that experiencing discrimination indirectly leads to deviance by fostering negative emotions. The findings support this hypothesis. The standardized total effect of discrimination on deviance (based on the continuous model, not shown) is  $\beta=.19$  ( $p<.001$ ). The standardized indirect effect of discrimination on deviance is .084 ( $p<.001$ ). Thus, consistent with expectations, approximately 44% of the effect of discrimination on externalizing behaviors is indirect through negative emotions. In addition to its indirect effect through negative emotions, and as predicted, discrimination directly increases deviance ( $\beta=.107$ ;  $p<.001$ ), even after controlling for negative emotions.

Turning to the exogenous controls, as expected, being female is associated with more negative emotions and lower deviance, net of other factors. Anger<sub>w1+w2</sub> and depression<sub>w1+w2</sub> have a significant, positive effect on negative emotions at wave 3. In addition, depression<sub>w1+w2</sub> is significantly associated with more discrimination ( $\gamma=.10$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and decreased involvement deviance at wave 3 ( $\gamma=-.08$ ;  $p<.001$ ). Being from Georgia, compared to Iowa, is linked to experiencing less discrimination but more negative emotions and deviance. Being older is significantly associated with fewer negative emotions but more deviance. Caregiver's age is positively related to higher deviance. And, finally, delinquency<sub>w1+w2</sub> is positively linked to later discrimination and deviance.

Although my focus on negative emotions as distress reactions to the stress of discrimination is less concerned with the specific emotional reaction to discrimination, it is possible that the link



between discrimination and deviance as coping is contingent on the specific emotional reaction to discrimination. Thus, I re-estimated the model treating  $\text{anger}_{w3}$  and  $\text{depression}_{w3}$  as separate manifest variables. All of the variables in the previous model were included in this model, but only the relevant results are displayed in Figure 4. As expected, discrimination produces both anger and depression, and both are linked to increased deviance. Interestingly, discrimination is more strongly related to depression ( $\beta=.13, p<.001$ ) than anger ( $\beta=.20, p<.001$ ), although the path between both and deviance is equivalent ( $\beta=.13, p<.001$ ). These results suggest that combining the two emotions into a latent construct does not obscure any meaningful distinctions.

### *Sex/Gender Differences<sup>32</sup>*

Up to this point, differences between males and females in the hypothesized relationships have not been discussed or explored. It is important to examine whether sex conditions the processes at the center of the study. Although there are no hypotheses regarding sex differences, whether the effects of discrimination on deviance are contingent on the sex of the respondent is ultimately an empirical question. Thus, before moving on to the analyses testing the conditional hypotheses, I explore whether combining males and females into a single analyses has overlooked consequential sex differences. Below I briefly discuss sex differences in bivariate associations between the study variables. This is followed by an examination of the SEM estimated separately by sex.

Table 4 displays the correlation matrix by sex of the respondent. The correlations for females are displayed above the diagonal, and the correlations for males are presented below the diagonal. Visual inspection of the correlation matrix identified several notable differences in bivariate relations by sex. Some relationships were substantively different in size between males and

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<sup>32</sup> Hereafter, I use the term sex instead of gender, thus retaining the classical distinction between biological sex (male/female) from gender (masculine/feminine). Unequivocally the measure of sex captures gender effects; however, my focus on sex/gender is only to determine whether different patterns between the groups, defined by the biological sex of the respondents, are obscured by combining them into one analysis.

females, while other correlations were only evident among one sex. Among the central variables, for example, the association between the negative emotions and deviance is stronger for females than males, while the positive correlation between experiencing discrimination and engaging in deviance is stronger for males than females. Among females, being from Georgia is associated with less deviance, while no significant sex difference is observed for males (and the direction is towards more deviance for males in Georgia). Conversely, preparation for bias is significantly associated with more deviance among males, but bias preparation is not associated with deviance at the bivariate level for females.

Focusing on depression, preparation for bias is associated with elevated depression for males but not for females; supportive parenting is significantly associated with lower depression for females not for males. Georgian males are more depressed at wave 3 than those in Iowa, whereas no state difference is observed for females at wave 3 (although both males and females from Georgia were more depressed in the first two waves). In addition, age is associated with less depression for males, but has no effect on depression levels for females at the zero-order.

Attending to anger, there is only one prominent sex difference in anger correlations. Analogous to deviance and depression, preparation for bias is significantly associated with elevated anger for males, but not for females. Preparation for bias is positively associated with previous anger and depression as well as household income for females, but not for males.

Overall, most of the bivariate relations are analogous for males and females. The most prominent divergence is found in the correlations between preparation for bias and elevated deviance, depression, and anger for males. This finding deserves attention in the multivariate analyses.

The model presented in Figure 3 was re-estimated separately for males and females to determine whether sex differences would emerge in the results obtained for the full sample. This

model was estimated without the censored factor indicators so that I could examine the significance of the sex differences. Abbreviated results are displayed in Figure 5; note that the standardized coefficients for females are displayed above the paths, and the results for males are presented below the paths. The models fit the data well for both males and females: for both, CFI>.96 and RMSEA<.03.

Multiple group analyses were used to determine whether any of the paths depicted in the model shown in Figure 5 varied by sex. A two-group invariance model was estimated by imposing equality constraints on the path coefficients. The results were compared to the model where the paths were allowed to vary by sex using the chi-square statistic with 1 degree of freedom. This procedure was repeated for each of the three paths. A significant change in the chi-square between the model with the constrained path and the relaxed path indicates a sex difference. The analyses indicated the path from negative emotions to deviance has a marginally significant difference for males and females ( $\Delta\chi^2(1)=3.29, p=.0697$ ). More substantively, the path from negative emotions to deviance is slightly stronger for females ( $\beta=.40$ ) than males ( $\beta=.27$ ). Importantly, though, the path from negative emotions to deviance is strong, significant, and positive for both males and females. The direct effect of discrimination on deviance, however, is only observed for males ( $\beta=.17, p<.01$ ; for females,  $\beta=.03, ns$ ), and this path does differ significantly by sex ( $\Delta\chi^2(1)=5.14, p=.0233$ ). The path between discrimination and negative emotions does not vary by sex.

Examining the indirect effects by sex provides a partial explanation for the difference in the direct effect of discrimination. The indirect effect of discrimination through negative emotions is stronger for females (.093,  $p<.003$ ) than for males (.074,  $p<.005$ ). Thus, while the direct effect of discrimination is greater for males than females, the effect of discrimination on deviance through negative emotions is greater for females than males. Even so, the total effect of discrimination on deviance is greater for the males than the females.

The model presented in Figure 4, with anger and depression modeled as separate manifest variables, was also re-estimated by sex. These results are displayed in Figure 6. This model shows that the sex difference in the path between negative emotions and deviance observed in the previous model is due to differences in the link between anger and depression. No significant sex difference is found in the link between depression and deviance; however, the path between anger and deviance differs by sex with females being more likely to respond to anger with deviance than males, net of the other variables in the model ( $\Delta\chi^2=4.47$ ,  $p=.0344$ ). Indeed, the path between anger and deviance is statistically insignificant for males; this surprising finding will be revisited in a later chapter.

#### MODERATING EFFECTS OF RACIAL SOCIALIZATION

Having documented the direct effects of discrimination on deviance and indirect effects through negative emotions, I attend to the final and primary aim of the present study—examining whether racial socialization practices buffer the negative effect of discrimination on increased negative emotions and deviance. I expect that individuals' responses to discrimination vary across their levels of racial socialization such that the effect of discrimination on negative emotions and deviance is stronger among individuals with lower levels of racial socialization. In addition, I propose that the effect of negative emotions on increased deviance varies across levels of racial socialization, such that individuals who receive fewer messages about the possibilities of discrimination and their cultural heritage are more likely to respond to the negative emotions generated by discrimination than those who received more of these messages. To test these hypotheses, I incorporate product terms of racial socialization with discrimination and negative emotions in a series of models. Interactions between the variables for each of the three pathways are discussed in turn. First, I present the moderating effects of racial socialization on the discrimination—negative emotions link. Then, I discuss the same interaction in a model predicting deviance; thus, I am examining the

buffering effect of racial socialization practices on the direct link between discrimination and deviance. Finally, I display the results of the models testing the moderating effects of racial socialization on the path from negative emotions to deviance.

Before moving to these results, I should note that I re-estimated the models with negative emotions, both as the dependent variable and in interactions with racial socialization, treating anger and depression individually. The models incorporating anger and depression as individual constructs are consonant to the ones presented here where they are combined into a single measure. Although these models are not discussed any further, the results are presented in Appendices C through F. In addition, given the sex differences observed in the SEM, I examine each of the models separately by sex. Although an elaborate examination of sex differences in the hypothesized moderation effects is out of the scope of this study, assessing whether any observed effects hold for both males and females is prudent. Moreover, given the possibility of sex differences in the direction of effects as well as the dearth of studies into the sexed or gendered effects of discrimination, it remains a possibility that the effects of some variables could be in the opposite direction for males and females, and, thus, a finding of no effect could be due to the offsetting of a positive effect for one group and a negative effect of the other. For these reasons, the final two models in each of the tables display the results for females and for males, respectively. Finally, I also examined the moderating effects of racial socialization on the link between discrimination/negative emotions and each of the three indicators of deviance (viz. crime, substance use, and risky sex) separately. These results are displayed in Appendices H through J.

#### *Moderating effects of Racial Socialization on Discrimination*

Having established that discrimination augments deviance directly and indirectly through negative emotions, the next step involves examining the extent to which racial socialization buffers the effect

of discrimination on these two outcomes. Table 5 displays a series of Tobit regression models assessing the change in negative emotions as a result of discrimination, net of other factors. Tobit models were appropriate because the distribution of negative emotions was skewed and left censored at -1.07. The models in Table 5 include product terms to assess the moderating effects of preparation for bias and cultural socialization on the link between experiencing discrimination and negative emotions. Standardized betas are displayed.

Model 1 in Table 5 is the base model to which the interactions were added. These results are consonant with those from the SEMs discussed earlier. As before, discrimination is associated with an increase in negative emotions ( $\beta=.08, p=.056$ ). Being female and from Georgia is associated with increases in negative emotions. Older youth show decreases in negative emotions, while caregiver's age is associated with increased negative emotions. Among the newly incorporated variables, supportive parenting and cultural socialization are associated with decreases in negative emotions ( $\beta= -.10, p<.01$  for both). This finding is consistent with the hypothesis that cultural socialization has a compensatory effect. The coefficient for preparation for bias is significant and positive, which indicates that bias preparation augments negative emotions.

Turning to the moderation effects, Models 2 through 4 incorporate the interactions. These results indicate that no significant interactions exist between discrimination and the two racial socialization practices and negative emotions. This implies that the effects of discrimination on negative emotions are uniform across levels of preparation for bias and cultural socialization. Because point estimates of product terms cannot describe moderation effects, I graphed the interactions to facilitate a more complete understanding of the relationship. The resulting graphs (not shown) all resembled a horizontal line, confirming that, at least among this population, cultural socialization and preparation for bias do not buffer the effects of discrimination on negative emotions.

Given that the indirect effect of discrimination on deviance through negative emotions is stronger for females than males, it could be the case that sex differences exist in the effects of racial socialization on buffering this link. The right side of Table 5 displays the interaction model estimated separately by sex. Noticeably absent in the baseline model for females (without interaction terms, not shown) is a significant direct effect of preparation for bias on increased negative emotions. For males, on the other hand, preparation for bias has a strong positive relationship on increased negative emotions (baseline model, not shown). Indeed, the coefficient for preparation for bias is larger than the coefficients associated with each of the other variables, including discrimination and previous negative emotions. Although neither of the interaction terms is statistically significant for males or females, the effect of preparation for bias approaches significance and is in the expected direction for females. The graph of this relationship (displayed in Appendix G) indicates that preparation for bias does appear to reduce the effect of discrimination, but due to both the size of the discrimination coefficient as well as the scarcity of females who receive high levels of bias preparation, this effect does not reach conventional levels of statistical significance.

Next, I tested the hypothesis that racial socialization practices buffer the direct link between discrimination and deviance. As hypothesized and substantiated in the SEM, discrimination has a direct effect on deviance as well as an indirect effect through negative emotions. Table 6 presents the results of the models assessing the hypothesis that higher levels of racial socialization reduce the direct effect of discrimination on increases in deviance.

As before, these Tobit regressions are consistent with the results of the SEM. Model 1 reveals that experiencing discrimination increases involvement in deviance, net of the effects of negative emotions and the other variables in the model. Negative emotions are positively associated with increases in deviant behavior as expected. Supportive parenting has a significant inverse

relationship with increases in deviance. The same pattern is observed for cultural socialization, although the effect of cultural socialization on decreases in deviance is roughly half of the size of that of supportive parenting. Preparation for bias is not associated with deviance, net of the effect of other variables in the model. Females show greater declines in deviance as do youths in Iowa. Not surprisingly, age is associated with increases in deviance, and primary caregiver's age is weakly, although significantly, associated with decreases in deviant behavior.

Models 2 through 4 incorporate the interactions. These results reveal a significant interaction between preparation for bias and discrimination in the expected direction. In particular, bias preparation appears to reduce the effect of discrimination on increased deviance, net of the effects of general supportive parenting. Model 3 indicates that no such interaction exists between discrimination and cultural socialization. In Model 4, both interaction terms are included, and the effect of preparation for bias is slightly stronger in this model. The graph of this interaction is presented in Figure 7 and indicates that the effect of discrimination on increased deviance declines across levels of preparation for bias, such that at high levels of bias preparation, the point estimate of discrimination is approximately zero. In other words, the effect of discrimination on deviance is much stronger for youths with low levels of preparation for bias. Conversely, among youths who receive high levels of preparation for bias (roughly 2 standard deviations above the mean) from adults in their family, experiencing discrimination does not lead to increased involvement in deviance. Interestingly and in opposition to the hypothesis, the interaction term with cultural socialization is in the direction of increasing the link between discrimination and deviance, although this interaction is not quite statistically significant.

The models were run separately by sex of the respondent and are shown on the right side of Table 6. These results (and graphs of the interactions) indicate that preparation for bias reduces deviant involvement in response to discrimination for both males and females. Indeed, the



coefficients are approximately equivalent for males and females. That the point estimate for females does not achieve statistical significance is due primarily to the weaker direct effect of discrimination on deviance for females. Thus, it is not that preparation for bias doesn't buffer the effect of discrimination on deviance for females, but that there is less of an effect to reduce.

#### *Moderating Effect of Racial Socialization on Negative Emotions*

Having found in the SEM that discrimination increases deviance in part by augmenting negative emotions, the final hypotheses to be assayed is that racial socialization practices reduce the deviance-increasing effects of negative emotions. Table 7 displays the results of the models testing this hypothesis. This model is tantamount to that presented in the previous table, except here the interaction is between negative emotions and racial socialization.

In Model 2, I incorporate the interaction of preparation for bias with negative emotions. The coefficient for the product term is negative and significant, suggesting that higher levels of preparation for bias reduces the influence of negative emotions on increased deviance. In Model 3, I incorporate the interaction between cultural socialization and discrimination in the baseline model, and the coefficient is insignificant. In Model 4, I include both interactions together. These results indicate that preparation for bias reduces the deviance-increasing effects of discrimination, net of the moderating effects of cultural socialization. The marginal effects of discrimination across levels of preparation for bias are displayed in Figure 8. At the minimum level of preparation for bias (-1.09), the effect of discrimination is approximately .30. At the mean of preparation for bias (roughly zero), the effect of discrimination is about .20. Looking at the right side of Figure 7, one can see that at the maximum level of preparation for bias, the marginal effect of discrimination is essential zero. Net of the conditioning effects of preparation for bias on discrimination, however, the coefficient for the cultural socialization—negative emotion interaction suggests that cultural socialization

significantly amplifies the link between discrimination and deviance. This unexpected result is graphed in Figures 9 and 10.

Figure 9 displays the marginal effects of negative emotions across levels of cultural socialization and indicates that the negative emotions are more strongly linked to deviance among individuals with higher levels of cultural socialization, although the size of this effect pales in comparison with the moderation effect of preparation for bias. Figure 10 plots the relationship between negative emotions and deviance for individuals low, medium, and high (one standard deviation below the mean, the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean) in cultural socialization.<sup>33</sup> This graph reveals that even though cultural socialization amplifies the negative emotions—deviance link, the direct effect of cultural socialization overshadows the moderational effect. That is, at low levels of negative emotions, individuals with higher levels of cultural socialization engage in less deviance than those with lower levels of cultural socialization, net of the other factors in the model. At high levels of negative emotions, the effect of cultural socialization is a wash because the deviance-increasing moderational effect of cultural socialization with negative emotions is offset by its direct effect of reducing deviance. This implies that even though cultural socialization may actually increase the link between negative emotions and deviance, the only significant difference it produces is lower deviance among those with high levels at low levels of negative emotions. Even so the amplification effects are curious. Explanations for this contrary finding will be explored in the next chapter.

Once again, the models were estimated separately by sex and indicate that preparation for bias buffers the effect of discrimination on deviance for both males and female. On the other hand, the inflationary effect of cultural socialization is only observed among the females.

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<sup>33</sup> This graph was created with Paul E. Jose's (2008) ModGraph program.

In summary, the results from the models testing the moderational effects provide some support for the buffering effect of racial socialization. First, cultural socialization, while beneficial in terms of its direct effect on lower negative emotions and decreased involvement in deviance, does not buffer the effect of discrimination. It does significantly moderate the effect of negative emotions on deviance, but in the direction of more deviance, the opposite of predictions. Preparation for bias, on the other hand, reduces the direct effect of discrimination on deviance and buffers the link between negative emotions and deviance. Indeed, at high levels of preparation for bias, neither discrimination nor negative emotions are significantly associated with increased deviance. Thus, racial socialization does not appear to decrease the negative emotions in response to deviance. Being racially socialized does not make these youths any less angry or depressed in response to discrimination; it does, however, affect their behavioral reactions to discrimination and negative emotions.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY ANALYSIS

The models testing the moderating effects of racial socialization on negative emotions revealed that preparation for bias was directly associated with more negative emotions among the males. Moreover, this effect is substantively and statistically significant ( $\beta = .31, p < .001$ ). Although few in number, some studies drawing on ecological and family systems perspectives have suggested that the effects of preparation for bias, in contrast to cultural socialization, vary depending on the parental context in which these messages are meted out (Cooper & McLoyd, *in press*; Smalls 2009; but see McHale et al. 2006 for a null finding). Cooper and McLoyd (*in press*) found that maternal—adolescent relationship quality moderated the effect of preparation for bias on self-esteem and depressive symptoms among African American adolescents, such that at high levels of positive relationship quality, preparation for bias was associated with higher self-esteem and fewer depressive

symptoms. In the same vein, Smalls (2009) showed that democratic-involved parenting buffered the effect of preparation for bias on lower task persistence and decreased emotional school engagement in a sample of African American youths. In contrast, McHale and colleagues (2006) found no evidence that parental warmth moderated the effects of preparation for bias on elevated depressive symptoms.

It might also be the case that cultural socialization moderates the effects of preparation for bias on distress. Neblett and colleagues (2006) note: “The meaning of receiving racial barrier messages is likely to be different for a child who only receives negative messages about being African American with those racial barrier messages. The former child is likely to have a racial worldview that is both informed of danger but also equipped with feelings of possibilities. The latter child may be more likely to have a racial worldview that emphasizes a sense of inferiority as a result of being African American.” Despite this possibility, I am not aware of any studies that have examined the interaction between the two different racial socialization messages.

Based on these ideas, I conducted additional analyses to test the possibility that the nature of the relationship between preparation for bias and elevated negative emotions depends on other caregiving practices. Specifically, I tested the ideas that supportive parenting and cultural socialization reduced feelings of anger and depression in response to warnings of discrimination. To assay this idea, I created two product terms between preparation for bias and supportive parenting and cultural socialization. I then estimated two Tobit models; both contained all of the variables in Model 1 of Table 5. In the first, the interaction between supportive parenting and preparation for bias was included. The interaction was small ( $\beta = -.01$ ) and insignificant ( $p > .700$ ). The interaction between cultural socialization and preparation for bias was included in the second model, and it too was small ( $\beta = -.01$ ) and insignificant. Graphs of these interactions (not shown) also indicated that neither supportive parenting nor cultural socialization buffers the effect of preparation for bias on

elevated negative emotions. These models were repeated separately by sex and the results remained the same. Additionally, I examined the two negative emotions (anger and depression) separately for the total sample as well as by sex. As before, the results provided no evidence of a moderation effect for either supportive parenting or cultural socialization both in the point estimates as well in graphical examinations. Thus, it appears that regardless of the context of the parental relationship, receiving preparation for bias socialization made the males in the sample more angry and depressed. Even so, those messages did reduce the effects of anger and depression on deviant outcomes.

Table 1. Youth Experiences with Discrimination

|   | Never | Once or Twice | A Few Times | Frequently | # Discrm <sup>a</sup> | %   |
|---|-------|---------------|-------------|------------|-----------------------|-----|
| How often has someone said something insulting to you...?                                     | 36%   | 39%           | 22%         | 3%         | 0                     | 11% |
| How often has a store-owner, sales clerk...treated you in a disrespectful way...?             | 46    | 32            | 17          | 5          | 1                     | 9%  |
| How often have the police hassled you...?   | 73    | 15            | 8           | 3          | 2                     | 9%  |
| How often has someone ignored you or excluded you from some activity...?                      | 70    | 22            | 7           | 2          | 3                     | 8%  |
| How often has someone suspected you of doing something wrong...?                              | 45    | 34            | 16          | 6          | 4                     | 9%  |
| How often has someone yelled a racial slur or racial insult at you...?                        | 48    | 32            | 17          | 4          | 5                     | 9%  |
| How often has someone threatened to harm you physically...?                                   | 86    | 10            | 3           | 1          | 6                     | 9%  |
| How often have you encountered people who are surprised that you...did something really well? | 38    | 34            | 20          | 7          | 7                     | 9%  |
| How often have you been treated unfairly...?  | 52    | 31            | 15          | 3          | 8                     | 8%  |
| How often have you encountered people who didn't expect you to do well...?                    | 41    | 33            | 20          | 7          | 9                     | 9%  |
| How often has someone discouraged you from trying to achieve an important goal...?            | 63    | 23            | 12          | 2          | 10                    | 7%  |
|   |       |               |             |            | 11                    | 4%  |

<sup>a</sup> Discrimination event count: the number of different discrimination experiences reported.

Table 2. Frequency of Racial Socialization Practices, Youth Reports<sup>a</sup>

| <i>Cultural Socialization Items</i>                 | Never | 1-2 Times | 3-5 Times | 5-10 Times | 10 or more | Mean |
|---|-------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|------|
| Celebrated Cultural Holidays                        | 28%   | 38%       | 19%       | 8%         | 8%         | 2.29 |
| Talked about Important People or Events             | 16    | 35        | 26        | 12         | 11         | 2.68 |
| Taken Places Reflecting Racial Heritage             | 33    | 37        | 18        | 7          | 5          | 2.14 |
| Encouraged to Read Books about Heritage             | 19    | 31        | 22        | 12         | 16         | 2.75 |
| Encouraged to Learn about History or Traditions     | 13    | 36        | 26        | 12         | 13         | 2.76 |
| <i>Preparation for Bias Items</i>                   |       |           |           |            |            |      |
| People Might Limit You                              | 29%   | 29%       | 21%       | 9%         | 13%        | 2.49 |
| People Might Treat Badly or Unfairly                | 25    | 29        | 21        | 11         | 14         | 2.61 |
| Will Have to Be Better Than Others                  | 45    | 24        | 14        | 8          | 8          | 2.12 |
| Talked about Discrimination or Prejudice            | 20    | 32        | 20        | 13         | 15         | 2.72 |
| Explained Poor Treatment on TV                      | 26    | 33        | 20        | 9          | 12         | 2.47 |
| Talked to Others about Discrimination while Present | 37    | 33        | 19        | 5          | 7          | 2.10 |

<sup>a</sup>May not sum to 100 due to rounding

Table 3. Correlation Matrix for Study Variables (n = 701).

|                                 | <i>Mean</i> | <i>S.D.</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>2</i> | <i>3</i> | <i>4</i> | <i>5</i> | <i>6</i> | <i>7</i> | <i>8</i> | <i>9</i> | <i>10</i> | <i>11</i> | <i>12</i> | <i>13</i> | <i>14</i> |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. Deviance                     | .00         | .78         | —        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |           |           |           |           |
| 2. Depression                   | -.02        | 1.00        | .23 **   | —        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |           |           |           |           |
| 3. Anger                        | -.02        | .75         | .24 **   | .57 **   | —        |          |          |          |          |          |          |           |           |           |           |           |
| 4. Discrimination               | .00         | .68         | .25 **   | .17 **   | .15 **   | —        |          |          |          |          |          |           |           |           |           |           |
| 5. Preparation for Bias         | .00         | .79         | .05      | .14 **   | .17 **   | .42 **   | —        |          |          |          |          |           |           |           |           |           |
| 6. Cultural Socialization       | .02         | .78         | -.12 **  | -.01     | -.02     | .15 **   | .45 **   | —        |          |          |          |           |           |           |           |           |
| 7. Supportive Parenting         | .00         | .57         | -.28 **  | -.16 **  | -.15 **  | -.11 **  | .04      | .22 **   | —        |          |          |           |           |           |           |           |
| 8. Delinquency <sub>W1+W2</sub> | -.02        | .84         | .47 **   | .07      | .15 **   | .24 **   | .02      | -.06     | -.21 **  | —        |          |           |           |           |           |           |
| 9. Depression <sub>W1+W2</sub>  | 6.10        | 3.74        | .18 **   | .29 **   | .24 **   | .23 **   | .08 *    | .00      | -.11 **  | .41 **   | —        |           |           |           |           |           |
| 10. Anger <sub>W1+W2</sub>      | -.03        | .83         | .23 **   | .21 **   | .31 **   | .18 **   | .09 *    | -.04     | -.16 **  | .46 **   | .62 **   | —         |           |           |           |           |
| 11. Female                      | .54         | .50         | -.16 **  | .19 **   | .13 **   | .01      | .05      | .02      | .00      | -.17 **  | .03      | -.01      | —         |           |           |           |
| 12. Georgia                     | .51         | .50         | -.07     | .03      | .00      | -.28 **  | -.09 *   | .02      | .07 *    | -.23 **  | -.21 **  | -.25 **   | -.01      | —         |           |           |
| 13. Z-Age                       | -.03        | 1.00        | .26 **   | -.05     | -.04     | .08 *    | -.01     | -.15 **  | -.04     | .15 **   | .00      | .10 **    | .01       | -.14 **   | —         |           |
| 14. PC Age                      | 41.76       | 7.85        | -.06     | .03      | .08 *    | .04      | .01      | .02      | .04      | -.04     | -.04     | -.07      | .05       | -.01      | .05       | —         |
| 15. Household Income            | 28631       | 24855       | -.07     | .01      | .00      | .03      | .10 **   | .04      | .00      | -.06     | .00      | .00       | .03       | -.08 *    | .02       | .05       |

\*\*p≤.01; \*p≤.05



Table 4. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlation Matrix for Study Variables by Sex

|                                 | Mean              | S.D.  | 1       | 2      | 3       | 4       | 5      | 6       | 7       | 8       | 9       | 10      | 11      | 12      | 13    | 14     | Mean  | S.D.  |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|-------|---------|--------|---------|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-------|--------|-------|-------|
| 1. Deviance                     | .14 <sup>M</sup>  | .80   | —       | .32 ** | .33 **  | .18 **  | .00    | -.10 *  | -.30 ** | .48 **  | .24 **  | .29 **  | -.21 ** | .25 **  | -.04  | -.04   | -.12  | .75   |
| 2. Depression                   | -.23 <sup>F</sup> | .89   | .20 **  | —      | .53 **  | .17 **  | .07    | -.06    | -.20 ** | .14 **  | .35 **  | .27 **  | -.05    | -.01    | .07   | .01    | .16   | 1.05  |
| 3. Anger                        | -.13 <sup>F</sup> | .72   | .21 **  | .60 ** | —       | .14 **  | .11 *  | -.03    | -.15 ** | .21 **  | .24 **  | .32 **  | -.09    | -.04    | .13 * | .01    | .07   | .76   |
| 4. Discrimination               | -.01              | .71   | .32 **  | .16 ** | .17 **  | —       | .47 ** | .17 **  | -.11 *  | .20 **  | .20 **  | .17 **  | -.30 ** | .06     | .03   | .07    | .00   | .65   |
| 5. Preparation for Bias         | -.04              | .81   | .12 *   | .22 ** | .22 **  | .37 **  | —      | .44 **  | .04     | .04     | .11 *   | .12 *   | -.10 *  | -.07    | .08   | .14 ** | .04   | .77   |
| 6. Cultural Socialization       | -.01              | .74   | -.12 *  | .04    | -.01    | .13 *   | .46 ** | —       | .27 **  | -.04    | -.05    | -.04    | .11 *   | -.13 *  | .06   | .03    | .03   | .81   |
| 7. Supportive Parenting         | .01               | .53   | -.26 ** | -.10   | -.16 ** | -.12 *  | .03    | .16 **  | —       | -.15 ** | -.12 *  | -.14 ** | .15 **  | -.01    | .05   | -.06   | .01   | .60   |
| 8. Delinquency <sub>W1+W2</sub> | .14 <sup>M</sup>  | .91   | .43 **  | .06    | .13 *   | .28 **  | .02    | -.07    | -.29 ** | —       | .44 **  | .49 **  | -.28 ** | .22 **  | -.01  | -.01   | -.16  | .76   |
| 9. Depression <sub>W1+W2</sub>  | 5.97              | 3.60  | .12 *   | .20 ** | .23 **  | .26 **  | .03    | .06     | -.09    | .41 **  | —       | .63 **  | -.20 ** | .05     | -.02  | .01    | 6.21  | 3.86  |
| 10. Anger <sub>W1+W2</sub>      | -.02              | .81   | .22 **  | .14 *  | .30 **  | .20 **  | .05    | -.04    | -.18 ** | .44 **  | .61 **  | —       | -.27 ** | .14 **  | -.07  | -.05   | -.03  | .84   |
| 12. Georgia                     | .51               | .50   | .08     | .14 *  | .10     | -.26 ** | .07    | -.08    | -.02    | -.18 ** | -.23 ** | -.22 ** | —       | -.13 ** | .02   | -.10 * | .51   | .50   |
| 13. Age (months) <sup>a</sup>   | 194.0             | 8.81  | .28 **  | -.12 * | -.06    | .10     | .04    | -.17 ** | -.07    | .10     | -.06    | .06     | -.14 *  | —       | .05   | -.01   | 194.3 | 8.27  |
| 14. Caregiver Age <sup>a</sup>  | 41.36             | 7.34  | -.07    | -.04   | -.02    | .04     | .09    | -.05    | .01     | -.05    | -.06    | -.07    | -.06    | .04     | —     | .04    | 42.11 | 8.24  |
| 15. Household Income            | 27760             | 24202 | -.10    | .00    | -.01    | -.02    | .05    | .06     | .07     | -.10    | -.01    | .06     | -.05    | .05     | .07   | —      | 29377 | 25410 |

NOTES: Correlations for females displayed above the diagonal (n = 386); correlations for males listed below the diagonal (n=326).

<sup>a</sup>Means prior to standardizing.

<sup>M</sup> indicates mean for males is significantly greater than that for females

<sup>F</sup> indicates mean for females is significantly greater than that for males.

\*\*p≤.01; \*p≤.05

Table 5

Tobit Models Examining the Moderating Effects of Racial Socialization on the Link between Discrimination and Negative Emotions

| <i>Model</i>                             | <i>1</i>         | <i>2</i> | <i>3</i>         | <i>4</i> | Females | Males   |
|--|------------------|----------|------------------|----------|---------|---------|
| <i>Independent Variables</i>             | $\beta$          | $\beta$  | $\beta$          | $\beta$  | $\beta$ | $\beta$ |
| Discrimination.....                      | .08 <sup>†</sup> | .08 *    | .08 <sup>†</sup> | .08 **   | .12 *   | .08     |
| Supportive Parenting.....                | -.10 **          | -.10 **  | -.10 **          | -.10 **  | -.13 ** | -.06    |
| Preparation for Bias.....                | .17 **           | .17 **   | .17 **           | .17 **   | .01     | .31 **  |
| Cultural Socialization.....              | -.10 **          | -.10 *   | -.10 **          | -.10 **  | -.06    | -.13 *  |
| Negative Emotions <sub>W1+W2</sub> ..... | .32 **           | .32 **   | .32 **           | .32 **   | .38 **  | .27 **  |
| Female.....                              | .17 **           | .17 **   | .17 **           | .17 **   |         |         |
| Georgia.....                             | .15 **           | .15 **   | .15 **           | .15 **   | .06     | .25 **  |
| Age.....                                 | -.07 *           | -.07 *   | -.07 *           | -.07 *   | -.08    | -.09    |
| PC Age.....                              | .08 *            | .08 *    | .08 *            | .08 *    | .14 *   | .02     |
| Discrm. X Preparation for Bias.....      |                  | -.02     |                  | -.02     | -.06    | .01     |
| Discrm. X Cultural Socialization.....    |                  |          | .00              | .01      | .02     | -.02    |
| McFadden's R <sup>2</sup>                | .08              | .08      | .09              | .08      | .09     | .09     |
| McKelvey & Zavoina's R <sup>2</sup>      | .21              | .21      | .21              | .21      | .22     | .22     |
| Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup>                | .22              | .22      | .22              | .22      | .23     | .23     |
| N  | 701              | 701      | 701              | 701      | 380     | 321     |

Notes: \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$  (two-tailed); <sup>†</sup> $p < .05$ , <sup>‡</sup> $p < .10$  (one-tailed, for hypothesized relationships)

Table 6

Tobit Models Examining the Moderating Effects of Racial Socialization on the Link between Discrimination and Deviance

| <i>Model</i>                           | 1       | 2       | 3       | 4       | Females | Males   |
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
|  | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ |
| Discrimination.....                    | .11 **  | .13 **  | .11 **  | .13 **  | .05     | .22 **  |
| Negative Emotions.....                 | .26 **  | .26 **  | .26 **  | .26 **  | .30 **  | .16 **  |
| Supportive Parenting.....              | -.14 ** | -.15 ** | -.14 ** | -.14 ** | -.18 ** | -.09 *  |
| Preparation for Bias.....              | .01     | .02     | .01     | .02     | -.02    | .05     |
| Cultural Socialization.....            | -.07 *  | -.07 *  | -.07 *  | -.07 *  | -.04    | -.09 †  |
| Delinquency <sub>W1+W2</sub> .....     | .32 **  | .31 **  | .32 **  | .31 **  | .39 **  | .29 **  |
| Female.....                            | -.16 ** | -.16 ** | -.16 ** | -.16 ** |         |         |
| Georgia.....                           | .08 *   | .08 *   | .08 *   | .08 **  | -.03    | .23 **  |
| Age.....                               | .21 **  | .21 **  | .21 **  | .21 **  | .15 **  | .26 **  |
| PC Age.....                            | -.07 *  | -.06 *  | -.07 *  | -.06 *  | -.05    | -.08    |
| Discrm. X Preparation for Bias.....    |         | -.05    |         | -.07 *  | -.06    | -.06 ‡  |
| Discrim. X Cultural Socialization..... |         |         | .02     | .05     | .02     | .08     |
| McFadden's R <sup>2</sup>              | .19     | .19     | .19     | .19     | .21     | .19     |
| McKelvey & Zavoina's R <sup>2</sup>    | .38     | .38     | .38     | .39     | .41     | .38     |
| Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup>              | .41     | .41     | .41     | .41     | .44     | .41     |
| N                                      | 701     | 701     | 701     | 701     | 380     | 321     |

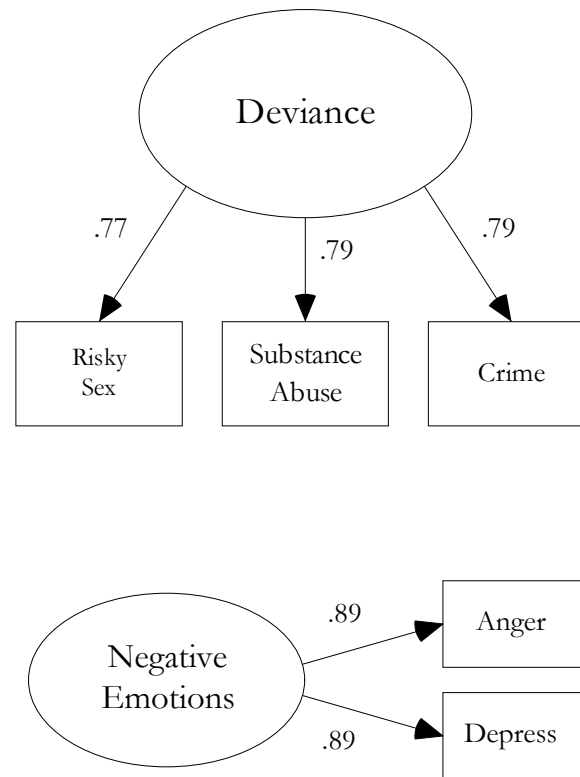
Notes: \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$  (two-tailed); † $p < .05$ , ‡ $p < .10$  (one-tailed, for hypothesized relationships)

Table 7

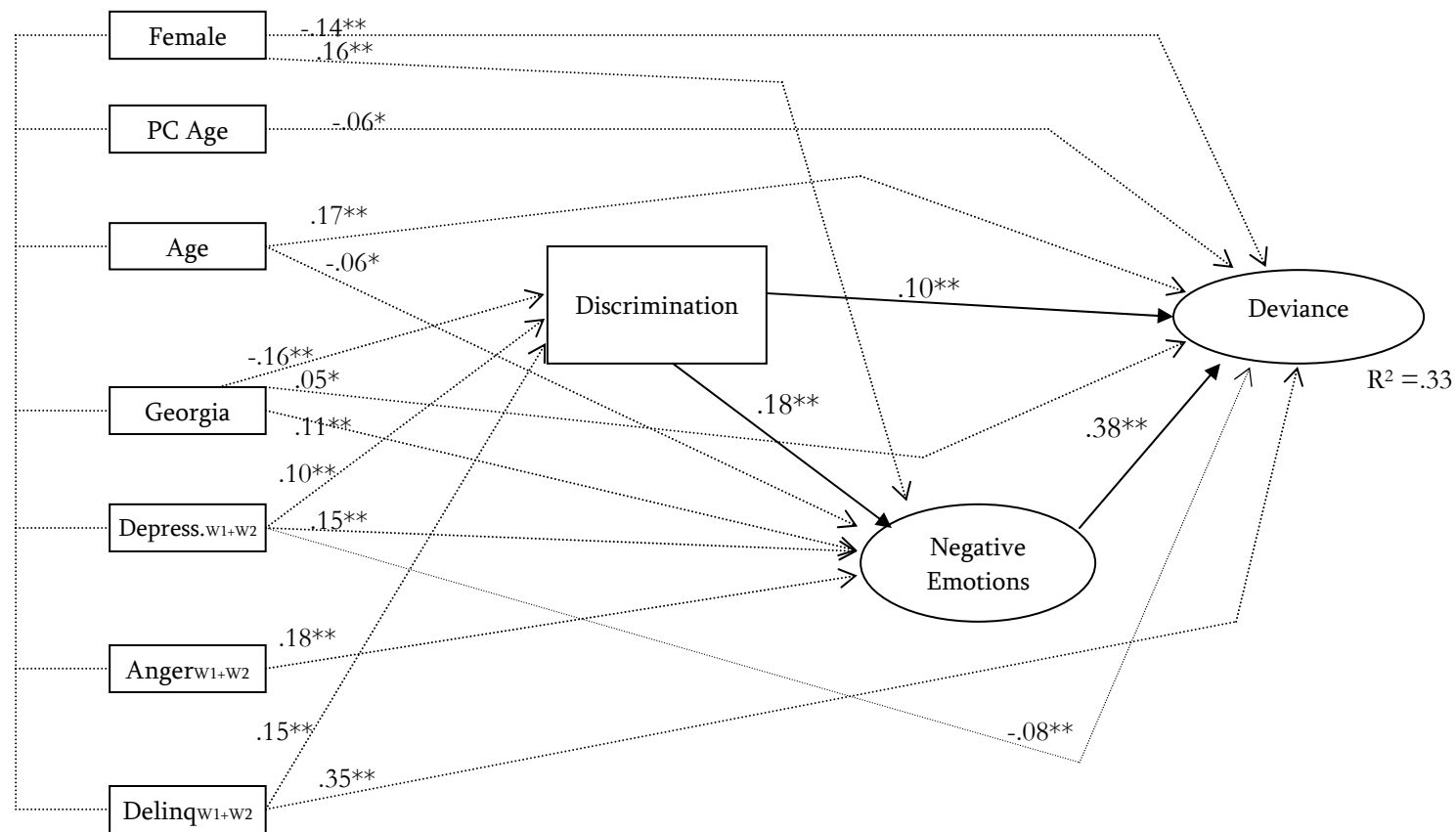
Tobit Models Examining the Moderating Effects of Racial Socialization on the Link between Negative Emotions and Deviance

| <i>Model</i>                        | 1       | 2       | 3       | 4       | Females | Males   |
|-------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| <i>Independent Variables</i>        | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ |
| Discrimination.....                 | .11 **  | .12 **  | .11 **  | .12 **  | .03     | .22 **  |
| Negative Emotions.....              | .26 **  | .26 **  | .16 **  | .26 **  | .31 **  | .16 **  |
| Supportive Parenting.....           | -.14 ** | -.15 ** | -.14 ** | -.15 ** | -.18 ** | -.10 *  |
| Preparation for Bias.....           | .01     | .02     | .01     | .02     | .01     | .03     |
| Cultural Socialization.....         | -.07 *  | -.07 *  | -.07 †  | -.07 †  | -.05    | -.07    |
| Delinquency <sub>W1+W2</sub> .....  | .32 **  | .31 **  | .32 **  | .31 **  | .34 **  | .29 **  |
| Female.....                         | -.16 ** | -.16 ** | -.16 ** | -.16 ** |         |         |
| Georgia.....                        | .08 *   | .08 *   | .08 *   | .08 **  | -.03    | .23 **  |
| Age.....                            | .21 **  | .21 **  | .21 **  | .21 **  | .16 **  | .26 **  |
| PC Age.....                         | -.07 *  | -.06 *  | -.07 *  | -.07 *  | -.07    | -.09    |
| N.E. X Preparation for Bias.....    |         | -.08 *  |         | -.11 ** | -.13 ** | -.09 †  |
| N.E. X Cultural Socialization.....  |         |         | .03     | .08 *   | .12 *   | .04     |
| McFadden's R <sup>2</sup>           | .19     | .19     | .19     | .19     | .22     | .18     |
| McKelvey & Zavoina's R <sup>2</sup> | .38     | .39     | .38     | .39     | .43     | .38     |
| Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup>           | .41     | .41     | .41     | .42     | .45     | .41     |
| N                                   | 701     | 701     | 701     | 701     | 380     | 321     |

Notes: \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$  (two-tailed); † $p < .05$ , ‡ $p < .10$  (one-tailed, for hypothesized relationships)



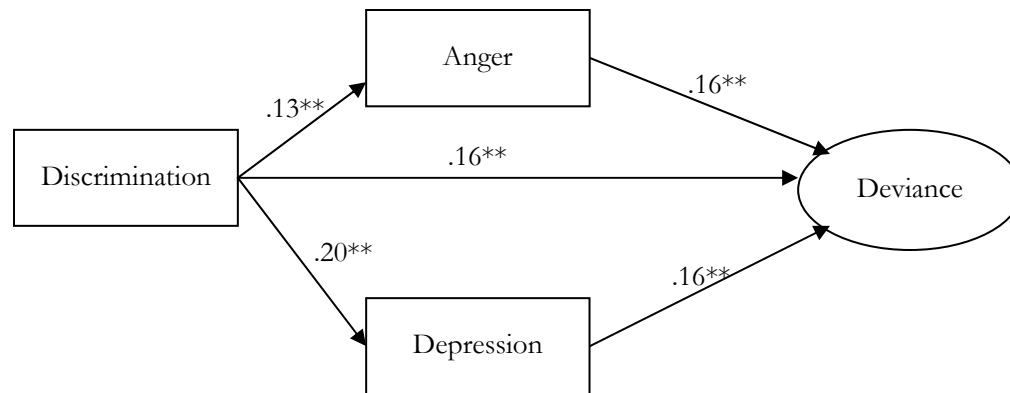
**Figure 2.** Confirmatory Factor Analyses: Standardized Weights.  $n = 715$



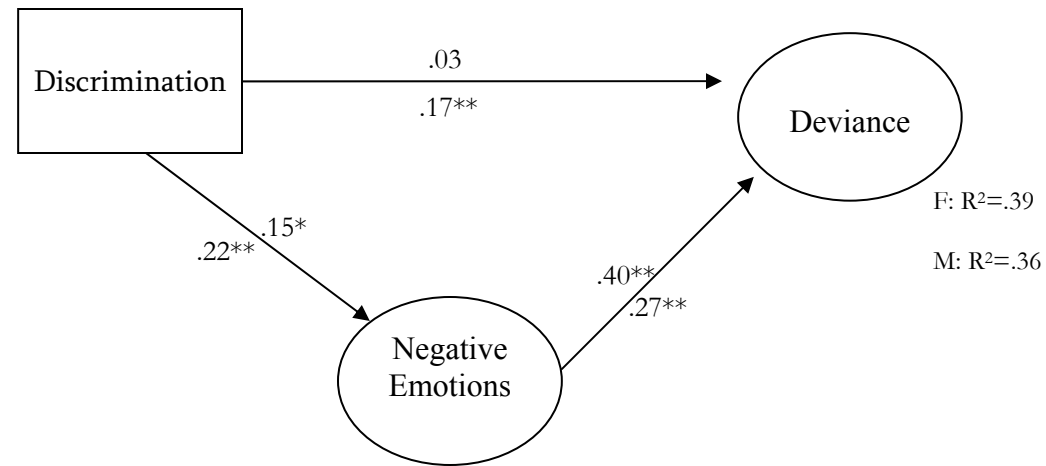
**Figure 3.** Structural model of discrimination, negative emotions, and deviance, with censored factor indicators and robust standard errors. Standardized coefficients displayed.

$n = 715$ . BIC = 23558.7 AIC = 23339.2

$^{**}p < .001$ ;  $^{*}p < .05$  (two-tailed tests)

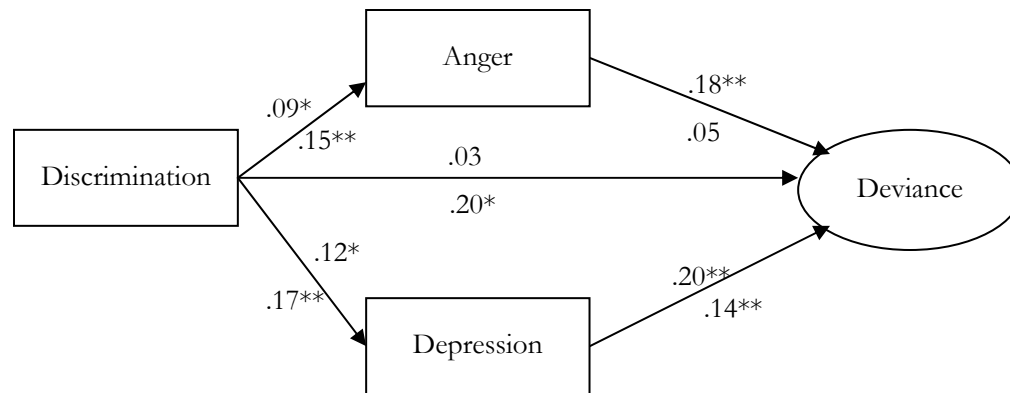


**Figure 4.** Structural model of discrimination and deviance with anger and depression as manifest variables. Standardized results shown ( $n = 715$ ). Although not shown, all of the variables in the full model are included.

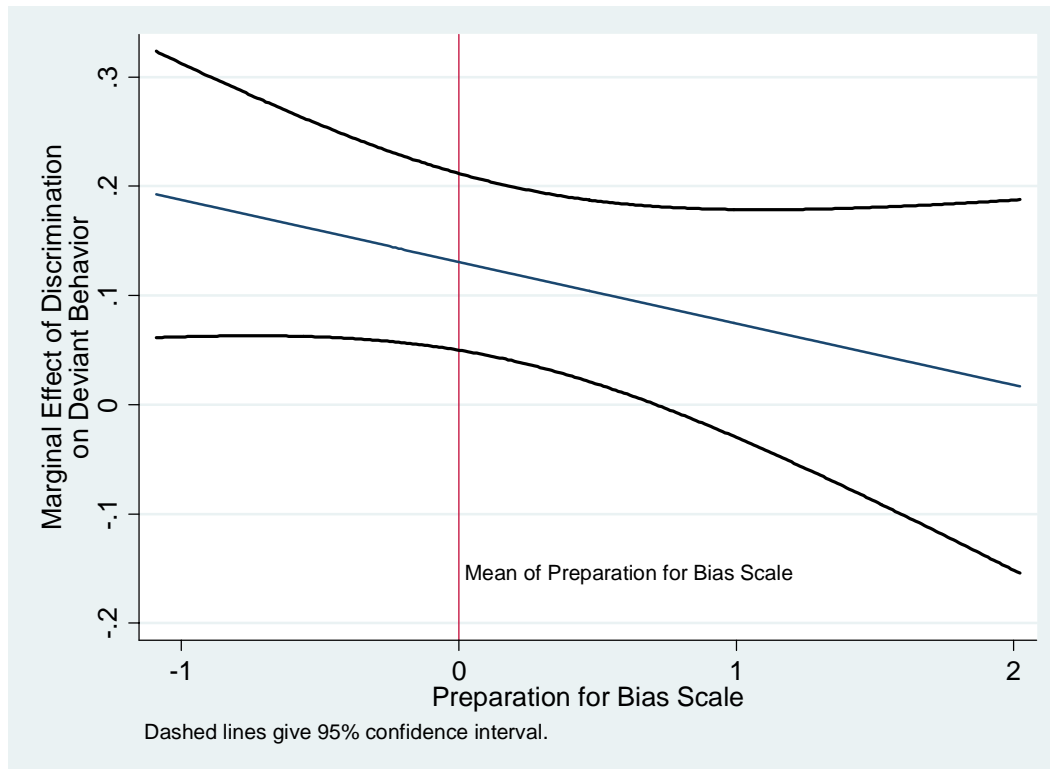


**Figure 5.** Structural model of discrimination, negative emotions, and deviance by sex of respondent. Results for females displayed above the line ( $n=386$ ); results for males presented below the line ( $n=328$ ). Although not shown, all of the variables in the full model are included excepting sex.  $^{**}p < .01$ ;  $^*p < .05$  (two-tailed tests).

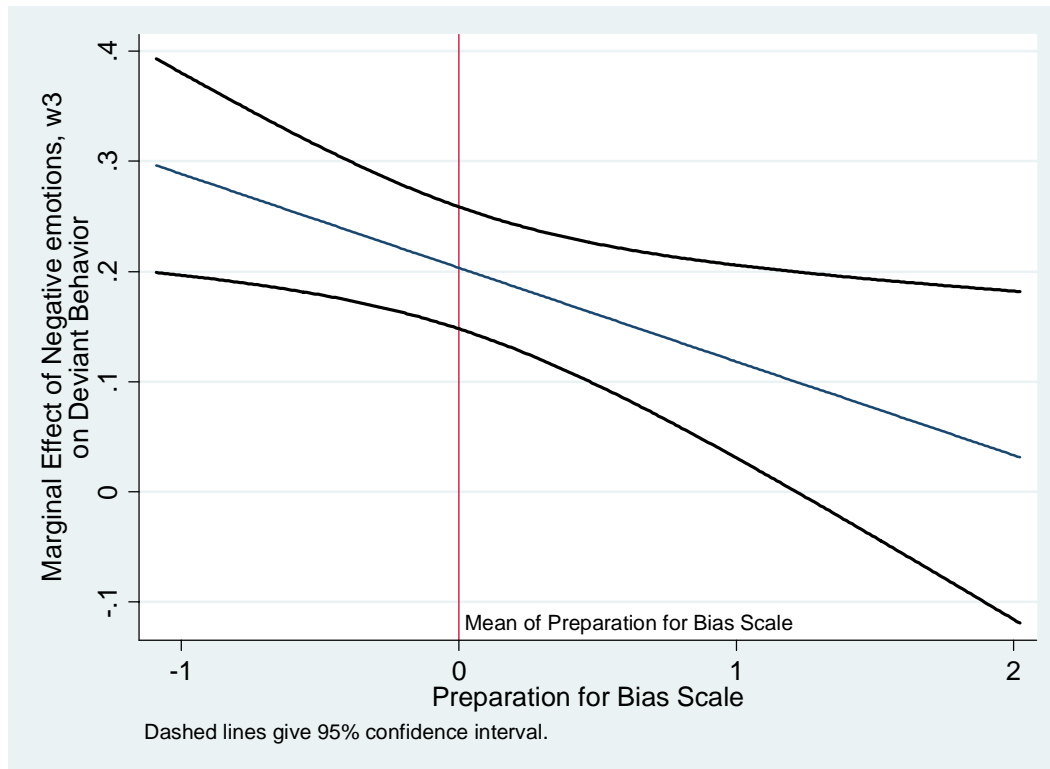




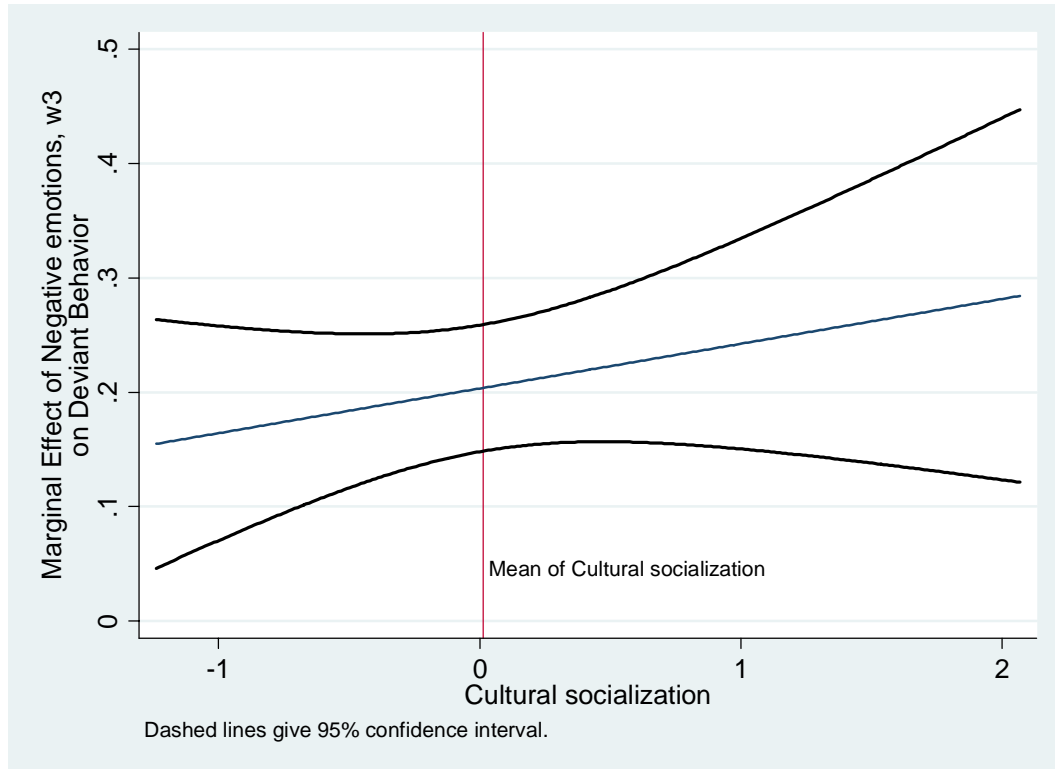
**Figure 6.** Structural model of discrimination and deviance with anger and depression as manifest variables. Standardized results shown. Values above the line represent results for females (n=386); values below the line represent male results, (n = 328). Although not shown, all of the variables in the full model are included, excepting sex.



**Figure 7.** Graph Depicting the Marginal Effect of Discrimination on Deviance across Levels of Preparation for Bias (based on Model 4 of Table 6,  $n = 701$ ).

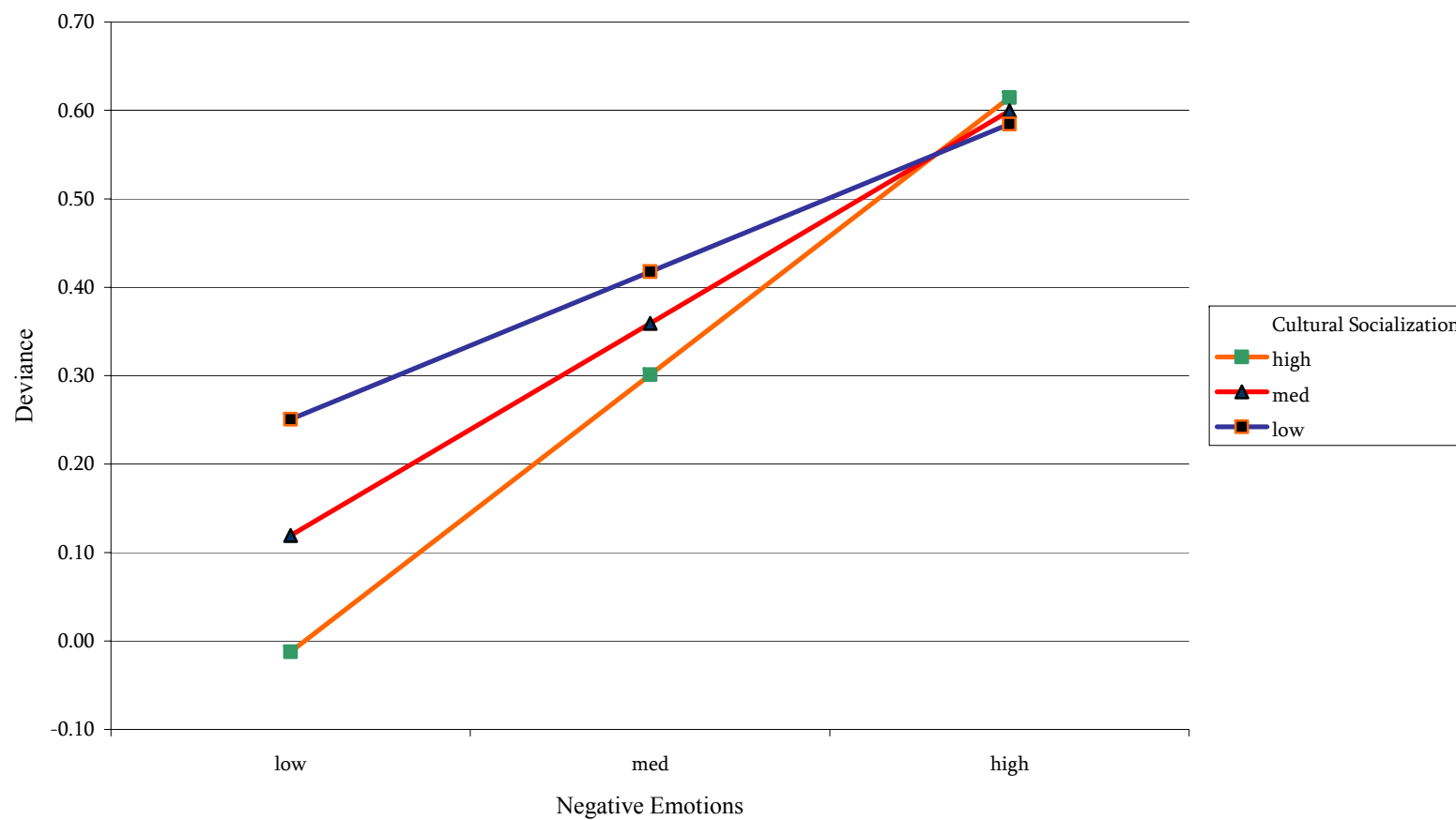


**Figure 8.** Graph Depicting the Marginal Effect of Negative Emotions on Deviance across Levels of Preparation for Bias (based on Model 4 of Table 7,  $n = 701$ ).



**Figure 9.** Graph Depicting the Marginal Effect of Negative Emotions on Deviance across Levels of Cultural Socialization (based on Model 4 of Table 7,  $n = 701$ ).

Figure 10. Graph depicting the Effect of Negative Emotions on Deviance Among Individuals Low, Medium, and High in Cultural Socialization (Based on Model 4 of Table 7, n=701)



## CHAPTER 8

## DISCUSSION

The primary aim of the sociology of stress is to examine the impact of stressful social arrangements on social behavior. The sociological study of stress can illuminate connections between social organization and patterned differences in behavior in social groups. Pearlin notes (1989:242) that “the structural contexts of peoples’ lives are not extraneous to the stress process but are fundamental to that process.” Social locations shape patterns of stress.

Despite the arguments made by some that we have reached an era of racial-blindness,<sup>34</sup> race continues to be a dominate site of stratification. Although there is evidence of liberalizing trends in whites’ racial attitudes over the past fifty years (Tuch & Martin 1997; Schumann et al. 1997), sociological research indicates that white racism remains a feature of American life such that substantial numbers of minority group members continue to experience various forms of racism and discrimination (Feagin & Sikes 1994; Kessler et. al.1999; Sigelman & Welch 1991; Yen et al. 1999).

Thus, the racial organization of society imposes stress on minority groups in the form of racial discrimination. This reality is evidenced by a burgeoning social scientific literature showing that perceived racial discrimination is an acute and chronic stressor linked to psychological distress as well as physical and mental health problems among minority groups (Amaro, Russo, & Johnson

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<sup>34</sup> The achievements of a select group of African Americans in a variety of domains is frequently used as ammunition to suggest that discrimination is dead (e.g., in politics President Barak Obama; in the military General Colin Powell; and in business Oprah Winfrey). Such examples are drawn upon to argue that being Black does not prevent one from achieving even the greatest successes; thus, racial discrimination is a thing of the past. These arguments are flawed in a number of respects, but most obviously the fact demonstrating that racial discrimination does not *prevent* certain outcomes is not evidence that unequal, disparaging treatment and the like makes such outcomes highly unlikely because of systematic obstacles and attitudinal barriers. For example, while the highest office in the land may be held by a biracial man (President Obama is half African American, half Caucasian) at present only one U.S. Senator is African American, despite the fact this group constitutes approximately 13% of the population. Moreover, only 3 African Americans have been elected to the Senate since Reconstruction (Freedman & Jones 2007).

1987; Finch, Kolody, & Vega 2000; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams 1999; Krieger 1999, 1990; Krieger & Sidney 1996; Noh et al. 1999; Ren, Amick, & Williams 1999; Schulz et al. 2000; Williams et al. 2000). More recently, researchers have begun to examine the effects of racial discrimination on behavioral outcomes among minority groups, including crime (e.g., DuBois et al. 2002), substance use (Bennett, Wolin, Robinson, Fowler, & Edwards 2005; Martin, Tuch, & Roman 2003), and risky sex (Yoshikawa, Wilson, Chae, & Cheng), building on strain theory arguments that youth may act out as a way to cope with stressful racial experiences (e.g., Agnew 2001). In particular, several researchers have focused on the link between discrimination and deviance among African American youth, a trend some argue is long overdue given the patterned differences in these behaviors between Blacks and whites (e.g., Simons et al. 2006; Unnever et al. *forthcoming*). This research demonstrates that self-reported experiences with racial discrimination are associated with increased violence (Caldwell et al. 2004; Dubois et al. 2002; Simons et al. 2006), substance use (Gibbons et al. 2004; Guthrie, Young, Williams, Boyd, & Kitner 2002), and general crime/delinquency (Brody et al. 2006; Simons et al. 2003).

Based on theoretical and empirical research, I first examined the relationship between discrimination, distress (in the form of negative emotions), and deviance. Building on previous work, (e.g., Simons et al. 2003; 2006), I hypothesized that discrimination generates negative emotional distress, which in turn is associated with increased deviance. This relationship was tested controlling earlier negative emotions and delinquency. Furthermore, and consonant with extant research linking racial discrimination to deviance through other emotional and cognitive mediators (e.g., Nyborg & Curry; Simons et al. 2003, 2006; Simons & Burt, *in preparation*), I hypothesized that discrimination would continue to have a direct effect on deviance after controlling for the indirect effect through negative emotions. I expected that discrimination would have a direct effect on deviance due to the many other emotional and cognitive mediators that may stimulate deviant

responses to discrimination. For example, experiences with discrimination may shape cognitions and social schemas relevant to deviance, including hostile views of relationships (Simons et al. 2006), views about the utility of task persistence and delaying gratification (Yasui & Dishion 2007); or sense of control (Lambert, Herman, Bynum, & Iaolongo 2009).

When examining group differences in stressors and behavioral outcomes, it is important to recognize and explore not only differences in exposure to stressors but also cultural adaptations to stressful social arrangements. Just as structure shapes stress, it might also shape social resilience. After all, deviant responses to discrimination are avoided by the majority of African Americans in response to most instances of discrimination. Toward this end, the present study sought to more accurately explain the link between discrimination and deviance by examining the effect of a culturally-specific socialization practice theorized to provide resilience against discrimination. Drawing on theory and research conducted on African American families over the past 20 years, I hypothesized that caregivers' racial socialization, their transmission of messages about race to their children, would buffer and/or compensate for the deviance-fomenting effects of discrimination among African American youth. Specifically, I proposed that caregiver preparation for bias and cultural socialization would inhibit deviant responses to racial discrimination. These hypotheses are undergirded by research findings that racial socialization practices buffer and/or compensate for the effects of discrimination on lower self-esteem, psychological distress, and poorer academic outcomes (Bynum et al. 2007; Fischer & Shaw 1999; Harris-Britt et al. 2007). Past research has established that supportive parenting decrease youth's involvement in deviance (e.g., Simons, Simons, & Wallace 2004) directly, buffer the effects of discrimination on deviance (Simons et al. 2006), and are related to racial socialization practices (Frabutt et al. 2002; Smalls 2009). Hence, I controlled for the effects of this variable when examining the influence of racial socialization practices.



These hypotheses were tested with a longitudinal sample of approximately 700 African American youths ages 15-17 in the third and focal wave of the FACHS study, controlling for past states and behaviors from the first two waves when the youths were 10-12 and 12-14. Although the data certainly have some limitations (discussed below), the age of the sample, the wealth of comprehensive measures, and the multiple waves of data allow for a thorough examination of the hypotheses. Several important findings emerged from the analyses, and they are discussed below. This is followed by a consideration of what the findings suggest about the effects of racial socialization on the link between discrimination and deviance and avenues for future research.

#### EXPERIENCES WITH DISCRIMINATION

Consistent with past research, racial discrimination was pervasive feature in the lives of the Black adolescents in the study. The overwhelming majority of the youth reported experiencing discrimination in the past year. Moreover, while scholars have argued that discrimination has become more subtle and covert (e.g., Essed 1991; Feagin & Sikes 1994), the finding that the most common experience with discrimination is being insulted indicates that at least some blatant acts of racism continue to occur on a regular basis. Additionally, even though experiencing racist physical threats was the least common discrimination item, nearly 1 in 7 respondents were threatened with physical harm because of their race in the past 12 months. While the discrimination experiences of African American adolescents may be dominated by everyday “microaggressions” that come in the form of slights, the prevalence of physical threats is nontrivial. Although out of the scope of the present study, future research should dissect the effects of the different forms of discrimination on distress and behavioral outcomes. It is not a stretch to expect that experiencing a racist physical threat may produce a divergent behavioral response than being ignored because of one’s race.

Notably, the frequency of discrimination did not covary with household income or sex. Although some research on Black adults finds sex differences in discrimination, such that males

report more frequent experiences with discrimination (Bobo & Suh, 1995; Forman et al. 1997; Kessler et al. 1999), this finding of equal experiences by sex is consonant with recent research on Black adolescents (e.g., Caldwell et. al. 2004; Gaylord-Harden & Cunningham 2009; Sellers et al. 2006). Thus the current findings combined with those of other studies suggest that insofar as sex differences in racial discrimination exist, these differences do not emerge until after mid-adolescence.<sup>35,36</sup> Despite the small age range, older youths reported significantly more experiences of discrimination than younger youths.

#### EXPERIENCES WITH RACIAL SOCIALIZATION

Next, this study examined the incidence and prevalence of racial socialization. Although the frequency of various practices varied across the respondents, racial socialization was virtually ubiquitous. More than 99% of respondents indicated that their caregivers engaged in at least one of the racial socialization practices assessed. Some researchers have theorized about sex/gender differences in racial socialization messages because parents anticipate the different racial experiences that males and females will face. For example, Hughes and colleagues (2009) posited that girls may be more likely to receive cultural socialization while boys will be given more messages about bias preparation. No sex difference in racial socialization was observed in the present study.

Turning to the specific content of the messages, cultural socialization was slightly more common than preparation for bias. More than 96% of the youths reported that adults in their families transmitted messages about Black history and heritage and promoted Black pride. This high

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<sup>35</sup> This interpretation is consistent with the observed sex differences by age among the study participants. At age 14, females' mean level of discrimination is greater than males' mean level (.07 to -.03, difference=.10); this difference declines to .02 and .04 at ages 15 and 16, respectively, but at age 17 males reported significantly higher mean levels of discrimination than females (.25 for males, and .10 for females, difference=.15). Although these differences are not statistically significant, the pattern of findings is interesting.

<sup>36</sup> It is also worth noting that when females experience an unfair event, they may attribute the discrimination to be due to their race or sex. It is likely that adult females are more attuned to sex/gender discrimination than younger females. Thus, in instances of discrimination when the source of discrimination is ambiguous, older females may be more likely than younger females to attribute the cause to sex discrimination than racial discrimination.

prevalence rate is consonant with existing studies, which find that most African American parents report engaging in cultural socialization practices at some point with their children (e.g., Caughy et al. 2002; Hughes 2003; Hughes & Chen 1997, 1999). The frequency of cultural socialization was also high. Although the modal response to the items was 1-2 times, approximately 26% of the youths reported that adults in their family engaged in at least one of the items “frequently.” Thus, at least among the African American youths in the present study, caregivers’ communications to youths about their racial/ethnic heritage are common occurrences.

Again despite the limited age range of the sample, older youths reported receiving significantly fewer cultural socialization messages than their younger counterparts. This age difference is consistent with research suggesting that racial socialization messages peak in mid-adolescence (e.g., Hughes et al. 2006). Both differential exposure to caregivers as a function of age as well as the different developmental stages of these youths are possible explanations for this finding. Compared with youth who are 14 and 15, 16 and 17-year-olds are invariably provided with more freedom and, thus, usually spend less time in the company of adults in their families. From this perspective even if the proportion of time adults spent with their youths in which they engage in cultural socialization remained constant, the overall frequency of this activity would decrease. The second explanation, which is not an alternative to the first, implies that due to developmental reasons (e.g., exposure to different racial groups or experiences, formation of racial identity) African American caregivers’ cultural socialization practices are age-graded. That is, Black caregivers are attuned to the developmental needs of their children and engage in parenting practices designed to meet those needs. Parents of young children who lack the cognitive ability to understand race as a social category would have less success in instilling in their children messages about racial heritage and pride. Children’s maturation, including the development of the ability to reflect on their own racial status, may prompt caregivers to initiate discussions about race. The “ideal” time for

discussions about race and ethnicity may be the early teenage years. Perhaps youth are mature enough at this age to understand and internalize messages about race but remain open to caregivers' communications and teachings about their racial heritage and ways to deal with discrimination. Still another possibility is that caregivers are responding to youths' interest in and questions about their racial/ethnic culture (Hughes & Johnson 2001). Future research might explore the developmental nature of cultural socialization in more detail, especially focusing on the onset of cultural socialization and temporal distribution of the practice.

Preparation for bias was also quite prevalent; only 47 respondents (6.5%) indicated that the adults in their family did not engage in any of the six preparation for bias acts assessed in the current study. This prevalence rate is consistent with estimates from other studies, where percentages of families engaging in the practice range from 67% to 90% (Caughy et al. 2002; Coard et al. 2004; Hughes 2003; Hughes and Chen 1997; 1999). There was no significant age difference in preparation for bias; however, household income (an indicator of SES) was related to higher levels of bias preparation. This finding is consistent with the idea that African Americans from different class backgrounds have different racial experiences and different ideas about race and that caregivers' racial socialization strategies are based on experiential wisdom. For example, research finds that higher SES Blacks report experiencing more prejudice and discrimination than their lower SES counterparts (Williams 1999). Several other studies found that higher SES African American parents report more preparation for bias than do their lower SES counterparts (e.g., Caughy et al. 2002; Hughes & Chen 1997; McHale et al. 2006).<sup>37</sup>

## DISCRIMINATION AND DEVIANCE

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<sup>37</sup> A few studies have found a curvilinear relationship between SES and racial socialization, with middle-SES Blacks reporting more racial socialization than their higher or lower SES counterparts (see Hughes et al. 2006).

Replicating previous work, the present study confirmed a relationship between experiences of discrimination and negative emotional distress. Controlling for previous negative emotions, perceived discrimination had a strong, significant effect on increased negative emotions, indicated by anger and depression. This finding is consistent with the large and growing body of research demonstrating that racial discrimination is a potent stressor leading to a broad range of distressing effects (e.g., Brown et al. 2000; Williams et al. 2003). These negative emotions, as hypothesized, were strongly related to deviant behavior. Consistent with GST, analyses confirmed that the indirect effect of racial discrimination on deviance through negative emotions was significant and positive. Thus, a significant way that discrimination increases deviance is through negative emotional distress. Experiencing discrimination foments anger and depression, which in turn increase deviance.

As predicted, however, discrimination continued to have a direct effect on delinquency. Interestingly, this direct effect was larger in magnitude than the indirect effect through negative emotions. This is not surprising given that there are many other possible mediating mechanisms linking discrimination to deviance. These include other negative emotions, such as frustration, anxiety, and fear, as well as cognitive schemas and motivations that might influence the likelihood of deviant responses. Examples of the latter include hostile views of relationships, perceived unjustness of the social system and the legitimacy of system rules and norms (Cloward & Ohlin 1960), views about toughness/aggression (e.g., code of the street; Anderson 1999), and beliefs about the utility of delaying gratification (e.g., Hauser 2006; Wilson & Daly 1997). Consistent with these ideas, Simons and Burt (*in preparation*) find that the effect of discrimination on crime is completely mediated by a “criminogenic knowledge structure,” which is composed of four different cognitive schemas—immediate gratification, hostile views of relationships, beliefs about toughness/aggression, and commitment to social conventions. Drawing on GST, the present study focused on negative emotions as evidence of distress; however, it is important that future studies

incorporate these cognitive schemas as mediators between discrimination and deviance, and examine whether negative emotions contribute independently to deviance, or whether they are consequences or even antecedents of cognitive schemas that make deviance in response to discrimination more or less likely.

#### RACIAL SOCIALIZATION MATTERS

An emerging literature has established racial socialization as an important dynamic in African American families (Hughes et al. 2006). Building on this burgeoning literature and consistent with research on youth resilience, I found that both preparation for bias and cultural socialization contribute to resilience among African American youths. The results, however, are slightly more complicated than those hypothesized and are discussed below.

##### *Preparation for Bias*

Consistent with the hypotheses, preparation for bias attenuated the direct effect of discrimination on deviance as well as the effect of negative emotions on deviance. Both of these moderation effects were linear such that youths with higher levels of bias preparation were less likely to respond to discrimination and negative emotions with deviance regardless of the level of discrimination. This suggests that youths whose parents warn them about the unfair treatment they may face because of their race, talk to them about such unfair treatment, and explain discriminatory treatment of others that they witness are more likely to inhibit or avoid deviant responses to discrimination than their counterparts who receive fewer messages of this kind. In the same way, youths who received more preparation for bias from adults in their families were less likely to respond to negative emotions (i.e., distress) with deviance than their counterparts. Indeed, for both interactions, among youth who received frequent warnings about and explanations for discrimination, discrimination had essentially no effect on increased deviance.

Preparation did not attenuate the effect of discrimination on negative emotions. Youth who received higher levels of preparation for bias were not less angry or depressed in response to discrimination than those who received less preparation for bias. Although this finding is inconsistent with my expectation, it is understandable. Even if one is warned about the possibility that something unfair may happen, it can still cause distress when it does. This finding does suggest that it is not only the warnings themselves that reduce the consequences of discrimination but also the concomitants to such warnings (prescriptions for coping, social support, etc).

In addition, preparation for bias did affect negative emotions directly, but not in a compensatory fashion, but rather in the direction of more, not less, distress. That is, preparation for bias increased youths' negative emotions, net of discrimination. While not expected, this finding is not enigmatic. Being told that you might be treated unfairly and insulted just because of your race is understandably distressing. The reality of white racism, and the unfairness and subjugation it implies, is angering and saddening for many who value equality and justice, but this must be especially true for those who are the group to whom the ill-will<sup>38</sup> is directed. Moreover, this distressing effect of preparation for bias does not depend on the parental context in which it is meted out. Thus, it appears that regardless of how supportive caregivers are or in how much cultural socialization they engage, being taught that people will be mistreat you because of your race is still angering and saddening.

Even so, other factors not might moderate the link between preparation for bias and negative emotions. Two additional possible moderators of this preparation for bias—distress relationship could not be explored in the present study due to the absence of measures.<sup>39</sup> It may be the case, for example, that warnings of discrimination that are accompanied by assurances that

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<sup>38</sup> I do not mean to imply that ill-will fully captures the nature of racism, and many more adjectives could be added.

<sup>39</sup> Fortunately starting in wave 4, the FACHS interview contains items that assess whether caregivers tell youth that they can overcome discrimination.

youths can overcome such obstacles or unfair treatment are less distressing. Likewise, preparation for bias accompanied by discussions that white racists are not the norm but the exception, or messages that focus on the shortcomings and faults of the racists (e.g., “They are uneducated, unhappy people who are threatened and or jealous of your success or talents”) may soften the impact of bias messages for adolescents. These ideas are somewhat speculative, but consistent with Bowman and Howard’s (1985) conjecture that the manner in which Black parents orient their children to discrimination might have a significant effect on their reactions to it. To be sure, this finding behooves scholars to conduct further research to determine what constitutes optimal preparation and awareness of racism for healthy functioning (Caldwell et al. 2004). Additional research is also needed to identify the types, timing, and accompaniments of preparation for bias to increase competencies for dealing with discrimination without damaging hope or inflicting a costly emotional burden.

### *Mediating Mechanisms*

Although out of the scope of the present study, which is focused on behavioral patterns, there are several mediating mechanisms that have been proposed to explain the buffering effect of racial socialization practices on the deleterious effects of discrimination. For one, caregiver preparation for bias may protect adolescents from internalizing the blame associated with discrimination (Smalls 2009). Rather than feeling as though discriminatory experiences are an individual problem, youths who are prepared for such discrimination can connect their own experiences to their group and avoid dealing with them as personal problems. Moreover, caregivers’ warnings to youths about negative treatment from whites (or other ethnic groups) are often associated with overcoming messages and positive challenging thoughts. Indeed, Spencer (1983) argues that communications about discrimination neutralize or invalidate the insulting and stereotypical racist messages that may otherwise be internalized and deleterious to youth’s self-concepts.



A second mechanism through which preparation for bias may reduce the effects of discrimination is through coping. Coping is defined as “the actions that people take in their own behalf as they attempt to avoid or lessen the impact of life problems” (Pearlin 1989: 250). All coping is intended to either change the situation in which the stressors arise, to manage the meaning of the situation in a way that reduces its threat, or to reduce the symptoms of stress (Pearlin & Schooler 1978). Coping strategies that are directed at the demands themselves are deemed problem-focused strategies, whereas those that are directed at the emotional reactions to the problems are called emotion-focused strategies. Theory suggests that racial socialization may affect the discrimination stress process and adjustment by virtue of its impact on the coping resources and strategies that individuals employ to deal with discriminatory experiences (Barnes 1980; Brondolo et al. 2009; Gaylord-Harden & Cunningham; Hughes et al. 2006; Phinney & Chavira 1995; Scott 2003; Spencer 1983). In other words, preparation for bias shapes the development of skills, some of which may be unique to racial discrimination, and competencies that are appropriate for coping with various racial discrimination experiences.

Although empirical evidence suggests that parents see the goal of preparation for bias to prepare their children for handling an oppressive environment, it is not actually known whether the transmission of such messages influence the use of coping strategies. Only a paucity of research has examined the coping strategies used by individuals to deal with instances of racial discrimination, and the studies that have been conducted suffer from inherent limitations due to difficulties in measuring coping responses to specific discrimination events (Brondolo et al. 2009). However, some findings are worth noting. Dion, Dion, and Pak (1992) found that a strong sense of personal control and self-esteem provide a sense of “hardiness,” which buffers the stress of discrimination. Phinney and Chavira (1995) found that African American youth who received warnings of discrimination were more likely to engage in proactive coping strategies, such as approach- or

emotion-focused coping, as opposed to avoidance strategies. Scott (2003) explored whether the strategies Black adolescents used to cope with discrimination experiences were related to their received racial socialization. His results indicated that racial socialization was related to the use of approach strategies for coping with perceived discriminatory experiences but not to the use of avoidance coping strategies. Respondents who reported receiving a high frequency of racial socialization messages were more likely to cope with discrimination experiences by telling friends or family members what happened or relying on their own personal resources and knowledge to deal with it (i.e., self-reliance/problem solving). In contrast, youth who received less racial socialization and reported higher levels of discrimination distress tended to use avoidance coping strategies.

One prominent approach coping strategy that has been discussed is social support. Defined as the presence or availability of network members who express concern, love, and care for and may provide coping assistance (Saranson, Levine, Basham, & Saranson 1983), social support is a “fund from which people may draw when handling stressors” (Thoits 1995:55). Preparation for bias might be linked to social support. Caregivers’ discussions about discrimination may be accompanied by offers of support or such support may be implied or assumed by the recipient. In particular, bias preparation may attenuate the link between discrimination and deviance in part through perceived emotional support, or “beliefs that love and caring, sympathy and understand, and/or esteem and value are available from significant others” (Thoits 1995:64). Not only does emotional support decrease distress, but research suggests that perceived emotional support is a stronger influence on mental health than the actual receipt of such support (Dunkel-Schetter & Bennett 1990; Thoits 1995; Wethington & Kessler 1986).

A function of social support that may be apposite for discrimination stress is the sense of security and connectedness promoted by a supportive social network, which can help the individual understand that discrimination is a shared experience. Group members can serve as models for

coping and adjustment (Brondolo et al. 2009); place the event in a collective context (Harrell 2000; Mellor 2004); and distract individuals from their distress (Finch & Vega 2003). Research indicates that social support seeking is a frequently utilized coping strategy following a discrimination incident (Krieger 1990; Krieger & Sidney 1996; Mellor 2004; Shorter-Gooden 2004; Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli 2000). Although the quantitative evidence is mixed (Clark 2003; McNeilly, Robinson, Anderson, Pieper, Shah, Toth et al. 1995; Noh & Kaspar 2003), two qualitative studies of the effects of social support seeking in response to racial discrimination suggest beneficial effects (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma 2003; Elligan & Utsey 1999). Analogous to general research on coping, studies on coping with discrimination are complex and inconsistent (Brondolo et al. 2009). More research is needed to gain a better understanding of the effects of various coping strategies in response to racial discrimination.

### *Cultural Socialization*

Consistent with the hypotheses, cultural socialization had a compensatory effect on negative emotions and deviance. Youths whose parents engaged in more cultural socialization were less distressed and engaged in less deviance, on average, than youths whose parents engaged in less cultural socialization. This effect was observed after controlling for discrimination, supportive parenting, negative emotions, and demographic variables. This compensatory effect is consistent with extant research showing the benefits of cultural socialization on African Americans' psychological health and distress, self-esteem, academic outcomes, internalizing, and externalizing outcomes (e.g., Bynum et al. 2007; Constantine & Blackmon 2002; Spencer et al. 2003, see Hughes 2006 for a review). The current study shows that cultural socialization is also negatively associated with deviant behaviors. These findings suggest that parental messages that emphasize racial pride

and group esteem counter the effects of disparaging messages and unfair treatment to which these youths are exposed.

In contrast to the hypothesis, cultural socialization did not reduce the effects of discrimination on negative emotions or deviance. Thus, adolescents whose caregivers discussed African American heritage, customs, and traditions did not have different patterns of distress or deviance in response to racial discrimination, with one exception. The only significant interaction effect observed with cultural socialization was in the direction of more deviance. That is, cultural socialization amplified the effect of negative emotions on increased deviance. Although this interaction was only observed after parceling out the moderational effects of preparation for bias, negative emotions were more strongly linked to deviance among youth with higher levels of cultural socialization. As discussed above, this amplification effect was not as strong as the compensatory effect of cultural socialization. In other words, although higher levels of cultural socialization increased the effects of negative emotions on deviance, the direct effect of cultural socialization had a stronger negative effect on deviance. Thus, the overall effect of cultural socialization on deviance was negative.

### *Mediating Mechanisms*

Racial identity attitudes may be an important mediating mechanism whereby cultural socialization compensates for the deleterious effects of racism (Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman 2000; Neblett et al. 2006). Indeed, it has been argued that cultural socialization practices are targeted directly towards shaping youths' racial/ethnic identities (e.g., Hughes et al. 2006, 2009). Recall, most African American youths receive cultural socialization messages and most develop positive racial identities and self-concepts despite negative messages received from society about African Americans (Spencer, Fegley, & Harpilini 2003).

Phinney and Chavira (1995) argue that the basis of resilience among racial minority groups is racial identity because positive attitudes about one's race are necessary for motivating prosocial behavior in the context of daily microaggressions and disadvantages. Others have argued that a strong sense of identification with one's racial group is beneficial because it provides a sense of belonging and support (Mossokowski 2003). A growing body of evidence demonstrates the importance of a salient racial identity as a psychosocial protector against psychological distress and deviant behaviors (Belgrave, Cherry, Cunningham, Walwyn, Latlaka-Rennert & Phillips 1994; Brook Balka, Brook, Win, & Gursen; Caldwell, Zimmerman, Bernat, Sellers, & Notaro 2002; Caldwell et al. 2004; Klonoff & Landrine 1999; Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith 1998; Sellers 2003). For example, Paschall and Hubbard (1998) examined the relationship between racial identity and violence in a sample of African American male adolescents. They found that the likelihood of engaging in violence was inversely related to the strength of the youths' racial identities. Similarly, Arbona, Jackson, McCoy, and Blakely (1999) found that racial identity was positively associated with attitudes against fighting in African American adolescents, after controlling for a range of potential confounders.

Although empirical work has documented links between caregivers' racial socialization and indicators of racial identity among African American adolescents (e.g., DeBerry, Scarr, & Weinberg 1990; Demo & Hughes 1990; Sanders Thompson 1994; Stevenson 1995), only a few studies have assessed the moderating and/or mediating effect of racial identity attitudes (e.g., Bynum et al. 2007; Lee 2005; Sellers et al. 2003; 2006). These studies provide limited and mixed evidence about the role of racial identity on the effects of discrimination and shed light on the amplification effect of cultural socialization observed in the present study. For example, Sellers and colleagues (2003) found that racial centrality, one of four dimensions of racial identity, buffered the effect of discrimination on psychological distress. Similarly, Caldwell et al. (2004) found that racial centrality

buffered the effect of racial discrimination on Black males (but not females). However, Caldwell and colleagues (2004) also found in their sample of African American adolescents that public regard<sup>40</sup> attitudes increased the link between discrimination and violence. Likewise, in a study of Asian American young adults, Lee (2005) found that although ethnic pride was directly associated with fewer depressive symptoms, the effects of racism on depression was stronger for those with more ethnic pride than those with less. In their review of the research on the racial identity as a resilience factor, Brondolo and colleagues (2008) concluded that bulk of the evidence suggests that racial pride and other aspects of racial identity may be associated with less distress and behavioral problems overall, but results suggest that various facets of racial identity studied thus far do not appear to buffer the effects of discrimination and some aspects of racial identity seem to intensify the relationship between discrimination and negative outcomes. This suggests that by enhancing racial pride, cultural socialization may be associated directly with fewer distress symptoms and/or better behavioral outcomes, but may be (weakly) related to increased problems in response to racial discrimination when it does occur. More research is needed before a more definitive conclusion can be made about the effects of cultural socialization vis-à-vis racial identity as a resilience factor.

#### SEX/GENDER DIFFERENCES

Examining sex differences in the hypothesized relationships was not a driving factor behind the present study. Nonetheless, sex differences were observed and deserve attention and an attempt at explication. Specifically, there were two significant sex differences. First, the effect of discrimination on deviance was fully mediated by negative emotional distress for females but not for males. This broad difference is a function of two pathways from discrimination to deviance. For one, experiencing discrimination was more strongly linked to deviance for males than females;

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<sup>40</sup> Public regard is a dimension of racial identity that refers to the extent to which individuals believe that others view

however, this greater effect alone does not explain the absence of sex parity. In addition, the indirect effect of discrimination on deviance through negative emotions was greater for females than males. Further examination of specific emotional responses to discrimination revealed that the difference between the two sexes was in their angry response to discrimination. Even though males and females were equally likely to respond to discrimination with anger and depression, quite unexpectedly, the indirect path from discrimination to deviance through anger was significant for females but not for males, whereas the path from discrimination to deviance through depression was significant for both sexes. In other words, for the male youth in the study, anger resulting from discrimination experiences was not significantly associated with deviance, but it was for females. This finding does not lend itself to a straightforward explanation, but there are several potential factors that may contribute to this difference.

Perhaps the most obvious explanation has to do with females' greater emotional reactions to disruptions or conflicts in their interpersonal relations (see Brody 2000; Brody & Hall 2008 for reviews). Although one might often think of racial discrimination as something that occurs between a hostile stranger and a minority target, it is undoubtedly the case that a sizeable portion of discrimination occurs between individuals who are involved in an interpersonal relationship. As an example, Black youths may experience discrimination from their teachers, their bosses, their friends, or the sports coach, to name a few. Moreover, experiences with discrimination may disrupt interpersonal relations even if the discriminator is not a person with whom one is involved in a social relations. For example, African American youth may be excluded from an event or context because of ones race or treated differently in a way that affects ones interpersonal interactions. Examples include being followed around with a friend while shopping, or being subject to inferior service at a restaurant while dining with a friend. These types of discrimination may provoke more

intense anger in females than males, such that even if the frequency with which anger is experienced is similar for males and females (and frequency of anger is the measure employed in the present study), the intensity may be greater for females, and thus the stronger link with deviant responses.

This explication is related to another potential explanation, which is that the stronger link between females' anger in and deviance might be a function of the way anger is experienced by males and females. It could be the case that in the immediate aftermath of a discrimination experience males are equally or even more angry than females to the event. Moreover, they could be as likely or more likely to respond to the event with deviance. But, females' anger may be less ephemeral than males, and, as time elapses after a discrimination experience, females may cumulatively experience more anger than males. For example, some research suggests that females are more likely to ruminate over an emotional event, which may retrigger emotional experiences (Brody & Hall 2008). And, this may be especially true when a discrimination experience involves interpersonal interactions. This implies that even if the frequency of angry responses to events and the intensity of such reactions are equal, the frequency of felt anger may be greater for females, and thus its stronger effect on deviance.

Additionally, the observed sex differences in the discrimination—anger—deviance link may be partially an artifact of error in the youth's self-reports. As noted above, the measures of emotions used in the present study are based on youth responses to questions about the frequency with which they have felt angry and depressed over the past year. At baseline, females report significantly higher in both anger and depression than men (as shown in correlation matrix). This difference may be partially an artifact of measurement error, specifically recall bias. Some research indicates that females are better able to access and recall emotional experiences than males (Davis 1999). Obviously, retrospective self-reports of emotions partially reflect memories for the contextual details of events, and it has been argued that women have more sophisticated emotional



concepts than males and/or that they encode emotional experiences in more detail than their male counterparts (Robinson & Clore 1992; Seidlitz & Diener 1998). Consistent with this line of reasoning, research utilizing daily logs to record momentary emotions have found either no sex differences (Barrett, Robin, Pietromonaco, & Eyssell 1998) or that males reported more intense emotions than females, but the difference disappears when respondents self-report on emotions over a longer period of time (Seidlitz & Diener 1998). This idea might explain why perceived discrimination continues to have a significant direct effect for males that is not through negative emotions. Insofar as males are not reporting as much anger and depression as they actually experience and these negative emotions actually lead to deviance, this unreported effect would be shown in the direct effect of discrimination.

Admittedly, these explanations are educated speculations. That negative emotions completely mediate the effect of discrimination on deviance for females and anger in response to discrimination is not significantly related deviance for males, net of other factors, is a finding worthy of additional research. Future research should attempt to replicate this finding and explore what other mediating mechanisms account for the link between discrimination and deviance for males but not for females. Extant research suggests that exploring cognitive schemas may be a promising avenue whereby this work might proceed. Self-control is one example. Racial discrimination may increase deviance by decreasing an individual's self-control resources or reserves. Past research has found that an individual whose stigma was made salient had more impaired self-control than those whose stigma was not made salient (Inzlicht, McKay, & Aronson 2006). In other research utilizing the FACHS sample, Simons and Burt (*in preparation*) have shown that discrimination experiences decrease an individual's self-control over time. The implication of these studies is that discrimination influences deviance by depleting an individual's current reserves and/or levels of self-control thus making them more likely to succumb to the temptations of immediate gratification

through deviance. Consistent with the observed sex differences, some research indicates that females have higher levels of self-control than males and their levels are more resistant to change than males (Burt, Simons, & Simons 2006; LaGrange & Silverman, 1999; Moffit, Caspi, Rutter, & Silva, 2001; Tittle, Ward, & Grasmick, 2003).

The second major sex difference observed in the study is the amplification effect of cultural socialization. Cultural socialization strengthens the link between negative emotional distress and deviance for females but not for males. There is a dearth of information on the ways that sex/gender may moderate effects of discrimination and racial socialization. In light of the gendered nature of experiences with race as well as the gendered nature of parental socialization, it is critical that future research explores how sex/gender conditions not only the effects of discrimination but also the processes and consequences of racial socialization. A few exceptions to this trend suggest some explanations for the sex difference in response to cultural socialization. Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust's (2009) findings support their conclusion that females are more attuned to cultural socialization messages. The females in their study were not only more sensitive to cultural socialization messages than males (greater correspondence with mothers' reports) but also the cultural messages received were more strongly associated with a positive racial identity (affirmation and belonging). Combined with the research on African American adolescents that finds that some facets of racial identity amplify the link between racial discrimination and distress (e.g., Caldwell et al. 2002), this may explain the amplification effect found in the present study. Moreover, as before, the difference could also be partially a function of the self-report measures. It is possible that the items do not fully capture important sex/gender differences in the content, form, or transmission of racial socialization messages, and these unmeasured differences are consequential for the effects of racial socialization. Again, it is important that future research attend sex/gender differences, optimally utilizing a variety of measurement instruments and techniques.

Overall, the findings from the present study suggest that two forms of racial socialization—preparation for bias and cultural socialization, are factors that provide effective resilience against discrimination by diminishing some of its negative effects. These results indicate that preparation for bias leads to acknowledging and/or realizing the existence of racial discrimination; a reality that is distressing at least in the short term. The results also suggest that caregivers' preparation for bias inculcates competencies in youths relevant for dealing with discrimination; competencies that diminish deviant responses to racial discrimination. Cultural socialization, while not diminishing the effects of racial discrimination on distress or deviance, apparently engenders general competencies relevant for adaptive functioning, including decreased distress and deviance. While further research is needed to replicate these findings, the results reported herein represent an important contribution to the literature on patterns of distress and deviance in response to racial discrimination. Among a diverse sample of African American adolescents, racial socialization influences patterns of deviance.

## CHAPTER 9

### CONCLUSION

Racial discrimination remains a conspicuous feature of our society, and its targets are adults and youths alike. Past research has shown that racial discrimination is a stressor linked to deviant outcomes among African American adolescents (e.g., Caldwell et al. 2004; DuBois et al. 2003; Simons et al. 2003). To enhance our understanding of the link between discrimination and deviance, this study explored the possibility that caregivers' racial socialization practices buffer the effects of discrimination on deviance. This investigation was based on scholarly work suggesting that the acquisition of cultural knowledge and pride as well as discrimination awareness and racial coping skills provide youths with competencies and confidence to handle experiences with racial discrimination (Fischer & Shaw 1999; Peters & Massey 1983; Ward 2000). In the present study evidence was brought to bear on these hypotheses.

Overall this study suggests that caregivers' preparation for bias and cultural socialization are resilient factors that shape patterns of deviance. Black youth who received frequent messages about racist discrimination were less likely to respond to discrimination with deviance and to respond to negative emotions with deviance. These interaction effects indicate that racial discrimination is linked to deviance only among adolescents at low and intermediate levels of bias preparation; and the effects of discrimination on deviance are particularly powerful for youths who were not prepared for discrimination by their caregivers. Although not buffering the effects of discrimination, a compensatory effect was observed for cultural socialization. Having higher levels of cultural socialization was associated directly with decreased negative emotions and deviance, net of other factors. Thus, the beneficial effect of cultural socialization compensated for the detrimental effect

of racial discrimination on these two outcomes. And, while the interaction between cultural socialization and negative emotions suggested that this racial socialization strategy amplified the effect of discrimination, this moderation effect paled in comparison to the compensation effect. Thus, overall, cultural socialization is related to less deviance.

Although the results from this study represent a critical next step for more precisely explicating patterned behavioral responses to structural sources of stress, in general, and deviant responses to racial discrimination, in particular, this study is not without limitations. There are at least five possible criticisms of my treatment of the data in the current study. One potential criticism, discussed earlier, is the “subjective” measure of discrimination. I assumed that the respondents were accurately reporting instances of racial discrimination. Although a growing body of research attests to the validity of perceptual measures of discrimination and, specifically, the SRE instrument, it remains a possibility that for some respondents and/or in some cases their attitudes, personality traits, and emotional states led them to perceive discrimination where none existed or inappropriately attribute unfair treatment to race. Unfortunately, outside of the laboratory where discrimination can be experimentally manipulated, relying on “perceived” discrimination is the next best option. Recall that I controlled for previous negative emotions, which guarded against at least some of the possible personality trait effects. Nonetheless, it is critical that future researchers continue to explore the validity of the perceived discrimination measure and utilize a broader array of antecedent factors (personality or attitudinal) measures to control for possible perceptual biases. Using analytic techniques to control for individual differences in factors that may influence perceptions of discrimination, such as propensity score matching, provides another means to explore the effects of discrimination and attenuate the effect of perceptual biases. In addition, there is a need for innovative (experiential sampling) or multiple methods (qualitative, survey, and physiological) to capture racial discrimination. A recent methodological development that has the

potential to overcome some of these limitations is ecological momentary assessment (EMA) methodologies, which include daily diaries (Stone & Shiffman 1994, 2002). As measurements can be taken throughout the day to measure various individual states as well as in response to specific events, such as discrimination, this form of sampling can provide information about events as they occur, making the information less subject to recall biases, and can capture both antecedent factors and consequences of discrimination events. Three previous studies using small samples have employed EMA methods to examine the relationship of discrimination to state affect (Brondolo et al. 2008; Broudy et al. 2007; Taylor, Kamarck, & Shiffman 2004). These studies only incorporated emotional and physiological measures into the diaries; future work should incorporate discrimination into the EMA measures. Regardless of the specific approach taken, it is essential that we continue to push the survey method in new directions in order to shed light on the social processes and conditions that constitute the lived experience of those interviewed.

Additionally, the present study investigated racial discrimination in the form of everyday hassles. Although there was considerable variation in the type of stressors included in the discrimination instrument, it remains an empirical question as to whether a different pattern of findings were to emerge if one were to examine the effects of major racist events. Researchers have demonstrated that the subtypes of perceived interpersonal racism are differentially associated with appraisals of threat and harm (Brondolo, Thompson, Brady, Appel, Cassells, Tobin et al. 2005). Future research should explore the effects of such major events and whether their influence on distress and deviance is qualitatively distinct from the processes observed herein.

A third limitation of this study is the use of adolescents' self-reports for all of the variables except supportive parenting. Although adolescents' self-report data on discrimination stress (e.g., Clark, Coleman, & Novak 2004; Seaton 2006), distress (e.g., Kazdin 1990), and conduct problems (e.g., Shaffer et al. 1993) have shown adequate reliability and validity, reliance on self-report of

constructs may increase the likelihood of shared method variance. The decision to utilize adolescent reports of their experiences and behaviors is based on the reality that they know better than others what they experience and do. Not surprisingly, analyses of caregivers' assessments of youths' mental health outcomes and crime/delinquency in previous studies indicated that caregivers, in comparison to the youth self-reports, tended to underreport behavioral and emotional problems as their children grew older (Brody et al. 2006). Other studies have obtained similar results to the FACHS (e.g., Hartun, McCarthy, Milich, & Martin 2005; Lahey, Schwab-Stone, Goodman, Waldman, Canino, Rathouz, et al. 2000). It seems reasonable to assume that as youths mature they spend more time away from home and away from their parents; thus, the parents are unaware of behaviors and emotions that occur away from home and cannot accurately report on them. Even though this appears to be the best option for the current project, future studies may benefit from utilizing a multi-method approach to the study of these constructs.

Another limitation pertains to the analyses. The SEM was specified as recursive; however, it is likely that some of the relations in the model are reciprocal. The relationship between negative emotions and deviance is an example of a pathway that likely goes both ways, even though controlling for distress at earlier waves captures some of the time invariant negative emotional distress (or trait anger and depression) thus attenuating the problem in part. In addition, research using the FACHS data and cross-lag analyses suggests that the direction of the relation explored in the present study captures the relationship better than the reverse (e.g., Brody et al. 2006; Gibbons et al. 2004). Relatedly, although controlling for earlier negative emotions and delinquency, the current study focused on the cross-sectional relations between discrimination, deviance, and racial socialization. This decision was necessitated in part due to the interval between waves (>2 years), an undesirable time span for modeling the relations under consideration, given that I expected that discrimination has relatively proximate effects on deviance. However, the cross-sectional nature of

focal relations hampers the causal inferences that can be drawn from the study. Future research should replicate this study using multiwave data with shorter intervals (such as the EMA method).

Finally, only one racial/ethnic group was used. Although there is no obvious *a priori* reason to expect that the processes examined in the present study would differ for other racial/ethnic minority groups, and there is a specific need for research among African Americans, especially adolescents (Bagley, Angel, Dilworth & Anderson, Liu, & Schinke 1995; Botvin Scheier 1997; Institute of Medicine 1994), future research should replicate the present study using other ethnic minorities. In particular, studies should include several racial/ethnic groups for comparison purposes.

Despite these limitations, this investigation contributes in important ways to our understanding of patterns of deviant responses to racial discrimination. Future research should advance along several fronts. First, as mentioned above, there is a need for innovative (e.g., experiential sampling) and multiple methods to better capture the complex, ongoing processes of racial socialization and discrimination. In addition, research should assess exposure to various forms of discrimination, such as vicarious racism through exposure to demeaning and/or stereotypic portrayals of Blacks in the media or perceived institutional discrimination that might decrease access to or participation in various realms of adolescent life.

Further research is also needed on the impact of other sources of racial socialization, such as peers and the media (Ruggles 1984). Adolescents are exposed to many other messages about what it means to be Black than those provided by their parents, and it is quite possible that adolescents are influenced or responsive to some messages from these sources (Neblett et al. 2006). Additionally, the resilient effects of other types of racial socialization should be explored, such as egalitarian messages, which are those that encourage youth not to use race as a determining factor in interactions with others (Hughes et al. 2006). Moreover, while most studies of racial socialization



have focused on positive messages about race, a few studies have found that negative messages about race are transmitted across generations (Neblett et al. 2006; Taylor 1990; Thornton et. al. 1990). Neblett and colleagues (2006) found that approximately 10% of the Black young adults in their study reported receiving negative messages and these messages seemed to have dire consequences for psychological functioning. Future research should also go beyond the measurement of whether or not parents transmit various messages and capture specific skill-building communications or activities (e.g., coping strategies) concomitant to discussions about race and race relations. Although just being made aware of the fact that one might be treated unfairly or insulted because of one's race likely places one at an advantage to those who are unaware of the potential for such mistreatment, youths whose parents teach them how to handle such situations likely fare best of all. Finally, in light of the gendered nature of experiences, including racial experiences (Hughes et al. 2009; Stevenson 2003; Way & Chu 2004), it is important that future studies attend to the ways that males' and females' experiences with discrimination, behavioral reactions, and racial socialization processes differ.

The results from this study add to the body of work evincing that racial discrimination is a potent stressor and is one of the many complex factors related to African American youth's involvement in deviant behavior. To this body of work, this study adds a consideration of racial socialization as a factor shaping deviant responses to discrimination. Taken together, the study findings implicate processes at the society, interpersonal, and individual level, but the overall conclusion is simple. That is, racial socialization matters in explaining deviant responses to discrimination among African American youth.

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## APPENDIX A.

## MEASURE OF PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION\*\*

Racial discrimination occurs when someone is treated in a negative or unfair way just because of their race or ethnic background. I want to ask you some questions about whether you have experienced racial discrimination. For each statement please tell me if this situation has happened to you never, once or twice, a few times, or several times.

1. How often has someone said something insulting to you just because of your race or ethnic background?
2. How often has a store-owner, sales clerk, or person working at a place of business treated you in a disrespectful way just because of your race or ethnic background?
3. How often have the police hassled you just because of your race or ethnic background?
4. How often has someone ignored you or excluded you from some activity just because of your race or ethnic background?
5. How often has someone suspected you of doing something wrong just because of your race or ethnic background?
6. How often has someone yelled a racial slur or racial insult at you just because of your race or ethnic background?
7. How often has someone threatened to harm you physically just because of your race or ethnic background?
8. How often have you encountered people who are surprised that you, given your race or ethnic background, did something really well?
9. How often have you been treated unfairly just because of your race or ethnic background?
10. How often have you encountered people who didn't expect you to do well just because of your race or ethnic background?
11. How often has someone discouraged you from trying to achieve an important goal just because of your race or ethnic background?

\*Coding Scheme for all: 0 = Never; 1 = Once or twice; 2 = A few times; 3 = Frequently.

\*\*Revised version of the Schedule of Racist Events (Landrine & Klonoff 1996) for FACHS youth respondents.

## APPENDIX B

## MEASURES OF RACIAL SOCIALIZATION\*\*

## A. CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION:\*

1. How often within the past year have the adults in your family celebrated cultural holidays of your racial group?
2. How often within the past year have the adults in your family talked to you about important people or events in the history of your racial group?
3. How often within the past year have the adults in your family taken you to places or events that reflect your racial heritage?
4. How often in the past year have the adults in your family encouraged you to read books concerning the history or traditions of your racial group?
5. How often within the past year have the adults in your family said or done anything to encourage you to do something to learn about the history or traditions of your racial group?

## B. PREPARATION FOR BIAS:\*

1. How often within the past year have the adults in your family indicated that people might limit you because of your race?
2. How often within the past year have the adults in your family indicated that some people might treat you badly or unfairly because of your race?
3. How often within the past year have the adults in your family indicated that you will have to be better than other people your age to get the same rewards because of your race?
4. How often within the past year have the adults in your family talked with you about discrimination or prejudice against your racial group?
5. How often within the past year have the adults in your family explained how something you saw on TV showed poor treatment of your racial group?
6. How often within the past year have the adults in your family talked to someone else about discrimination or prejudice against your racial group while you were present?

\*Coding Scheme: 0 = Never; 1 = 1-2 times; 2 = 3-5 times; 3 = 5-10 times; 4 = 10 or more times.

\*\*Measure adapted from instruments developed by Hughes and colleagues (e.g., Hughes & Chen 1999; Hughes & Johnson 2001).

## APPENDIX C

Negative Binomial Models Examining the Moderating Effects of Racial Socialization on the Link between  
Discrimination and Anger

| <i>Independent Variables<sup>a</sup></i> |                 |                 |                 | Females         | Males           |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|  | % $\Delta\beta$ | % $\Delta\beta$ | % $\Delta\beta$ | % $\Delta\beta$ | % $\Delta\beta$ |
| Discrimination                           | 9.1 *           | 8.1 *           | 9.3 *           | 9.6 *           | 11.1 ‡          |
| Preparation for Bias                     | 15.5 **         | 14.5 **         | 15.8 **         | 5.8 **          | 29.3 **         |
| Cultural Socialization                   | -9.1 *          | -8.9 *          | -9.4 *          | -6.4 **         | -12.1 *         |
| Discrm. X Preparation for Bias           | -2.8            |                 | -3.9            | -8.8 †          | 0.2             |
| Discrm. X Cultural Socialization         |                 | 0.9             | 2.7             | 7.4 ‡           | -3.9            |
| LR test of $\alpha = 0$                  | 15.6 **         | 15.4 **         | 15.3 **         | 4.1 **          | 10.3 **         |
| ML (Cox-Snell) $R^2$                     | .16             | .16             | .16             | .15             | .18             |
| Nagelkerke $R^2$                         | .16             | .16             | .16             | .16             | .19             |
| N  | 701             | 701             | 701             | 380             | 321             |

Notes: \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$  (two-tailed); † $p < .05$ , ‡ $p < .10$  (one-tailed, for hypothesized relationships)

<sup>a</sup>Variables included in the model but not shown for brevity: Female, Age, PC Age, State, Anger<sub>W1+W2</sub>, and Supportive Parenting

## APPENDIX D

Negative Binomial Models Examining the Moderating Effects of Racial Socialization on the Link between  
Discrimination and Depression

| <i>Independent Variables<sup>a</sup></i> |                 |                 |                 | Females         | Males           |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|  | % $\Delta\beta$ | % $\Delta\beta$ | % $\Delta\beta$ | % $\Delta\beta$ | % $\Delta\beta$ |
| Discrimination                           | 10.3 *          | 8.8 †           | 10.3 *          | 14.1 *          | 8.3             |
| Preparation for Bias                     | 13.3 **         | 12.2 *          | 13.4 **         | -0.5 **         | 31.4 **         |
| Cultural Socialization                   | -6.7 †          | -6.4 †          | -6.7 †          | -3.5 **         | -9.4 **         |
| Discrm. X Preparation for Bias           | -5.2            |                 | -5.3            | -6.4            | -5.3            |
| Discrim. X Cultural Socialization        |                 | -2.0            | 0.4             | 2.9             | -2.4            |
| LR test of $\alpha = 0$                  | 1015.8 **       | 1016.7 **       | 1015.8 **       | 523.8 **        | 448.7 **        |
| ML (Cox-Snell) $R^2$                     | .13             | .13             | .13             | .14             | .12             |
| Nagelkerke $R^2$                         | .13             | .13             | .14             | .14             | .12             |
| N  | 701             | 701             | 701             | 380             | 321             |

Notes: \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$  (two-tailed); † $p < .05$ , ‡ $p < .10$  (one-tailed, for hypothesized relationships)

<sup>a</sup>Variables included in the model but not shown for brevity: Female, Age, PC Age, State, Depression<sub>W1+W2</sub>, and Supportive Parenting



## APPENDIX E

Tobit Models Examining the Moderating Effects of Racial Socialization on the Link between Anger and Deviance

| <i>Independent Variables</i> <sup>a</sup> |         |         |         | Females | Males   |
|---|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
|   | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ |
| Discrimination                            | .11 **  | .11 **  | .11 **  | .02     | .22 **  |
| Anger                                     | .13 **  | .13 **  | .13 **  | .18 **  | .12 *   |
| Preparation for Bias                      | .01     | .01     | .01     | -.02    | .05     |
| Cultural Socialization                    | -.08 *  | -.08 *  | -.07 *  | -.04    | -.08 †  |
| Anger. X Preparation for Bias             | -.03    |         | -.05 ‡  | -.04    | -.05    |
| Anger X Cultural Socialization            |         | .03     | .06 †   | .09 †   | .01     |
| McFadden's R <sup>2</sup>                 | .19     | .19     | .19     | .21     | .19     |
| McKelvey & Zavoina's R <sup>2</sup>       | .39     | .39     | .39     | .42     | .39     |
| Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup>                 | .41     | .41     | .42     | .44     | .42     |
| N   | 701     | 701     | 701     | 380     | 321     |

Notes: \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$  (two-tailed); † $p < .05$ , ‡ $p < .10$  (one-tailed, for hypothesized relationships)

<sup>a</sup>Variables included in the model but not shown for brevity: Female, Age, PC Age, State, Delinquency, and Supportive Parenting

## APPENDIX F

## Tobit Models Examining the Moderating Effects of Racial Socialization on the Link between Depression and Deviance

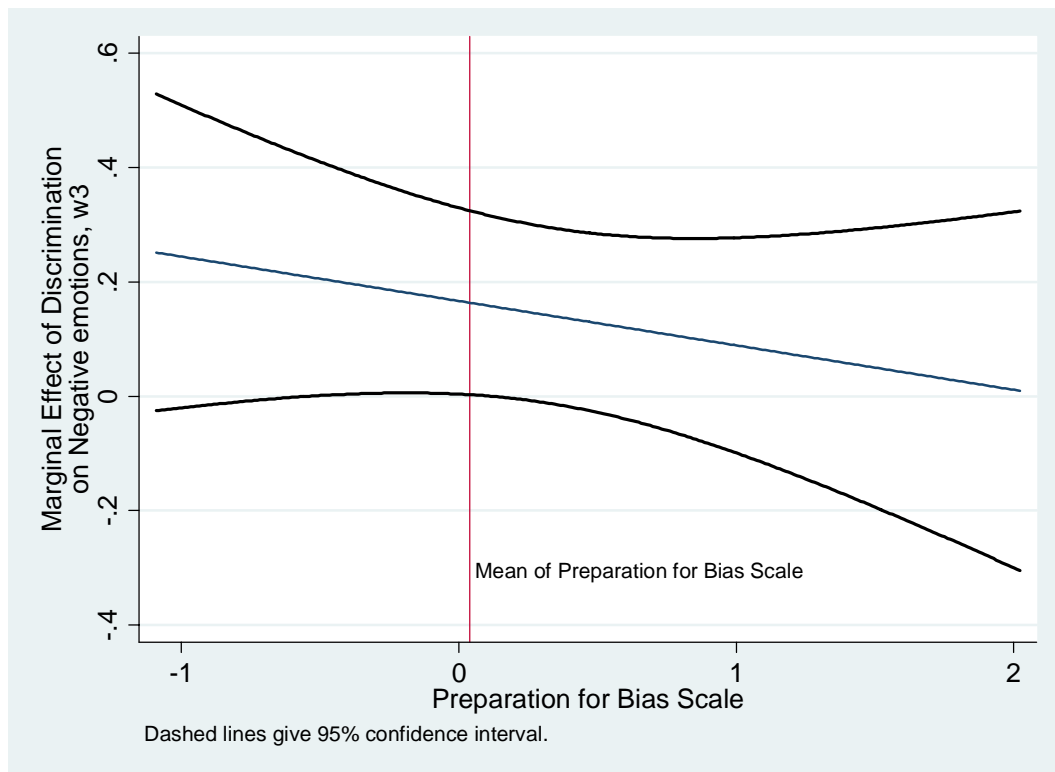
| <i>Independent Variables<sup>a</sup></i> |         |         |         | Females | Males   |
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
|  | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ |
| Discrimination                           | .12 **  | .11 **  | .12 **  | .03     | .22 **  |
| Depression                               | .24 **  | .23 **  | .24 **  | .27 **  | .17 *   |
| Preparation for Bias                     | .03     | .02     | .03     | .03     | .02     |
| Cultural Socialization                   | -.08 *  | -.08 *  | -.08 *  | -.05    | -.08    |
| Depress. X Preparation for Bias          | -.10 ** |         | -.15 ** | -.17 ** | -.10 *  |
| Depress. X Cultural Socialization        |         | .04     | .10 **  | .13 **  | .07 ‡   |
| McFadden's R <sup>2</sup>                | .19     | .18     | .19     | .21     | .19     |
| McKelvey & Zavoina's R <sup>2</sup>      | .38     | .38     | .39     | .42     | .39     |
| Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup>                | .41     | .40     | .42     | .44     | .42     |
| N  | 701     | 701     | 701     | 380     | 321     |

Notes: \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$  (two-tailed); † $p < .05$ , ‡ $p < .10$  (one-tailed, for hypothesized relationships)

<sup>a</sup>Variables included in the model but not shown for brevity: Female, Age, PC Age, State, Delinquency, and Supportive Parenting

## APPENDIX G

Graph depicting the Marginal Effect of Discrimination on Negative Emotions across Levels of Preparation for Bias for Females (based on the model for females in Table 5,  $n = 386$ ).



## APPENDIX H

Negative Binomial Models Examining the Moderating Effects of Racial Socialization on Crime

| <i>Independent Variables</i>           | <i>Model</i> | 1        | 2        | 3        | Females  | Males   | Females  | Males   |
|--|--------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|----------|---------|
|  |              | %Std.β   | %Std.β   | %Std.β   | %Std.β   | %Std.β  | %Std.β   | %Std.β  |
| Discrimination.....                    |              | 6.4 ‡    | 6.8 ‡    | 6.4 ‡    | 2.7      | 12.4 *  | 1.7      | 13.3 *  |
| Negative Emotions.....                 |              | 53.3 **  | 53.3 **  | 55.2 **  | 60.3 **  | 40.4 ** | 62.5 **  | 42.6 ** |
| Supportive Parenting.....              |              | -13.6 ** | -13.2 ** | -14.4 ** | -14.2 ** | -10.4 * | -14.8 ** | -11.6 * |
| Preparation for Bias.....              |              | 3.2      | 4.1      | 5.4      | .4       | 6.4     | 5.4      | 4.2     |
| Cultural Socialization.....            |              | -11.5 ** | -12.3 ** | -12.8 ** | -7.3     | -14.8 * | -12.6 *  | -11.7 * |
| Delinquency <sub>W1+W2</sub> .....     |              | 34.9 **  | 34.8 **  | 34.7 **  | 37.0 **  | 31.9 ** | 37.0 **  | 32.1 ** |
| Female.....                            |              | -13.6 ** | -13.8 ** | -14.3 ** |          |         |          |         |
| Georgia.....                           |              | 5.1      | 5.3      | 5.8      | -7.4     | 22.4 ** | -6.7     | 23.7 ** |
| Age.....                               |              | 10.6 **  | 11.1 **  | 11.4 **  | .5       | 21.9 ** | .7       | 22.8 ** |
| PC Age.....                            |              | -6.7 *   | -6.7 *   | -7.6 *   | -8.9 *   | -3.6    | -11.2 *  | -3.4    |
| Discrm. X Preparation for Bias.....    |              |          | -3.1     |          | -3.3     | -2.3    |          |         |
| Discrim. X Cultural Socialization..... |              |          | 5.8      |          | 8.0      | 4.4     |          |         |
| N.E. X Preparation for Bias.....       |              |          |          | -11.5 ** |          |         | -12.6 *  | -10.7 * |
| N.E. X Cultural Socialization.....     |              |          |          | 17.5 **  |          |         | 22.7 **  | 13.0 *  |
| McFadden's R <sup>2</sup>              |              | .09      | .09      | .10      | .11      | .08     | .12      | .09     |
| ML (Cox-Snell) R <sup>2</sup>          |              | .35      | .35      | .36      | .40      | .33     | .41      | .34     |
| Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup>              |              | .35      | .35      | .36      | .40      | .34     | .42      | .34     |
| N                                      |              | 701      | 701      | 701      | 380      | 321     | 380      | 321     |

Notes: \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$  (two-tailed); † $p < .05$ , ‡ $p < .10$  (one-tailed, for hypothesized relationships)

## APPENDIX I

Tobit Models Examining the Moderating Effects of Racial Socialization on Substance Use

| <i>Independent Variables</i>           | <i>Model</i> | 1       | 2       | 3       | Females | Males   | Females | Males   |
|--|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
|  |              | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ |
| Discrimination.....                    |              | .15 **  | .17 **  | .15 **  | .08     | .26 **  | .07     | .26 **  |
| Negative Emotions.....                 |              | .15 **  | .15 **  | .16 **  | .27 **  | -.02    | .28 **  | .00     |
| Supportive Parenting.....              |              | -.20 ** | -.20 ** | -.21 ** | -.20 ** | -.19 ** | -.20 ** | -.21 ** |
| Preparation for Bias.....              |              | .01     | .05     | .03     | .03     | .12     | .06     | .02     |
| Cultural Socialization.....            |              | -.01    | -.04    | -.01    | .03     | -.10    | .02     | .00     |
| Delinquency <sub>w1+w2</sub> .....     |              | .19 **  | .18 **  | .19 **  | .19 **  | .16 **  | .19 **  | .16 *   |
| Female.....                            |              | -.02    | -.03    | -.03    |         |         |         |         |
| Georgia.....                           |              | -.02    | -.01    | -.01    | -.12 *  | .13     | -.11    | .13     |
| Age.....                               |              | .21 **  | .22 **  | .21 **  | .15 *   | .26 **  | .15 *   | .28 **  |
| PC Age.....                            |              | -.03    | -.03    | -.03    | -.04    | -.03    | -.04    | -.04    |
| Discrm. X Preparation for Bias.....    |              |         | -.11 *  |         | -.04    | -.16 *  |         |         |
| Discrim. X Cultural Socialization..... |              |         | .09 *   |         | .04     | .14 *   |         |         |
| N.E. X Preparation for Bias.....       |              |         |         | -.11 *  |         |         | -.10 ‡  | -.14 *  |
| N.E. X Cultural Socialization.....     |              |         |         | .08     |         |         | .04     | .12     |
| McFadden's R <sup>2</sup>              |              | .11     | .12     | .10     | .14     | .13     | .15     | .12     |
| McKelvey & Zavoina's R <sup>2</sup>    |              | .26     | .27     | .36     | .31     | .32     | .32     | .30     |
| Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup>              |              | .22     | .23     | .36     | .27     | .25     | .28     | .24     |
| N                                      |              | 701     | 701     | 701     | 380     | 321     | 380     | 321     |

Notes: \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$  (two-tailed); † $p < .05$ , ‡ $p < .10$  (one-tailed, for hypothesized relationships)

## APPENDIX J

Tobit Models Examining the Moderating Effects of Racial Socialization on Risky Sexual Behavior

| <i>Independent Variables</i>           | <i>Model</i> | 1       | 2       | 3       | Females | Males   | Females | Males   |
|--|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
|  |              | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ | $\beta$ |
| Discrimination.....                    |              | .11 **  | .12 **  | .11 **  | .06     | .25 **  | .01     | .24 **  |
| Negative Emotions.....                 |              | .07 †   | .06 ‡   | .07 †   | .06     | .00     | .07     | .00     |
| Supportive Parenting.....              |              | -.06 ‡  | -.06 ‡  | -.06 ‡  | -.16 ** | .08 ‡   | -.17 ** | .08 ‡   |
| Preparation for Bias.....              |              | -.04    | -.02    | -.04    | -.07    | -.03    | .06     | .02     |
| Cultural Socialization.....            |              | -.03    | -.04    | -.03    | .01     | -.09 ‡  | .01     | -.07    |
| Delinquency <sub>w1+w2</sub> .....     |              | .22 **  | .21 **  | .22 **  | .22 **  | .23 **  | .23 **  | .23 **  |
| Female.....                            |              | -.22 ** | -.22 ** | -.22 ** |         |         |         |         |
| Georgia.....                           |              | .13 **  | .14 **  | .14 **  | .04     | .28 **  | .04     | .28 **  |
| Age.....                               |              | .24 **  | .24 **  | .24 **  | .29 **  | .19 **  | .30 **  | .19 **  |
| PC Age.....                            |              | -.05    | -.05    | -.05    | -.01    | -.08    | -.03    | -.08    |
| Discrm. X Preparation for Bias.....    |              |         | -.09 *  |         | -.13 †  | -.04    |         |         |
| Discrim. X Cultural Socialization..... |              |         | .04     |         | .02     | .07     |         |         |
| N.E. X Preparation for Bias.....       |              |         |         | -.08 *  |         |         | -.11 †  | .00     |
| N.E. X Cultural Socialization.....     |              |         |         | .08 *   |         |         | .13 *   | .02     |
| McFadden's R <sup>2</sup>              |              | .07     | .08     | .10     | .08     | .07     | .08     | .07     |
| McKelvey & Zavoina's R <sup>2</sup>    |              | .23     | .23     | .36     | .23     | .21     | .24     | .21     |
| Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup>              |              | .21     | .21     | .36     | .20     | .21     | .21     | .20     |
| N                                      |              | 701     | 701     | 701     | 380     | 321     | 380     | 321     |

Notes: \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$  (two-tailed); † $p < .05$ , ‡ $p < .10$  (one-tailed, for hypothesized relationships)