Philadelphia College of Osteopathic Medicine
DigitalCommons@PCOM

PCOM Psychology Dissertations   Student Dissertations, Theses and Papers

2010

Gender Differences of African American Adolescents When Exposed to Race Related Stress

Sharmon Saunders James
Sharmonj@comcast.net

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.pcom.edu/psychology_dissertations

Part of the Multicultural Psychology Commons, School Psychology Commons, and the Social Psychology Commons

Recommended Citation

Philadelphia College of Osteopathic Medicine

Department of Psychology

GENDER DIFFERENCES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS WHEN EXPOSED

TO RACE RELATED STRESS

Sharmon Saunders James

By The Director of Research

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of

Doctor of Psychology

June 2010

PHILADELPHIA COLLEGE OF OSTEOPATHIC MEDICINE
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Dissertation Approval

This is to certify that the thesis presented to us by Sharmon S. James

on the 21st day of May, 2010, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Psychology, has been examined and is acceptable in both scholarship and

literary quality.

Committee Members' Signatures:

Yuma I. Tomes, Ph.D., Chairperson

George McCloskey, Ph.D.

Bernard X. James, Ph.D.

Robert A. DiTomasso, Ph.D., ABPP, Chair, Department of Psychology

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to start this page off by first acknowledging my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. It is only through His strength, that I was able to complete this awesome task. There were so many times when the distractions of life had me thinking that I would not be able to make it. It was during those times that I turned to Him. I can't thank Him enough for His love, grace, and peace.

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my two children Bernard X. and Britney A. James. You are truly God's greatest gifts to me. My heart overflows constantly with love because of you. With every inch of my being I will love, cherish, teach, nurture, protect, and provide for you. I'm amazed each day at the immeasurable joy you have brought to me and even more amazed at the things you have taught me. You truly make me better.

A special thanks Dr. Bernard X. James, Sr. for all of your support and encouragement. Thank you also for agreeing to serve as a committee member on my dissertation committee. Your love and your friendship are truly appreciated. Thank you to Monica Bailey and Rasheena Vincent, two of my dearest friends, Sorors, and sisters all lumped into one. You sat with me on those difficult days and nights. We have laughed and cried together, and through it all our friendship continues to stand the tests of time. Thanks to my two biological sisters, Sharonne Saunders and Shakia Moore. There are no words to express my love and appreciation for you. Your support and words of encouragement have gone a long way.

Thank you to my dissertation Chairperson, Dr. Yuma I. Tomes. Your support and guidance throughout this process was very much appreciated. Thank you to Dr. George McCloskey for serving as a committee member. The knowledge the two of you, along with the

entire Psychology staff at PCOM, bring to the students is truly amazing. I have learned so much under your tutelage.

Finally, thank you to my mother, Katrina Jones.   You have been with me through it all. You have been such an example of strength. I know that it was not easy rearing three children by yourself, but you did it. You have three beautiful and successful daughters who owe you everything. I love you with all of my heart, and I appreciate everything you have given me. You taught me how to be strong and survive. Most importantly, you taught me how to pray and how to put God first in everything. I love you much.

Abstract

For African Americans, issues of discrimination, oppression, and belonging to a minority group may significantly impact their identity formation, and their cognitive and subjective beliefs regarding racial issues. Racism-related stress as it affects African American adolescents has become an area of concern for African American researchers. Racism related stress can be characterized as the negative psychological or physiological response to a perceived instance of a racism related attitude or behavior. African American adolescents, because of their race, continue to be subjected to various social stressors that lead to negative stress that depletes them of their abilities to cope in response. Without the ability to effectively cope with threatening life episodes African American adolescents experience more stressful and negative lifestyles.

This study examined: (a) whether there are gender differences with regards to race related stress, (b) the association of SES and race related stress, (c) the association of the type of neighborhood one live in and race related stress, and (d) the association of which parent(s) the adolescent lives with and race related stress.

Independent samples T-tests and Analysis of Variance were conducted to determine if there was a difference in gender with regard to race related stress. A significant difference was found with regards to the overall stress measure, as well as on the *individual and collective* subscales. Pearson-product moment correlations coefficients were conducted to determine the relations among demographic variables and race related stress. A significant positive relation was found between SES and family dynamic and race related stress.

Chapter I

Introduction

One ever feels his twoness – an American, a Negro; two souls; two thoughts, two

unreconciled strivings; two varying ideals in one dark body…In this merging he wishes

neither of the older selves to be lost…He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of

White Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He

simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without

being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity

closed roughly in his face (DuBois, 1903, pp. 45-46).

W. E. B. DuBois spoke of the dual problem that African Americans often faced: the

desire to be recognized as human without having to sacrifice their personal and social identities.

DuBois also spoke of the internal conflict that African Americans experienced while trying to

maintain their identity.

For many youth in the United States, adolescence is a turning point in their personal and

educational lives. Positive and negative life transitions can significantly impact the

psychological and behavioral well being of adolescents. Many of these negative psychological

and behavioral outcomes are exacerbated for African American adolescents, who must not only

cope with typical adolescent stressors, but who must also negotiate the challenge of living in a

racially hostile context where their strengths, abilities, and culture may go ignored.

Research has found that formal education is one of the single most powerful mediums for

counteracting and transforming social ills, and is thus one of the most effective places to

intervene with youth (Woodson, 1990; Tate, Ladson-Billings & Grant, 1993). Schooling has the

potential to shape social attitudes, cultural norms, morals and values while maximizing access to

occupational, economic, and social success. However, after forty years of legal civil rights and

twenty years of proposed reform, the current traditional mainstream education system tends to perpetuate the class differences and racial discrimination that are prevalent in society at large (Woodson, 1990).

The literature suggests that African Americans encounter a great deal of stress that may be attributed to racism, racial discrimination, and racial prejudice (Allport, 1954; Bowen-Reid & Harrell, 2002; Clark, Anderson, Clark & Williams, 1999). However, the empirical data have been based primarily on an adult population. Very little research regarding coping styles due to race related stress has been conducted on adolescents. This dissertation examined whether gender differences exists regarding race-related stress among African American adolescents attending a Philadelphia public school.

This was a quantitative study. The participants were 200 urban African American adolescents ranging in age from 14 to 18. The participants were recruited from a charter high school in a large northeastern city. All participants completed a demographic questionnaire. They answered questions about their age, grade, gender, race, where they were born, the type of neighborhood they live in, who they live with, and their family's income. Race related stress was assessed with a modified version of the Index of Race related Stress (IRSS; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1966).

Adolescence is a critical time period, as significant physical and psychological changes are occurring, and there is a struggle to develop a definitive identity. Adolescents of all races face the struggle of resolving their identity crisis, with African American adolescents having the additional task of learning to cope with prejudice, which causes a great deal of stress. Males and females during the mid- to late-adolescent period (grades 9 through 12) begin to become concerned with their self-image (Rosenberg, 1965). Race related stress is significant to study

because how adolescents interpret their socialization experiences influences their racial identity

(Stevenson, 1995), which is based on the types of messages imparted (Hughes & Chen, 1997).

Therefore, it is apparent that research is needed to determine the many effects that race related

stress may have on African American adolescents.

Definition of Terms

There are several terms pertinent to the research study proposed that require clarification:

Race/Racism - In a simple definition, racism is a societal mechanism of assigning advantages
and privileges based on race (Wellman, 1977). Racism can also be defined as a
multidimensional concept of "beliefs, attitudes, institutional arrangements, and acts that tend to
denigrate individuals or groups because of phenotypic characteristics or ethnic group affiliation"
(Clark et al, 1999, p. 805).

Stress - Lazarus and Folkman (1984) define stress as a situation in which a person perceives that
his/her resources are exceeded resulting in psychological and psychosomatic symptoms.

Race-related stress - *Race-related stress* is defined, in the literature, as the psychological
discomfort that results from a situation appraised as troubling because of racism, racial prejudice,
racial discrimination, or racial isolation (Plummer & Slane, 1996).

Institutional Racism - Institutional racism creates situations in which African-American students
are enrolled in less challenging educational programs

Statement of the Problem

The United States, as a society, may be perceived as an oppressive culture where those who are "different" are discriminated against and oppressed (Sue & Sue, 1999). Thus, the U.S. system impedes the healthy development of the self in individuals who are not of the dominant culture (i.e., White, middle class, Christian). People internalize the message they have been fed about what is "right" and "normal." These messages negatively impact cognitions and behaviors.

Given the insidious nature of racism in contemporary society, it is imperative that as psychologists and other mental health workers we appreciate its impact on our African American clients. Furthermore, it has been empirically demonstrated in the literature that the effects of race-related stress are risk factors for physiological and psychological disorders among African American adults. The effects of racism, discrimination, and prejudice have been associated with eating problems (Thompson, 1992), high blood pressure (Krieger & Sidney, 1996), and low levels of life satisfaction (Broman, 1997; Utsey et al., 2000).

African Americans have endured a long sociopolitical, economic, and personal struggle for equality, and progress has been made. Yet, racism remains a primary stressor for African Americans. In addition, racism has taken more subtle insidious forms that are not easy to detect, but impact every aspect of society, especially those groups that are victims of racial prejudice.

Although racism and prejudice are often used synonymously, there are distinctions between these terms. Prejudice is an attitude based on an over-generalized or erroneous belief that is not necessarily expressed or acted upon (Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993), whereas racism is prejudice based specifically on race and assumed a behavioral component which can be measured (Ridley, 1989; Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993).

Adolescence is a critical time period, as significant physical and psychological changes are occurring, and there is a struggle to develop a definitive identity. Adolescents of all races face the struggle of resolving their identity crises, with African American adolescents having the additional task of learning how to cope with prejudice, which causes a great deal of stress (Peretti & Wilson, 1995).

The requirements for successful development are being denied to African American adolescents because of their subjection to physical, mental, and emotional situations that lead to unhealthy lifestyles (Meyer & Patton, 2001; Neal, McCray & Webb-Johnson, 2001; Tatum, 2000; U.S. Department of Education, 2002; Web-Johnson, 2002). As a result the African American adolescent has been equated with psychological and physical dysfunctions that continue to menace both education and societal strategies (Harry & Anderson, 1999; Webb-Johnson, 2002).

It is unquestionable that African American youth are victimized mentally and physically within the various hostile and racist environments of America (Potts, 1997; and Spencer, 2001). It is also evidenced that unlike White youth, African American youth risk levels of involvement in the criminal justice system, negative education experiences and inappropriate healing mechanisms indicative of a holocaustal arrangement against these youth (Brooks, Schiraldi, & Zeidenberg, 2000).

Research suggests that African American high school students' negative perception of educational environments affect their socio-emotional adjustment and participation in academia (Tatum, 2003). Additionally, Tatum, (2003) suggests that African American youth disconnect from environments they perceive as unbearable and unlike. For example, Steele's (1992) theory of dis-identification accounts for both African American students' poor academic performance

and their paradoxically high self esteem. Steel argued that cultural stereotypes depict African American students as intellectually inferior. This "stigma of inferiority" adds a threat to African American's self esteem that is not present for whites. Poor performance in school is a threat to personal self esteem for both African Americans and Whites. However, for African Americans, the poor performance also threatens to confirm the negative racial stereotype. Steele argued that to protect their self-esteem, African Americans "dis-identify" with school-that is, they disengage their self esteem from how well or poorly they fare in the academic arena. Steele hypothesized that although this dis-identification process serves to protect self-esteem in domains in which one is psychologically; vulnerable; it also results in impaired performance. Doing well does not hold the same reward for an individual who is dis-identified as for one who is "identified" with the domain, thereby undermining intrinsic motivation to achieve. Although this idea of dis-identification (which has also been referred to by other theorists as selective valuing and psychological centrality, among other names) has been discussed by many theorists since James (1890/1963) first proposed the idea (see also Crocker & Major, 1989; Rosenberg, 1979;, Tesser, 1988), this is the first time it has been presented as an explanation for poor outcomes in the domain with which an individual has dis-identified.

Research also suggests that African American youth, regardless of social status face discriminatory circumstances (Comer, 1995) that necessitate the development of coping strategies that nullify the negative effects of these circumstances (Ogbu, 1985). How African American adolescents respond to the various levels of stress associated with perceived discrimination influences the lack of, or development of these coping strategies (Clark, Anderson, Clark, and Williams, 1999) and influences outcomes related to their self-identity, self-efficacy, and self esteem (Scott, 2003).

Need of Study

The literature suggests that African Americans encounter a great deal of stress that may be attributed to racism, racial discrimination, and racial prejudice. However, the empirical data have been primarily on an adult population. Although the preponderance of studies has focused on adults, the recent work of Simons et al. (2002) suggested that African American youth are not immune to the demoralizing effects of racial discrimination. In this study, the stress of racism will be explored using a model of stress and coping that will seek information on the characteristics that seem to help African Americans deal with this specific stressor. One specific aim of this study is to examine African American youth's ability to cope with race related stress. Particularly, are there gender differences in race related stress among African American adolescents?

A better understanding of these factors can lead to interventions for better management and treatment of mental health and prevention of mental disorders for African American youth. Those strategies that are successful for coping with racism could be used in psychotherapy and treatment with African American individuals to reduce the negative effects of racism on their lives. In addition to the contribution to research on racism and stress and coping, this study will provide information regarding the relations between perceptions of race, racial identity, and psychological well being. Establishing further validity and psychosocial correlates of all these measures in the African American population is important for psychological assessment, diagnosis, treatment, and research.

Summary

More than any other group, African American youth are subjected to the ramifying attitudes and behaviors of racism (Suarez-Balcazar, Orellana-Demacela, Portillo, Rowan,

Andrews-Guillen, 2003). Recent inquiries suggest that African American adolescents are also predisposed to the destructive outcomes of racism (Graham & Robinson, 2004; Seaton, 2003). This limited research, however, fails to address the psychological consequences of racism on African American adolescents, but supports its negative influences on the mental health of young African American adults (Broman, 1997; Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999). Further research suggests that these youth are distinctively susceptible to many emotional and psychological dysfunctions (Tatums, 2000), and the various associated biological and physiological dysfunctions (Seaton, 2003). Without the ability to effectively cope with threatening life episodes, African American adolescents experience more stressful lives (Clark, 2003). Additionally, particular coping strategies, dissimilar to those of other youth, are required for successful societal and educational outcomes for African American Youth (S. P. Harrell, 2000).

This study was conducted to further the efforts of exploring the phenomenon of racism related stress as it is experienced by African American adolescents 14-18 years old in school. Additionally, this study explored the strategies African American adolescents employ to cope in response to racism related stress.

Chapter 2
Review of the Literature

Identity Development

Erickson argued that developing a solidified identity during adolescence is crucial to the further development of the person (Erikson 1968). The adolescent needs to achieve a certain consistency between how he/she perceives him/herself to be, and how he/she perceives others to view him/herself (Erickson, 1968). Erickson described this as a process of increasing differentiation because the person is always changing and developing (Erickson, 1968). Ideally, the process should result in a positive self-concept. Erickson (1968) argued that African American adolescents might develop negative identities of society's portrayal of African Americans. As such, this task should be more involving for African American Adolescents who have to reconcile what it means to be African American, and how they feel regarding being African American in this society.

The definition of ethnic identity in the present study parallels Helm's (1990) definition as "one's perception that he/she shares a common ethnic heritage with a particular group" (p.3). Furthermore, Tajfel's (1981) definition highlights the significance of this identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from knowledge of his/her membership in a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 255). Ethnic identity not only provides the means by which African Americans define themselves in the context of other groups, but it also provides implications for how African Americans view the world. The identity literature is split between researchers who use the term 'racial identity' and those who use the term 'ethnic identity.' Some researchers have argued that the term 'ethnic identity' should be used because it places African Americans within the larger societal framework and allows for an examination of universal processes (Smith, 1989; Phinney, 1990).

The common idea is that ethnic group members undergo similar processes when acquiring a sense of who they are, and the term 'ethnic identity' is preferred.

An initial reason for preferring the term 'ethnic identity' is that ethnicity refers to a groups' social and cultural heritage. This emphasizes the cultural aspect, as opposed to the biological or genetic component. The term race, though a socially constructed concept, implies that there are biological differences between groups of people. The recent work of the Human Genome Project has indicated that there is only one race – the human race (S. Thompson, personal communication, June 20, 2000). Therefore, the term 'racial' has no specific scientific validity because the distinction it implies does not exist. It is hoped that the term race will be eradicated as the Human Genome Project continues to illustrate that there is only one race. Though the term "ethnic" is preferred over the terms "race" and "racial", these terms will be used in order to be consistent with certain theoretical constructs.

The Stages of Identity Development

The study of ethnic identity has been one of the most prolific areas of study of African Americans. There are two perspectives that have been utilized for the study of ethnic identity: the universalistic and pluralistic. The universalistic approach is transcendental in nature and focuses on the sequence or directionality of identity development (Overton, 1998). The universalistic approach is utilized for studying transformational change, which is a change in the form, pattern, or organization of a system (Overton, 1998). The pluralistic approach is concrete in nature and focuses on the differential change across and within individuals or groups (Overton, 1998). This approach is useful for studying variational change, which occurs when change is addictive and varies from an assumed standard.

Universalistic Models

The universalistic approach is evident in the developmental models of ethnic identity, which are the Cross and Phinney models. These models articulate the directionality or sequence of ethnic identity and also the discontinuity of the stages. Each stage is hypothesized to represent a sequential change in the ethnic identity system (Cross, 1991).

The Cross Model (Cross, 1971) or the Nigresence Model is one of the earliest ethnic identity theories among others like Thomas (1971) and Milliones (1980). Nigresence is a French word, which means the process of becoming African American (Cross, 1991).

The first stage (Pre-encounter) is characterized by a lack of interest in one's cultural group, with a bias toward European American culture (Cross, 1991). The second stage is Encounter. This stage involves a defining event, strongly influencing the person to search for an identity in order to redefine him/herself (Cross, 1978). This stage is important because it demonstrates to the person that his/her views of race are incongruent with the way they are perceived in particular contexts. The third stage (Immersion-Emersion) entails the person's actual search for a cultural identity. In the Immersion phase, an individual submerges him/herself in African American culture and withdraws from European American culture (Cross et al., 1998). In Emersion, the individual primarily identifies with African American culture, but is willing to think critically about ethnic issues (Stokes, Murray, Chavez, & Peacock, 1998).

The fourth stage, Internalization, occurs when the new identity is incorporated and manifests itself in the everyday actions of the person. Internalization-Commitment is the fifth stage in which identity is actualized into a commitment for the advancement of all African Americans (Cross, 1991). Cross further argued that an internalized ethnic identity serves three functions: a) to defend and protect the individual from racist attacks or insults, b) to establish

African Americans as a primary reference group to identify with, and c) to serve as a bridge for gaining awareness about other cultural groups (Cross, 1998).

The second conceptual model is the Phinney model, which has been applied universally to all adolescents. According to Phinney (1990), ethnic identity is composed of four components: (a) ethnic self identification, (b) sense of belonging, (c) positive and negative attitudes toward one's ethnic group, and (d) ethnic involvement in cultural events. Phinney also distinguished between the content, or evaluative component, and process, or the development of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1989). The content of ethnic identity consists of the attitudes and behaviors that an individual endorses or practices. The process of ethnic identity is the way in which individuals come to understand the importance of their ethnicity (Phinney, 1990). This study focused on this model.

Stages of Cultural Identity

When interacting with individuals who are not of the dominant culture, their worldviews are likely to be linked to the historical and current experiences of bigotry and oppression in the U.S. (Sue & Sue, 1999). Moreover, individuals of the dominant culture have been impacted by the messages in the environment and will hold biased views. For an individual of the dominant culture to say that they have somehow escaped their discriminatory upbringing and that they "are not perpetrators of racism or that the racial climate is improving is to deny social reality" (Sue & Sue, 1999, p. 7).

Developmental Models are helpful. They assist in organizing developmental processes and behaviors exhibited by individuals. Models help explain stages or statutes that people process through.

Models pertaining to racial identity are the most known. One widely cited model is Helms' Racial Identity Model (1984, 1995). This model consists of two phases (Abandonment of Racism and Defining Non-racist White Identity) with six specific racial identity statutes equally distributed between two phases: 1) Contact Status, 2) Disintegration Status, 3) Reintegration Status, 4) Pseudo-independence Status, 5) Immersion/Emersion Status, and 6) Autonomy Status.

Many of the developmental models have a similar structure. The first stage usually consists of an individual being completely unaware of a particular part of him/herself or he/she holds negative views about that identity aspect. The models typically end with an integrated sense of self awareness. Due to the similarities in the models, Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1989) developed the Racial/Cultural Identity Development Model (R/CID).

R/CID consists of five stages: 1) Conformity, 2) Dissonance, 3) Resistance and Immersion, 4) Introspection, and 5) Integrative Awareness. An individual in each of these stages is characterized as having four corresponding beliefs and attitudes. These four consists of an attitude about the self (based on the salient identity characteristic), other individuals with the same characteristic, individuals from the dominant culture, and individuals of other marginalized groups.

In Stage 1 – Conformity, the individual completely embraces the dominant culture's beliefs and customs. At the same time, characteristics of his or her own culture are rejected and viewed with contempt. This stage has the most "profound negative impact upon (ethnic) minority groups" (Sue & Sue, 1999, p.96) as individuals experience low self esteem for not being a part of the majority group.

Stage 2 – Dissonance is characterized by conflicting messages and observations that are inconsistent with the view of one's own culture and the dominant culture. This inconsistency leads the individual to question the beliefs from the Conformity Stage. Typically the movement into this stage is gradual; however, traumatic events (e.g., the incarceration or assassination of a major leader) can propel an individual into Stage 2.

When an individual enters Stage 3 – Resistance and Immersion, he or she will completely embrace his or her culture's values and beliefs and reject those of the dominant culture. In this stage Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1989) highlight three major affective qualities displayed by individuals as they resist the oppression their group has faced by the dominant group: guilt, shame, and doubt. The values and customs that were once shameful become "symbols of pride and honor" (Sue & Sue, 1999, p. 103).

In Stage 4 – Introspection, individuals realize the extreme nature of the feelings associated in Stage 3 and how those feelings interfere with the development of self-identity (Sue & Sue, 1999). In addition, cognitive dissonance occurs in that negative views of the dominant group from Stage 3 are challenged by experience. In this stage, the individual attempts to understand himself or herself better, tries to become more objective about the cultural views and attitudes, and strives to integrate the values of the minority and dominant group.

In the final stage, Integrative Awareness, persons develop an "inner sense of security and now can appreciate unique aspects of their culture as well as those in U.S. culture" (Sue & Sue, 1999, p. 106). Rather than seeing conflict between one's culture and that of the dominant group, individuals realize that there are acceptable and unacceptable factors from both. A strong desire to end all forms of oppression exists in the individual.

As with any model, one should bear in mind the limitations of that model. R/CID's limitations include: 1) it is not a global personality theory with specific identifiable stages that serve as fixed categories; 2) it is inadequate for using with immigrants; 3) there is a value judgment given in that higher levels are seen as more "healthy" that lower ones; 4) it is necessary to explore how interpersonal, institutional, societal, and cultural factors may either facilitate or impede cultural identity development; 5) it is important to continue refining these models; and 6) the combination of the therapist's cultural identity development and the client's cultural identity development should be considered.

The R/CID model is based on the premise that the experience of belonging to a racial group transcends all other experiences (Sue & Sue, 2003). This approach focuses on both the significance of race as a definer of culture within the U. S. society and the way in which individuals cope with social bias and oppression (Sue & Sue, 2003). Thus, it would be beneficial for counselors to become knowledgeable about the usefulness of this model in conceptualizing African Americans clients' presenting problems and determining subsequent culture-centered interventions. Although early models of racial identity focused on African Americans' experience with racism (Jackson, 1995), they have been expanded to address the needs of individuals from various marginalized groups. These models assume that similarities exist in the way that socially marginalized individuals respond to the experience of racism and oppression within society (Lee, 1997).

The R/CID (Sue & Sue, 2003) is useful because of its clear and concise use of the client's background as well as his or her socio-historical and personal experience. This model takes into account the client's identity issues and attempts to help the client explore and come to terms with such issues. This model poses the following questions (Sue & Sue, 2003): (a) With whom do

you identify and why? (b) What culturally diverse attitudes and beliefs do you accept or reject and why? (c) What dominant cultural attitudes and beliefs do you accept or reject and why? and (d) How do your current attitudes and beliefs affect your interaction with other culturally diverse clients and people of the dominant culture? Most important, this model allows for investigation of clients' level of conformity and idealized identification with the dominant culture as well as their rejection of their own culture.

Race/Racism

Racism is the nations most serious disease. It affects the lives of millions of Americans, African American and white, alike. W. E. B. DuBois famously observed that the problem of the 20th century was the problem of the *color* line. Now that we have entered into the 21st century, the problem of the *culture* line looms large. Our mental and emotional life is still wrought with disease and disgust. If the foundation for this is not color, then what is it? "It's *culture*, stupid," to paraphrase James Carville's brilliant strategy for President Clinton's election in 1992. Culture is a way of life, a design for living that is driven by beliefs, values, practices, symbols, and ease of being. If we multiply each of these dimensions by the numerous different cultural groups that have evolved in or immigrated to the United States, we have a multifaceted problem with complex and intertwining methods required to address them.

The social construction of the term "race" people grouped together because of shared skin tones (Mack, 1968), has its history reflected in the fourteenth century attempt by narcissistic White Europeans misrepresenting themselves as superior in a racial group hierarchy they believed was decreed by God (Frederickson, 2002). The term racism first applied to ideologies differentiating Aryan and Nordic superiority from other Whites considered inferior (Frederickson, 2002). German anthropologist Johann Blumenbach separated and ranked all

humankind into groups based on the assumption that there was a pure supreme White race and all other races were inferior (Windsor, 1973). Eventually, Blumenbach, seeking to establish Nordic supremacy and culture, partnered with J. A. Gobieau and H. S. Chamberlain, and assigned mental and behavioral rankings to racial groups (Windsor, 1973). The "ism" in racism reflects many racial theorists' attempts to understand a belief system perpetuated and supported by repudiating facts of human nature (Frederickson, 2002).

The term "racism" is often reduced to describe the subjugation of one race toward another (Frederickson, 2002). In a simple definition, racism is a societal mechanism of assigning advantages and privileges based on race (Wellman, 1977). Racism can also be defined as a multidimensional concept of "beliefs, attitudes, institutional arrangements, and acts that tend to denigrate individuals or groups because of phenotypic characteristics or ethnic group affiliation" (Clark et al, 1999, p. 805). In the United States, racism usually refers to White Americas' system of dominance that blocks the economical, physical, and psychological development of African American Americans (Bonilla-Silva, 2004). *Racism* is also defined, in the literature, as a system of power and privilege based on the beliefs and institutional arrangements that corroborate the superiority of certain ethnic groups and denigrate others because of certain phenotypic characteristics (Clark et al, 1999; Harrell, 2000).

Reiterating, *racism* can also be defined as a system of beliefs that assigns a superior social status to Whites and inferior social status to African Americans because of racial characteristics (Clark et al., 1999; Harrell, 2000). *Racial Discrimination* is the behaviors of Whites motivated by racist's ideology that result in African Americans being treated differently and unequally (Feagin & Eckberg, 1980). *Racial prejudice* consists of the attitudes that Whites, motivated by racist ideology, harbor resulting in African Americans being viewed or

conceptualized subordinately (Harrell, 2000). Finally, Tatum (2000) suggests that racism is a

form of cruel and unequal treatment of African Americans perpetuated by a White systematic

utilization of racist practices and racial prejudices. "Racial prejudice when combined with social

power-access to social, cultural and economic resources and decision making-leads to the

institutionalization of racist policies and practices" (Tatum, 2000, pg. 7) operating to advantages

of Whites and disadvantages of African Americans in the United States (Tatum, 2000).

Models of Racism

These understandings of racism can somewhat be contributed to its complicated overt and

covert manifestations (Gold, 2004). Most racial theorists agree that central to all radical

philosophies are the African American inferior-White superior or bipolar model of racial

stratification within the United States social system (Winant, 2001). The bipolar model

dominates regardless of the racial classifications of non-African American or non-white groups

(Gold, 2004). Feagin (2000) argues that any model used to subjugate other non-African

American groups developed out of the bipolar model that initially sufficed to oppress African

Americans. Another proponent, Hacker (1992) contends that "race in America really refers to

differences between African Americans and Whites, and that other groups are immune to the

presumption of inferiority associated with Africa and slavery" (pp. 5, 16). Extensively and

religiously practiced, racism in the United States has mentally, economically, and physically

injured and damaged more African Americans longitudinally than any other group (Gold, 2004).

Within the African American-white model, according to Jones (1991), exists three

distinct manifestations of racism: cultural, individual, and collective/institutional. Cultural

racism exist when White Americans ennoble their history, customs and beliefs while demeaning

the history, customs and beliefs of African Americans (Jones, 1991). Collective/institutional

racism consists of White's covert and overt offensive attitudes and behaviors against African

Americans conceived and practiced in social institutions (Jones, 1991). Individual racism

consists of covert and overt offensive attitudes and behaviors against African Americans

conceived and practiced by individual Whites (Jones, 1991). Esed (1990) further articulated that

collective racism exists when Whites as a group behave to subjugate African Americans.

In a more recent expansion on Jones' work, Harrell (2000) discussed six types of racism-

related stressors often experienced by African Americans. *Racism-related life events* consist of

those events that occur infrequently such as housing discrimination or racial profiling. *Vicarious*

racism experiences are those that occur to close friends, family members, and strangers. *Daily*

racist micro stressors include the subtle and unconscious degradations that serve as daily

reminders of the salience of race. *Chronic-contextual stress* entails perceptions of unequal

distributions of resources for African Americans collectively. *Collective experiences* include

perceptions of racism's effects on particular ethnic groups, such as stereotypic portrayals in the

media. *Transgenerational transmission* entails the history of a particular ethnic group and its

relation to the dominant groups in a particular society.

Definition of Stress

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) define stress as a situation in which a person perceives that

his/her resources are exceeded resulting in psychological and psychosomatic symptoms. Anger,

anxiety, and frustration can result when an individual perceives that he or she is unable to cope

with a situation or unable to modify his or her response to a situation (Bullock & Houston, 1987;

Outlaw, 1993). Currently, the Lazarus and Folkman model is the most widely used because it

was the first to recognize that events are stressful when people perceive them as such. This

recognition allows for the assessment of individual differences because people differ in what

events they consider stressful (Slavin et al., 1991). However, this model fails to account for the stress attributed to racism, racial discrimination, or racial prejudice, which may be a constant and unpredictable factor in the lives of some African Americans (Anderson, 1991).

Race Related Stress

Race-related stress is defined, in the literature, as the psychological discomfort that results from a situation appraised as troubling because of racism, racial prejudice, racial discrimination, or racial isolation (Plummer & Slane, 1996).

The nature and frequency of stressful events are affected by membership in an ethnic group (Slavin, Rainer, McCrary & Gowda, 1991). African Americans encounter stressful events more frequently than European Americans (Mack, 1968). Much of this stress may be attributed to racism, racial discrimination, and racial prejudice (Clark et al., 1999; Feagin & Eckberg, 1980; Harrell, 2000; Utsey et al., 2000).

Institutional Racism & Tracking

Institutional racism creates situations in which African-American students are enrolled in less challenging educational programs. *Tracking* takes place when schools divide children into ability groups. These programs are less likely to lead to the development of higher order cognitive skills and abilities. It creates an atmosphere in which African American students receive the message that they cannot succeed (Hayes & Banks, 1980). Howard (1987) concludes that institutional racism has promoted an avoidance of intellectual competition among African-American youth. Cheyney (1987) suggests that schools promote institutional racism through policies that allow 60 percent of African American youth to be tracked into programs that deny them a strong appreciation for history and literature and access to higher order thinking skills. As a result, these youth are less likely to realize their full potential.

Nieto (1992) has argued that tracking reflects and perpetuates class, race, and gender stratification in our society. Students most in need are placed in the lowest-level classes and exposed to the drudgery of drill and repetition; thus, school becomes more boring and senseless every day, causing these students to feel discouraged and subsequently drop out. The author describes a vicious cycle of failure, wherein students who are perceived as needing more help are placed in classes where the curriculum is diluted and higher levels of thinking are not demanded.

As a result of poor academic performance, a disproportionate number of African American male students have been channeled into special education programs, tracked into less challenging course work, and perceived as lacking the ability and motivation to succeed and perform well in school (Murrell, 1992). African American children are often given negative labels because they have not acquired white middle-class ways of behaving and thinking, and have not met the standard criteria used to judge school progress (Hollins & Spencer, 1990). Oakes and Lipton (1999) indicated that changing structure alone, without changing school cultures and teacher beliefs, which influence and are influenced by such cultures, are not effective.

Research continues to expose the permeation of racism in all aspects of education (Dei, 1998; Graham & Robinson, 2004; Tatum, 2000). This has led to the investigations of many educational establishments and proceedings to identify the unfair and detrimental applications that impact African American youth (Gillborn & Mirza, 2000; Rassool & Morley, 2000; Tatum, 2000). According to Graham and Robinson (2004) schools are microcosms of the larger community's display of dominance and distribution of rights and privileges. African American adolescents are forced to maneuver, as best they can, through these institutions where racism

permeates every stage, relationship and experience of their academic life (Graham & Robinson, 2004).

Subtle and not so subtle forms of racism confront African American students face to face with other students and faculties or through the practices of the school (Tatum, 2000). Additionally, African American students have identified White students and teachers as the principle racial terrorists (Suarez-Balcazar et al., 2005). According to this literature, White students use racist names and derogatory languages to identify African American students and in some cases, physically attack African American students (Suarez-Balcazar et al., 2003; Tatum, 2000; Seaton, 2003). In their most subtle forms of racism exhibited by White schoolmates African American students are ignored and excluded from many school activities (Tatum, 2000). Studies suggest that students exposed to these negative school experiences exhibit academic, social and personal dysfunctions uncommon of their unexposed peers (Gillborn & Mirza, 2000; Wentzel & Asher, 1995).

Educators as well as others involved in the maintenance of the school environment can negatively impact the academic experiences of youth (Derman-Sparks, 1989). Racist educators ignore the educational potential of African American youth, subject them to special education environments and detentions, and persuade them to dropout or consider alternates to formal education opportunities (Spencer, 2001). According to McCormack, (1998), over an eight year period, educators as perpetrators of racism-related behaviors and attitudes increased significantly. This creates a problem for African American students who must negotiate these educators from an inferior standpoint, since their academic achievement relies on their successful reciprocation with their educators (McCormack, 1998). Graham and Robinson (2004) suggest that the African American students' success in the educational environment is contingent on the

nature of the student/teacher interaction because of racism, their academic success will probably be devastated (Parr, 1999). Adolescents exhibit more negative academic and social results when they experience dispassionate associations with their teachers and other educational related personnel (Wentzel & Asher, 1995).

Stereotype Threat

Several theories argue that sociocultural factors negatively influence the ability of students of color to become and remain strongly identified with academics, which, as noted above, would adversely impact these students' academic outcomes. Steele's (1992, 1997) theory of stereotype threat identifies negative stereotypes as a culprit in the academic underperformance of students of color. Steele argues that although all students experience anxiety in school situation, students who are members of minority groups for which negative group stereotype concerning academics ability abound suffer from additional anxiety. This increased anxiety is aversive, and as a self protective measure, these students sometimes devalue or reduce their identification with academics. This aversion serves to reduce stereotype-induced anxiety as it allows students to be no longer concerned with evaluation in that domain (Epps, 1970; Katz & Greenbaum, 1963).

Steele's (1999) work on the effects of racial stereotypes on academic performance helps provide compelling explanation of the identity achievement paradox. Through his research on student attitudes toward testing, Steele showed that students are highly susceptible to prevailing stereotypes related to intellectual ability. According to Steele, when "stereotype threats" are operative, they lower the confidence of vulnerable students and negatively affect their performance on standardized tests. He also noted that the debilitating effects of stereotypes can

extend beyond particular episodes of testing and can have an effect on students' overall academic performance.

Recently, the concept of identification with academics has emerged as an important contribution to the racial achievement gap. Several authors, including Steele (1992, 1997), Ogbu (1992), and Majors and Billson (1992), have argued that factors inherent in U.S society prevent students of color from viewing themselves as scholars and students and thereby valuing academics personally. Empirical evidence supports this argument (Osborne, 1995, 1997). Theoretically, lack of identification with academics has been shown to cause or contribute to poorer performance (Osborne, 1997b; Osborne & Rausch, 2001). Perhaps more importantly, this perspective offers hope for changing the educational fortunes of students who belong to disadvantaged minority groups, especially African American boys.

The concept of identification with academics is rooted in the symbolic interactionist perspective on self esteem, although many self-esteem theories acknowledge the concept. Throughout the history of self theory, from James (1890/1936) through Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934) to the present, the symbolic interactionist view of the self posits that people receive feedback from their environment and that this feedback, if attended to, is perceived. If those perceptions are deemed accurate or valid, they are incorporated into the self-concept, and if that facet of the self concept is viewed as central or important (and thus, the individual is identified with that domain), then the changes in self concept will affect the individual's self esteem. If an individual does not value that domain or does not view that domain as important to the self (and thus is considered not identified, or dis-identified, with that domain), then feedback will ultimately have little effect on that individual's self esteem.

Another important feature of many self theories is that the relevance of a domain not only varies across individuals but within individuals over time. Individuals seem to be extremely facile in their ability to alter the domains they perceive as central in order to maintain a certain positivity of self esteem. Several authors have agreed that individuals are particularly likely to selectively devalue domains in which their group, or they personally, fare poorly (Croaker & Major, 1989; Major & Schmader, 1998; Taylor & Brown, 1988; Tesser, 1988; Tesser & Campbell, 1980).

Early adolescence is a developmental period when ethnic identity formation is salient (Phinney, 1989), and when children experience a need for conformity. Overt rejection from the majority culture during this developmental period is likely to result in significant behavioral and emotional outcomes such as withdrawal and/or angry externalizing behaviors (Whitbeck, Hoyt, McMorris, Chen, & Stubben, 2001). Furthermore, perceived discrimination can interfere with identity formation (i.e., emerging identities) during this period, and introduce confusion regarding self-worth, consequently contributing to self-destructive behaviors (Whitbeck et al., 2001). Perceived racism can be subtle yet omnipresent, and could encourage behaviors that interfere negatively in the youth experiencing it.

Research has also revealed that African American students experiencing academic trauma have a tendency to disconnect and disassociate from all formal aspects of academia (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). This has been characterized by their involvement with academically disconnected peers and their decreased academic morale and unproductive educational involvement (Taylor, Casten, Flickinger, Roberts, & Fulmore, 1994). Eventually, African American adolescents' psychological awareness of expected derogatory and unfair treatments can influence their

acceptance of these characterizations as essential factors relative to their cultural identity ((Spencer, Cunningham & Swanson, 1995).

The school environment can also influence the social adjustment and educational involvement of African American youth (McCormack, 1998). Further research reveals that African American students may encounter many negative experiences in academic establishments dominated by Whites (McCormack, 1998). The probability of these experiences happening elevates as the frequency of involvement by African American youth increases at these establishments (McCormack, 1998).

African American youth are also prone to disconnect from learning environments that do not recognize or merge their cultural and historical examples of academic excellence, and their interests and abilities with those honored by academia (Daniels & Arapostathis, 2005). In this sense, learning institutions influence and sanction the unworthiness of African American students through the non-acceptance and non-recognition of the intellectual and historical successes of African American people (Daniels & Arapostathis, 2005).

Again, research suggests that African American youth expect and recognize the unfair treatments they experience in society as well as in all areas of academia, (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997) and consider their collective oppression without provocation and unjust (Branscome, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). In summation, racism in academia is stressful and devastating to the psychology of African American students (Seaton, 2003).

Ogbu's oppositional perspective is echoed by other authors, including Majors and Billson (1992), who argue that African American males, adopt a "cool pose" – a ritualized approach to masculinity that allows them to cope and survive in an environment of social oppression and racism, including that found within the U.S. schools. According to Majors and Billson, African

American males learn early to protect this façade of emotionlessness, fearlessness, and aloofness to counter the inner pain caused by the damaged pride, poor self confidence, and fragile social competence that results from their existence as a member of a subjugated group. Many of the roots of cool pose seem to be similar to the social issues discussed by Ogbu. Similar to Steele, Majors and Billson depict African American males as victims of their own coping strategies. In terms of education, Majors and Billson assert that cool pose often leads to flamboyant and nonconformist behaviors that frequently elicit punishment in school settings. They further contend that cool pose is generally incompatible with the popular perception of the "good student" as hard driving, disciplined, and highly motivated individual closely identified with schooling. Thus, according to this perspective, African American boys adopt a strategy for coping with their membership in a stigmatized group that is oppositional to identification with academics.

From the writings of these authors, we can propose that African American students, particularly boys, fail to achieve their full academic potential because of social, psychological, and cultural hurdles. These youth are discouraged or prevented from incorporating schooling and education into their self view due to: (a) psychological mechanism that protect them from anxiety, evaluation apprehension, and adverse outcomes; (b) having to give up their identification with their minority group in order to identify with "White" pursuits and values such as education; (c) peer group resistance to valuing education and rejection of those who do; or (d) psychological reactance that manifests as heightened or ritualized masculinity which also prevents the individual from succeeding in academics.

Discrimination and Coping

There is increasing evidence that everyday experiences of racial discrimination affect the mental health of African Americans and are related to higher levels of psychological distress and lower levels of psychological well-being (e.g., Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997). Although the preponderance of studies has focused on adults, the recent work of Simmons et al. (2002) suggested that African American children are not immune to the demoralizing effects of racial discrimination. Many African American youth, however, due to firsthand experiences, intuitive knowledge, or priming by parents and significant others, are indeed aware of the manifestations of racism (e.g., Carroll, 1991; McCoy, 1998; and Way, 1998).

Clark, Anderson, Clark, and Williams (1999) proposed that the strategies used by African Americans to cope with perceived discrimination will influence the duration and magnitude of psychological and physiological stress responses. For example, the perception by African American youth that security officers are following them in a store or mall because of their race may engender psychological stress responses such as anger, frustration, hostility, or aggression and physiological stress responses such as increased cardiovascular activity. These responses might also influence African American youths' coping behavior (Harrell, 2000). Over time, psychological and physiological stress responses may lead to unfavorable outcomes such as depression or heart disease (Clark et al., 1999).

It has been postulated that individuals who experience a number of stressful events are at increased risk for developing physical and/or psychological illnesses (Billingsley, 1992; Hamburg, 1984; Locke, 1992; Moos, 1979; Nuernberger, 1981; Lloyd, 1980). African Americans comprise a group that has been exposed to a range of stressors over time, particularly the stress of racism which leads to oppression (Billingsley, 1992; Hacker, 1992; Locke, 1992).

Racism can affect the well-being of individuals and groups not only through the experience of stress, but also through its influence on the various mediators of stress (e.g., support resources, coping options).

Internal mediators are those that are person-centered. Individual characteristics include cognitive processes (e.g., attributional style) and relatively stable personal characteristics (e.g., self-esteem). Sociocultural variables include those personal characteristics that are linked to cultural and sociopolitical context (e.g., racial identity, racism-related coping styles, and acculturation). Affective and behavioral responses to racism refer to the emotions and actions that occur subsequent to stressful experiences.

Appraisal processes (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) and causal attributions (Amirkan, 1990) have been suggested as central to understanding the impact of stress on outcomes. Racism-related experiences can be attributed internally to one's own behavior or characteristics (e.g., assertiveness, incompetence), or externally to systematic and institutional dynamics or the prejudices and stereotypes of others. Individuals vary in the degree to which they attribute cause and solution to these factors, and situations vary in the extent to which any of these factors may actually be operating.

Studies of African American American coping strategies in response to stress, were previously dominated by mainstream theories, particularly, the life stress model (McNeilly et al., 1996). This model by Lazarus and Folkman [LFM] (1984) postulated that stress from an African American perspective should be viewed as a "particular relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding his or her resources and endangering his or her well-being" (p. 19). Furthermore, certain perceptions of stressors relating

to racism can devastate and deplete the non-efficacious strategies of African Americans, exposing them to many physical and psychological disorders (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984).

In this model *coping* involves the mental and physical efforts utilized to control the overbearing stressors that have the potential to strain one's strategies (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Stressors are first appraised in the coping procedure to determine their authenticity, challenges and degrees of menace and damage (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Once the stressor is authenticated and confirmed as dangerous, another evaluation measures the extent of one's coping strategies in their abilities to minimize the threat (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

In use and support of the LFM, Plummer and Slane (1996) discovered three distinct coping behaviors utilized by African Americans in racially stressful situations. African Americans didn't actively respond to many racism-related events and that many of these events either necessitated aggressive responses by African Americans or limited the coping resources that African Americans could access (Plummer & Slane, 1996). These responses are consistent with literature reviews of approach coping strategies and avoidance coping strategies (Herman-Stahl, Stemmler, & Peterson, 1995).

Approach coping requires that one alters the stressing event through any mental or physical response necessitated (Herman-Stahl, et al., 1995). This strategy is consistent with a healthy lifestyle of minimal psychological disorders and increased adjustment to many life stressors (Herman-Stahl, et al., 1995). One study suggests that challenging the stressor stimulates emotional development in African Americans (Utsey, et al, 2000). This study also suggests a culturally encouraged inclination of African Americans to verbally oppose individual instances of racism (Utsey, et al., 2000). Contrastingly, Clark (2003) suggest that aggressive

coping strategies have the potential to aggravate a stressful event and produce an enduring

condition of intense alarm in one utilizing this response.

Avoidance coping requires that one not exert any mental or physical effort in the

recognition of alteration of the stressor (Herman-Stahl et al., 1995). In contrast this strategy is

consistent with a lifestyle plagued by many psychological, emotional, and physical

maladjustments (Herman-Stahl et.al., 1995). Supported by CARDIA study, African Americans

who mentally or physically refused to acknowledge racism-related instances, developed negative

health outcomes (Krieger & Sidney, 1996; Ocampo, 2000).

In contrast, utilization of avoidance coping strategies has the potential to dissolve

emotional stressors and their accompanying physical and mental consequences (Holroyd &

Lazarus, 1982). One study suggests that most African Americans refuse to acknowledge racism

in its many recognizable situations (Krieger & Sidney, 1996). Essentially, avoidance coping

strategies may possess more conforming qualities essential to African American health than

approach coping strategies (Moos & Schaefer, 1993).

Racism may influence self-orientation through constructs such as self-esteem and self-

efficacy. For example, Crocker and Major (1989) suggested three mechanisms through which

stigma can affect self-esteem: 1) reflected appraisals of negative and ethnocentric perceptions of

others; 2) self-fulfilling prophecies in which the individual begins to take on the characteristics

projected by others; and 3) limitations on environmental control that make feeling efficacious

difficult. Self-esteem and self-efficacy may buffer the impact of racism-related stress on well-

being. However, in some cultures, characteristics of the "self," as a distinct entity, may be less

important to mental health than the relationship with one's racial/cultural/familial group (Akbar,

1992).

Clark, et al. (1999) explored racism as a potential stressor for African Americans and uncovered several stress responses resulting from the experience of racism, including emotional responses such as anger, anxiety, sadness, and hopelessness. Perceived racism was also related to behavioral responses including externalizing and disruptive behavior. Additionally, Nyborg and Curry (2003) noted that perceived racist experiences were linked to internalizing symptoms such as lowered self-concept and higher levels of hopelessness. Research indicates that the popular press depicts a pervasive sense of hopelessness shared by many inner city school-aged children (Kotlowitz, 1991), which implies that when positive expectations for success through conventional means, such as school, are low, an individual with a hopeless outlook may turn to more aggressive means of obtaining desired outcomes (Guerra et al, 1995).

Gender Differences and Coping

In some ways stress affects us all regardless of gender, length of life, job status or biological characteristics (Moore, 2002). These characteristics can also determine how we respond to stress.

Research on stress and coping has been considerable over the past two decades and although many theories and empirical studies have been conducted, the focus has almost exclusively been on adults (Compass et al., 2001; Ptacek, Smith, & Zanas, 1992). Research on children and adolescents have generally lagged behind and only recently have scientists begun to apply some of the theories and principles of the adult stress literature to this population (Bowker, 1993; Compas et al., 2001).

Reviewing the literature on gender differences in coping is difficult because as noted above each study uses different conceptualizations of coping and different measures, which in

turn influence the dimensions of coping (Compas et al., 2001). Overall, the findings on gender

differences and coping among adults have been mixed.

The general consensus on sex differences in coping among adults is that females engage

in more emotion focused coping strategies or styles, while males engage in more problem

focused strategies or styles (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980; Hamilton & Fagot, 1988; Pearlin &

Schooler, 1978; Stone & Neale, 1984).

A theory that has been advanced to explain gender differences in coping is socialization

theory (Rosario, Shinn, Morch & Huckabee, 1988). Socialization theory holds that men and

women are taught to deal with stressful events according to gender role expectations and widely

held sex role stereotypes (Rosario et al., 1988). As a result, men are socialized to deal with stress

instrumentally, whereas women are socialized to deal with stress more emotionally and to seek

social support (Rosario et al., 1988).

Other studies suggest that men mirror women with unfavorable expressions of stress but

vary in stressors and responses (Moore, 2002). Studies suggest that women are more likely to

discuss the stressor with someone, preferably another female (Moore, 2002). Males, however,

were not likely to deny the stressor or refuse to consider the stressor's ability to deplete their

coping resources (Moore, 2002). Consequently, males responded more negatively to elevated

degrees of stress (Chevins, 2001). Drinking, drugging, and violence were some indicators of

high stress in some males. Males also exhibited more abnormal rates of hypertension as a group

compared to women (Chevins, 2001).

Adolescent psychopathology is distinct from both childhood and adult psychopathology.

In adolescence, there is an increase in the prevalence of a number of mental health problems,

such as depressive disorders, conduct disorders, and substance abuse disorders (Kazdin &

Johnson, 1994; Loeber & Keenan, 1994; Overbeek, Vollebergh, Meeus, Engels, & Luijpers,

2001). There is also more comorb idity (co-occurrence) among adolescents' psychiatric

diagnoses than there is among adults' diagnoses (Compas, Orosan, & Grant, 1993; Mash &

Barkley, 2003) or children's diagnoses (Brady & Kendall, 1992; Strauss, Last, Hersen, &

Kazdin, 1988). Recognizing the unique nature of this developmental period, recent researchers

have provided a foundation for understanding adolescent psychopathology. Nonetheless, ethnic

minority groups, such as African Americans in the United, are commonly underrepresented in

this literature (Mash & Barkley, 2003; Thomas, 2000).

Gender differences in stress, coping, and psychological symptoms in adolescents have

been well documented with White, middle class samples. Results suggest that female adolescents

have a higher incidence of psychopathology than do male adolescents (Romano, Tremblay,

Vitaro, Zoccolillo, & Pagani, 2001, Steinhausen, 1992). This gender difference appears to be

fully accounted for by gender differences in internalizing problems, such as depression and

anxiety (Beitchman, Kruidenier, Inglis, & Clegg, 1989; Davis, Matthews, & Twamley, 1999;

Lewinsohn et al, 1994), Romano et al., 2001). Externalizing problems, such as aggression and

delinquency, occur at higher rates among adolescent boys (Beitchman et al., 1989; Offer &

Schonert-Reichl, 1992; Overbeek et al, 2001).

Gender differences in internalizing symptoms appear to hold true across international

samples (Eiser, Havermans, & Eiser, 1995; Overbeek et al., 2001) and ethnically diverse samples

within the United States (Apling, 2002; Ostrov, Offer, & Howard, 1989; Reynolds, O'Koon,

Papademetriou, Szczygiel, & Grant, 2001). In contrast, gender differences in externalizing

symptoms are less prominent among African Americans in the United States and African

Americans in Britain (Grant, Katz, et al., 2004; Steinhausen, 1992).

Stress Inducing Situations for African Americans

In Ralph Ellison's (1952) literary classic *Invisible Man,* he poignantly portrayed the essence of psychological invisibility and the stress derived from conflicting messages about status and acceptance for African Americans.

Miller (1999) argued that African American adolescents' vulnerability is connected to a social environment that perpetuated discrimination and increases the risk for disorders. This may explain why urban youth are at risk for multiple internalizing and externalizing problems (Rutter, 1987). Consequently, race-related stress might operate as a risk factor for African American adolescents. Risk factors are conditions or variables associated with a higher likelihood of negative or socially undesirable outcomes (Jessor, Turbin, & Costa, 1998). Race-related stress might predispose African American adolescents to psychopathology during a time when they are figuring out who they are.

The African American male in America often experiences adolescence differently than his White counterpart. A review of the literature suggests that racism, socioeconomic disadvantages, and oppression have an effect on the development of young African American males (Wyatt, 2000). To compound the problem, a large body of research indicates that inner-city young African American males are more susceptible to criminal behavior, substance abuse, poor academic progress, and early sexual behavior (Curry & Spergel, 1992; Gill, 1992; Gray-Ray & Ray, 1990; Mincy, 1994; Ogbu & Wilson, 1990; Wyatt). Statistics from the Schott Educational Inequality Index (2006) indicate that nationally, 47% of African American males graduated from high school in 2006, but only 37% from Chicago Public Schools in the same year. Allensworth (2005) reported in the Chicago Public School graduation rate by indicating

that "among boys, only 39% of African Americans graduated by age 19 compared to 51 percent of Latinos, 58 percent of whites and 76 percent of Asians" (p.3).

African American males, because of their dissimilarity to the racial characteristics of White males, are denied equal access to goods and services deemed necessary for survival (e.g., favorable wages, living conditions, public and health services, and educational opportunities) (Burr, Hartman, & Matteson, 1999). Research suggests that African American male high school students' negative perception of educational environments affect their socio-emotional adjustment and participation in academia (Tatum, 2003). Additionally, Tatum (2003) suggests that African American males disconnect from environments they perceive as unbearable and unlike.

Research also suggests that African American males regardless of social status face discriminatory circumstances (Comer, 1995) that necessitate the development of coping that nullify the negative effects of these circumstances (Ogbu, 1985). How African American male youth respond to the various levels of stress associated with perceived discrimination influences the lack of, or development of these coping strategies (Clark, Anderson, Clark, and Williams, 1999) and influences outcomes related to their self-identity, self efficacy, and self esteem (Scott, 2003).

In Elijah Anderson's (1999) ethnographic work in inner city Philadelphia, he has described a "code of the street" that he defines as "asset of informal rules governing interpersonal public behavior, particularly violence" (p.33). These rules revolve around the idea of respect (defined as receiving the deference that one deserves) and its central role in how young African American men protect themselves in the inner city. Anderson has demonstrated how this code, which emerges from the hostile context of the inner city and lack of faith in

formal systems of justice, contribute to violence and aggression among young African American men in inner cities.

This kind of respect is a central part of how young urban men make their way through the dangerous world in which they live. The code of the street dictates that when someone disrespects you, whether physically, emotionally, or materially, you must respond aggressively to regain your respect.

The Effects of Demographic Variables on Stress

It is well known that individuals from more advantaged backgrounds enjoy better health than do individuals from disadvantaged environments (Anderson & Armstead, 1995; Antonovsky, 1967). In the health literature, the terms "social class" and "socioeconomic status (SES)" are often used interchangeably. However, in disciplines such as sociology, they bear different meanings. "Social class" is a term widely used in theories of social ordering and class categories, such as Marx's theory (Wright & Perrone, 1977) and others. "SES," as used in the sociological literature, is a function of education, income, or occupation (Dutton & Levine, 1989).

Prior research has shown that socioeconomic status (SES) and cognitive ability test performance are positively correlated (White, 1982). Individuals from high SES households earn higher IQ test scores than their low SES counterparts. On average, African Americans earn lower annual incomes than Whites (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), and this financial disparity may undermine intellectual development among African Americans. Several theorists have argued that one's family background and socialization play important roles in shaping one's intellectual development (McLoyd, 1998; Scarr & Weinberg, 1978; Suzuki & Valencia, 1997; Williams & Ceci, 1997). Socioeconomic disadvantage limits access to educational preparatory materials that

aid intellectual development (Campbell & Ramey, 1994; McLoyd, 1998; Scarr & Weinberg, 1978), and proportionally African Americans suffer greater socioeconomic disadvantage than Whites (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001).

In Savage Inequalities, Jonathan Kozol documents the devastating inequalities in American schools, focusing on public education's "savage inequalities" between affluent districts and poor districts.   From 1988 till 1990, Kozol visited schools in over thirty neighborhoods, including East St. Louis, the Bronx, Chicago, Harlem, Jersey City, and San Antonio.   Kozol describes the horrifying conditions in these schools.   He spends a chapter on each area, and provides a description of the city and a historical basis for the impoverished state of its school. These schools, usually in high crime areas, lack the most basic needs.   Kozol creates a scene of rooms without heat, few supplies or text, labs with no equipment, sewer backups, and toxic fumes.   Schools from New York to California, where not only are books rationed, but also toilet paper and crayons.   Many school buildings turn into swamps when it rains and must be closed because sewage often backs up into kitchens and cafeterias.   Kozol's descriptions of the schools help to instill the feeling of hopelessness and destitution that the children in these areas not only feel in their education but in their everyday lives as well.

The relationship between SES and health begins at the earliest stages of life (Anderson & Armstead, 1995).   According to Starfield (1982), who reviewed the literature on SES and child health, a SES-health linkage has been found with the following health problems: lead poisoning, vision problems, otitis media and hearing loss, cytomegalic inclusion disease, and iron deficiency anemia. Langford, Watson, and Douglas (1968) have reported results on 1,765 high school girls and showed that the lower the SES of the parents, the higher the blood pressure of the girls. In addition, mental retardation, learning disorders, and emotional and behavioral

problems occur at greater frequency among children of lower SES (Anderson & Armstead, 1995).

Rigorous quantitative documentation of the effects of hopelessness on adolescents growing up in economically impoverished neighborhoods has lagged behind. Several studies (Bolland, 2003; Bolland, McCallum Lian, Bailey, & Rowan, 2001; DuRant, Cadenhead, Pendergrast, Slavens, & Linder, 1994) have shown that hopelessness among adolescents living in inner-city neighborhoods is associated with increased levels of violence. These findings imply that youth are more likely to engage in violent behavior if failure seems an inevitable part of their future (Lorion & Saltzman, 1992; Garbarino, Dubrow, Kostelny, & Pardo, 1992, Bell & Jenkins, 1993). Bolland (2003) has suggested that if failure is a part of their future, adolescents are ore likely to engage in risk behaviors, including increased substance use, high risk sexual activity, and accidental injury.

Feelings of distress, disconnectedness, and hopelessness brought about by neighborhood-level characteristics may be moderated by family relationships. Stable and supportive family environments provide children with the emotional security to develop healthy relationships with others and can play an important protective role. Alternatively, in low income neighborhoods, the family may be a compounding source of stress and worry for the youths. For instance, household inconsistencies can put youths at risk for psychological and behavioral problems (Hanson, McLanahan, & Thyompson, 1997; Fletcher, Darling, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1995; Jencks & Mayer, 1990).

Instability or fluidity within a household also creates stress and anxiety for a child, and can lead to insecure attachments, ambiguous authority/parental figures, and insecure social networks that put youth at risk for psychosocial and behavioral problems (Bumpass & Lu, 2000;

Keller, Catalano, Haggerty, & Fleming, 2002; Seltzer, 2000; Thornberry, Smith, Rivera,

Huizinga & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1999; Wells & Rankin, 1991). Many suggest that household

instability is a common experience for children growing up in inner city impoverished

neighborhoods (Hunter & Ensminger, 1992). In short, in low income neighborhoods, the family

may be a compounding source of stress and worry for the youth. Consequently, feelings of

hopelessness among youths may make them more likely to engage in deleterious behaviors.

Biological Effects of Stress

Psychological stress has numerous psychological, metabolic, and behavioral

consequences. All of these are triggered when a particular situation is perceived as stressful. A

prominent stress theory postulates that this perception is associated with the appraisal of the

situation: when the demands of the particular event are perceived to exceed the available

resources, the feeling of stress ensues. However, besides the appraisal, there are specific

situational circumstances that contribute to stress perception.

Biological correlates of stress are an increasingly critical component of behavior

research. Psychological stress is a potent trigger of the most important nueroendocrine stress

system in animals and humans, the hypothalamic pituitary-adrenal (HPA axis). Responses to

stress are mediated by the sympathetic nervous system and (HPA) axis. Cortisol is the most

widely measured peripheral marker of HPA axis activation. This hormone is released by the

adrenal gland in response to physical and psychological stressors as a part of the action of the

HPA axis. In response to perceived stress, the hypothalamus releases CRF, which induces

secretion of adrenocorticotropic hormone (ACTH) from the pituitary. Circulating ACTH targets

the adrenal cortex and induces synthesis and secretion of glucocorticoids (cortisol in humans,

corticosterone in rats). This system may be responsible for facilitating coordinated

physiological and psychological responses to environmental changes. The HPA axis, however, also may be responsible for the link between stress and a range of disease states.

A thorough meta-analysis of a little more than 200 human studies of psychological stress induction revealed that situational characteristics facilitating the generation of a stress response include an atmosphere of high achievement, social evaluation, and little or no controllability. This finding supports the social self-preservation theory, which posits that humans have a strong need to preserve their social self (one's social values, esteem, and status), and are vigilant to threats that may jeopardize this identity. Interestingly, in neuro-imaging studies, the network that has been associated with self referential thought is similar to the network of structures observed in association with the phenomenon of psychological stress.

Summary

Stress associated with discrimination has been positively and negatively associated with several outcomes in African Americans. One would think that the disparities in coping strategies between African American adolescents and their adult counterparts would be nonexistent since African American adolescents also exist within the culture of racism in America. However, research related to coping strategies of African American adolescents is both sparse and arguable.

Being African American in America predisposes one to racism, a habitual social and environmental stressor (Seaton, 2003), yet, "research exploring the biological, psychological, and social effects of racism among African Americans is virtually non-existent" (Clark, et, al, 1999, p.805). Additionally, many stress-related psychological and physiological dysfunctions persist in African Americans relative to their prolonged experiences to the repugnant instances of racism. Researchers have also clearly indicated that habitual experiences with racism influenced

the declination in the self regard of African Americans. Based on the research one is

comfortable suggesting that racism, whether experienced individually, institutionally, or

culturally acts as an environmental stressor that influences the opportunities available to African

Americans as well as the demands and constraints placed on their behavior in social situations.

Hypothesis

The intensifying and demoralizing potential of racism threaten the psychological and

emotional qualities of African American youth. Eventually, after repeated unprepared

experiences with racism, many African American youth succumb with negative stressful

consequences. This makes it fundamentally imperative that African American youth acquire

strategic coping responses to limit the negative psychological and physiological consequences of

racism. The ability of the stressor to physically and mentally overwhelm African American

youth is contingent upon African American youth not possessing applicable coping strategies.

African Americans, because of their race, have been and continue to be subjected to

various social stressors that lead to negative stress. This stress has the potential to deplete

African Americans of their abilities to cope in response to these negative environmental

stressors. Research suggests that African Americans, young and old, overwhelmingly suffer

from stress related diseases, such as hypertension, cardiovascular diseases, and stroke. To this

researcher these indicators suggest that African Americans do not effectively cope with racism

related stress. The literature has only begun to reflect the coping strategies of adult African

Americans. However, it is questionable and disturbing regarding why the coping strategies of

African American adolescents, particularly males, have not been described in the literature

supposedly researching the issue of coping. Consequently, African American researchers have

an ethical and moral obligation to explore the correlation between stress and coping in African Americans.

Chapter 3
Methods

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to contribute to the field of psychology by examining how gender mediates the effects of race related stress and racial socialization on adolescent adjustment for African American youth. This study allowed for a better understanding of how gender intervenes in the effects of race related stress and the instigation of low self esteem in African American Adolescents.

Some researchers (e.g., Seaton, 2003) have observed that there is limited research related to race related stress among African American adolescents. For the few researchers who have reported the deleterious effects of race related stress on psychological health among African American adolescents, they have used samples of students with low grade point averages (Caldwell, Zimmeraman, Bernat, Sellers, & Notaro, 2002; Sellers et all., 2003; Schneekl-Cone & Zimmerman, 2003). This method of selecting participants based on their risk of academic failure leads to the inability to generalize results to African American adolescents. One is unable to discern if the differences are due to racial discrimination or other variables relating to failure to succeed in an academic setting. By utilizing a sample of high school students from varied socioeconomic classes with divergent academic capabilities, this study elucidated differences in adolescent adjustment that can be generalized to a larger group of African American adolescents.

Measures

Demographic Questionnaire

All participants completed a demographic questionnaire. They answered questions about their age, grade, gender, race, where they were born, the type of neighborhood they live in, who they live with, and their family's income.

Race-Related Stress

Race related stress was assessed with a modified version of the Index of Race Related Stress (IRRS; Utsey & Ponteratto, 1996). The original version of the IRRS is a 46-item measure of "race-related stress operationalized as the occurrence and perceived magnitude of specific events of racism and discrimination that African Americans potentially experience in their daily lives" (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996, p.491). Utsey and Ponterotto based their scale on their interpretation of four domains of racism established by Essed (1990) and Jones (as cited in Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). The IRRS has been validated and used among individuals older than 17 years of age, but has recently been modified and validated with a sample of adolescents (Seaton, 2003). Several questions were either revised or deleted so that the scale would be applicable to adolescents of all ages. The final version consisted of 32 items, with three subscales: individual, collective/institutional and cultural racism related stressors.

Ten items were related to the experience of *individual racism*, at a personal level. Individual racism consists of personal and degrading actions experienced by minorities, which promote the belief that they are inferior (Jones, 1997). Sample items included "Salespeople did not say thank you or show other forms of respect (i.e., put your things in a bag) when you shopped at some White/non-African American owned businesses," "While shopping at a store, the salesperson thought you couldn't afford certain items (i.e., you were directed toward the sales items)," "You were treated with less respect than Whites and other non-African Americans while in a store, restaurant, or other type of business," "Whites/non-African Americans have stared at you as if you didn't belong in the same place with them, whether it was a restaurant, store, or some other place of business," "While shopping in a store or when attempting to buy something, you were treated as if you were not a serious customer or didn't have any money," "You have

heard or seen other African American people wish to be White or to have White hair, lips, or eyes because they thought being African American was ugly or did not want to be African American," "White people or other non-African Americans have treated you as if you were stupid and needed things explained to you slowly or several times," "You have been in a restaurant or other non-African American place where everyone was waited on before you," "Security people have followed you while shopping in some stores," and "Whites/non-African Americans did not apologize to you for stepping on your foot or bumping into you."

Thirteen items assess a combination of *collective/institutional racism*, conceptualized as out-group members limiting privileges of African Americans, and discriminatory polices within an institution. Essed (1991) articulated that collective/institutional racism exists when dominant group members work to restrict or deny minority-group members their basic rights and privileges. Items included "You have been threatened with physical violence by a person or group of Whites/non-African Americans," "You were harmed in a crime and the police treated you as if you should just accept it because you were African American," "You were passed over for an important school project although you were better at the task than the White/non-African American person given the task" "You have been given more schoolwork or the school projects you don't want while the White/non-African American students are given less work and the tasks you want," "You have been questioned about being in a White neighborhood for no reason," "An individual or group of Whites/non-African Americans beat you up," "You think you did not receive a school award you deserved because you are African American," "Although you were waiting in line first, you were assisted after the White/non-African American person behind you," "White people have expected you to speak badly of some famous African American people (ex., rappers, athletes, etc.) who go against what is normal," "You called the police for

help and when they arrived they treated you like a criminal," "You think that you have been asked to pay in advance for things like food instead of after because you are African American," "You have held back angry feelings in the presence of Whites/non-African Americans because you were afraid they would have said you have a 'chip' on your shoulder," and "When you have been around Whites/non-African Americans, you expected them to say or do something that you wouldn't like."

Nine items examined the experience of racism in a *cultural* level, conceptualized as the declaration of superiority by one group over another. Cultural racism occurs when the beliefs and practices of the dominant group are regarded as superior to those of subordinate groups (Jones, 1991). Items included "You notice that crimes done by White people tend to be seen as not as bad, whereas the same crime done by a African American person is seen in a bad way and the African American person as an animal," "You notice that when African American people are killed by the police, the television and newspapers inform the public of the person's criminal record or other bad information about them, suggesting they got what they deserve," "You have observed that White kids who do violent acts are seen as 'boys being boys," while African American kids who do similar acts are wild animals," "You seldom hear or read anything good about African American people on radio, TV, or newspapers or in history books," "You have observed the police treat Whites/non-African Americans with more respect than they do African Americans," "You have heard reports of Whites/non-African Americans who have done crimes in an effort to cover up their acts, they lied and said that a African American person was responsible for the crime," "You notice that the newspapers and TV play up stories that cast African Americans in a bad way (ex., child abusers, rapists, muggers), and these stories are usually seen with a large picture of a African American person looking angry or disturbed,"

"You have heard bad remarks or comments about African American people spoken with little guild by important White people," and "You have noticed that there are either no garbage, street repair, or police services in African American neighborhoods or that they do not do a good job of keeping the area clean."

Items on each subscale were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (this has never happened to me, 1 (this event happened, but didn't bother me), 2 (this event happened and I was slightly upset), 3 (this event happened and I was upset) to 4 (this event happened and I was *extremely* upset).

The revised subscales developed by Seaton (2003) were moderately correlated with each other, which suggested that each subscale was related to each other, but also sufficiently distinct from each other (Seaton, 2003), as in the original IRRS (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). The main difference between the revised version and the original version of the IRRS was in bridging the collective and institutional racism subscales. After examining the factor structure of the revised version, Seaton indicated that the participants were unable to differentiate between experiences of collective and institutional racism (an issue that may be attributed to the fact that experience is associated with age). That is, some features of race related stress were more likely to be experienced by adults than adolescents, although both groups are affected by it (Seaton, 2003). Nonetheless, Seaton provided evidence of the validity of this modified version of the IRRS for the use with African American adolescents. Seaton (2003) reported that the modified scale was highly reliable, with Cronbach alpha coefficients above .80 for each scale.

Instrument Reliability and Validity

The IRS is a Likert-type scale composed of rating items with responses ranging from 0 ("This has never happened to me") to 4 ("Event happened and I was extremely upset"). Utsey

and Ponterotto (1966) reported high internal consistency coefficients among African American adults for the IRRS: individual racism (α=.84), collective racism (α=.74 to .79), institutional racism (α=.82 to .85), and cultural racism (α=.87 to .89).

The Cronbach alpha for the new IRRS subscales were as follows: Factor 1 (individual racism, α=.87), Factor 2 (collective/institutional racism, α=.84), and Factor 3 (cultural racism, α=.82). Pearson correlation coefficients were also calculated to assess the inter-correlations of the IRRS. Individual racism was significantly correlated with collective/institutional racism (r=.56, p<.01) and cultural racism (r=.59, p<.01). Collective/institutional racism was also significantly associated with cultural racism (r=.41, p<.01). These moderate correlations suggest that the revised IRRS subscales are separate yet related measures of the race related stress experienced by African American Adolescents.

Design

This was a quantitative, non-experimental, comparative, group design with a convenience population.

Participant & Sampling Methodology

The variable under consideration included race-related stress (i.e., individual, collective, cultural)). The estimation of sample size for this investigation was based on the work of several statisticians. James Stevens (1996) recommended that a minimum of 15 subjects per variable be considered a rule when conducting structural equation modeling. Bentler and Chou (1987) have suggested the use of a more conservative estimate of five cases per construct, a number that is advisable of the data is normally distributed and contains no missing data. Some statisticians have suggested that a sample size between 100 and 150 is adequate for structural equation modeling (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988), while others have recommended sample sizes calculated

on the basis of 10 and 20 subjects per variable (Schumacker & Lomax, 1996). Following these lines of reasoning, the proposed sample size for this investigation was between 150 and 200 student participants.

Participants in this study were African American adolescents from a predetermined charter high school located in a city in northeastern United States. The city where the school is located has a population of over 1.5 million, of which approximately 47.5% are Caucasian and 44.8% are African American (US Census Bureau, 2000a). Approximately 52% of the families in the county where the school is located earn between $10,000 and $49,999, 23% earn between $50,000 and $99,999, and 6% earn greater than $100,000 (US Census Bureau, 2000b). Almost 18% of families in the county live below the poverty level (US Census Bureau, 2000b).

The selected high school was chosen for the study based on its diverse demographic composition. There were 539 African American Students in grades 9 through 12, which represents about 31% of the school population. Caucasians represented the largest percent of the student population (51%). Hispanics represent about 10%, followed by Asians (8%).

A total of 200 students participated in this study. The sample consisted of students in grades 9 - 12 at a public charter high school. The high school was selected for the study based on its diverse demographic composition.

Data Collection Procedures

After meeting with the Chief Executive Officer and the Principal, an appropriate method for administering the questionnaires was determined. Questionnaires were administered to students in a context that was identical for all students. The investigator met with each teacher whose students were invited to participate. Teachers were informed of the purpose of the study, why their students' participation was important, and the approximate amount of time it would

take for students to complete the questionnaires. Each teacher recommended a time and date that was most convenient for the investigator to come in and conduct the study with his or her students.

Consent

A set of instructions explaining the purpose of the study was read to the participants. The primary researchers distributed the questionnaire. The participants were reminded that their participation was voluntary and that their individual results would not be reported to any school or government officials. On completion of the questionnaire, the purpose of the study was explained to the participants, and they were allowed to ask questions about the study.

Data Analysis

Delimitations

There were limitations caused by the type of study (e.g., limited to high school students). This was also a convenient sample, meaning that the researcher had access to these students.

Chapter 4
Results

Introduction

This study aimed to investigate within group differences on perceived racial discrimination for African American adolescents. While researchers recently began to examine the variable of perceived discrimination within minority group populations, little research has examined within group differences among African American adolescents. This study endeavored to address this void by investigating the role of gender on perceived discrimination for African American adolescents. The research questions posed in this study were:

1. Are there gender differences with regard to coping styles of African American adolescents when exposed to race related stress?

2. Does SES have a direct relationship on racial stress?

3. Does the type of neighborhood that one lives in have a direct relationship on racial stress?

4. Does the immediate family structure have a direct relationship on racial stress?

Descriptive Analysis

A total of 200 students participated in the research study. Out of the total sample of participants that correctly completed the questionnaires, 151 students met the specified criteria. High school students at the selected high school were included as part of the final sample if they considered themselves to be African American or African American and between the age range of 14 to 18.

The sample consisted of students in grades 9 through 12 at a charter high school located in the Northeast section of a large northeast city. Approximately half of the participants were male ($n = 76$), while the rest were female ($n = 75$). All of the participants were African American, were born in the United States, and ranged in age from 14 – 18. Frequencies and

percents for the age ranges yielded that participants were relatively evenly distributed across age 14 (21%), and 15 (23%), age 16 (25%), age 17 (20%); however, participants who were age 18 only represented 10% of the sample (Table 1).

Each of the 151 participants completed a demographic questionnaire. The frequencies and percentages for this data are shown in Table 2. They answered questions about the type of neighborhood they lived in, who they lived with, and their family's income. The possible responses were as follows:

Neighborhood – mostly African American, mostly White, mostly Latino, mostly Asian, Racially mixed, and other)

Which parent do you live with – both my mother and father, my mother and step-father, only my father, only my mother, my father and step-mother, some of the time in my mother's home and some in my father's home, other relative (aunt, uncle, grandparents), guardian or foster parent who is not a relative

How well off do you think your family is compared to others your age – we are a lot richer, we are somewhat richer than most, we have about the same amount of money as most, we are somewhat poorer than most, we are a lot poorer than most

Data Analysis

Internal consistency reliabilities for the scale used in this study, utilizing Cronbach's alpha can be found in Table 3. As can be seen from this table, the internal consistency reliabilities for the IRRS-revised ranged from .88 to .96. The internal consistency reliabilities for the scale was similar to others found in previous construct validity studies (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996, Seaton, 2003).

Independent Samples t-test

The first research question asks whether there are gender differences in coping style of African American adolescents when exposed to race related stress. The hypothesis is that males

Table 1. Frequency and Percentages for Participant Information

Age	Frequency	Percent
14	32	21.2
15	34	22.5
16	38	25.2
17	31	20.5
18	16	10.6
Total	151	100

Table 2. Frequency and Percentages for Demographic Information

	Frequency	Percent
Neighborhood		
Mostly African American	102	67.5
Mostly White	7	4.6
Mostly Latino	2	1.3
Mostly Asian	2	1.3
Racially Mixed	37	24.5
Other	1	.7
Total	151	100
Parent Living With		
Mother and father	35	23.2
Mother and Stepfather	18	11.9
Father	2	1.3
Mother	71	47.0
Father and Stepmother	8	5.3
Some w/mother & some w/father	5	3.3
Other relatives	9	6.0
Foster parents/non-relatives	3	2.0
Total	151	100
SES		
Richer than most	7	4.6
Somewhat richer than most	17	11.3
About the same as most	88	58.3
Somewhat poorer than most	32	21.2
A lot poorer than most	7	4.6
Total	151	100

Table 3. Means, Standard Deviations, and Cronbach's Alpha of Scale

Scale	Internal Consistency	Mean	Standard Deviation
Individual Racism	.90	28.96	9.43
Collective Racism	.88	26.67	10.90
Cultural Racism	.93	30.20	9.49
Overall Scale	.96	88.49	27.70

will use more negative coping skills than females. An independent-samples *t* test was conducted to evaluate the hypothesis that African American males use more negative coping styles than females. There was a significant difference in the scores for males (M = 2.92, SD = .914) and females (M = 2.44, SD = .677) on the overall scale measured by the IRRS. The test was significant *t(149)* = 3.62, *p* < .01. When analyzing the 3 subscales (*individual racism, collective racism, and cultural racism*) of the IRRS, there was a significant difference in scores for males (M = 3.07, SD = .928) and females (M = 2.72, SD = .93) on the *individual racism* subscale. The test was significant, *t*(149) = 2.35, *p* = .02. There was also a significant difference in the scores for males (M = 2.39, SD = .942) and females (M = 1.70, SD = .495) on the *collective racism* subscale. The test was significant, *t*(149) = 5.62, *p* <.01. As expected, there is a difference in gender with regards to race related stress, with males endorsing more negative ways of coping with stress associated with racism and discrimination as measured by the IRRS.

One Way Analysis of Variance

Further analysis of the data was done in order to answer the research question regarding gender differences with regards coping styles when exposed to race related stress. Again, the hypothesis is that males would endorse more negative styles of coping than females (Table 5). A one way analysis of variance was conducted to evaluate the relationship between gender and race related stress measured on the IRRS scale. The independent variable, gender, included two levels: male and female. The dependent variable stress was measured on the IRRS, which has 3 subscales (*individual, collective/institutional, cultural*) and an overall score. The ANOVA was significant on the overall scale, $F(1, 149) = 13.34$, *p* < .01, on the *individual* subscale, $F(1, 149) = 5.51$, *p* = .02., and the *collective/institutional* subscale, $F(1, 149) = 31.53$, *p* <.01.

Table 4. Independent Samples *t*-test for Perceived Discrimination Variables by Gender

Scale	Male (n = 76) M	SD	Female (n = 75) M	SD	t	p
Individual	3.07	.928	2.72	.932	2.35	.020
Collective	2.39	.942	1.70	.495	5.62	.000
Cultural	3.51	1.10	3.20	.994	1.83	.069
Overall	2.92	.914	2.44	.677	3.65	.000

Table 5. Analysis of Variance for Perceived Discrimination Variables by Gender

Scale	Male (n = 76) M	SD	Female (n = 75) M	SD	F	p
Individual	3.07	.928	2.72	.931	5.505	.020
Collective	2.39	.942	1.70	.495	31.53	.000
Cultural	3.51	1.096	3.20	.994	3.349	.069
Overall	2.92	.914	2.44	.677	13.33	.000

Pearson Correlations

A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between demographic variables (the type of neighborhood, which parent the adolescent lives with, and SES) one race related stress. Frequency and percents for this data may be found in Table 6. There were positive correlations between which parent the participant lived with and the *overall* scale as well as the *cultural racism* subscale, r = 0.186, n = 151, p = 0.022 and r = 0.160, n = 151, p = .05, respectively. There were also positive correlations between SES and the *overall* scale as well as the individual and *cultural racism* subscale, r = 0.205, n = 151, p = .01, r = 0.271, n = 151, p < .01, and r = 0.159, n = 151, p = .05 (Table 7). The reasons why SES and immediate family structure impact stress will be highlighted in the discussion section.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to examine the influence of gender on coping styles used by African American adolescents when exposed to race relates stress. It also examined the relationship that various demographic variables have on stress. The independent variable was gender, and the dependent measure was the Index of Race Related Stress.

The results indicated that males reported using more negative ways of coping with race related stress than females. There was also significant relationships found for SES, family structure, and stress.

Table 6.

Type of Neighborhood	Frequency	Percent
Mostly African American	102	67.5
Mostly White	7	4.6
Mostly Latino	2	1.3
Mostly Asian	2	1.3
Racially mixed	37	24.5
Other	1	.7
Total	151	100

Parent Living With	Frequency	Percent
Mother and father	35	23.2
Mother and stepfather	18	11.9
Father	2	1.3
Mother	71	47.0
Father and stepmother	8	5.3
Some w/mother & w/father	5	3.3
Other relative	9	6.0
Foster parents or non-relatives	3	2.0
Total	151	100

SES	Frequency	Percent
Richer than most	7	4.6
Somewhat richer than most	17	11.3
About the same as most	88	58.3
Somewhat poorer than most	32	21.2
A lot poorer than most	7	4.6
Total	151	100

Table 7 Correlations between Demographic Variables and Measures of the IRRS

	Nhbrhood		Parents		SES		Individual		Collective		Cultural		Overall	
	r	p	r	p	r	p	r	p	r	p	r	p	r	p
Nhbrhood	--	--	.079	.334	.023	.775	.090	.272	.118	.151	.076	.354	.106	.196
Parents	.079	.334	--	--	.245	.002	.153	.061	.100	.220	.186	.022	.160	.050
SES	.023	.775	.245	.002	--	--	.271	.001	.133	.104	.159	.051	.205	.011

Chapter 5

Discussion

The purpose of the study was to examine gender differences in coping styles of African

American Adolescents when exposed to race related stress. The researcher also examined the

relationship between stress and various demographic variables. The following section focuses

on the results as they relate to the research questions. Limitations of the study and implications

for future research are also discussed.

Race related stress is defined as stress associated with discrimination. Essed (1990)

defined racial/ethnic prejudice as having unsubstantiated negative thoughts or feelings about an

individual simply because he or she is a member of a particular racial or ethnic group. Race-

related stress can be understood as a multidimensional construct (Seaton, 2003). Three types of

racism-related stress have been identified. *Individual racism-related* stressors exist when

African Americans respond negatively to Whites engaging in behaviors (e.g., racial slurs, jokes)

intended to denigrate African Americans.

Summary of Findings

The first hypothesis males would report higher levels of negative coping styles in

response to racial discrimination yielded confirmatory results. Significant differences were

found in the way that African American males and females cope with stress, particularly race

related stress. Males endorsed more negative ways of coping with race related stress than

females. Higher levels of negative coping were reported on the overall scale, as well as on the

individual racism and collective racism subscales. The results suggests that urban African

American adolescent males perceive experiences of individual racism (personal behaviors

designed to denigrate African Americans) and Collective racism (differential access to societal goods, services, and opportunities), as assessed by the index of race related stress.

The number one response was anger expressed by the adolescent African American males in this study in relation to most of the racism related stressors they experienced. Males reported experiencing more externalizing emotions. Externalizing emotions are characterized by feelings involving negative outward behaviors as opposed to internal negative emotions. Research (Bruch, 2002) shows that these emotions can place one at risk for engaging in externalizing disorders such as substance abuse (both drugs and alcohol) and antisocial behavior (such as anger, hostility, aggression, violence, stealing, etc.). Many of these disorders are common to African American men. For African American men, the consequences of neglected mental health needs are devastating. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2007) highlighted the following statistics: 7% of African American men will develop depression during their lifetime, African American men have death rates that are at least three times as high as those for White men for homicide, the suicide rate for African American male youth (ages 15-19) increased by 146%, and for African American men, especially in urban areas, the abuse of alcohol and its consequences appeared more grave when compared to statistics for white men, white women, or African American women.

Men are not exempt from such internalizing disorders as anxiety and depression. In fact, one study found that high levels of masculinity appear to be related to depression in males (Bruch, 2002). Some researchers feel that men's abuse of substances could be considered the male version of depression (Bruch, 2002).

Interestingly, prior research has explained that, in general, women are usually described, when compared to men, as having more distress and utilizing more emotional responses when

encountering stress (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). Women were more likely to endorse internalizing emotions. This involves more negative inner emotions as opposed to outward negative behavior. Depression (both mild and severe) and anxiety (generalized, phobias, and panic attacks) are internalizing disorders common to women (Marecek, 2001). Studies suggest that women typically react to stress by seeking social support, expressing feelings, or using distraction (Marecek, 2001). These strategies might include worrying, getting advice, or engaging in behaviors that are not related to the problem at all. Seeking social support and distraction are considered avoidant coping strategies because they do not focus on solving or overcoming the problem, only on alleviating the stress associated with the problem (Marecek, 2001).

Adolescence is a time of great change and transition, when youth experience physical, mental, and emotional changes. The experiences of young African American men differ in many ways from those of other racial and ethnic groups. African American youth have been known to exhibit attitudes and behaviors consistent with rage and annoyance in response to racial discrimination (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Prolonged use of these stressful responses may reinforce the ultimate coping behaviors of African American youth (Harell, 2000; Scott, 2003) and eventually produce a wide variety of negative psychological and physiological outcomes in African American youth (Clark et al., 1999).

Besides physical factors that contribute to mental disorders are a host of social factors that create a negative environment for African American men. On a daily basis, the African American male has to deal with racism, inequality, and economic oppression while trying to care for him-self. Dealing with this harsh reality can lead to increased anger, depression, frustration, low self esteem, and feelings of hopelessness. As a result, the psychological and physiological

health of African Americans is negatively impacted by racism-related personal and environmental stressors. Research suggests that the severity and endurance of uncomfortable psychological situations are probably influenced by one's lower social status (Slavin et al., 1997). Additionally, many stress related psychological and physiological dysfunctions persist in African American Americans relative to their prolonged experiences to the repugnant instance of racism (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). Kreiger and Sidney (1996) discovered that chronic exposure to racism related stressors correlated with the varying degrees of hypertension and strokes among African Americans.

On the subscale that measures cultural/institutional racism, males and females did not differ in their perception of cultural/institutional racism (when the cultural practices of the dominant group are lauded as superior to those of another). These results could be due to the belief that institutional racism is more subtle, less visible, and less identifiable than individual acts of racism. It reflects the cultural assumptions of the dominant group, so that the practices of that group are seen as the norm to which other cultural practices should conform.

Another explanation could be found in Ogbu's (1985) oppositional perspective that is echoed by other authors, including Majors and Billson (1992), who argue that African American males, adopt a "cool pose" – a ritualized approach to masculinity that allows them to cope and survive in an environment of social oppression and racism. According to Majors and Billson (1992), African American males learn early to project this façade of emotionless, fearlessness, and aloofness to counter the inner pain caused by the damaged pride, poor self confidence, and fragile social competence that result from their existence as a member of a subjugated group. Many of the roots of cool pose seem to be similar to the social issues discussed by Ogbu (1985). Similar to Steele (1992), Majors and Billson (1992) depict African American males as victims of

their own coping strategies. From the writings of these authors, we can infer that African American students, particularly boys, fail to achieve their full potential because of social, psychological, and cultural hurdles.

Pearson Product Moment Correlations were used in order to explore the relationship that other demographic variable might have race related stress. This researcher explored SES, the type of neighborhood one lives in, and which parent the adolescent lives with in order to determine if any of these variables had any relationship on stress. The hypothesis was that all of the above mentioned demographic variable would have some impact on stress.

There was not a significant relationship between neighborhood and stress. This was contrary to the researcher's expectation. A total of 102 participants (67.5%) reported living in a "mostly African American" neighborhood. African American adolescents learn about racism from a variety of sources, a process referred to as socialization. Some of the ways in which African Americans youth might be socialized could vary from church, to both parents to mother and their peers. Socialization is the process by which community systems interact with African American youth to protect them from racism and other negative developmental exposures (Stevenson, Reed, Bodison & Bishop, 1997). It is through this process that African American youth are introduced to, and coached on the many ramifications of racism-related attitudes and behaviors (McCoy, 1998). *Racial socialization* is conceptualized as messages conveyed by African American parents to their children that facilitate a positive sense of identity, while simultaneously creating an awareness of the prevalence of racism and hostility within society (Brown-Griffin, 2003; Brown-Griffin & Krishnakumar, 2004; Stevenson, 1995).

Studies have indicated that African American families are often nested in cohesive communities that have protective value for parents, and such environments may serve as a buffer

for African American children (Brody et al., 2001). "The village" as such environments have become widely known, had been recognized as an important concept in understanding resilience of African American families living in a society where they are devalued (McAdoo, 2002). In many close knit African American communities, adults often use strategies to support other parents and monitor neighborhood children, a process referred to as collective socialization (Burton and Jarrett, 2000). Collective socialization can encourage positive developmental pathways for children by sanctioning appropriate behavior and correcting misbehavior. When community residents band together in this way, the process of parental monitoring reaches beyond household boundaries and represents a measure of trust and agreement among adults about acceptable conduct for children.

When African American parents convey messages of acceptance and pride, children are likely to internalize their parents' perceptions in ways that foster a healthy sense of self (Tyson, 2002). Both general parenting and racial socialization practices have been associated with self esteem and racial identity amongst African American adolescents (Murray et al., 2007).

The results revealed a positive relationship between which parent the adolescent lives with and overall stress, as well as, cultural stress as measured on the IRRS. The descriptive data shows that 47% of the participants reported to live only with their mother. It has long been recognized that children growing up in lone-mother households are more likely to have emotional, academic, and financial problems and are more likely to engage in behavior associated with social exclusion, such as offending, teenage pregnancy, alcohol and drug abuse or worklessness (Hope, Power, & Rodgers, 1999). It can be difficult to disentangle the many factors and processes that contribute to these increased risks.

It may also be possible that some of the factors which may coincide with living in a lone-mother household, may have existed prior to the break-up of the parents' marriage or cohabiting union or, in the case of un-partnered mothers, prior to the birth of the child. In other words, some of the negative outcomes experienced by children and adults who live in lone-mother households might have occurred even if the parents had maintained an intact family household.

Single mothers juggle many responsibilities including financial provision, house keeping, and parenting (Rani, 2006). In addition, they lack a supportive spouse to turn to for counsel, cooperation, and comfort. The stress in the mother's life and the way she deals with it also impacts her child. Current research suggests that professional help is sought for mental health reasons by single parent mothers two to three times more often (Cairney, Boyle, Lipman, and Racine, 2004). Even the relatively privileged single mothers "found it difficult to manage (and got little support for) the traditional female tasks of cooking, cleaning, and caring for children" (Nelson, 2004). Single mothers may be exposed to enormous stress due to the need to provide the financial needs of the family concurrently with caring for the home including those responsibilities traditionally assumed by men, acquiring new skills, and raising a child, all at the same time.

Regardless of race, most mothers experience stress related to concerns about their children. African American mothers may experience the additional stress of their children due to racism. There is a persistent rise in female-headed households and with stress-related disease being one the leading causes of death among African American women, it is important to consider this variable.

Additionally, because African American children are especially likely to live in single parent, mother only families, many African American males have no positive adult male role

model. This absence of male role models may put African American adolescent males at risk for unresolved psychological distress. Moreover, in the absence of positive adult male role models, many African American boys turn to their peers to form their male identity; these peer groups often have a negative influence on young boys, encouraging behaviors that diminish chances of success in education and employment (Poussaint, 1989).

The high level of concern regarding cultural/institutional racism may be understood in light of data showing that African American youth are more likely to go to jail or to be suspended from school in comparison to white youth (Brooks, K., Schiraldi, V., & Zeidenberg, J., 2000), and there is research documenting the existence of racial discrimination in the criminal justice system (Mtichell, O., 2005).

It is unquestionable that African American youth, particularly African American males, are victimized mentally and physically within the various hostile and racist environments of America (Potts, 1997; Spencer, 2001). It is also evidenced that unlike White youth, African American youth risk levels of involvement in the criminal justice system, negative educational experiences, and inappropriate healing mechanisms indicative of holocaustal arrangement against these youth (Brooks, Schiraldi, & Zeidenberg, 2000). African American youth continue to be the victims of White American apparatuses of control, propaganda and castigations (Potts, 1997). This is particularly implicated through many educational environments where racism influences their educational outcomes (Tatum, 1997).

Numerical interpretations reveal that adolescent African American youth experiences of lasting ejections from many educational environments far exceeds those of their White peers (Department for Education and Employment, 2001; Social Exclusion Unit, 1998). Additionally, Connelly's (1998) research suggests that the menacing propaganda of African American males

stimulated many educators' decisions to castigate African American males as an impediment to their future delinquency. As a result, African American males risk demoralizing and demonic tracking and branding, physical and non-physical condemnations and authoritative referrals from educators disproportionate to their non-African American male peers (Graham & Robinson, 2004). One study uncovered many results suggesting the preventive judicial chastisement of adolescent African American males viewed as menaces to society (Snyder, 1996). Disproportionately, African American youth are pathologically labeled and incarcerated as opposed to having appropriate treatment and/or family oriented therapeutic plans (Russo & Talberrt-Johnson, 1997). Consequently, these youth are scapegoated, victimized and categorized according to racial stratifications in this country (Potts, 1997; Spencer, 2001). African American youth compared to White youth face more involvement in the in the criminal justice arena; more disciplinary actions and special education in schools; and less culturally relevant academic and psychological interventions, resulting in the physical and mental disenfranchisement of these youth.

Results further revealed a significant relationship between SES and the overall scale, as well as the individual racism and cultural racism subscales. While 88% of the participants reported that their family's SES was about the same as most, it is important to remember that almost one half of the participants reside in single parent households. Single mothers are twice as likely as two parent families to live in poverty, or experience increased financial strain, at any time (Hope, Power, & Rodgers, 1999). SES generally is defined by household income level, but there usually is much more involved than just limited income. Limited income can be a proxy for a number of other factors that cluster together such as poor health, high levels of

unemployment, high crime rates, unsafe neighborhoods, low quality schools and other community resources, and low expectations.

Limitations of the Study

One of the limitations of this study is the use of self report measures. The results were dependent on the participant's ability to accurately and honestly report their beliefs and feelings. Individuals may have minimized certain experiences or over reported certain experiences to create a socially desired outcome.

Another limitation was due to the fact that a sample of convenience was utilized. By using a high school aged sample from one high school in the northeast, the results may only be generalized to similar populations and may not be generalizable to non-student populations.

Implications

One of the purposes of this study was to examine gender differences in coping styles of African American adolescents when exposed to race related stress. There were several significant findings to support all of the hypotheses; however, there are still some implications for future research. Future research is needed to clarify the relation between racial identity and perceptions of racial discrimination. Although past research has investigated the relation between racism and psychological health of African Americans, future research should examine how racial identity contributes to psychological health when African Americans perceive events as racist.

There is one suggestion that is methodological in nature. That is to consider the use of qualitative data collection and analysis in addition to the quantitative methodology. While the data were collected, many of the participants reacted strongly the "race" related stress questionnaire, but the author was unable to record the adolescents' reactions. It would have been

worthwhile to conduct open-ended sessions after they completed the survey, given that this is one of the few studies assessing "race" related stress among African American adolescents. It is the author's belief that the qualitative data would have more fully enhanced the quantitative data.

Summary

The intensifying and demoralizing potential of racism threaten the psychological and emotional qualities of African American youth. African American youth can take only so much negative treatment in an environment that they once perceived as safe. African American youth must also endure the growing pains of adolescence. Add to those developmental issues the dynamics of racism and African American youth, particularly African American male youth, have the potential of human powder kegs, ready to explode at any incident.

Daily experiences of racism produce a frustration and rage that accumulates in African American people (White & Cones, 1999). Studies have revealed that experiences that produce negative emotions influence negative psychological and physiological stressors and consequence in African American youth. The ability of the racism related stress to physically and mentally overwhelm African American youth is contingent upon African American youth not possessing applicable coping responses. Eventually, after repeated unprepared experiences with racism, many African American youth succumb with negative stressful consequences.

This study is an attempt to begin to understand how the effects of racism, prejudice, and discrimination can be reduced or alleviated among African American. W. E. B. DuBois articulated that African Americans wish to be African and American without being castigated for being African. The results of the present study suggest that much more needs to be done for further understanding of what it means to be African American in this country.

References

Akbar, N. (1992). Afrocentric social science for human liberation. *Journal of African American Studies,* 14, 395-411.

Allensworth, E (2005). Graduation and dropout trends in Chicago: A look at cohort students from 1991 through 2004. Chicago: University of Chicago, Consortium on Chicago School Research.

Allison, K.W., Burton, L., Marshall, S., Perez-Febles, A., Yarrington, J., Kirsh, L. B., et al. (1999). Life experiences among urban adolescents: Examining the role of context. *Child Development*, 70, 1017-1029.

Allport, G.W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice.* Reading MA: Addison-Wesley.

Amirkan, J. H. (1990). A factor analytically derived measure of coping: The coping Strategy Indictor. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 5, 1066-1074.

Anderson, E. (1999). *Code of the Street: Decency, violence, and the moral life of the inner city.* New York: WW Norton & Co.

Anderson, L. P. (1991). Acculturative stress: A theory of relevance to African American Americans. *Clinical Psychology Review,* 11, 685-702.

Anderson, N.B., & Armstead, C.A. (1995). Toward understanding the association of socioeconomic status and health: A new challenge for the biopsychosocial approach. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, **23**, 3726-3751.

Anderson, J. C. & Gerbing, D. W. (1988). Structural equation modeling in practice: A review and recommended two step approach. *Psychological Bulletin,* 103, 411-423.

Antoonovsky, A. (1967). Social class, life expectancy, and overall mortality. *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly,* 45(1), 31-73.

Apling, G. C. (2002). *Sex differences in the prevalence of adolescent stress and psychological symptoms, and stress as a mediator between sex and symptoms*. Unpublished master's thesis, DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois.

Atkinson, D.R., Morten, G., & Sue, D.W. (1989). A minority identity development model. In Dr. Atkinson, G. Morten, & d. W. Sue (Eds), *Counseling American Minorities* (pp. 35-52). Dubuque, IA: W. C. Brown.

Beitchman, J. H., Kruidenier, B., Inglis, A., & Clegg. M. (1989). The Children's Self-Report Questionnaire: Factor score age trends and gender differences. Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 28(5), 714–722.

Bell, C. C., and Jenkins, E. J. (1993). Community violence and children on Chicago's southside. *Psychiatry*, *56,* 46–54.

Bentler, P.M. & Chou, C.P. (1987). Practical issues in structural modeling. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 16, 78-117.

Billingsley, A. (1992). Climbing Jacob's ladder: The enduring legacy of African American families. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Bolland, J. M. (2003). Hopelessness and risk behavior among adolescents living in high-poverty inner-city neighborhoods. *Journal of Adolescence*, *26,* 145–158.

Bolland, J. M., McCallum, D. M., Lian, B., Bailey, C. J., & Rowan, P. (2001). Hopelessness and violence among inner city youths. *Maternal and Child Health Journal*, *5,* 237–244.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2004). The many costs of racism. *Social Forces*. Chapel Hill: March 2004. Vol. 82, Iss.3; p. 1240 (3 pages).

Bowen-Reid, T.L., & Harrell, J.P. (2002). Racist experiences and health outcomes: An

    examination of spirituality as a buffer. *Journal of African American Psychology,* 28, 18-

    36.

Bowker, L. H. (1993). *Beating wife-beating*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Brady, E. U., & Kendall, P.C. (1992). Comorbidity of anxiety and depression in children and

    adolescents. *Psychological Bulletin*, 111, 244-255.

Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Percieving pervasive

    discrimination among African Americans: Implications four group identification and

    well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 77, 135-149.

Brody, G. H., Ge, X., Conger, R. D., Gibbons, F. X., Murry, V. M., Gerrard, M., et al. (2001).

    The influence of neighborhood disadvantage, collective socialization, and parenting on

    African American children's affiliation with deviant peers. *Child Development,* 72, 4,

    1231-1246.

Broman, C.L. (1997). Race-related factors and life satisfaction among African Americans.

    Journal of African American Psychology, 23, 36-49.

Brooks, K., Schiraldi, V., & Zeidenberg, J. (2000). *School house hype: Two years later.*

    Washington, DC: Justice Policy Institute.

Brown-Griffin, T. (2003). *Measuring racial and ethnic socialization in African American*

    families: Scale development and validation. Unpublished doctoral dissertation.

    Syracuse University, Syracuse.

Brown-Griffin, T. & Krishnakumar, A. (2004, March). *Measuring racial and ethnic*

    socialization: Scale development and validation procedures. Poster session presented at

    the biennial meeting of the Society for Research on Adolescence, Baltimore, MD.

Brown, T.N., Williams, D.R., Jackson, J.S., Neighbors, H.W., Torres, M., Sellers, S.L. et al. (2000). "Being African American and feeling blue": The mental health consequences of racial discrimination. *Race & Society,* 2(2), 117-131.

Bruch, M. (2002). Shyness and toughness: Unique and moderated relations with men's emotional inexpression. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 79, (4), 430-438.

Bullock, S.C. & Houston, E. (1987). Perceptions of racism by African American medical students attending White medical schools. *Journal of the National Medical Association*, 79, 601-608.

Bumpass, L., & Lu, H. H. (2000). Trends in cohabitation and implications for children's family contexts in the United States. *Population Studies*, *54,* 29–41.

Burr, J. A., Hartman, J. T., & Matteson, D. W. (1999). African American suicide in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: An examination of the racial inequality and social integration-regulation hypotheses. *Social Forces*, 77, 1049-1080.

Burton, L. M. & Jarrett, R. L. (2000). In the mix, yet on the margins: The place of families in urban neighborhood and child development research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 62, 4, 1114-1135.

Cairney, J., Boyle, M.H., Lipman, E. L., & Racine, Y. (2004). Single mothers and the use of professionals for mental health care reasons, *Social science and medicine,* 59(12), 2535-2946.

Caldwell, C. H., Zimemrman, M. A., Bernat, D.H., Sellers, R.M., and Notaro, P.C. (2002). *Child Development*, 73, 1322-1336.

Campbell, F.A. & Ramey, C.T. (1994). Effects of early intervention on intellectual and

academic achievement: A follow-up study of children from low income families. *Child Development*, 65, 684-698.

Carroll, R. (1991). *Sugar in the raw: Voices of young Back girls in America.* New York: Three Rivers Press.

Chevins, 2001 in W. Moore (2002). Stress and Suicide. Retrieved from

www.channel14.com/health/microsites/0-9/4health/stress/aas_suicide.html February 15, 2005.

Cheyney, L. (1987). American memory: A report on the humanities in the nation's public

schools. National Endowment for the Humanities.

Clark, R. (2003). Subjective stress and coping resources interact to predict blood pressure

reactivity in African American college students. *Journal of African American Psychology*, 29, 445-462.

Clark, R., Anderson, N.B., Clark, V.R., & Williams, D.R. (1999). Racism as a stressor for

African Americans: A biopsychosocial model. *American Psychologists*, 54, 805-816.

Comer, J. P. (1995). Racism and African American adolescent development. In C. V. Willie, P.

P. Rieker, B. M. Kramer, & B. S. Brown (Eds.), *Mental health, racism, and sexism* (pp. 151-170). Pittsburgh, PA University of Pittsburgh Press.

Compas, B. E. (1987). Coping with stress during childhood and adolescence. *Psychological Bulletin*, 101, 393-403.

Compas, B.E., Orosan, P.G., & Grant, K.E. (1993). Adolescent stress and coping: Implications

for psychology during adolescence. *Journal of Adolescence,* 16, 331-349.

Compas, B. E., Connor-Smith, J. K., Saltzman, H., Thomsen, A. H., & Wadsworth, M. E.

(2001). Coping with stress during childhood and adolescence: Problems, progress and potential in theory and research. Psychological Bulletin, 127.

Connelly, P. (1998). *Racism, gender identities and young children*. London: Routledge.

Cooley, Charles H. *Human Nature and the Social Order*. New York: Scribner's, 1902. Confer pp. 183-184

Crocker, J., & Major, B. (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. *Psychological Review*, 96, 608-630.

Cross, W. E. (1971). The Negro-to-African American conversion experience. *African American World,* 20, 13-27.

Cross, W. E. (1978). The Thomas and Cross models of psychological nigresence: A literature review. *Journal of African American Psychology*, 4, 13-31.

Cross, W. E. (1991). Rethinking Nigresence. In W. E. Cross, *Shades of African American: Diversity in African American identity* (pp 189-223). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Cross, W. E., Parham, T. A., & Helms, J. E. (1998). Nigresence revisited: Theory and research. In R. I. Jones (Ed.), *African American identity development: Theory, research, and intervention* (pp. 3-71). Hampton, VA: Cobb & Henry.

Curry, G. D., & Spergel, I. A. (1992). Gang involvement and delinquency among Hispanic and African American adolescent males. Atlanta, GA: Emory University.

Davis M.C., Matthews K.A., Twamley E.W. (1999). Is life more difficult on Mars or Venus? A meta-analytic review of sex differences in major and minor life events. *Annals of Behavioral Medicine.*;21(1):83–97.

Daniels, E. & Arapostathis, M. (2005). What Do They Really Want? Student Voices and
Motivation Research. *Urban Education*, 40, 1, 34-59.

Dei, G. J. (1998). Interrogating "African development" and the diasporan reality. (1998).
Journal of African American Studies. Thousand Oaks: Nov 1998. Vol. 29, Iss. 2; p. 141
(13 pages).

Department of Education and Employment, (2001). *Youth cohort study: The activities and
experiences of 16 year olds: England and Wales (SFR 02/2001).* London: Author.

Derman-Sparks, L., and the ABC Task Force. (1989). *Anti-bias curriculum: Tools for
empowering young children.* Washington, DC: National Association for the Education
of Young Children.

DuBois, W. E. B. (1903). *The Souls of African American Folk.* New York: Penguin Books.

DuRant, R. H., Cadenhead, C., Pendergrast, R. A., Slavens, G., & Linder, C. W. (1994). Factors
associated with the use of violence among urban black adolescents. *American Journal of
Public Health*, *84,* 612–617.

Dutton, D. B. & Levine, S. (1989). Socioeconomic status and health: Overview, methodology
critique, and reformation. In J. P. Bunker, D. S. Gompy, B. H. Kehrer (Eds.), *Pathways
to health: The role of social factors* 29-69. Menlo Park, CA: Henry J. Kaiser Family
Foundation.

Eiser, C., Havermans, T., & Eiser, J. R. (1995). Parents' attributions about childhood cancer:
Implications for relationships with medical staff. Child: Care, Health, and Development,
21, 31-42.

Ellison, R. (1952). *Invisible Man*. New York: Random House.

Erickson, E. (1968). *Identity, youth, and crisis*. New York: Norton.

Epps, E. G. (1970). Interpersonal relations and motivation: Implications for teachers of

      disadvantaged children. *Journal of Negro Education,* 39, 14-25.

Esed, P. (1990). *Everyday racism: Reports from women of two cultures.* Claremont, CA:

      Hunter House.

Essed, P. (1991). Understanding everyday racism: An interdisciplinary theory. Newbury Park:

      Sage Publications.

Feagin, J. R. (2000). *Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations.* New

      York and London: Routledge.

Feagin, J.R., & Eckberg, D.L. (1980). Discrimination: Motivation, action, effects and context.

      Annual Review of Sociology, 6, 1-20.

Fletcher, A. C., Darling, N. E., Steinberg, L., & Dornbusch, S. M. (1995). The company they

      keep: Relation of adolescents' adjustment and behavior to their friends' perceptions of

      authoritative parenting in the social network. *Developmental Psychology*, *31,* 300–310.

Folkman, S. & Lazarus, R. S. (1980). An analysis of coping in a middle aged community

      sample. *Journal of health and social behavior*, 21, 219-239.

Fordham, S. & Ogbu, J. (1986). African American students' school success: Coping with the

      burden of acting White. *Urban Review*, 18, 1-31.

Fredrickson, G.M., (2000). *Racism: A short history.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Fredrickson, G. M. (2002). *Racism: A short history.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Garbarino, J., Dubrow, N., Kostelny, K., & Pardo, C. (1992). *Children in dangerous*

      environments: Coping with the consequences of community violence. Chicago: Jossey-

      Bass.

Gelso, C., Fretz, B. (2001). Counseling Psychology (2nd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Gill, W. (1992). Helping African American males: The cure. *Negro Educational Review*, 43(1-2), 31-36.

Gillborn, D. & Mirza, H. S. (2000). *Educational inequality: Mapping race, class and gender. A synthesis of evidence.* London: Ofsted.

Gold, S. J. (2004). From Jim Crow to racial hegemony: Evolving explanations of racial hierarchy. *Ethnic ad Racial Studies,* 27, 951-968.

Graham, M. & Robinson, G. (2004). "The silent catastrophe:" Institutional racism in the British educational system and the underachievement of African American boys. *Journal of African American Studies*. Thousand Oaks: May 2004. Vol. 34, Iss. 5; p. 651.

Grant, K. E., Katz, B. N., Thomas, K. J., O'Koon, J. H., Meza, C. M., DiPasquale, A. M., & Rodriguez, V. O. (2004). Psychological symptoms affecting low-income urban youth. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 9,* 616-634.

Gray-Ray, P., & Ray, M. C. (1990). Juvenile delinquency in the Black community. *Youth and Society*, 22(1),67-84.

Greiger, I. & Ponterotto, J. G. (1998). Challenging intolerance. In C. C. Lee & g. R. Walz (Eds.), *Social action: A mandate for counselors* (pp. 17-50). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.

Guerra, N., Huesmann, L. R., Tolan, P., Van Acker, R., Eron, L. D., (1995). Stressful events and individual beliefs as correlates of economic disadvantage and aggression among urban children. *Journal of consulting and clinical psychology,* 63(4), August 1995, p. 518.

Hacker, A. (1992). *Two nations: African American and White, separate hostile, unequal,* New York: Sribber's.

Hamburg, D. (1984). An outlook in stress research. In G. Elliott & C. Eisdorfer (Eds.), *Stress and human health: Analysis and implication for research* (pp> IX-XXII). New York: Springer.

Hamilton, S. & Fagot, B. (1988). Chronic stress and coping styles: a comparison of male and female undergraduates. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 55,* 819-823.

Harrell, S.P. (2000). A Multidimensional conceptualization of racism-related stress: Implications for the well being of people of color. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 70, 42-57.

Hanson, T. L.,McLanahan, S., & Thompson, E. (1997). Economic resources, parenting practices, and children's well-being. In G. Duncan & J. Brooks-Gunn (Eds.), *Consequences of growing up poor* (pp. 190–238). New York: Russell Sage.

Harry, B. & Anderson, M. G. (1999). The social construction of high incidence disabilities: The effects on African American males. In V. C. Polite & J. E. Davis (Eds.), *African-American males in school and society* (pp. 34-50). New York: Teachers College Press.

Hayes, W. & Banks, W. (1980). The nigger box. In R. Jones (Ed.), *African American Psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 535-657). Hampton, VA: Cobb & Henry.

Helms, J. E. (1984). Toward a theoretical explanation of the effects of race on counseling: A Black and White model. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 12(4), 153-165.

Helms, J. E. (1990). *African American and White racial identity: Theory, research, and practice.* New York: Greenwood Press.

Helms, J. (1995). An update of Helm's White and People of Color racial identity models. In Ponterotto, J. &Casas, J. (Ed.), *Handbook of Multicultural Counseling* (pp. 181-198).

Herman-Stahl, M.A., Stemmler, M., & Peterson, A.C. (1995). Approach and avoidant coping:

    Implications for adolescent mental health. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 24(6),

    649-665.

Hernstein, R.J., & Murray,C. (1994). *The bell curve: Intelligence and class structure in*

    American life. New York: Free Press.

Hollins, E.R., & Spencer, K. (1990). Restructuring schools for cultural inclusion: Changing the

    schooling process for African American youngsters. *Journal of Education*, 1972, (2), 89-

    100.

Holroyd, K.A., Lazarus, R.S. (1982). Stress, coping, and somatic adaptation. In L. Goldberger

    & S. Breznitz (Eds.), *Handbook of stress: Theoretical and clinical aspects* (pp. 21-35).

    New York: The Free Press.

Hope, S., Power, C., Rodgers, B. (1999). Does financial hardship account for elevated

    psychological distress in lone mothers? *Social Science and Medicine* (12), pp. 1637-

    1649.

Howard, B.C. (1987). *Learning to persist/persisting to learn.* Washington, D.C.: Mid-Atlantic

    Center for Race Equity, American University.

Hughes, D. & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination

    of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental*

    Science, 1, 200-214.

Hunter,A.G.,&Ensminger,M. E. (1992).Diversity and fluidity in children's living arrangements:

    Family transitions in an urban Afro-American community. *Journal of Marriage and*

    Family, 54, 418–427.

Jackson, M. L. (1995). Multicultural counseling: Historical perspectives. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp. 3-16). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

James, W. (1963). *The principles of psychology.* New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston. (Original work published 1890).

Jencks, C., & Mayer, S. (1990). The social consequences of growing up in a poor neighborhood. In L. E. Lynn & M. F. H. McGeary (Eds.), *Inner-city poverty in the United States*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Jessor, R., Turbin, M. S., & Costa, F. M. (1998). Risk and protection in successful outcomes among disadvantaged adolescents. *Applied Developmental Science*, 2, 194-208.

Jones, J.M. (1991). Racism: A cultural analysis of the problem. In R. Jones (Ed.), *African American Psychology* (3rd ed., pp. 609-735). Hampton, VA: Cobb & Henry.

Jones, J. M. (1997). Prejudice and racism (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Kazdin, A. E. & Johnson, B. (1994). Advances in psychotherapy for children and adolescents: Interrelations of adjustment, development, and intervention. *Journal of School Psychology*, 32, 217-246.

Katz, P. A. (1987). Development and social processes in ethnic attitudes and self identification. In J. S. Phinney & M. J. Rotheram (Eds.), *Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development* (pp. 92-99). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Katz , I. & Greenbaum, C. (1963). Effects of anxiety, threat, and racial environment on task performance of Negro college students. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 66, 562-567.

Keller, T. E., Catalano, R. F., Haggerty, K. P., & Fleming, C. B. (2002). Parent figure transitions and delinquency and drug use among early adolescent children of substance abusers. *American Journal of Alcohol Abuse*, *28,* 399–427.

Klonoff, E. A., & Landrine, H. (2000). Is skin color a marker for racial discrimination? Explaining the skin color hypertension relationship. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 23, 329-338.

Kotlowitz, A., (1991). There are no children here: The story of two boys growing up in the other America. New York: Doubleday.

Kozol, J. (1991). *Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools.* New York: Crown.

Krieger, N. & Sidney, S. (1996). Racial discrimination and blood pressure: The CARDIA study of young African American White adults. *American Journal of Public Health*, 88, 1308-1313.

Langford, H. G., Watson, R. L. & Douglas, B. H. (1968). Factors affecting blood pressure in population groups. Transactions of the association of American physicians, 81, 135-146.

Lazarus, R.S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping.* New York: Springer.

Lee, C. (1997). *Multicultural issues in counseling: New approaches to diversity* (2nd ed.). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.

Lewinsohn, P.M., Clark, G. N., Steeley, J. R., & Rhode, P. (1994). Major depression in community adolescents: Age at onset, episode duration, and time to recurrence. *Journal of the American academy of child and adolescent psychiatry,* 33, 714-722.

Lloyd, C. (1980). Life events and depression disorder reviewed. *Archives of General Psychiatry,37, 520-548.*

Locke, D. (1992). *Increasing multicultural understanding: A comprehensive model.* Newbury

> Park, CA: Sage.

Loeber, R., & Keenan, K. (1994). Interaction between conduct disorder and its comorbid

> conditions: Effects of age and sex. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 14, 497-523.

Lorion, R. P., & Saltzman,W. (1993). Children's exposure to community violence: Following a

> path from concern to research to action. *Psychiatry*, *56,* 55–65.

Mack, R.W. (1968). *Race, class, and power.* New York: American Book Company.

Majors, R. G., & Billson, J. M. (1992). Cool pose: The dilemmas of Black manhood in

> American. New York: Lexington Books.

Marecek, J. (2001). After the facts: Psychology and the study of gender. *Canadian Psychology*,

> 42, (4), 24-33.

Mash, E.J. &n Barkley, R.A. (Eds.). (2003). *Child psychopathology.* New York: Guilford.

McAdoo, H. P. (2002). The village talks: Racial socialization of our children. In H. P. McAdoo

> (Ed.), *African American children: Social, educational, and parental environments* (2nd

> ed., pp 47-55). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

McCormack, A. S. (1998). Revisiting discrimination on campus: 1988, 1992, and 1996.

> *College Student Journal,* 32, 378-393.

McCoy, V. (1998, October). Dollars and disses: For many African American youth, shopping is

> hardly a simple proposition. *Emerge*, 10(1), 62-63.

McLoyd, V.C. (1998). Socioeconomic disadvantage and child development. *American

> Psychologist,* 53, 185-204.

McNeilly, M. D., Anderson, N. B., Armstead, C. A., Clark, R., Corbett, M., Robinson, E. L.,

> Piper, C. F., & Lepisto, E. M. (1996). The Perceived Racism Scale: A multidimensional

assessment of the experience of White racism among African Americans. *Ethnicity and Disease*, 6, 154-166.

Mead, G. H. 1934. *Mind, Self, and Society*. Ed. by C. W. Morris. University of Chicago Press.

Mental Health: *A report of the Surgeon General* (2007) U S Department of Health and Human Services. Office of the Surgeon General, SAMHSA.

Meyer, G. & Patton, J. M. (2001). *On the nexus of race, disability, and overrepresentation: What do we know? Where do we go?* Boston, MA: National Institute for Urban School Improvement.

Miller, D. B. (1999). Racial Socialization and racial identity: Can they promote resiliency for African American adolescents? *Adolescence*, 34, 493-501.

Milliones, J. (1980). Construction of a African American consciousness measure: Psychotherapeutic implications. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 17 (2), 175-182.

Mincy, R. B. (1994). *Nurturing young Black males: Challenges to agencies, programs, and social policy.* Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.

Mitchell, O. (2005). A meta analysis of race and sentencing research: Explaining the inconsistencies. *J. Quant Criminal*, 21(4), 439-466.

Moore, W. (2002). Stress and Suicide. Retrieved from www.channel14.com/health/microsites/0-9/4health/stress/aas_suicide.html February 15, 2005.

Moos, R. (1979). Coping with physical illness. In R. Moos (Ed.), *The crisis of physical illness: An overview* (pp.3-21). New York: Plenum Press.

Moos, R.H., & Schaefer, J.A. (1993). Coping resources and processes: Current concepts and measures. In L. Goldberger & S. Breznitz (Eds.), *Handbook of stress: Theoretical and clinical aspects (2ⁿᵈ ed., pp. 234-257).* New York: The Free Press.

Murrell, P. (1992). Afrocentric immersion: Academic and personal development. In T. Perry and J. Fraser (Eds), *Freedom's plow: Teaching for a multicultural democracy* (pp. 92-114). London: Routledge.

Murry, V. M., Berkel, C., Brody, G. H., Gerrard, M., & Gibbons, F. X. (2007). The strong Africna American Families program: Longitudinal pathways to sexual risk reduction. *The Journal of Adolescent Health,* 41, 4, 333-342.

Neal, L. I., McCray, A. D., & Webb-Johnson, G. C. (2001). Teachers' reactions to African American students' movement styles. *Intervention in School and Clinic,* 36 (3), 168-174.

Nieto, S. (1992). *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education.* New York: UMASS Press.

Nuernberger, P. (1981). *Freedom from stress: A holistic approach.* Honesdale, PA: Himalayan Institute Press.

Nyborg, V. M. & Curry, J. (2003). The impact of perceived racism: Psychological symptoms among African American boys. *Journal of clinical child and adolescent psychology,* 32(2), June 2003, 258-266.

Oakes, J., & Lipton, M. (1999). *Teaching to change the world.* Boston: McGraw Hill College.

Ocampo, C. (2000). Psychophysiology and racism. *American Psychologist.,* 55, 10, 1164-1165.

Offer, D. & Schonert-Reichl, K. A. (1992). Debunking the myths of adolescence: Findings from recent research. *The Journal of the American academy of child and adolescent psychiatry,* 31, 1003-1013.

Ogbu, J. (1985). A cultural ecology of competence among inner city African Americans. In M. B. Spencer, G. K. Brookins, & W. R. Allen (Eds.), *Begginings: Social and affective development* (pp. 45-66). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrenceville Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Ogbu, J. U. (1992). Understanding cultural diversity and learning. Educational Researcher, 21 (8), 5-14.

Ogbu, J. & Wilson, J. (1990). *Mentoring minority youth: A framework.* East Lansing, MI: National Center for Research on Teacher Learning. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED354293).

Osborne, J. W. (1995). Academics, self-esteem, and race: A look at the underlying assumptions of the disidentification hypothesis. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 21, 449-455.

Osborne, J. W. (1997). Race and academic disidentification. Journal of Educational Psychology, 89, 1-8.

Osborne, J. W., & Rausch, J. L. (2001). *Identification with Academics and Academic Outcomes in Secondary Students*. Paper presented at the American Education Research Association, Seattle, WA.

Ostrov, E., D. Offer, and K. I. Howard. 1989. "Gender Differences in Adolescent Symptomatology: A Normative Study." *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* 28(3):394-98.

Outlaw, F.H. (1993). Stress and coping: The influence of racism n the cognitive appraisal processing of African Americans. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing,* 14, 399-409.

Overbeek, G., Vollebergh, W., Meeus, W., Engels, R., Luijpers, E. (2001). Course, co-occurrence, and longitudinal associations of emotion disturbance and delinquency from

adolescence to young adulthood: A six-year three wave study. *Journal of Youth &*

Adolescence, 30, 401-426.

Overton, W. F. (1998). Developmental Psychology: Philosophy, concepts, and methodology.

In W. Damon (Series Ed.) & R. M. Lerner (Vol. Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology:*

Vol. 1, Theoretical models of human development (5th ed.. pp. 107-188). New York:

Wiley.

Parr, M. G. (1999). Professors' perceptions of student behaviors. *College Student Journal,* 33,

414-423.

Pearlin, L. I. & Schooler, C. (1978). The structure of coping. *Journal of Health and Social*

Behavior, 19, 2-21.

Peretti, P. O. & Wilson, T. T.(1995). Unfavorable outcomes of the identity crisis among African

American adolescents influenced by enforced acculturation. *Social Behavior and*

Personality, 23, 171-176.

Phinney, J. S. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents.

Journal of early adolescence. 9(1-2), Feb-May 1989, pp. 34-49.

Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults. Review of research.

Psychological Bulletin, 108, 499-514.

Plummer, D.L., & Slane, S. (1996). Patterns of coping in racially stressful situations. *Journal of*

African American Psychology, 22, 302-315.

Ponterotto, J. G. & Pedersen, P. B. (1993). *Preventing prejudice*: A guide for counselors and

educators. New York: Sage Publications.

Ponterotto, J. G., Utsey, S., & Pedersen, P. (2006). Preventing predjudice. Thousand Oaks, CA:

Sage.

Potts, R. G. (1997). The social construction and social marketing of the "dangerous African

American man." *Journal of African American Men,* 2, 11-24.

Ptacek, J. T., Smith, R. E., & Zanas, J. (1992). Gender, appraisal, and coping: A longitudinal

analysis. Journal of Personality, 60, 747-770.

Poussaint, A. (1989). Attention must turn to the African American family. *New York Times,*

April 19, 1989.

Rassool, N. & Morley, L. (2000). School effectiveness and the displacement of equity

discourses in education. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 3, 3, 237-258.

Reynolds, L. K., O'Koon, J. H., Papademetriou, E., Szczygiel, S., & Grant, K. E. (2001). Stress

and somatic complaints in low-income urban adolescents. *Journal of Youth and*

Adolescence, 30, 499-514.

Ridley, C. R. (1989). Racism in counseling as an adverse behavioral process. In P. B.

Perdersen, J. G. Dragus, W. J. Lonner, & J. E. Trimble (Eds.), *Counseling across cultures*

(3rd edition) (pp. 55-77). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Romano, E., Tremblay, R. E., Vitaro, F., Zoccolillo, M., & Pagani, L. (2001). Prevalence of

psychiatric diagnoses and the role of perceived impairment: Findings from an adolescent

community sample. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry and Allied Disciplines,*

42, 451-461.

Rosario, M., Shinn, M., Morch, H. & Huckabee, C. B. (1988). Gender differences in coping and

support: Testing socialization and role constraint theories. *Journal of Community*

Psychology, *16*, 55-69.

Rosenberg, M. (1965). *Society and the adolescent self-image.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton

University Press.;

Rosenberg, M. (1979). *Conceiving the self*. New York: Basic Books.

Roth, S., & Cohen, L.J. (1986). Approach, avoidance, and coping with stress. *American Psychologist,* 41(7), 813-819.

Ruggiero, K. M., Taylor, D. M., & Lambert, W. E. (1996). A model of heritage cultural maintenance: The role of discrimination. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 20, 47-67.

Russo, C. J., & Talbert-Johnson, C. (1997). The overrepresentation of African American children in special education: The resegregation of educational programming? *Education and Urban Society*, *29*(2), 136-148.

Rutter, M. (1987). Psychological resilience and protective mechanisms. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 57, 316-332.

Sacket, P., Hardison, C., & Cullen, M. (2004). On interpreting stereotype threat as accounting for African-American-White differences on cognitive tests. *American Psychologist,* 59(1), 7.

Scarr, S. & Weinberg, R.A. (1978). The influence of "family background" on intellectual attainment, *American Sociological Review,* 43, 674-692.

Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, M.A. (2003). A longitudinal analysis of stress in African American youth: Predictors and outcomes of stress trajectories. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 32, 419-430.

Schott Educational Inequity Index (2006). The Schott 50 state report on public education and Black males. Retrieved March 3, 2009, from http://www.blackboysreport.org.

Schumaker, R. E. & Lomax, R. G. (1996). *A beginner's guide to structural equation modeling.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Scott, L. D. (2003). Correlated of coping with perceived discriminatory experiences among African American adolescents.

Seaton, E. K. (2003). An examination of the factor structure of the Index of Race Related Stress among a sample of African American adolescents. *Journal of African American Psychology*, 29, 292-307.

Sellers, R.M., Caldwell, C.H., Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, M.A. (2003). Racial identity, racial discrimination, perceived stress, and psychological distress among African American Young Adults. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 44, 302-316.

Seltzer, J. A. (2000). Families formed outside of marriage. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *62,* 1247–1268.

Simons, R.L., Murry, B., McLoyd, V., Lin, K., Cutrona, C., & Conger, R.D. (2002). Discrimination, crime, ethnic identity, and parenting as correlates of depressive symptoms among African American children: A multilevel analysis. *Development and Psychopathology,* 14, 371-393.

Slavin, L. A., Rainer, K. L., McCreary, M. L., & Gowda, K. K. (1997). Toward a multicultural model of the stress process. *Journal of Counseling and Development,* 71, 156-163.

Smith, E.M. (1985). Ethnic minorities: Life stress, social support, and mental health issues. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 13, 537-579.

Smith, E. M. (1989). African American racial identity development: Issues and concerns. *The Counseling Psychologist*. 17, 277-288.

Snyder, H. N. (1996). The juvemile court and delinquency. *Future Child,* 6, 53-63.

Social Exclusion Unit. (1998). *Truancy and school exclusion report by the Social Exclusion Unit* (CM3957). London: Author.

Spencer, M. B. (2001). Identity, achievement orientation, and race: "Lessons learned" about the normative developmental experiences of African American males. In W. H. Watkins, J. H. Lewis, & V. Chou (Eds.), *Race and education: The roles of history and society in the education of African American students* (pp. 100-127). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Spencer, M. B., Cunningham, M., & Swanson, D. P. (1995). Identity as coping: Adolescent African American males' adaptive responses to high-risk environments. In H. W. Harris, H. D. Blue, & E. H. Griffith (Eds.), *Racial and ethnic identity: Psychological development and creative expression* (pp. 31-52). New York: Routledge.

Starfield, E. L. (1982). Child health and social status. *Pediatrics*, 69, 550-557.

Strauss, C.C., Last, C.G., Hersen, M., Kazdin, A.E. (1988). Association between anxiety and depression in children and adolescents with anxiety disorders. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psycholgoy,* 16, 57-68.

Steele, C. (1992). Race and the schooling of African Americans. *Atlantic Monthly,* pp. 68-78.

Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist, 52,* 613-629.

Steele, C. M. (1999). Thin Ice: "Stereotype threat" and African American college students. *The Atlantic Monthly,* 284, 44-54.

Steele, C.M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intelligence test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 69, 797-811.

Steinhausen, H. (1992). Sex differences in developmental psychopathology. In H. Remschmidt & M. H. Schmidt (Eds.), *Developmental psychopathology, Child and youth psychiatry: European perspectives Vol. 2* (pp. 7-16). Lewiston, NY: Hogrefe & Huber.

Stevens, J. (1996). *Applied* Multivariate Statistics for the Social Sciences. Mahwahm NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Stevenson, H. C. (1995). Relationship of adolescent perceptions of racial socialization to racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology,* 21, 49-70.

Stevenson, H. C., Reed, J., Bodison, P., Bishop, A. (1997). Racism stress management: Racial socialization beliefs and the experience of depression and anger in African American youth. *Youth and Society,* 29, 2, 1997-222.

Stokes, J. E., Murray, C. B., Chavez, D., & Peacock, J. P. (1998). Cross' stage model revisited: An analysis of theoretical formulations and empirical evidence. In R. L. Jones (Ed.), *African American identity development* (pp. 123-139). Hampton, VA: Cobb & Henry.

Stone, A. A. & Neale, J. M. (1984). New measure of daily coping: Development and preliminary results. *Journal of personality and social psychology,* 46,4, 219-232.

Suarez-Balcazar, Y, Harper, G. W., Lewis, R. (2005). An interactive and contextual model of community-university collaborations for research and action. *Health Education and Behavior.* Thousand Oaks: Feb 2005. Vol. 32, Iss. 1; p. 84.

Suarez_Balcazar, Y., Orellana-Damacela, L., Portillo, N., Rowan, J. M., & Andrews-Guillen, C. (2003). Experiences of Differential Treatment Among College Students of Color. *The journal of higher education*, 74, 428-444.

Sue, D.W. & Sue, D. (1999). *Counseling the culturally different: Theory and practice* (3rd ed.). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Sue, D. W. & Sue, D. (2003). *Counseling the culturally diverse: Theory and practice* (4th ed.). New York: Wiley.

Sue, D. W., Carter, R. T., Casas, J. M., Fouad, N. A., Ivey, A. E., Jensen, M. et al. (1998). Multicultural counseling competencies: Individual and organization development. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Suzuki, L.A. & Valencia, R.R (1997). Race-ethnicity and measured intelligence: Educational implications. *American Psychologist*, 52, 1103-1114.

Tate, W.F., Ladson-Billings, G. & Grant, C.A. (1993). The Brown decision revisited: Mathematizing social problems. *Educational Policy,* 7(3), 255-275.

Tagfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Tatum, B. D. (1997). *"Why are all the African American kids sitting together in the cafeteria?" and other conversations about race.* New York: Basic Books.

Tatum, B. D. (2000). Defining racism: "Can we talk?" in M. Adams, W. J. Blumenfld, R. Castaneda, H. W. Hackma, M. L. Petets & X. Zuniga (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice: An anthology on racism, anti-Semitism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, ad classism* (pp. 79-82). New York: Routledge.

Tatum, B. D. (2003). All 'degreed' up and nowhere to go: African American males and literacy education. *Journal of African American Psychology*, 16, 45-53.

Taylor, R. D., Casten, R., Flickinger, S. M., Roberts, D., & Fulmore, C. D. (1994). Explaining the school performance of African American adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 4, 21-44.

Tesser, A. (1988). Toward a self-evaluation maintenance model of social behavior. In L. L.

Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 21, pp. 181-228).

San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Tesser, A. & Campbell, J. (1980). Self identification: The impact of the relative performance

and similarity of others. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 43, 341-347.

Thomas, C. W. (1971). *Boys no more.* Beverly Hills, CA: Glencoe Press.

Thomas, K.J. (2000). *The nature of depression: Measuring the effects of age and gender on*

depression in a low income, urban adolescent population. Unpublished master's thesis,

Depaul University, Chicago, Illinois.,

Thompson, B. W. (1992). A way outa no way: Eating problems among African American,

Latina, and White women. *Gender & Society*, 6, 546-551.

Thornberry, T. P., Smith, C. A., Rivera, C., Huizinga, D., & Stouthamer-Loeber, M. (1999,

September). Family disruption and delinquency. *OJJDP Juvenile Justice Bulletin*, 1– 5.

Tyson, K. (2002). Weighing in: Elementary-age students and the debate on attitudes toward

school among African American students. *Social Forces,* 80, 4, 1157-1189.

U. S. Census Bureau (2000a). *Census 2000 Redistricting Data* (Public Law 94-171) *Summary*

File [Data File]. Available for US Census Bureau Website, http://www.census.gov/.

U. S. Census Bureau (2000b). *Profile of Selected Economic Characteristics: 2000* [Data File].

Available from US Census Bureau Website, http://www.census.gov/.

U.S. Census Bureau (2001, December). Table FINC-07. Income Distributions to $250,000 or

More for Families: 2000. *Current Population Survey.* Retrieved May 30, 2002 from

http://ferret.bls.census.gov/macro/032001/faminc/new07_000.htm.

U.S. Department of Education (2002). *To assure the free and appropriate public education of all handicapped children. 23rd Annual Report to Congress on the Implementation of the Handicapped Act.* Washington, DC: Author.

Utsey, S. O., Adams, E. P., & Bolden, M. (2000). *Journal of African American Psychology.* Washington: May 2000. Vol. 26, Iss. 2; p. 194 (22 pages).

Utsey, S. O. & Ponterotto, J. G. (1996). Development and validation of the Index of Race-related stress (IRRS). *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 43, 490-502.

Utsey, S.O., Ponterotto, J.G., Reynolds, A.L., & Cancelli, A.A. (2000). Racial discrimination, coping, life satisfaction, and self-esteem among African Americans. *Journal of Counseling and Development,* 78, 72-80.

Way, N. (1998). *Everyday courage: The lives and stories of urban teenagers.* New York: New York University Press.

Webb-Johnson, G. (2002). "Are Schools Ready for Joshua?" *Qualitative Studies in Education,* 15(6), 653-671.

Wellman, D. (1977). *Portraits of white racism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wells, L. E. & Rankin, J. H. (1991) Families and delinquency: A meta-analysis of the impact of broken homes. *Social Problems, 38, 71–83.*

Wentzel, K. & Asher, S. R. (1995). The academic lives of neglected, rejected, popular and controversial children. *Child Development,* 66, 754-763.

White, R. K. (1982). The relation between socioeconomic status and academic achievement. *Psychological Bulletin, 91,* 461-481.

White, J. (1984). The Psychology Of African Americans: *An Afro-American perspective.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

White, J. L. & Cones, J. H. (1999). *Black males emerging: Facing the past and seizing a future*

   in America. New York: W. H. Freeman and Company.

Whitbeck, Les; Hoyt, D. R.; Tyler, K. A. (2001). Family relationship histories, intergenerational

   relationship quality, and depressive affect among rural elderly people. *Journal of applied*

   gerontology, 20(2), June 2001, pp. 214-229.

Whitbeck, L., Hoyt, D., McMorris, B., Chen, X., & Stubben, J. (2001). Perceived discrimination
   and early substance abuse among American Indian children. *Journal of Health and Social*

   Behavior, 42, 405-424.

Williams, W.M. & Ceci, S.J. (1997). Are Americans becoming more or less alike? Trends in

   race, class, and ability differences in intelligence. *American Psychologist,* 52, 1226-

   1235.

Williams, D.R., Yu, Y., Jackson, J.S., & Anderson, N.B. (1997). Racial differences in physical

   and mental health: Socio-economic status, stress, and discrimination. *Journal of Health*

   Psychology, 2(3), 335-351.

Winant, H. (2001). *The world is a ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II.* New

   York: Basic Books.

Windsor, R. R. (1973). *From Babylon to Timbuktu: A history of Ancient African American*

   races including the African American Hebrews. Lushena Books: Chicago.

Woodson, C.G. (1990). *The Mis-Education of the Negro.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc.

Wright, E. O. & Perrone, L. (1977). Marxist class categories and income inequalities. *American*

   sociological reviews, 42, 32-55.

Wyatt, S. T. (2000). Measuring the effectiveness of an Afrocentric male mentoring program

   with adolescent African American males (Doctoral Dissertation, Northern Illinois

University, 2000). *Dissertation Abstracts International,* 66(06A).

APPENDIX A

Demographic Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions completely, and as honestly as you can.

1. Age: _____   2. Grade Level: _____

3. Gender (circle one): Male _____ Female _____

4. Racially, I consider myself (check all that apply):

   African American/African-American _____ Native-American _____
   Asian-American _____   White/European _____
   Hispanic _____   Other (please specify) _____

5. Where were you born (check one)?
   Born in the United States _____
   Not born in the United States _____
         Specify where you were born _____
         How long have you lived in the US? _____

6. Which best describes the neighborhood you currently live in (please check one)?
   Mostly African American ____   Mostly Asian ____
   Mostly White ____   Racially Mixed (people of different races) ____
   Mostly Latino ____   Other ____

7. Which parent(s)/guardian(s) do you currently live with (please check one)?
   Both my mother and my father _____
   My mother and stepfather ____
   Only my father ____
   Only my mother ____
   My father and stepmother ____
   Some of my time in my mother's home and some in my father's home ____
   Other relatives (aunt, uncle, grandparents) ____
   Guardian or foster parent who is not a relative ____

8. Compared to other individuals your age, how well off do you think your family is (please check one)?
   We are a lot richer than most ____
   We are somewhat richer than most _____
   We have about the same amount of money as most ____
   We are somewhat poorer than most ____
   We are a lot poorer than most ____

9. What grades do you make on average in each of these classes? Please check a letter grade for each subject.

	A	**B**	**C**	**D**	**F**
English					
Language					
Math					
Social Studies					
Science					

APPENDIX B

Index of Race Related Stress

There are experiences a African American person can have because of his/her race. Please indicate the experiences that have happened to you or someone very close to you (ex., family member or loved one) by circling the number that most closely responds to the reaction you had to the event at the time it happened. Do not leave any items blank. If an event has happened more than once, refer to the first time it happened. If an event did not happen circle 0 and go to the next item.

0 = This event did not happen to me
1 = This event happened, but did not bother me
2 = This event happened and I was slightly upset
3 = This event happened and I was upset
4 = This event happened and I was *extremely* upset

	0	1	2	3	4
1. Salespeople did not say thank you or show other forms of respect (ex., put your things in a bag) when you shopped at some White/non-African American owned business.	0	1	2	3	4
2. While shopping at a store, the salesperson thought that you couldn't afford certain items (ex., you were directed toward the sale items).	0	1	2	3	4
3. You were treated with less respect than Whites and other non-African Americans while in a store, restaurant, or other type of business.	0	1	2	3	4
4. Whites/non-African Americans have stared at you as if you didn't belong in the same place with them, whether it was a restaurant, store, or other place of business.	0	1	2	3	4
5. While shopping at a store or when attempting to buy something, you were treated as if you were not a serious customer or didn't have any money.	0	1	2	3	4
6. You have heard or seen other African American people wish to be White or to have White hair, lips, or eyes because they thought being African American was ugly or did not want to be African American.	0	1	2	3	4
7. White people or other non-African Americans have treated you as if you were stupid and needed things explained to you slowly or several times.	0	1	2	3	4
8. You have been in a restaurant or other White/non-African American place where everyone was waited on before you.	0	1	2	3	4
9. Security people have followed you while shopping in some stores.	0	1	2	3	4
10. Whites/non-African Americans did not apologize to you for stepping on your foot or bumping into you.	0	1	2	3	4
11. You have been threatened with physical violence by a person or group of Whites/non-African Americans.	0	1	2	3	4
12. You were harmed in a crime and the police treated you as if you should just accept it because you were African American.	0	1	2	3	4
13. You were passed over for an important school project although you were better at the task than the White/non-African American person given the task.	0	1	2	3	4
14. You have been given more schoolwork or the school projects you don't want while the White/non-African American students are given less work and the tasks you want.	0	1	2	3	4
15. You have been questioned about being in a White neighborhood for no reason.	0	1	2	3	4

16. **An individual or group of Whites/non-African Americans beat you up.**	0	1	2	3	4
17. **You think you did not receive a school award you deserved because you are African American.**	0	1	2	3	4
18. **Although you were waiting in line first, you were assisted after the White/non-African American person behind you.**	0	1	2	3	4
19. **White people have expected you to speak badly of some famous African American people (ex., rappers, athletes, etc.) who go against what is normal.**	0	1	2	3	4
20. **You called the police for help and when they arrived they treated you like a criminal.**	0	1	2	3	4
21. **You think that you have been asked to pay in advance for things like food instead of after because you are African American.**	0	1	2	3	4
22. **You have held back angry feelings in the presence of Whites/non-African Americans because you were afraid they would have said you have a "chip" on your shoulder.**	0	1	2	3	4
23. **When you have been around Whites/non-African Americans, you expected them to say or do something that you wouldn't like.**	0	1	2	3	4
24. **You notice that crimes done by White people tend to be seen as not as bad, whereas the same crime done by a African American person is seen in a bad way and the African American person as an animal.**	0	1	2	3	4
25. **You notice that when African American people are killed by the police, the television and newspapers inform the public of the person's criminal record or other bad information about them, suggesting they got what they deserve.**	0	1	2	3	4
26. **You have observed that White kids who do violent acts are seen as 'boys being boys," while African American kids who do similar acts are wild animals.**	0	1	2	3	4
27. **You seldom hear or read anything good about African American people on radio, TV, or newspapers or in history books.**	0	1	2	3	4
28. **You have observed the police treat Whites/non-African Americans with more respect than they do African Americans.**	0	1	2	3	4
29. **You have heard reports of Whites/non-African Americans who have done crimes in an effort to cover up their acts, they lied and said that a African American person was responsible for the crime.**	0	1	2	3	4

30. You notice that the newspapers and TV play up stories that cast African Americans in a bad way (ex., child abusers, rapists, muggers), and these stories are usually seen with a large picture of a African American person looking angry or disturbed.	0	1	2	3	4
31. You have heard bad remarks or comments about African American people spoken with little guilt by important White people.	0	1	2	3	4
32. You have noticed that there are either no garbage, street repair, or police services in African American neighborhoods or that they do not do a good job of keeping the area clean.	0	1	2	3	4