CAVANAUGH, ALYSON M., Ph.D. Examining Linkages among Sources of Racial-Ethnic Discrimination and Latino Adolescents' Psychosocial and Academic Outcomes: Are Culturally-Relevant Factors Protective? (2015)
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Given adversity associated with racial-ethnic discrimination, Latino adolescents are at increased risk for academic disengagement, and internalizing and externalizing symptoms. However, cultural-ecological theoretical models (García Coll et al., 1996; Spencer, 1995) also described the importance of examining cultural values and culturally-relevant coping strategies that may protect against the negative effects of discrimination and promote youths' developmental competencies. As such, the goals of the present study are threefold: (a) to examine associations among familism values, religious coping, and academic motivation and internalizing and externalizing symptoms, (b) to examine the effects of school-based racial-ethnic discrimination by source (e.g., school adults versus peers) and foreigner-based discrimination on Latino adolescents' academic motivation, and internalizing and externalizing symptoms, and (b) to examine the moderating effects of familism values and religious coping in the association between multiple sources of discrimination and adolescents' academic and psychosocial outcomes. Participants included 133 Latino adolescents (M_{age} = 12.88; SD = .70; 51% girls); majority of youth are from Mexican-origin families (81%). Using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM), results indicated that religious coping and familism values were associated with higher levels of academic motivation. Peer discrimination was associated with higher internalizing and externalizing symptoms. The *protective* and *exacerbating* effects of youths' familism values and religious coping for internalizing and externalizing

symptoms varied under conditions of peer, school-adult, and foreigner-based

discrimination. Discussion will be focus on implications for creating promotive contexts

for Latino youth.

EXAMINING LINKAGES AMONG SOURCES OF RACIAL-ETHNIC

DISCRIMINATION AND LATINO ADOLESCENTS'

PSYCHOSOCIAL AND ACADEMIC OUTCOMES:

ARE CULTURALLY-RELEVANT

FACTORS PROTECTIVE?

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Latino youth are one of the fastest growing populations in the United States

representing nearly a quarter of the U.S. population under the age of 18 and it is projected

that by 2060 one out of three children will be Latino (US Census Bureau, 2012). Recent

statistics show that the majority of this growing population is characterized as US born,

second generation Latino youth (Passel, Cohn, Krogstad, & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2014).

Despite the rapid growth of this US-born Latino population, research on Latino youths'

cultural strengths and developmental outcomes has been limited (Cabrera & The SRCD

Ethnic and Racial Issues Committee, 2013). Understanding of culturally-relevant factors

that promote Latino youths' developmental competencies is critical for the well-being of

future generations of American youth. Additionally, diversified settlement patterns of

Latino families to nontraditional receiving sites have created unique opportunities to

explore Latino adolescents' developmental processes within emerging immigrant

communities. For example, North Carolina experienced a 111% growth in the Latino

population from 2000-2010 (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, & Albert, 2010). Given these more

recent changes, scholars have only begun to examine the influence of contextual stressors

such as racial-ethnic discrimination on Latino adolescents' developmental outcomes

(Perreira, Kiang, & Potochnick, 2013), particularly among US born, Latino youth living

in emerging immigrant communities located in the rural South.

Studies have shown that discrimination is a relatively common experience for Latino youth across multiple contexts of their lives (Balagna, Young, & Smith, 2013; Perreira et al., 2013) and may be even more frequent for those living in emerging immigrant communities in the rural, south indicated by newcomers' reports of ambivalence and hostility toward Latino families (Marrow, 2011; Potochnick, Perreira, & Fuligni, 2012). Qualitative studies also revealed that Latino youth experience school-based discrimination from peers and school adults which increases adversity that youth must overcome to engage in important developmental tasks across cognitive, emotional, and social domains (APA Task Force, 2009; Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Consistently, studies of Latino youth provide evidence that school-based discrimination is associated with higher internalizing and externalizing symptoms, and lower academic motivation and performance (Brittian, Toomey, Gonzales, & Dumka, 2013; Perreira et al., 2013). Emerging evidence has indicated that the negative effects of school-based discrimination also may vary by perpetrator (e.g., school adults versus peers) and particular adjustment outcomes (Benner & Graham, 2013).

In addition to experiencing unfair treatment from peers and adults as a result of school-based discrimination, Latino youth also may encounter discrimination within the larger community context. Studies have shown that individuals from Latino backgrounds commonly experience foreigner objectification due to the perpetual foreigner stereotype (Rivera, Forquer, & Rangel, 2010). The perpetual foreigner stereotype is the assumption of "otherness" for people of color in which they are treated and viewed as foreigners

within a society that privileges whiteness (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011). Foreigner objectification has been conceptualized as a racial microaggression because although incidents may be subtle and covert (e.g., "where are you from?"), beliefs that youth of color are less "American" and inferior to their white counterparts are strongly conveyed and have detrimental effects for individuals' adjustment (Armenta et al., 2013; Sue et al., 2007; Rivera et al., 2010). Compared to adult and young-adult populations relatively little research has examined linkages among foreigner objectification and Latino adolescents' adjustment outcomes.

As such, greater understanding of the impact of different sources of racial-ethnic discrimination on Latino adolescents' developmental outcomes is needed as well as the factors that protect against the harmful effects of racial-ethnic discrimination (e.g., school-based and foreigner objectification) in order to promote Latino adolescents' successful academic engagement and achievement, as well as, positive psychological adjustment. Burgeoning research on Latino youth and their families described the salience of cultural values such as familismo, respeto, and religion for positive youth well-being (Berkel et al., 2010; Calzada, Fernandez, & Cortes, 2010; Knight et al., 2010). Cultural values serve as a guide for individuals' behavior and have been conceptualized as a protective factor that may buffer against the negative effects of stressors (e.g., discrimination) to reduce internalizing and externalizing symptoms and promote positive academic outcomes (Berkel et al., 2010; Germán, Gonzales, & Dumka, 2009; Sabogal, Marín, Otero-Sabogal, Marín, & Perez-Stable, 1987). Scholars have proposed that cultural values provide a sense of belonging and acceptance afforded by connection to

family and ethnic group members and therefore are likely key sources of strength that Latino youth may draw upon to cope with racial-ethnic discrimination (García Coll et al., 1996; Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012). Studies also found that Latino youth may draw upon religiosity as a way to cope with stressors such as discrimination (Brittian & Spencer, 2012; Epstein-Ngo, Maurizi, Bregman, & Ceballo, 2013). Little research, however, has examined the protective effects of Latino adolescents' cultural values and culturally-relevant coping strategies for multiple types of racial-ethnic discrimination and adjustment outcomes (Brittian et al., 2013; Neblett et al., 2012).

In addition to the relatively little research focusing on positive development for Latino youth, the majority of research on developmental processes has been overwhelmingly deficit focused (García Coll, Ackerman, & Cicchetti, 2000; Rodriguez & Morrobel, 2004). This deficit orientated framework that has guided research studies over several decades stems from assumptions of cultural deprivation and inferiority of immigrant families (Cabrera & The SRCD Ethnic and Racial Issues Committee, 2013; García Coll et al., 2000). One example of deficit focused research includes models of academic failure and the "academic achievement gap" to frame research on Latino youths' academic outcomes while ignoring the effects of structured inequality within youths' lives and unique cultural competencies (García Coll et al., 1996; Ogbu & Simons, 1998). As a result, relatively little is known about the specific cultural factors that promote academic resilience for Latino students in the context of adversity (DeGarmo & Martinez, 2006). As such, several gaps in the current literature include (a) associations among culturally-relevant factors and adolescents' developmental outcomes across

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domain (e.g., social, emotional, behavioral, academic), (b) the unique effects of racial-ethnic discrimination sources on adolescents' developmental outcomes, (c) whether culturally-relevant factors are protective for adolescents' developmental outcomes in the context of racial-ethnic discrimination, (d) and research within emerging immigrant communities as the majority of research has tended to include Latino youth from established immigrant communities (Benner & Graham, 2013; Kandel & Parrado, 2006: Potochnick et al., 2012; Neblett et al., 2012).

Guided by cultural-ecological models (García Coll et al., 1996; Spencer, 1995; Ogbu, 1981) the present study seeks to fill this noteworthy gap in the current literature base on Latino adolescents by examining: (a) the effects of several sources of racial-ethnic discrimination (i.e., peers, school adults, foreigner objectification) on adolescents' internalizing and externalizing symptoms and academic motivation, (b) the effects of familism and religious coping on adolescents' internalizing and externalizing symptoms and academic motivation, and (c) the moderating effects of familism values and religious coping on the association between several sources of racial-ethnic discrimination and adolescents' psychosocial and academic outcomes. Additionally, the present study sheds light on the influence of context for important developmental processes (e.g., coping, cultural values) and discrimination experiences within an emerging immigrant community in the rural south.

CHAPTER II

CULTURAL-ECOLOGICAL THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Integrative Model of Minority Child Development

Previous research has tended to overlook the influences of structured inequality across place and context thereby minimizing the "racialized and ethnic realities" for Latino youth and their families (p. 91, García Coll & Szalacha, 2004). A key proposition of Garíca Coll and colleagues' (1996) integrative model of minority child development is that the influence of social position factors (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender, social class) interact to shape ethnic-minority youths' experiences of segregation (including residential, economic, and social and psychological) mediated through social mechanisms of racism, prejudice, discrimination, and oppression. In other words, racism and discrimination influence youths' social interactions with others and their experiences within specific contexts (e.g., schools, communities). These contexts are referred to as inhibiting or promoting environments depending upon the level of demands or support for adolescents' developmental competencies (García Coll et al., 1996). For example, within an inhibiting environment diversity is conceptualized as a risk factor whereas within a promoting environment diversity is viewed as an asset (García Coll, & Szalacha, 2004). These propositions guided the goals of the present study to examine the effects of discriminatory social interactions across contexts (i.e., community, school) and perpetrators (i.e., strangers, school adults, peers) for youths' developmental outcomes.

Another key component of García Coll and colleagues' (1996) model is the focus on culture and cultural context referred to as adaptive cultures. Adaptive cultures represent subcultures that families create to provide their children with specific competencies that are not taught by the majority, mainstream culture and are influenced by the demands of inhibiting and promoting environments as well as current contextual demands (García Coll et al.). For example, Latino parents' familial socialization messages include cultural values such as familism and religion (Calzada et al., 2010; Knight et al., 2011). Familism values include beliefs of familial obligation, provision of emotional and instrumental support by family members, and family as referent or a "communal extension of self" (p. 448, Knight et al., 2010). Respect, which is closely related to familism, is defined as deference to parents and elders behaviorally and in their decision making (Knight et al., 2010). Although past research has conceptualized familism values and respect as separate constructs, scholars utilizing a developmental science lens have argued for the importance of including respect along with obligations, support, and family as referent within a definition of familism (Stein et al., 2014). When coping with environmental stressors such as unfair treatment at school because of their race and ethnicity or being told by strangers that they do not belong in their community, adaptive cultures provide youth with culturally defined coping mechanisms to overcome demands within these inhibiting environments (García Coll et al.).

Moreover, a key proposition of García Coll and colleagues' (1996) integrative model is that although youth of color often face psychological and social segregation within inhibiting environments marked by racial-ethnic discrimination, youth of color

have unique cultural strengths (e.g., culturally-relevant coping strategies, cultural values) that are fostered within adaptive cultures that offer protection against the harmful effects of discrimination and in turn, promote resilience. For example, Latino youth experience a sense of belonging within their families and ethnic group through shared values and socialization messages of cultural pride that promote adolescents' ethnic identity and protect against negative effects of discrimination (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Quintana, Herrera, & Nelson, 2011).

Additionally, religion provides an adaptive culture for Latino immigrant families influenced by contextual demands (e.g., acculturation, experiences of racism and discrimination) and cultural traditions and legacies (Castellanos & Gloria, 2008; García Coll et al., 1996; Kuperminc et al., 2009). Latino immigrants have described religion and spirituality as a constant force in their lives that provided a sense of connection to their homeland and family, and a safe space for children's cultural socialization through worship communities' celebration of cultural traditions and values (Odem, 2009; Vasquez, 2011). Latino worship communities (e.g., Spanish language services) also provide a space for families to resist and challenge contextual pressures to assimilate (e.g., acculturation, discrimination) and illustrate the active role of Latino families in creating a promoting environment that is a "safe haven" (Castellanos & Gloria, 2008; Vasquez, 2011). In a study by Odem (2009), Latino immigrants (many of who were from Mexico) in Atlanta discussed how worship communities were a place to attend Mass, practice Mexican devotions, socialize, celebrate important events, and exchange resources (food, clothing, health care) and information (about jobs and housing). For

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these participants, this safe social space was in stark contrast to immigration raids, intense patrolling, and racial profiling. Another study of Mexican-origin college students found that youth viewed religion and spirituality as a space in which their ethnic identities were affirmed, their connection to their family traditions were restored, and as a coping strategy that provided strength, hope, and resilience to overcome stressors (e.g., meeting class demands, low expectations from professors, balancing family and schoolwork; Castellanos & Gloria, 2008).

Thus, to understand developmental competencies of Latino youth research is needed that examines culturally-relevant factors that protect against the negative effects of racial-ethnic discrimination within various inhibiting environments (Kuperminc et al., 2009; Neblett et al., 2012). The present study contributes to existing literature by examining: (a) whether Latino adolescents' familism values and religious coping promote positive psychosocial and academic outcomes and (b) under what conditions these culturally-relevant factors protect against the potentially harmful effects of racial-ethnic discrimination across various sources (i.e., peers, school adults, strangers) and types (i.e., school-based versus foreigner-based) for youths' academic and psychosocial adjustment.

Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory

Key propositions of Spencer's (1995) PVEST model also will be adapted to guide the present study on Latino youth. A key proposition of the PVEST model states that although all youth are vulnerable, youth of color experience additional challenges when navigating normative developmental tasks due to societal stereotypes and biases (Spencer). That is, youths' race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status, physical

appearance, and primary language use are person characteristics that others' may utilize

to make assumptions about Latino youths' behaviors and attitudes based on societal

stereotypes and prejudices (Spencer; Vasquez, 2011). Thus, adolescents' characteristics

influence their interactions with others and their experiences within those contexts. For

youth of color, racial-ethnic discrimination is conceptualized as a chronic risk factor

whereas protective factors include cultural and social supports (e.g., cultural values,

relationships with caring adults) that may offset the negative effects of environmental

risks (e.g., discrimination; Spencer, Fegley, Harplani, & Seaton, 2004).

In the PVEST model, adolescents' actual experiences within their environments

are defined as their net stress level which is characterized by the balance between

actualized risks (i.e., challenges—discrimination, violence) and protective factors (i.e.,

supports—cultural values, racial and ethnic identity, caring adults; Spencer, 1995).

Adolescents' net stress level influences meaning making or self-appraisal processes (e.g.,

feeling threatened versus supported; Spencer, Fegley, & Harpalani, 2003). Thus, a

primary assumption of the PVEST model is that an adolescent's perspective is central to

understanding normative developmental processes. For example, Latino adolescents'

meaning making processes of the school context will be influenced by their experiences

of challenge (e.g., racial-ethnic discrimination) and support (e.g., cultural values and

pride). Additionally, the meaning Latino youth attribute to others' assumptions of their

foreigner status (e.g., "where are you really from?"), questioning of their US citizenship,

and treatment as a second-class citizen is important for understanding linkages to Latino

youths' developmental outcomes (e.g., psychosocial well-being and academic adjustment; Armenta et al., 2013; Rivera et al., 2010).

Subsequently, adolescents' meaning making processes are proposed to influence their behavior such as their coping responses which are referred to as reactive coping processes (Spencer, 1995). Thus, youth are shaped by their environment through social interactions with others but they are also active participants with the ability to influence their development through their own behavior and actions (Spencer, 1995). For example, some coping processes may be more adaptive whereas others maladaptive relative to time and place (Spencer et al., 2003). It is important to emphasize that that the associated protectiveness of coping behaviors depends upon the level of adversity balanced with supports and resources available across contexts (Gonzales et al., 2001; Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1990; Spencer, 1995).

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

Emerging Latino Immigrant Communities in the Rural South

As a result of changing settlement patterns, the significant growth of Latino

families within rural, southern regions of the U.S. has created emerging Latino immigrant

communities (Lichter, 2012; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). This increase in Latino

populations has been referred to a growing awareness of "Latinization" of the US

(Marrow, 2011). The level of incorporation within emerging immigrant communities

depends upon the extent to which local community members view Latino families as

new, local citizens or as foreign and "underclass other" (Marrow, 2011; Perreira & Smith,

2007). Emerging Latino communities also tend to be less diverse in racial composition

and have fewer ethnic group representation and resources compared to established Latino

communities (e.g., Los Angeles; Kandel & Parrado, 2006). As a result, proximal

contexts (e.g., schools) within emerging immigrant communities often do not support

Latino adolescents' cultural socialization and traditions but instead accentuate pressure

for Latino youth to assimilate to US culture (Ko & Perreira, 2010). Studies of Latino

youth in emerging immigrant communities also found that acculturation and

discrimination stress were associated with poorer academic adjustment and greater

internalizing distress (Stein, Gonzalez, & Huq, 2012; Ko & Perreira, 2010).

An emerging immigrant community in North Carolina was described by Smith and Furuseth (2006) as the "Nuevo New South" (in this study Charlotte, NC) and characterized as a "myth and reality" in which the region appears to "celebrate the growing diversity and yet denies the patterned realities of southern exclusion, exploitation, and race-based discrimination that is extended to Latino populations" (p. 195). Smith and Furuseth further argued that the Latino experience within Southern regions is unique (from African American people's experiences of oppression and exclusion) due to the "differing spatial nature of that exclusion" in which Latinos are confronted with constructions of "otherness" guided by assumptions that Latinos "must show their legitimacy in this place and space" (p. 212). In particular, rural areas in the southern U.S. were characterized by Latino newcomers as close-minded toward cultural, ethnic, and religious practices, economically unsteady and thinking that stems from the black-white dichotomy while constantly defending the American identity of the region but also offered greater safety than urban areas (Marrow, 2011). Latino adult newcomers described the cultural costs of rural life in the South as including cultural isolation, traditionalism, moral and political conservatism, and intolerance for diversity, ambiguity, and racial and ethnic minorities. Some newcomers viewed overt racism as the largest barriers to acceptance whereas others described experiences of discrimination primarily in terms of "otherness" (e.g., particularly citizenship; Marrow, 2011). A study of Latino youth reported that those living in an emerging immigrant community in the rural, south reported greater fears of discrimination than their counterparts from a traditional receiving site (i.e., Los Angeles; Perreira et al., 2010).

Studies, however, also found that Latino youth in emerging Latino immigrant communities displayed resilience despite experiencing adversity by relying on cultural strengths and protective factors (i.e., cultural values and traditions, increased family communication and support, positive peer networks, and increased salience and centrality of ethnic identity; Perreira et al., 2013; Ko & Perreira, 2010). Moreover, it is important to consider both contextual influences as well as ways in which youth are active participants and influence their context.

Community Context

The community context is an important indicator of "social apartness" that is patterned by structured inequality (e.g., access to resources and jobs, racism, discrimination; Vasquez, 2011). One example of social apartness includes ethnic enclaves or barrios (e.g., trailer communities) which can provide connections to similar others thereby increasing cultural socialization practices that youth experience and can protect families' from exposure to discrimination (Vasquez, 2011; Fergus, 2009). Ethnic enclaves also can increase experiences of "otherness" and stigmatization. For example, Latino newcomers described these experiences of segregation within trailer parks as being "ghettoized" in "Little Mexicos" (Marrow, 2011). This qualitative finding is supported by a study of Latino, African American, and Asian adolescents living in Los Angeles which found that higher concentrations of ethnic minority individuals in their neighborhood were associated with greater perceptions of societal discrimination that in turn, predicted higher levels of youths' consciousness of racism (Benner & Graham, 2013). This previous study, although not unique to an emerging immigrant community,

shows how community context influences youths' self-appraisal processes of racism and discrimination and in turn, influences developmental outcomes (e.g., heightened awareness of racism).

School Context

School represents a salient and proximal context for development that may be an inhibiting or promoting environment depending upon levels of discrimination or acceptance (García Coll et al., 1996). An inhibiting school environment sends messages that immigrant youth must minimize cultural distance between mainstream society and their culture of origin (e.g., pressures to assimilate to White culture and the normalization of Whiteness; Vasquez, 2011). For example, Latino youth living in an emerging immigrant community described encountering conflicting values from teachers and parents coupled with constant threats of discrimination at school (Ko & Perreira, 2013). Youth also discussed being patrolled and punished by school adults and commonly experiencing racial-ethnic harassment, microaggressions, and overt racism from their peers (Balagna et al., 2013; Ko & Perreira, 2013). Moreover, Latino youth experienced pressures to assimilate to mainstream US culture while also experiencing stigmatization, marginalization, and exclusion within the school context. Other aspects include structural inequality within school systems such as tracking systems, segregation (separate school buildings), lower teacher expectations for immigrant youth based on societal stereotypes, and the devaluing and invisibility of Latino history in school curricula which influence youths' outcomes through their overt and covert experiences of racism and discrimination (Fuligni, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Katz, 1999; Vasquez, 2011).

Through these experiences of differential treatment and normalization of Whiteness, youth learn about the social constructions of race and ethnicity (e.g., phenotype, formal name, language use, and skin color; Vasquez, 2011).

Adolescent Developmental Outcomes

Guided by a risk and resilience theoretical framework (i.e., PVEST), it is important to consider indices of positive and negative adjustment across developmental contexts (Spencer, 1995). Thus, the present study will examine indices of maladaptive (i.e., internalizing and externalizing symptoms) and adaptive (i.e., academic motivation) developmental outcomes. The PVEST theoretical model (Spencer, 1995) also proposed that developmental outcomes are influenced by adolescents' perceived balance of supports and challenges within their proximal ecological contexts (e.g., schools, family).

Adolescents' internalizing and externalizing symptoms can be viewed as a sign that youths' coping abilities are overwhelmed as a result of high stress and low supports, particularly within inhibiting environments in which racial-ethnic discrimination is both covertly and overtly expressed (García Coll et al., 1996; Lazarus & Folkman, 1994; Spencer, 1995). Internalizing symptoms can include anxiety, depression, and withdrawal whereas externalizing symptoms include youths' outward behaviors of aggression (e.g., yelling, hitting) and rule breaking (Achenbach, 1991). Studies have indicated that Latino youth experience higher levels of internalizing symptoms than their White non-Latino counterparts (Roberts, Roberts, & Chen, 1997; Ginsburg & Silverman, 1996; Varela et al., 2004) placing them at increased risk for suicide ideation and attempts, poorer academic achievement, difficulty in social relationships, and greater internalizing

symptoms in adulthood (Fergusson & Woodward, 2002). Youths' externalizing

symptoms also can negatively influence academic performance through greater

suspensions and poorer relationships with teachers and peers, and greater risk of

delinquency in young adulthood (Brook, Brook, Rubenstone, Zhang, & Saar, 2011;

Masten et al., 2005; Roosa et al., 2012). Given the detrimental effects of discrimination

for youths' psychological and academic adjustment, identifying culturally-relevant

protective factors is critically important for the well-being of Latino youth.

Within the U.S., high academic engagement and performance is viewed as an

important developmental task and path to achieving future goals (Connell, Spencer, &

Aber, 1994). According to Expectancy-Value theory and previous research by Eccles

and colleagues (Eccles, 1983; Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; Eccles, Wigfield, & Schiefele,

1998) adolescents' value for engaging in academic tasks, influences their persistence,

engagement, and performance. Broadly, academic motivational values are

conceptualized as individuals' beliefs about the worth of academic activities and are

indicated by three major components including: (a) attainment value—the importance

attributed to doing well on a particular task, (b) interest or intrinsic value—the enjoyment

experienced from engaging in the task, and (c) utility value—the perceived usefulness of

a task, particularly for future plans (Eccles, 1983).

Adolescents' achievement values and underlying motivational beliefs are

strongly influenced by adolescents' cultural context (e.g., cultural beliefs, behaviors, and

experiences), experiences with adults within the school context (e.g., teachers'

encouragement for academic success versus unfair and negative treatment), and societal

barriers (e.g., institutional barriers that limit future academic and economic opportunities for youth of color; Graham, Taylor, & Hudley, 1998; Wigfield & Cambria, 2010). Moreover, adolescents' experiences of discrimination within their community and school context are likely key risk factors that may harm adolescents' value for academic achievement and may in part explain high dropout rates among Latino youth in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Education, 2011). Therefore, it is critical to examine culturally-relevant factors (e.g., cultural values and coping) that promote Latino adolescents' academic motivation and may protect against the negative effects of discrimination within their proximal environments.

Linkages among Sources of Discrimination and Developmental Outcomes

Guided by cultural-ecological theory (García Coll et al., 1996; Spencer, 1995), racial-ethnic discrimination is a salient and chronic stressor experienced by youth of color. Indeed, studies of Latino youth have shown that racial-ethnic discrimination is linked with maladaptive adjustment outcomes including lower academic motivation and performance, and greater internalizing and externalizing symptoms (Ayón, Marsiglia, & Bermudez-Parsai, 2010; Smokowski, Chapman, & Bacallao, 2007; Stein, Gonzalez, Cupito, Kiang, & Supple, 2013). Studies of Latino youth also have shown that discrimination uniquely predicts poorer academic and mental health outcomes above and beyond stressors such as acculturative stress and economic hardship (Stein et al., 2012; Roche & Kuperminc, 2012). Although few in number there is a growing body of research that has described the importance of examining sources of discrimination and unique associations with youths' developmental outcomes (Benner & Graham, 2013),

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although no studies were identified that included Latino adolescents within emerging immigrant communities.

Previous research has demonstrated that experiencing discrimination in school is a relatively common experience for Latino youth as a result of unfair and negative treatment from school adults and peers (Edwards & Romero, 2008; Fisher et al., 2000; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). School adults and peers are proximal socializing agents who provide important feedback to youth regarding their academic and social competencies (Eccles & Roeser, 2011). However, when feedback regarding their competencies is filtered through discrimination experiences such as lower academic expectations, name-calling, and unfair and degrading treatment Latino youths' psychological well-being and academic motivation will likely be negatively harmed (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). For example, in a study of Mexican origin youth, being a target of discrimination resulted in a psychological experience of stigmatization ("otherness") commonly attributed to primary language use and racial features (Quintana et al., 2011). Adolescents described ethnic isolation and segregation in their school marked by social distance and marginalization that were experienced through covert and overt experiences of peer and school adult discrimination (Quintana et al., 2010).

With regard to psychological adjustment, one potential mechanism is the need for relatedness, and sense of belonging and acceptance that is threatened as a result of experiencing racial-ethnic discrimination from school adults and peers. Studies of Mexican American and Latino adolescents found that peer discrimination was associated with higher depressive symptoms (Delgado et al., 2011; Stein et al., 2013). Benner and

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Graham (2013) also found that peer discrimination was uniquely associated with greater internalizing distress (i.e., loneliness, social anxiety, and depressive symptoms) above and beyond school adult discrimination and societal discrimination among Latino, African American, and Asian American adolescents. Additionally, Greene, Way, and Pahl (2006) found that peer and school-adult discrimination were associated with greater declines in self-esteem whereas peer discrimination also predicted increased growth in depressive symptoms over time among Latino, African American, and Asian adolescents. These findings suggest that school adult and peer discrimination negatively influence adolescents' psychological adjustment; however, when included in the same model peer discrimination may be a stronger predictor of youths' internalizing distress than school adult discrimination given the proximal nature of peers within adolescents' social relationships.

In previous qualitative studies, Latino youth also described awareness of biased treatment such as teachers' preconceived notions of Latino students as troublemakers and "bad kids" despite their actual behavior (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Vasquez, 2011). Previous research also has shown that Latino youth, particularly males, tend to be viewed by adult authority figures as increasingly threatening with age and physical maturity as a result of societal stereotypes (Spencer, 1995; Tatum, 1997). Consistent with these findings, studies have shown that Latino youth were less likely to receive adequate treatment for internalizing problems in school-based mental health centers but more likely to be suspended and expelled from school than their White counterparts even when they displayed similar problem behaviors (Alexandre, Younis, Martins, & Richard, 2010;

Skiba et al., 2010). Delgado and colleagues (2011) also found that school-based peer discrimination was associated with greater engagement in risky behaviors and deviant peer affiliations. Research has shown that inhibiting school environments marked by racial-ethnic discrimination tend to be linked with worse adolescent outcomes and also may trigger adolescents' threat appraisals and feelings of frustration and anger that may result in higher levels of externalizing symptoms (Spencer, 1995; Spencer et al., 2004). Moreover, Latino youths' behaviors may be viewed as more problematic and threatening because of school adults' racial and ethnic biases (Skiba et al., 2010). Guided by PVEST theory, youths' appraisals of interactions with school adults and peers are important for youths' adjustment and will be examined in the present study (i.e., peer and school adult racial-ethnic discrimination experiences).

In addition to psychosocial adjustment, it is important to consider the detrimental effects of peer and school adult racial-ethnic discrimination on adolescents' academic outcomes. According to expectancy-value theorists and previous research on youth of color, adolescents' academic motivation is strongly influenced by social factors including teachers' beliefs and behaviors as well as societal influences such as institutional barriers that limit future opportunities for youth of color (Eccles, 1983; Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; Graham et al., 1998). Moreover, unfair and biased treatment due to race and ethnicity may increase negative self-appraisals of their abilities and as a result, harm their motivation and engagement in academic tasks.

For example, studies of Latino and Mexican American adolescents found that racial-ethnic discrimination (i.e., general and peer) were associated with lower grades and

school belonging, and greater perceived barriers to college (Roche & Kuperminc, 2012; Stein et al., 2013). Another study of Latino (primarily Mexican origin) adolescents found that racial-ethnic discrimination experiences were particularly harmful for boys' academic motivation and performance (Alfaro, Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen, & Zeiders, 2009). A study of ethnic minority youth also found that school adult racial-ethnic discrimination uniquely predicted lower academic performance (GPA, academic engagement) above and beyond peer discrimination and societal discrimination (Benner & Graham, 2013). Collectively, these findings indicate that experiencing discrimination in school from multiple sources creates additional adversity that Latino youth must overcome to successfully engage in academic tasks. These findings also suggest that school-adult discrimination may be a stronger predictor of adolescents' academic adjustment than peer discrimination given school adults' primary responsibility for facilitating adolescents' learning and development of academic competencies. Consistent with these findings, Spencer's PVEST theory proposed that youths' engagement and adaptation are strongly influenced by stressors and challenges within the same context (Spencer, 1995; 1999). Additional research is needed that explores linkages among sources of discrimination and adjustment outcomes.

Foreigner Objectification and Developmental Outcomes

Studies of Latino, Asian, and African American adults and college students have described foreigner objectification as an additional source of discrimination (Armenta et al 2013; Huynh et al., 2011). The perpetual foreigner stereotype, experienced as foreigner objectification in social interactions, communicates messages of exclusion and

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inferiority in that Latino youth are less "American" than their White counterparts (Devos & Banaji, 2005). For example, US born Latino individuals commonly report that others question their hometown (e.g., "where are you *really* from?"), compliment their English language ability, and make assumptions of foreigner status (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Rivera et al., 2010; Sue et al., 2007). Foreigner objectification, conceptualized as a type of a racial microaggression, includes convert and subtle behaviors that communicate messages of otherness, marginality, and stigmatization (Sue et al., 2007). In a qualitative study of racial microaggressions, Latino adults described experiences of being treated as a second-class citizen (e.g., ignored, excluded, receiving differential treatment, denied opportunities) as well as being made to feel as a perpetual foreigner, and an "alien in their own land" (p. 59, Rivera et al., 2010). Other common experiences included having their U.S. citizenship questioned and being made to feel that Latinos were unwelcome in the U.S. through explicit and subtle messages that they did not have the right to be in this country (e.g., "Go back where you came from!"; Rivera et al., 2010).

Similarly, Chavez (2013) described how the Latino Threat Narrative provides a foundational base for objectification and dehumanization of Latino individuals, and aids in the construction of a narrative about "those considered legitimate members of society as well as those viewed as less legitimate, marginalized, and stigmatized Others" (p. 7). Chavez further described the Latino Threat Narrative as a combination of socially, culturally, and politically "taken-for-granted truths" that support the normalization and superiority of Whiteness as well as narratives of exclusion and inferiority of the Latino population (p. 6). These "truths" are reified by fear-provoking messages of Latino

individuals as linguistically and culturally separatists, criminals, and illegal aliens used to support the view that Latinos can never be "truly American" (Chavez). Moreover, the Latino Threat Narrative is rarely challenged or confronted in public spaces and as a result often is experienced by Latino youth and their families during social interactions within proximal, inhibiting contexts (e.g., schools, communities; Chavez, 2013; Rivera et al., 2010).

Although less research has focused specifically on the construct of foreigner objectification, scholars have studied the harmful effects of racial and ethnic microaggressions for Latino youths' psychological well-being and academic adjustment (Huynh, 2012; Katz, 1999; Luna & Revilla, 2013). For example, Huynh (2012) found that Latino and Asian American youth reported experiencing ethnic microaggressions (e.g., denial of their realities of discrimination, treatment as a second-class citizen, and assumptions of difference or foreignness) which were associated with youths' elevated anxiety, anger, and stress. Studies of U.S. born, Latino college students and adults also found that experiences of foreigner objectification were associated with greater depressive symptoms and lower levels of hope and life satisfaction above and beyond general discrimination (Armenta et al., 2013; Huynh et al., 2011). In a qualitative study, Latino youth discussed experiences of racial microaggressions from school personnel such as harsher treatment toward Latino versus White students and being automatically treated as if they were to be feared or guilty (e.g., violent, threatening, gang member; Katz, 1999; Luna & Revilla, 2013). As a result of the negative treatment in school, many students reporting engaging in negative behaviors and left (or were "pushed out") school

and among those who internalized the negative stereotypes blamed themselves for dropping out of school (Katz, 1999; Luna & Revilla, 2013). Although little research has specifically examined associations among foreigner objectification and internalizing symptoms and to a lesser extent, externalizing symptoms and academic adjustment, these studies collectively suggest that messages of exclusion and inferiority, and experiences of marginality and stigmatization undermine Latino adolescents' psychosocial and academic adjustment. As such, it is likely that foreigner objectification will be associated with higher levels of internalizing and externalizing symptoms and lower levels of academic motivation.

Protective Factors

The cultural ecological model proposed by García Coll and colleagues (1996) described the importance of youths' adaptive cultures that include ethnic and racial protective mechanisms such as parents' cultural socialization messages that promote youths' internalization of cultural values and culturally relevant ways of responding to everyday occurrences and challenges (Hughes et al., 2006; Knight et al., 2011; Quintana et al., 2010). Specifically, García Coll and colleagues proposed that youths' cultural values inform youths' coping mechanisms to contextual demands. Little research, however, has examined the protectiveness of youths' cultural values and coping responses against several types of discrimination (Brittian et al., 2013). Previous research and theory will be reviewed to describe the specific mechanism of protection offered by cultural values and coping strategies.

Cultural values. Previous research has described the salience of three cultural values (i.e., familism, respect, and religion) for Latino parenting practices and influences on individuals' behavior and decision making within family contexts as well as other proximal contexts and thus, scholars have argued for the inclusion of cultural values in research on Latino youth and their families (Calzada et al., 2010; Cauce & Domenech-Rodríguez, 2002; García Coll et al., 1996; Neblett et al., 2012). Familism is defined by a belief that family is an important source of emotional support (familism support), the importance of providing tangible caregiving and assistance to family members (familism obligation), and a "reliance on communal interpersonal reflection to define the self" (family as referent; p. 448, Knight et al., 2010). Respect, closely related to familism, is defined as the importance for children to show deference behaviorally and in their decision making with parents and elders (Knight et al., 2010). Although previous research viewed familism and respect as separate constructs, more recent scholars have argued that respect is a central component of familism in addition to support, obligation, and family as referent (Stein et al., 2014). The present study draws upon the definition of familism by Stein and colleagues (2014) given previous research suggesting high correlations among factors, and qualitative work in which Latino youth describe respect as a component of familism overlapping with familism constructs (e.g., family as referent; Esparza & Sánchez, 2008; Lorenzo-Blanco, Unger, Baezconde-Garbanati, Ritt-Olson, & Soto, 2012).

One potential mechanism that may explain the protective effect of cultural values for youths' psychological well-being is the sense of connectedness, support, and cohesion

among family members provided by familism and respect (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2012; Lorenzo-Blanco, Unger, Ritt-Olson, Soto, Baezconde-Garbanati, 2013; Sabogal et al., 1987). Emerging evidence provides support for the promotive effect of familism for Latino adolescents' lower levels of internalizing symptoms (Ayón et al., 2010; Stein, et al., 2013). Another proposed mechanism of cultural values for youths' outcomes, particularly for youths' externalizing behaviors, is social control through increased self-regulation of behavior and adherence to family rules (familism values: Germán et al., 2009; Delgado et al., 2011; respect: Knight et al., 2010; Calzada et al., 2010). Studies have provided support for the social control mechanism in the linkage between youths' familism values and lower externalizing symptoms (Delgado et al., 2011; Gonzales et al., 2008; Marsiglia, Parsia, & Kulis, 2009). Gonzales and colleagues (2008) also found that Mexican American adolescents' cultural values (i.e., family support/closeness, obligation, and religious values) were the most robust predictor of adolescents' lower externalizing behaviors and higher levels of academic engagement above and beyond cultural orientation.

Moreover, similar mechanisms (e.g., family support, self-regulation) of influence likely operate for adolescents' academic outcomes; however, familism and respect also may uniquely promote adolescents' academic values because Latino adolescents often view educational success as a way to honor their family and parents' sacrifices (Gonzalez et al., 2012; Rumbaut & Portes, 2006; Suárez-Orzoco & Suárez-Orzoco, 1995). Previous research has provided support for this hypothesis indicated by the positive association among familism values and positive academic outcomes (e.g., school belonging,

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academic engagement, academic values, academic effort; Esparza & Sánchez, 2008;

family obligations – Fuligni, 2001). Additionally, adolescents with greater levels of

respect may be more likely to adhere to parents' educational socialization efforts

concerning the importance and value of education (Ceballo, Maurizi, Suarez, & Aretakis,

2014; Gonzalez et al., 2012).   For example, Ceballo and colleagues (2014) found that

Latino mothers' educational aspirations and adolescents' educational expectations were

stronger for adolescents reporting higher levels of respect compared to adolescents

reporting lower levels of respect.

In comparison to evidence for the direct effect of Latino adolescents' cultural

values, there are relatively fewer studies that have examined the protective effect of

cultural values against the harmful effects of discrimination for Latino adolescents'

developmental outcomes, and of these studies findings are mixed. For example, several

studies did not find evidence for a protective effect of familism in the association among

discrimination and internalizing and externalizing symptoms, and academic outcomes

(e.g., academic self-efficacy, belonging; Ayón et al., 2010; Berkel et al., 2010; Stein et

al., 2013). Berkel and colleagues (2010) instead found evidence for familism as a risk

reducer (mediator) in the association between 5th grade discrimination and Mexican

American adolescents' internalizing and externalizing symptoms and academic self-

efficacy. Although not specific to cultural values, Umaña-Taylor and Updegraff (2007)

found that the harmful effects of discrimination on depressive symptoms was stronger

among Mexican American boys who reported higher levels of acculturation (i.e.,

mainstream orientation) and lower levels of enculturation (i.e., ethnic orientation).

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Moreover, additional research is needed to understand the protective effect of Latino adolescents' cultural values for adolescents' developmental outcomes in the context of discrimination at school and within the community.

Religious coping. Previous theoretical work has supported the view that youths' cultural values influence their cognitive appraisals and coping responses to challenges as well as the effect of racial-ethnic discrimination on adolescents' developmental outcomes (García Coll et al., 1996; Neblett et al., 2012; Spencer, 1995). Research on Latino immigrant families indicates that maintenance of religious and spiritual practices provides cultural and social protection for individuals' mental health by promoting continuity in cultural traditions and a sense of belonging within a context of ongoing cultural, developmental, and family changes (Falicov, 2009; Odem, 2009). As such, given the salience of spirituality and religiosity in Latino immigrant families (Knight et al., 2010) the present study focused on religious coping as a culturally-relevant, adaptive coping strategy.

Previous research has found evidence for the promotive effect of Latino adolescents' religious values for positive adjustment which may be explained by a sense of connectedness within the religious community and faith in a higher power (Gonzales, 2012; Koss-Chioino, 2013). Similar to familism values, religious values also are proposed to act as a social control mechanisms through increased self-regulation, mindfulness, and accountability of actions with a religious community (e.g., church members, God; McCullough & Carter, 2013). Latino youths' religious values also have been found to reduce affiliations with deviant peers and engagement in risky behaviors

(Kuperminc, Wilkins, Roche, & Alvarez-Jimenez, 2009; Marsiglia, Kulis, Nieri, & Parsai, 2005; Villarruel, 1998). Another study also found that Mexican American adolescents' religious values in combination with familism predicted lower externalizing behaviors and higher levels of academic engagement (Gonzales et al., 2008). Collectively, these studies suggest the importance of religion for Latino adolescents and yet, little research has examined the promotive effects of *religious coping* for academic and psychosocial outcomes.

With regard to the protective effect of coping strategies in the context of discrimination, research is limited among Latino youth. Although not specific to religious coping, Brittian and colleagues (2013) examined the moderating effect of Mexican American adolescents' coping strategies on the effect of discrimination and mental health outcomes. They found that youth who experienced discrimination and displayed low levels of support seeking coping were more likely to display externalizing problems whereas among youth who displayed high levels of support seeking coping, the association between discrimination and externalizing problems was nonsignificant. Gonzalez, Stein, Kiang, and Cupito (2014) examined the buffering effect of peer social support and found that peer discrimination was associated with greater depressive symptoms for youth who reported low and average levels of peer support whereas the association was nonsignificant among adolescents who reported higher levels of peer support. Another study found that discrimination stress was associated with higher levels of self-esteem among adolescents who engaged in greater primary control coping strategies (i.e., problem solving, emotional regulation, and emotional expression –

expressing feelings with family, religion, close others; Edwards & Romero, 2008). More research on Latino adolescents is needed that examines the moderating effect of other culturally-relevant coping strategies, such as religious coping, in the context of school- and foreigner-based discrimination for adolescents' psychosocial and academic outcomes.

Present Study

Discrimination represents a chronic and salient stressor for Latino adolescents (Fisher et al., 2000; Romero & Roberts, 2003). Previous research on Latino adolescents has documented the negative and detrimental effects of youths' school-based (e.g., peers and school adults) discrimination experiences for their academic adjustment, and internalizing and externalizing symptoms (Delgado et al., 2011; Stein et al., 2013; Umaña-Taylor, Updegraff et al., 2011). Studies also found that Latino individuals commonly experience foreigner objectification which was associated with greater internalizing symptoms, anger, lower levels of life satisfaction, and poorer academic outcomes (Armenta et al., 2013; Huynh, 2012; Huynh et al., 2011; Rivera et al., 2010).

Despite such adversity, many youth display resilience by overcoming challenges and demands within inhibiting contexts that include racial-ethnic discrimination (García Coll et al., 1996; Fuligni, 2001; Alfaro et al., 2009). Moreover, additional research is needed to understand in what ways youth draw upon culturally-based assets to experience greater opportunities for successes ("thriving" despite such adversity; APA Task Force, 2008; Neblett et al., 2012). The present study fills an important gap in the literature on culturally-relevant stress and coping processes for Latino youths' developmental outcomes.

I hypothesize that (a) peer and school-adult racial-ethnic discrimination, and foreigner objectification will be associated with higher levels of internalizing and externalizing symptoms, and lower levels of academic motivation, (b) adolescents' familism and religious coping will be associated with lower levels of internalizing and externalizing symptoms, and higher levels of academic motivation, (c) familism and religious coping will buffer the negative effects of racial-ethnic discrimination (peer, school-adult, and foreigner-objectification) and promote adolescents' psychosocial and academic adjustment. That is, adolescents who report higher levels of familism values and religious coping, respectively, will display lower levels of internalizing and externalizing symptoms and higher levels of academic motivation despite experiencing high levels of racial-ethnic discrimination (peer, school-adult, and foreigner-objectification). In contrast, adolescents who report lower levels of familism values and religious coping will be more likely to experience higher levels of internalizing and externalizing symptoms and lower levels of academic motivation when experiencing high levels of racial-ethnic discrimination (peer, school-adult, and foreigner-objectification).

CHAPTER IV

METHOD

Participants

The larger study from which the present study was drawn included 134 Latino mothers and their adolescent who ranged between the ages of 11 and 14. Youth participants were recruited from two middle schools in a central region of North Carolina and the ethnic composition of these schools consisted of majority Latino (40.6%), White (39.3%), and Black (14.5%) students. One adolescent was excluded in the current analyses due to missing data on all discrimination items (i.e., peer, school-adult, foreigner objectification). Of the final sample, half of the adolescents were girls (51%) and were on average 12.88 years of age *(SD* = .70). The sample primarily included adolescents who were born in the U.S. (*n* = 116, 87%) and of those who were not born in the U.S. (*n* = 18, 13%) the average age of immigration was 2.75 years of age. All youth participants were bilingual and fluent in English. The majority of families were Mexican-origin (81%).

Procedure

Project staff visited two rural middle schools with large Latino populations and provided information about the current study to school staff. Flyers and letters about the study were given to students and mailed home. Using school call lists of enrolled 7th and 8th grade Latino students, project staff called families to identify interested and eligible

families based on the following criteria: (a) both biological parents were Latino, (b) the

mother was the resident caregiver of the participating adolescent, and (c) youth ranged

between 11 and 14 years of age. Project staff coordinated home-visits based on families'

availability. A second phase of data collection included door-to-door home visits to

recruit families who were not reached via phone calls (e.g., phone disconnected, wrong

number). A total of 384 families were targeted for recruitment via phone or door-to-door

recruitment. Of these, 16 families had moved (4%) and 133 were not located (e.g.,

disconnected numbers, families not home; 55%). Of the families who were contacted (n

= 235), 22 were not eligible (9%), 69 declined (29%), 9 consented but did not complete

interviews (4%), and 140 families consented and completed interviews (60%).

Upon enrollment into the study, trained (i.e., 10 hours of instruction), research

assistants (included at least one Spanish speaking RA and one graduate student) visited

families' homes to interview and administer the questionnaires to the mother and

adolescent. Graduate students received additional training to conduct a suicidal

assessment when expressed by the adolescent or parent. Prior to administering

interviews, research assistants obtained assent and consent from the youth and mother,

answered any questions about the study, and emphasized confidentiality of the research

process. The adolescent and mother were interviewed in separate rooms and a noise

machine was used to ensure privacy. All assessment materials were available in Spanish

and English and administered based upon participants' language preference. A research

assistant was assigned to interview the youth and the Spanish-speaking research assistant

interviewed the mother. Youth completed questions using a computer-assisted interview

format. Structured interviews were the mode of data collection for mothers to increase personal contact and respect via a relational interview style (Knight, Roosa, Calderon-Tena, & Gonzales, 2009). Interviews lasted approximately 1.5 to 2 hours. Following completion of the survey, research assistants distributed a $10 gift card to the adolescent and $20 gift card to the mother as thanks for their participation.

Measures

      Peer racial-ethnic discrimination. Adolescents also reported on the extent to which they experienced receiving unfair treatment from peers in their school because of their ethnicity and race using the 7-item Way and colleagues Peer Discrimination subscale (Greene et al., 2006; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Way, 1997). Sample items included "being insulted and called names" and "being threatened and harassed." Response choices ranged on a 5-point scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*all the time*). Previous research (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009) also showed high reliability using this subscale (α = .93).   In the present study, this subscale also demonstrated good internal consistency (α = .78). Items were averaged and scored such that higher scores indicated higher levels of peer discrimination.

      School-adult racial-ethnic discrimination. School adult discrimination was measured by a 7-item subscale developed by Way and colleagues (Greene et al., 2006; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Way, 1997).   Adolescents reported on the extent to which they experienced receiving unfair treatment from adults in their school because of their ethnicity and race. Sample items included "being treated unfairly" and "not being trusted."   Response choices ranged on a 5-point scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*all the time*).

Because three items (being insulted, being threatened, and feared) had very low or zero frequency, these items were dropped from the measure in this study resulting in a 4-item measure of school adult discrimination. Previous research (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009) using the 9-item school-adult subscale with a Latino sample showed high reliability ($\alpha = .91$). In the current study, this scale also demonstrated good internal consistency ($\alpha = .72$). Items were averaged and scored such that higher scores indicated higher levels of school-adult discrimination.

Foreigner objectification. Foreigner objectification was assessed via adolescent report of experiencing discrimination events in the past year due to adolescents' ethnicity and race and others' assumptions of immigrant status (Armenta et al., 2013). Sample items included "Heard someone say to you, go back where you came from!" and "Asked by strangers, 'where are you from?' because of your ethnicity/race." Response choices were on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*five or more times*). Due to overlap with the peer and school-adult discrimination items, two items ("rejected by other because of your ethnicity/race" and "treated unfairly or rudely by strangers because of your ethnicity/race"). This 7-item scale demonstrated high reliability ($\alpha = .84$). Items were averaged and scored such that higher scores indicated higher levels of foreigner objectification over the past year.

Academic motivation. Academic motivation assessed youths' interest and valuing of school indicated by utility value of school, intrinsic academic motivation, and value of academic success (Eccles, 1983; see also Kiang, Supple, Stein, & Gonzalez, 2012). Utility value of school was assessed by 3 items about the usefulness of school for

their everyday life currently, in the future, and after graduation on a scale ranging from 1 (*not all useful*) to 5 (*very useful*). For example, a sample item included "How useful do you think the things you have learned in school will be for what you want to be after you graduate?" on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all useful*) to 5 (*very useful)*. This scale possessed good internal consistency ($\alpha = .77$). Items were averaged and scored such that higher values indicated higher perceived utility value of school. Youth responded to two items assessing their intrinsic academic motivation. The first item read, "In general, I find working on school work…" on a scale ranging from 1 (*very boring*) to 5 (*very interesting*). Adolescents also responded to the item, "How much do you like working on school work?" on a scale ranging from 1 (*a little)* to 5 (*a lot*). Items were significantly correlated ($r = .58$, $p < .000$) and averaged. Finally, value of academic success was measured by 6 items that asked adolescents to rate the importance of doing well and succeeding in school on a scale ranging from 1 (*not important*) to 5 (*very important*). A sample item was, "That you do well in school." This scale was adapted from Eccles (1983) and demonstrated adequate reliability in previous research (e.g., Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005). In the present study, internal consistency of these items was good ($\alpha = .74$). These six items were averaged and scored such that higher values indicated higher levels of valuing academic success.

Then, an overall average of utility value of education, intrinsic academic motivation, and value of academic success was computed to create a manifest variable of academic motivation.

Internalizing symptoms. Adolescents' internalizing symptoms were assessed using the broadband internalizing scale of the Youth Self-Report Form (YSR; Achenbach, 1991). The broadband scale assessed anxiety, withdrawn, and depressive symptoms indicated by 21 items. Sample items include, "I feel worthless or inferior" and "I am nervous or tense." Response choices were on a 3-point scale ranging from 0 (*not true*) to 2 (*very true or often true*). Internal consistency of the broadband internalizing scale was good ($\alpha = .88$). Items were summed and scored such that higher values indicated higher levels of internalizing symptoms.

Externalizing symptoms. Adolescents' externalizing symptoms were assessed using the broadband externalizing scale of the Youth Self-Report Form (YSR; Achenbach, 1991). The broadband scale assessed rule-breaking and aggressive behavior indicated by 30 items. Sample items include, "I hang around kids who get in trouble" and "I am mean to others." Response choices were on a 3-point scale ranging from 0 (*not true*) to 2 (*very true or often true*). Internal consistency of the broadband externalizing scale was good ($\alpha = .90$). Items were summed and scored such that higher values indicated higher levels of externalizing symptoms.

Familism values. Adolescents' familism values were assessed using four subscales from the Mexican American Cultural Values Scale for Adolescents (MACVS; Knight et al., 2010). Subscales included (a) family support—6 items which assessed adolescents' belief that family is a source of emotional and instrumental support, (b) family obligation—5 items which assessed adolescents' belief that family members should provide tangible caregiving and assistance, (c) family as referent—5 items which

assessed youths' value of the reliance on communal interpersonal reflection to define the self, and (d) respect—8 items which assessed adolescents' intergenerational behaviors and the importance for children to defer to parents in decision making (Knight et al., 2010). Responses to the subscales were on a 5-point subscale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*completely*). The subscales demonstrated high internal consistency: (a) familism support (α = .74); (b) familism obligation (α = .74); (c) familism referents (α = .81); and (d) respect (α = .86). Items on familism support, familism obligation, familism as referents, and respect were averaged (respectively) and scored such that higher values indicated higher levels of these cultural values. Using Mplus 7.2 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012), a latent construct of familism values was created indicated by familism support, familism obligation, familism as referents, and respect.

Religious coping. Adolescents' religious coping was assessed using a global coping measure (COPE Inventory; Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989). Although the COPE Inventory includes 15 coping subscales, only the 4-item religious coping subscale was utilized given the purposes of the current study. Sample items included, "I put my trust in God" and "I pray more than usual." Response choices ranged on a 4-point from 1 (*I usually don't do this at all*) to 4 (*I usually do this a lot*). Using Mplus 7.2 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012), a latent construct of religious coping was created indicated by four single items.

Data Analytic Strategy

Using Mplus 7.2 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012), structural equation modeling (SEM) was conducted to examine associations among sources of racial-ethnic

discrimination (i.e., school adults, peers, foreigner objectification), culturally-relevant factors (i.e., familism, religious coping), and academic motivation, and internalizing and externalizing symptoms. Familism and religious coping were specified as latent variables whereas all other variables were indicated as manifest variables.

First, a baseline model (Model 1) was conducted to explore the main effects of school-adult, peer, and foreigner-based discrimination and familism and religious coping on youths' outcomes (i.e., academic motivation, and internalizing and externalizing symptoms). Model fit was evaluated using the model chi-square statistic, the Comparative Fit Indices (CFI), the Root Mean Squared Error Approximation (RMSEA), and the Standardized Root Mean Squared Residual (SRMR). A good fitting model is typically indicated by a nonsignificant chi-square statistic, CFI values greater than .95, RMSEA values less than .05, and SRMR values less than .08 whereas an adequate fitting model includes CFI values of .90 and RMSEA values between .06 and .08 (Browne & Cudeck, 1993; Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Then, two separate models were conducted to explore the moderating effects of familism (Model 2a) and religious coping (Model 2b) on the association among sources of racial-ethnic discrimination (school-adult, peer, foreigner objectification) and adjustment outcomes (i.e., academic motivation, internalizing and externalizing symptoms). In these models, the manifest predictor variables (i.e., peer discrimination, school-adult discrimination, and foreigner objectification) were centered around the grand mean. Models 2a and 2b were conducted separately because of model complexity (latent variable interaction and multiple predictor and outcome variables) and limits of

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sample size; however, the main effects of religious coping and familism values were included in both moderator models.

Missing data will be addressed using full information maximum likelihood estimation methods (FIML), which allows for estimation of the models using all available data.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Preliminary Analysis

First, descriptive statistics of study variables were conducted (see Table 1).

Because internalizing and externalizing symptoms were on a different scale which

created wide standard deviations (i.e., variance of 40.43 and 46.91), a log transformation

+1 was used transform these variables to create similar variances across variables.

Baseline Main Effect Model: Model 1

As shown in Figure 1, the baseline SEM model (Model 1) provided a good fit to

these data [χ^2 (61) = 72.47, p = 0.149; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .04; SRMR = .07). Results

from Model 1 indicated that familism (β = .21, p = .03) and religious coping (β = .27, p =

.008) were associated with higher levels of academic motivation (see Table 2). Peer

racial-ethnic discrimination was associated with higher levels of internalizing (β = .37, p

= .000) and externalizing symptoms (β = .37, p = .000).

With regard to nonsignificant main effects, school-adult discrimination (β = -.03,

p > .05), foreigner objectification (β = .10, p > .05), familism values (β = -.09, p > .05),

and religious coping (β = .03, p > .05) were not significantly associated with adolescents'

internalizing symptoms.

Table 1

Youth Report of Racial-Ethnic Discrimination, Cultural Values, Religious Coping, and Adjustment Outcomes: Correlations and Descriptive Statistics

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Peer	—									
2. Adult	.54***	—								
3. Foreign.	.54***	.32***	—							
4. Support	-.14	-.12	-.11	—						
5. Obligation	-.13	-.10	-.13	.79***	—					
6. Referent	-.07	-.10	-.17*	.79***	.80***	—				
7. Respect	-.15	-.10	-.17	.73***	.82***	.77***	—			
8. RC1	.07	.01	.03	.31***	.35***	.38***	.33***	—		
9. RC2	.11	-.03	-.06	.31***	.38***	.41***	.29**	.66***	—	
10. RC3	.20*	.07	.11	.17	.16	.17	.07	.26**	.27**	—
11. RC4	.15	.01	.05	.02	.04	.09	.06	.33***	.35***	.45***
12. Intern.	.53***	.39***	.33***	-.14	-.11	-.14	-.12	.05	.05	.08
13. Extern.	.55***	.29**	.41***	-.20*	-.23**	-.16	-.18*	-.01	-.03	.09
14. Motiv.	-.15	-.09	-.18*	.28**	.32***	.31***	.34***	.20*	.32***	.21*
M	1.62	1.35	1.56	4.19	4.12	4.02	4.13	3.49	3.10	2.35
SD	.63	.52	.60	.64	.67	.70	.67	.82	1.01	1.10
Range	1 – 5	1 – 5	1 – 4	1 – 5	1 – 5	1 – 5	1 – 5	1 – 4	1 – 4	1 – 4

Note. Peer = Peer racial-ethnic discrimination. Adult = School-adult racial-ethnic discrimination. Foreign. = Foreigner objectification. Support = Familism support. Referent = Referent familism. RC1 = "I put my trust in God." RC2 = "I seek God's help." RC3 = "I try to find comfort in my religion." RC4 = "I pray more than usual." Intern. = Internalizing symptoms. Extern. = Externalizing symptoms. Motiv. = Academic motivation.

*p < .05. **p < .01 ***p < .001.

Table 1

Continued

Variables	11	12	13	14
15. RC4	—			
16. Internalizing	.14	—		
17. Externalizing	.10	.71***	—	
18. Academic motiv.	.13	-.08	-.19*	—
M	2.21	6.89	7.14	4.13
SD	1.03	6.36	6.85	.56
Range	1 – 4	0 – 33	0 – 35	1 – 5

Note. Peer = Peer racial-ethnic discrimination. Adult = School-adult racial-ethnic discrimination. Foreign. = Foreigner objectification. Support = Familism support. Referent = Referent familism. RC1 = "I put my trust in God." RC2 = "I seek God's help." RC3 = "I try to find comfort in my religion." RC4 = "I pray more than usual." Intern. = Internalizing symptoms. Extern. = Externalizing symptoms. Motiv. = Academic motivation.
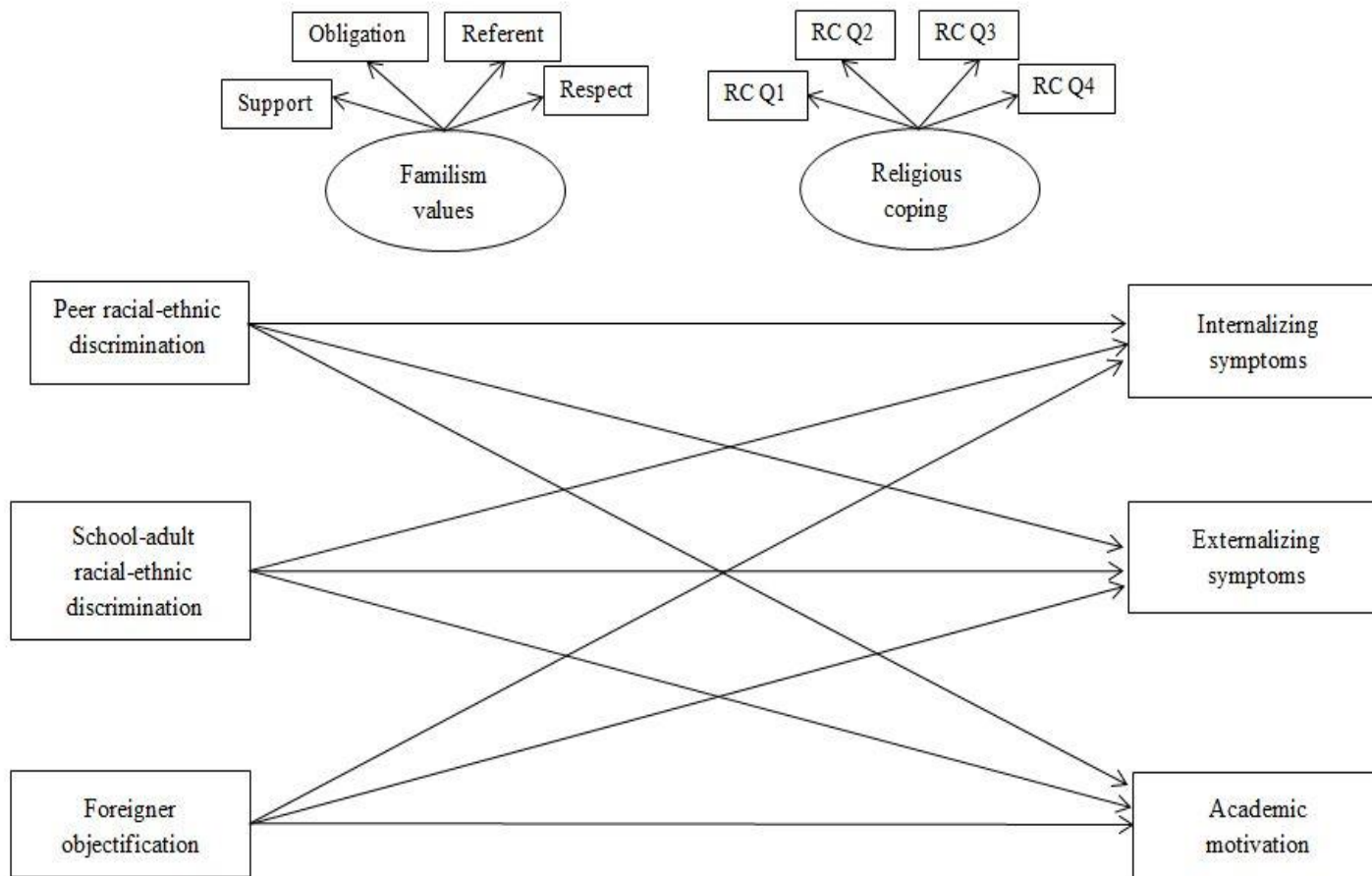*p < .05. **p < .01 ***p < .001.

Figure 1. Conceptual Model. For simplicity of the model, moderating and main effects of familism values and religious coping were tested but not displayed in the figure. RC1 = "I put my trust in God." RC2 = "I seek God's help." RC3 = "I try to find comfort in my religion." RC4 = "I pray more than usual."

Table 2

Measurement and Structural Model Estimates for Model 1 (Standard Errors in Parentheses; *N* = 133)

Parameter Estimate	Unstandardized	Standardized	p
Measurement Model Estimates			
Familism Values → Support	1.00	.86	Na
Familism Values → Obligation	1.13 (.08)	.92	.00
Familism Values → Referent	1.14 (.08)	.89	.00
Familism Values → Respect	1.08 (.08)	.87	.00
Religious Coping → RC1	1.00	.78	Na
Religious Coping → RC2	1.39 (.19)	.86	.00
Religious Coping → RC3	.64 (.17)	.38	.00
Religious Coping → RC4	.71 (.16)	.44	.00
Error in Support	.11 (.02)	.26	.00
Error in Obligation	.07 (.01)	.15	.00
Error in Referent	.10 (.02)	.21	.00
Error in Respect	.11 (.02)	.24	.00
Error in RC1	.27 (.06)	.40	.00
Error in RC2	.27 (.09)	.26	.00
Error in RC3	1.02 (.14)	.86	.00
Error in RC4	.86 (.12)	.81	.00
Covariance Familism and Relig. Coping	.16 (.04)	.45	.00
Structural Model			
Peer Discrim.→ Internalizing Symptoms	.23 (.07)	**.37**	.00
Peer Discrim.→ Externalizing Symptoms	.24 (.07)	**.37**	.00
Peer Discrim.→ Academic Motivation	-.12 (.10)	-.13	.23
School-Adult Discrim.→ Intern. Symp.	-.02 (.07)	-.03	.79
School-Adult Discrim.→ Extern. Symp.	-.03 (.07)	-.04	.63
School-Adult Discrim.→ Acad. Motiv.	.04 (.10)	.04	.69
Foreigner Object. → Intern. Symp.	.07 (.29)	.10	.29
Foreigner Object. → Extern. Symp.	.09 (.06)	.14	.14
Foreigner Object. → Academic Motiv.	-.08 (.36)	-.09	.36
Familism Values → Intern. Symp.	-.06 (.07)	-.09	.37
Familism Values → Extern. Symp.	-.13 (.07)	-.18	.06
Familism Values → Acad. Motiv.	.22 (.10)	**.21**	.03
Religious Coping → Intern. Symp.	.02 (.06)	.03	.74
Religious Coping → Extern. Symp.	.07 (.06)	.11	.26
Religious Coping → Acad. Motiv.	.24 (.10)	**.27**	.01
Residual for Internalizing Symptoms	.13 (.02)	.82	.00
Residual for Externalizing Symptoms	.12 (.02)	.78	.00
Residual for Academic Motivation	.26 (.03)	.80	.00

Covariance of Intern. and Extern. Symp.	.08 (.01)	.67	.00
Covariance of Intern. and Acad. Motiv.	.01 (.02)	.06	.48
Covariance of Extern. and Acad. Motiv.	-.02 (.02)	.09	.32

Note: $\chi^2(61) = 72.47$, $p = .15$; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .04; SRMR = .07. Relig. = Religious. Discrim. = Discrimination. Intern = Internalizing. Extern. = Externalizing. Symp. = Symptoms. Acad. Motiv. = Academic Motivation.

School-adult discrimination ($\beta = -.04$, $p > .05$), foreigner objectification ($\beta = .14$, $p >$ .05), familism values ($\beta = -.18$, $p > .05$), and religious coping ($\beta = .11$, $p > .05$) also were not significantly associated with adolescents' externalizing symptoms. Peer racial-ethnic discrimination ($\beta = -.13$, $p > .05$), school-adult discrimination ($\beta = .04$, $p > .05$), and foreigner objectification ($\beta = -.09$, $p > .05$) were not significantly associated with adolescents' academic motivation.

Moderating Effects of Familism Values: Model 2a

Next, the moderating effects of familism values were tested in Model 2a. Model 2a included the main effects of familism and religious coping, the association between three sources of racial-ethnic discrimination (i.e., peer, school-adult, and foreigner objectification) and adolescent adjustment outcomes (i.e., adolescent academic motivation , internalizing and externalizing symptoms), as well as the interaction effects (peer-by-familism, school adult-by-familism, and foreigner objectification-by-familism) regressed on each of the outcomes.

Results indicated that there were two significant interactions for youths' internalizing symptoms (peer-by-familism and school adult-by-familism). As displayed in Figure 2, familism values moderated the association between peer discrimination and youths' internalizing symptoms (B = .18, p = .046), although in an unexpected way. The positive association between peer racial-ethnic discrimination and youths' internalizing symptoms becomes stronger (more positive) among youth who reported higher levels of familism values. In other words, at higher levels of peer discrimination, youth who reported higher levels of familism values experienced higher levels of internalizing
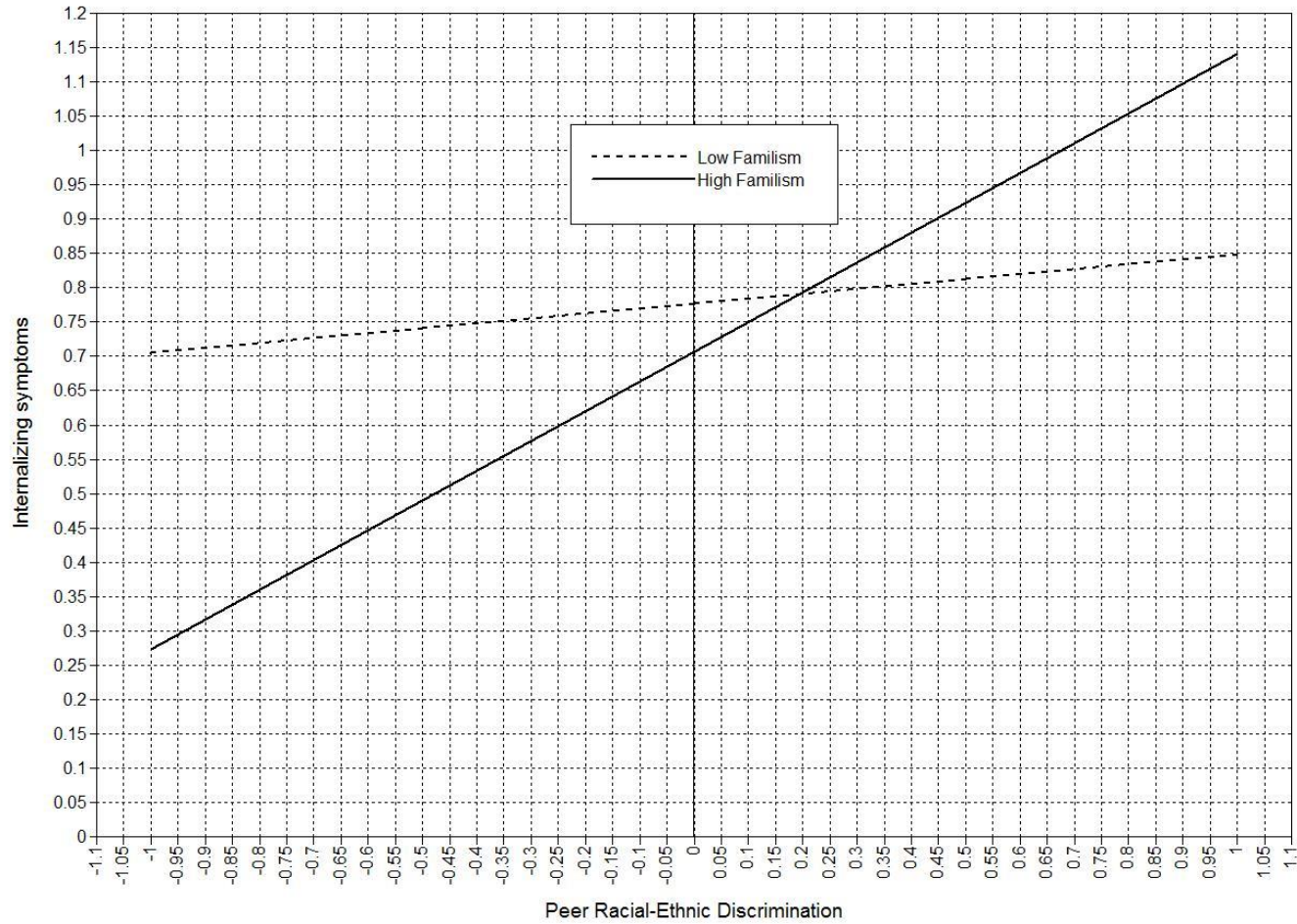
Figure 2. Moderating Effect of Familism Values on the Association between Peer Racial-Ethnic Discrimination and Adolescents' Internalizing Symptoms.

symptoms relative to youth who displayed lower levels of familism values. At lower

levels of peer discrimination, youth who reported higher levels of familism values

experienced lower levels of internalizing symptoms compared to counterparts who

displayed lower levels of familism values.

As displayed in Figure 3, the effect of school-adult racial-ethnic discrimination on

adolescents' internalizing symptoms significantly varied by their levels of familism

values (B = -.35, p = .001). The positive association between school-adult racial-ethnic

discrimination and youths' internalizing symptoms becomes weaker (more negative)

among youth who reported higher levels of familism values. In other words, at higher

levels of school-adult discrimination, youth who reported higher levels of familism

values experienced lower levels of internalizing symptoms relative to youth who

displayed lower levels of familism values. At lower levels of school-adult discrimination,

youth who reported higher levels of familism experienced higher levels of internalizing

symptoms compared to counterparts who displayed lower levels of familism values.

Moderating Effects of Religious Coping: Model 2b

The moderating effects of religious coping were tested in Model 2b. Model 2b

included the main effects of religious coping and familism, the association between three

sources of racial-ethnic discrimination (i.e., peer, school-adult, and foreigner

objectification) and adolescent adjustment outcomes (i.e., academic motivation ,

internalizing and externalizing symptoms), as well as the interaction effects (peer-by-

religious coping, school adult-by-religious coping, and foreigner objectification-by-

religious coping) regressed on each of the outcomes.
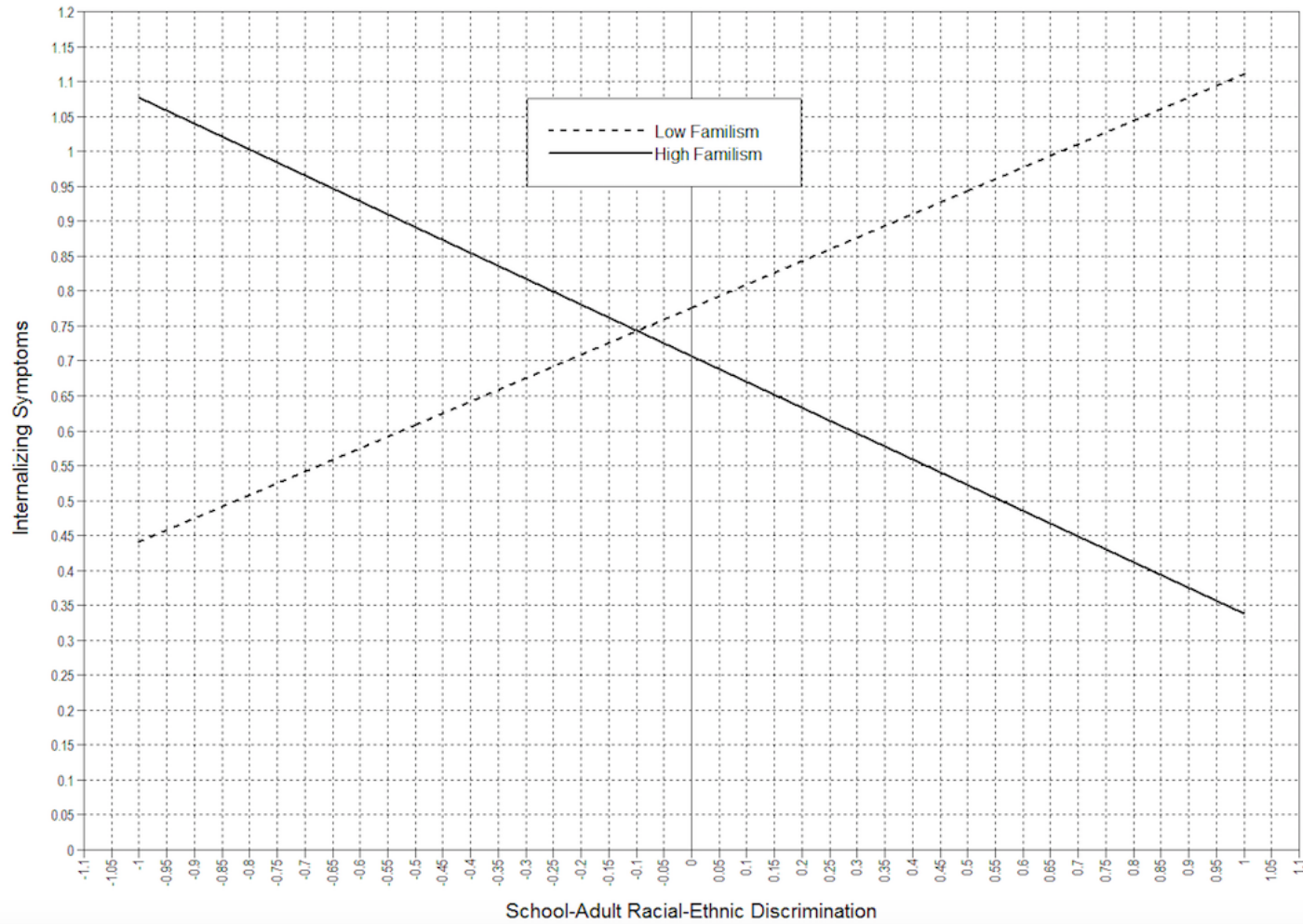
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Figure 3. Moderating Effect of Familism Values on the Association between School-Adult Racial-Ethnic Discrimination and Adolescents' Internalizing Symptoms.

As displayed in Figure 4, results indicated that religious coping significantly moderated the effect between foreigner objectification and adolescents' externalizing symptoms (B = -.24, *p* = .04). The positive association between foreigner objectification and youths' externalizing symptoms becomes weaker (more negative) among youth who reported higher levels of religious coping. In other words, at higher levels of foreigner objectification, youth who reported higher levels of religious coping experienced lower levels of externalizing symptoms relative to youth who displayed lower levels of religious coping. At lower levels of foreigner objectification, youth who reported higher levels of religious coping experienced higher levels of externalizing symptoms compared to counterparts who displayed lower levels of religious coping.
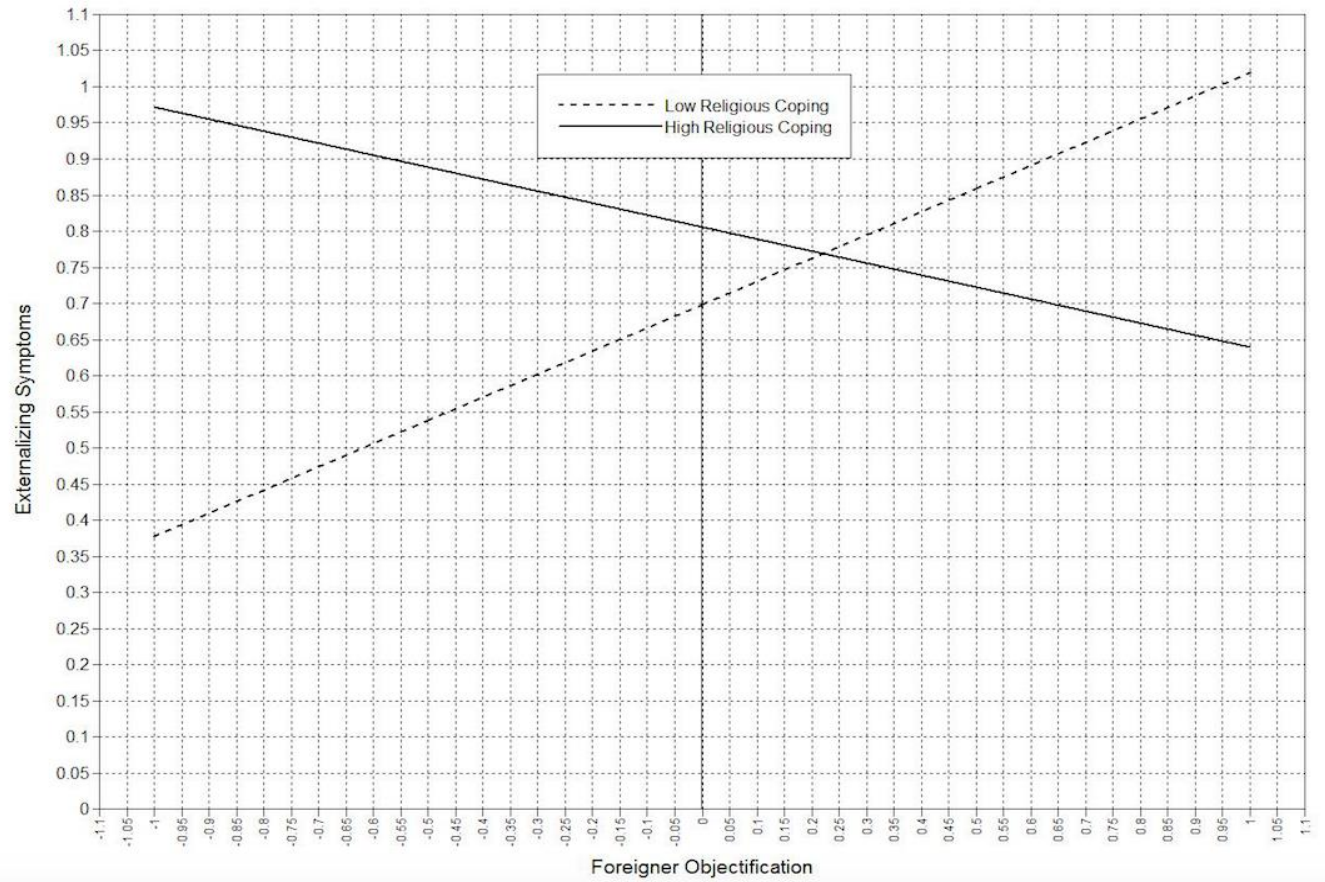
Figure 4. Moderating Effect of Religious Coping on the Association between Foreigner Objectification and Adolescents' Externalizing Symptoms.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

A majority of research on Latino youth has utilized a deficit lens resulting in studies that answer questions on maladjustment and risk providing a limited and inaccurate literature base on the fastest growing segment of the US population (Cabrera et al., 2013; McLoyd, 1990). Moreover, research is needed that contributes to understanding of variability within the Latino population as well as the strengths and resilience of Latino youth for positive academic and psychosocial adjustment (Gamoran, 2013; Neblett et al., 2012). Guided by cultural-ecological theoretical frameworks (García Coll et al., 1996; Spencer, 1995; Ogbu, 1981), the present study responds to this call by investigating the promotive and protective effects of culturally-relevant assets for Latino youth living in an emerging immigrant community in the rural, South. Specifically, familism values and religious coping were examined as promotive and protective factors for Latino youths' academic motivation and internalizing and externalizing symptoms in the context of several sources of racial-ethnic discrimination (peer, school-adult, foreigner-objectification). Moreover, the current study fills a noteworthy gap on the unique influence of racial-ethnic discrimination source on several developmental processes.

Promotive Effects of Culturally-Relevant Assets for Academic Motivation

Consistent with hypotheses and cultural-ecological theory (García Coll et al., 1996; Spencer, 1995; Ogbu, 1981), Latino adolescents' familism values and religious coping promoted adolescents' academic motivation. These findings are supported by previous claims that Latino families create adaptive cultures through cultural socialization that often occurs within safe spaces afforded by religious communities of same-ethnic families (Castellanos & Gloria, 2008; Odem, 2009; Vasquez, 2011). Gonzales and colleagues (2008) also found evidence for the promotive effect of cultural values (i.e., family support, obligation, and religious values) for Mexican American adolescents' academic engagement above and beyond cultural orientation (Gonzales et al., 2008), suggesting the proximal influence of familism and religious values. Other studies have documented the positive association among familism and positive academic outcomes (e.g., school belonging, academic engagement, academic values, academic effort; Esparza & Sánchez, 2008; Fuligni, 2001). Latino youth also discussed how religion served as a source of strength and comfort that they drew upon to overcome academic challenges (Castellanos & Gloria, 2008). Relatively few quantitative studies research, however, were identified that examined linkages between religious coping and academic motivation.

Despite relatively few studies examining the direct effect of familism values and religious coping on academic motivation, several explanations are worthy of consideration. It is possible that the influence of familism values and religious coping on academic motivation operates through similar pathways such as the benefits of support

(family, reliance on higher power), self-regulation, and accountability to family and religious community. For example, research has shown that supportive relationships (e.g., family, God) act as coping resources that promote adolescents' sense of competence and belonging, and increase youths' persistence in challenging situations by offering strength and encouragement (Azmitia, Cooper, & Brown, 2009; Castellanos & Gloria, 2008; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

Scholars also argued that familism values and religion operate as social control mechanisms through increased self-regulation, mindfulness, adherence to family rules, and personal accountability (e.g., family, religious community, God; Calzada et al., 2010; Delgado et al., 2011; McCullough & Carter, 2013). Although research tends to focus on social control mechanisms of familism related to externalizing behaviors (e.g., Delgado et al., 2011), findings from the present study further suggest that familism and religious coping may directly increase adolescents' adherence to positive academic behaviors and beliefs, such as academic motivation. A study by Brittian and colleagues (2013) found that Mexican American adolescents' cultural values (i.e., familism, respect, religiosity) positively predicted adolescents' prosocial behaviors over time. Other scholars argued that youths' internalization of cultural values such as familism and religious coping are important mechanisms by which prosocial behavioral tendencies are fostered within Latino families (Calderón-Tena, Knight, & Carlo, 2011; Kuperminc et al., 2009).

Another potential explanation is that youth who report higher levels of familism (support, obligation, referent, respect) and religious coping are more likely to value education socialization messages or more likely to view academic success as way to

honor their family and religious community which in turn, increases their academic motivation. Previous qualitative work has suggested that educational socialization messages (e.g., honoring family and parents' sacrifices by doing well in school) may operate in tandem with cultural socialization messages (e.g., familism, respect; Gonzalez, Stein, Shannonhouse, & Prinstein, 2012; Rumbaut & Portes, 2006; Suárez-Orzoco & Suárez-Orzoco, 1995). Ceballo and colleagues (2014) also reported stronger associations between mothers' educational aspirations and adolescents' educational expectations for adolescents who reported higher levels of respect. Thus, an important direction for future research may be to (a) identify typologies of cultural and educational socialization and (b) examine linkages among socialization typologies and adolescents' cultural values and academic outcomes. Given so little is known about pathways to competence for Latino youth, additional research is needed that incorporates a positive youth development perspective with a focus on cultural values and strengths (Cabrera et al., 2013; Neblett et al., 2012).

Uniquely Harmful Effects of Peer Racial-Ethnic Discrimination

As expected, peer racial-ethnic discrimination predicted higher levels of internalizing and externalizing symptoms. Although school-adult racial-ethnic discrimination and foreigner objectification were significantly correlated with youths' internalizing and externalizing symptoms, peer racial-ethnic discrimination emerged as a unique predictor of adolescents' psychosocial outcomes, above and beyond other sources of racial-ethnic discrimination, familism values, and religious coping. Peer racial-ethnic discrimination may be particularly harmful for adolescents' socioemotional and

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behavioral well-being because of the salience and proximal nature of peer relations (Benner & Graham, 2013; Eccles & Roeser, 2011). For example, peer racial-ethnic discrimination may be more frequent given greater time spent with peers and adolescents also may be more likely to value and internalize feedback from peers compared to adults. Because adolescents are developing regulatory abilities (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007) peers also may be more likely to overtly discriminate and display more negative types of discriminatory actions than adults. Previous research has indicated that Latino youth tend to report more overt forms of racial-ethnic discrimination from peers whereas discrimination tends to be more covert and disguised as disciplinary actions by teachers (Balagna et al., 2013; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004. It is important to note that in the present study, the three items that are more overt and aggressive (being insulted, threatened, and feared) were included in the peer discrimination measure, but were dropped from the school-adult discrimination scale because youth reported these items as infrequent occurrences with school-adults (i.e., zero or close to zero). The lack of direct findings for foreigner objectification may also relate to measurement. That is, the measure used in the present study did not specify the "source" and therefore, it is possible that foreigner-based discrimination was perpetrated by various sources (e.g., peers, school-adults, and strangers), and that the associated effects may vary by source. In the present study, foreigner objectification was significantly correlated with peer ($r = .54$, $p < .001$) and school-adult discrimination ($r = .32$, $p < .001$), suggesting that these constructs were distinct yet related. Additional research is needed to examine conceptual

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and measurement nuances of racial-ethnic discrimination across sources, particularly within an emerging, immigrant community.

In contrast to emerging evidence of the unique effect of school-adult racial-ethnic discrimination for youths' academic outcomes, above and beyond peer and community discrimination (Benner & Graham, 2013), the present study did not find evidence of direct effects. Although these findings require further replication, developmental and contextual mechanisms could be potential explanations for the null findings in the present study. With regard to developmental mechanisms, adolescents' consciousness of more covert and subtle behaviors that tend to characterize school-adult racial-ethnic discrimination and foreigner objectification may increase with age due to greater opportunities to engage in intergroup dialogue (Aldana, Rowley, Checkoway, & Richards-Schuster, 2012) and therefore, effects may be more likely to occur during late adolescence and young adulthood. For example, Benner and Graham (2013) found direct effects of school-adult racial-ethnic discrimination on adolescents' academic performance and engagement among older adolescents (i.e., high school sample). Research guided by a developmental science lens will likely help illuminate how various types of racial-ethnic discrimination and the associated effects for youths' outcomes may vary by perpetrator and various outcomes over time. In terms of contextual mechanisms, it is also possible that Latino youth living in an emerging immigrant community are less likely to internalize school-adult racial-ethnic discrimination as negative but instead more likely to draw upon their cultural values and cultural socialization with same-ethnic adults to guide their academic behaviors and value for education. For example, a study by Potochnick

and colleagues (2012) found that although Latino youth in an emerging immigrant community (in North Carolina) reported greater fears of discrimination, they were more likely to display higher levels of academic motivation and familism values relative to their peers in an established Latino community (i.e., Los Angeles).

In sum, the present study contributed to previous research by showing the uniquely harmful effects of peer racial-ethnic discrimination for adolescents' internalizing and externalizing symptoms while also demonstrating the promotive effects of culturally-relevant assets (i.e., familism values, religious coping) for an important developmental mechanism (i.e., academic motivation).

Exacerbating Effects of Familism Values in the Context of Peer Discrimination

Given the harmful effects of racial-ethnic discrimination for Latino adolescents' academic and psychosocial outcomes (Berkel et al., 2010; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004), the present study investigated whether culturally-based assets (i.e., familism values and religious coping) protected youth from the negative effects of several sources and types of racial-ethnic discrimination (peer, school-adult, foreigner objectification). Familism values significantly moderated the association between peer racial-ethnic discrimination and adolescents' internalizing symptoms albeit in an unexpected way. Contrary to prediction, higher levels of familism values operated as a *vulnerability* factor for youths' internalizing symptoms when peer racial-ethnic discrimination was high. However, under conditions of low peer discrimination, higher levels of familism were associated with lower internalizing symptoms.

One possible explanation for this unexpected finding may be that youth who view their cultural (ethnic, racial) identity as central and salient part of their self-identity may be more likely to display negative effects concurrently when experiencing high levels of racial-ethnic discrimination from a proximal socializing agent such as peers. In other words, experiencing marginalization, and unfair and negative treatment from peers because of their race and ethnicity *and* feeling strongly connected to and obligated to honoring cultural values may leave adolescents feeling more sad and hopeless, as well as, isolated from their peer group. Furthermore, experiences of peer racial-ethnic discrimination may trigger adolescents' feelings that they do not "fit-in" or belong in peer social activities and in some ways, strong familism values may restrict adolescents' involvement in peer social activities because of family activities and responsibilities. For example, a study of Mexican-origin families found that parents who were immigrants, reported stronger familism values and connections to Mexico, and fewer socioeconomic resources were less likely to provide support and guidance and more likely to restrict adolescents' peer relationships (Updegraff, Perez-Brena, Baril, McHale, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012). In a study of Latino adolescents, Delgado and colleagues (2011) found evidence of a similar pattern for mothers' familism values operating as a vulnerability factor in the association between racial-ethnic discrimination and deviant peer affiliations for girls. In other words, when girls experienced high levels of discrimination and they had highly familistic mothers, they were more likely to engage in deviant peer affiliations. Collectively, these findings demonstrate that familism is not universally protective and suggest that familism may be harmful for adolescents' socioemotional

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well-being if they feel pressured to be more familistic by family members while also experiencing opposing messages from their peers that they are 'too different.' Given these opposing demands, adolescents' coping abilities may be overwhelmed resulting in worse psychosocial adjustment.

Another potential explanation for the *exacerbating effect* found in the present study is that peer racial-ethnic discrimination is particularly damaging and likely requires additional resources to confer protection given that familism values were promotive of adolescents' socioemotional health at low levels of peer racial-ethnic discrimination. Moreover, it is possible that other aspects of youths' cultural identity buffer against peer-racial ethnic discrimination and should be examined in future research. More research is needed to examine how cultural factors (e.g., ethnic versus mainstream orientation, racial and ethnic identity, cultural values) may offer cumulative and unique protection against various types of racial-ethnic discrimination. Studies also should examine within-group variability to understand how familism may differentially influence outcomes depending on individual and contextual factors. These findings suggest that the associated effects of familism are more nuanced and require additional research to understand contextual variation (e.g., level of stress, SES, other sources of support).

Buffering Effects of Familism Values and Religious Coping

Consistent with prediction, familism values and religious coping operated as protective factors in the context of high racial-ethnic discrimination. More specifically, youth who reported higher familism values experienced *lower levels* of internalizing symptoms under conditions of *high* school-adult discrimination. Similarly, youth who

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reported higher religious coping displayed *lower levels* of externalizing symptoms under conditions of *high* foreigner objectification. Although future research is needed to replicate these results, several explanations are worthy of consideration.

First, familism values may offer unique protection for youths' internalizing symptoms through mechanisms that bolster feelings of self-worth and belonging. For example, scholars have posited that familism values provide adolescents with a sense of belonging, connectedness, and greater internalization of respect for adults in public and private settings (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2012; Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2013; Sabogal et al., 1987), which may promote adolescents' psychosocial adjustment. Previous research has found support for the direct effect of familism values for Latino adolescents' lower internalizing symptoms; however, these studies did not find evidence for the protective effect of familism values in the context of discrimination (Ayón et al., 2010; Stein et al., 2013). These studies may not have found evidence for a moderating effect given differences in measurement of racial-ethnic discrimination (e.g., general – Ayón et al., 2010; peer racial-ethnic discrimination – Stein et al., 2013) and a wider age-range of youth (i.e., middle-high school). A study of Latino adolescents found that boys who were highly acculturated or reported low levels of enculturation were more likely to experience higher depressive symptoms and lower self-esteem in the context of experiencing global racial-ethnic discrimination (i.e., "from others"; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). Thus, cultural values may be protective against certain sources and types of racial-ethnic discrimination for youths' internalizing symptoms and likely varies by additional individual and contextual factors.

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Second, religious coping may offer unique protection for youths' externalizing symptoms by providing a framework for healthy ways of coping with anger and frustration coupled with the benefits of social support within their family, religious community, and personal relationship with God. For example, studies have shown that a *positive* religious coping mechanism includes forgiveness which can help individuals let go of anger while venting feelings in an expressive and healthy way which in turn, likely reduces external forms of aggression (Koerner, Pedroza, & Shirai, 2013; Pargament, Koenig, & Perez, 2000). Scholars also posited that religious coping can act as a social control mechanism through connection and intimacy with similar others in the religious community conveying accountability and rules for appropriate behavior (McCullough & Carter, 2013; Thuné-Boyle. Stygall, Keshtgar, & Newman, 2006). Thuné-Boyle and colleagues (2006) further contended that religious coping can provide a sense of control, comfort, and peace during difficult times. In previous work, Latino youth discussed how they drew upon their religion as a source of strength to overcome challenges (e.g., academic, racial-ethnic discrimination, balancing family and school demands) that also provided them with a sense of hope for the future (Castellanos & Gloria, 2008). In a study of Mexican American adolescents, Vaughn and Roesch (2003) also found that youth who used religious coping were more likely to feel that they grew from stressful experiences.

In the present study, the majority of youth are US-born, second generation Latino youth and to some degree reported experiencing having their identity challenged through others' assumptions of foreigner status. These racial-ethnic microaggressions which

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create an experience of being objectified are uncontrollable stressors that have been associated with elevated anxiety, anger, and stress among Latino and Asian American youth (Huynh, 2012). The present study and previous research demonstrate that religious beliefs guide and direct individuals' behavior through reminders of their identity (e.g., religious, cultural), which may also help individuals discard the inaccurate and negative assumptions of ignorant others. Previous quantitative studies also found evidence for promotive effects of religious values for Latino youths' prosocial behaviors and lower engagement in risky behaviors (Kuperminc et al., 2009; Marsiglia, Kulis, Nieri, & Parsai, 2005; Villarruel, 1998). The present study extends the current literature base by showing that religious coping can protect youth from externalizing symptoms under conditions of high risk (i.e., foreigner-based discrimination).

Familism Values and Religious Coping as Vulnerability Factors

Contrary to expectation, familism values and religious coping also operated as vulnerability factors under conditions of low racial-ethnic discrimination. That is, under conditions of low levels of school-adult discrimination, higher levels of familism values were associated with higher levels of internalizing symptoms. Similarly, higher levels of religious coping were associated with higher levels of externalizing symptoms when foreigner objectification was low. Additional research is needed to understand this pattern of findings, although some research has suggested that the associated effects with familism values and religious coping are more nuanced than expected (Delgado et al., 2011; Pargament et al., 2000).

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Some scholars, for example, have described the potential for higher levels of familism values to be harmful for youths' adjustment outcomes, such as higher internalizing symptoms depending upon individual and contextual factors (e.g., additional stress experienced within their family, school, and community contexts; Calzada, Huang, Linares-Torres, Singh, & Brotman, 2014; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2007). Moreover, it is likely that Latino youth are coping with additional stressors (e.g., acculturation-gap conflict with parents, normative transitions, peer conflicts) that were not studied in the present study, and therefore "low levels" of racial-ethnic discrimination does not imply that they were experiencing low levels of stress. Several studies also have found that Latino adolescents may experience negative feelings due to conflicting familial and school socialization and pressure from outside of their family to assimilate to the mainstream culture (Ko & Perreira, 2010). As a result of having to navigate two worlds, scholars have posited that this may lead to higher internalizing symptoms concurrently as adolescents are developing regulatory abilities and coping with normative developmental transitions (Edwards & Romero, 2008; Romero & Roberts, 2003).

Findings on the protectiveness of religious coping also have been mixed (Ellison, Finch, Ryan, & Salinas, 2009; Pargament et al., 2000). One explanation for mixed results may be that religious coping can include positive and negative coping mechanisms depending upon the nature of coping employed by the individual (Pargament et al., 2000). For example, Pargament and colleagues' (2000) found that positive religious coping mechanisms which included reappraising stressors as opportunities for religious growth, turning to religion to help forgive others and release them from negative

emotions (e.g., anger, hurt, fear), asking for forgiveness and cleansing for their sins, and seeking religious support (e.g., guidance, comfort, love from God) were associated with better psychosocial adjustment. In contrast, negative coping mechanisms which included reappraising stressors as punishments from God for their sins, questioning God's power to alleviate their stress and respond to their prayer, and experiencing feelings of confusion, anger, and abandonment with God for stressful encounters were associated with poorer psychosocial adjustment. Although the present study focused on more general and positive coping mechanisms (e.g., seeking God's help, finding comfort in religion, putting trust in God, prayer), it is possible that some youth used more negative coping mechanisms which could lead to worse effects for youths' externalizing symptoms under lower levels of foreigner objectification. Similar to familism values, another reason may be that the moderating effect of religious coping depends upon other types of stressors that youth are experiencing in addition to racial-ethnic discrimination such as, acculturative stress.

Collectively, findings indicated that additional research is needed to understand mechanisms of protection *and* vulnerability for Latino adolescents' culturally-relevant factors. Emerging immigrant communities, particularly those located in the rural South, create a unique cultural context to examine how self-system processes (e.g., cultural values, racial and ethnic identity, cultural identity) protect or enhance the risk associated with multiple forms of racial-ethnic discrimination. In these communities, an upsurge of the Latino population challenges the black-white dichotomy in which Latino individuals are met with xenophobia, assumptions of foreigner status, and White supremacy and

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privilege that is deep rooted in the U.S. South's history of oppression, marginalization, and objectification of people of color (Marrow, 2011; Perreira et al., 2010; Smith & Furuseth, 2006). As a result, Latino youth and their families experience covert and overt forms of racial-ethnic discrimination from local (largely from White) community members that may increase with growing racial and ethnic diversity of their communities (Brown & Chu, 2012; Smith & Furuseth, 2006), while also coping with normative developmental transitions and tasks.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although this study contributes to knowledge on protective mechanisms among Latino youth living in an emerging immigrant community, several limitations should be acknowledged. First, data were restricted within a relatively small geographic area and thus, future research is needed to examine whether these findings hold for Latino adolescents in other emerging immigrant communities of varying socioeconomic backgrounds. Second, the study was limited to early adolescence at one time point. Future research that incorporates a developmental science perspective will likely help clarify how adolescents' perception of racial-ethnic discrimination changes or remains stable over time and how the protectiveness of culturally-relevant factors may change with developmental maturity and contextual conditions. For example, developmental science principles can help scholars study dynamic interactions between the developing child and context over time as well as the holistic nature of child development (e.g., cultural, socioemotional cognitive, behavioral).

In addition, qualitative and mixed-method studies are an important next step in gaining a greater understanding of the complex nuances of racial-ethnic discrimination and culturally relevant factors for developmental processes among Latino youth, particularly those living in emerging immigrant communities who have been relatively understudied. For example, the use of qualitative methodology could help strengthen our understanding of how adolescents differentially internalize and perceive discrimination from school adults, peers, and strangers and subsequently, how they make coping choices in response to these different types and sources of discrimination. Qualitative research can also help elucidate why familism may be "harmful" for youths' psychosocial outcomes under certain conditions. A direction for future research is to examine how emotional mechanisms (e.g., anger, sadness, fear) may explain how different cultural resources differentially offer protection for adolescents' developmental outcomes in the context of multiple sources of racial-ethnic discrimination.

Moreover, the present study focused on familism values and religious coping although more types of culturally-relevant assets likely help adolescents overcome racial-ethnic discrimination. Future studies should examine the protectiveness of cultural values (e.g., familism and religious values) given the present study compared attitudes (i.e., familism) to a behavior (i.e., religious coping). Focus groups may be one method to help illuminate this broader set of coping mechanisms. Another direction for future research is examining the mechanisms by which youths' familism values and religious coping influence academic-related behaviors and potential variation at different levels of analysis (e.g., individual, classroom). For example, does adolescents' daily level of academic

motivation vary depending on their daily levels of cultural values and can adolescents'

cultural values positively influence their peers' academic motivation level? Future

research that utilizes a cultural-ecological framework is needed to understand the nuances

of positive youth development across contexts.

Conclusion

Latino youth experience racial-ethnic discrimination across multiple contexts of

their lives and thus, must draw upon culturally-relevant assets to overcome such adversity

(García Coll et al., 1996; Spencer, 1995). Broadly, scholars have proposed that cultural

values guide behavior by shaping individuals' self-system processes (e.g., attitudes,

motivations, expectations, and identity; García Coll et al., 1996; Knight et al., 2010;

Spencer, 1995), and yet relatively little work has examined the promotive and protective

roles of Latino adolescents' cultural values and culturally-relevant coping strategies for

academic and psychosocial adjustment outcomes. Findings from the present study

contributed to this gap by demonstrating the uniquely promotive effects of religious

coping and familism values for adolescents' academic motivation. The present study also

drew attention to the uniquely, harmful effects of peer racial-ethnic discrimination for

youths' internalizing and externalizing symptoms above and beyond other sources of

discrimination (i.e., school-adult, foreigner objectification) and cultural resources (i.e.,

familism values, religious coping). However, more work is needed to understand the

nuanced nature of cultural strengths under conditions of high and low stress. Findings

from the present study demonstrated that familism values and religious coping may

operate as *protective* and *vulnerability* factors in the context of different sources and

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levels of racial-ethnic discrimination. That is, familism and religious coping protected youth from high levels of racial-ethnic discrimination but not when peers were the perpetrators of discrimination.

These findings have several applied implications for prevention and intervention work. With regard to prevention, promoting Latino adolescents' culturally-based assets (i.e., familism values and religious coping) are potentially two important leverage points for increasing academic motivation and engagement. Gonzales and colleagues (2008) found evidence for the benefits of school-based intervention programs that focus on promoting Latino adolescents' cultural values for positive academic and psychosocial outcomes through adolescent and family participation and bridging family-school partnerships. Although Gonzales and colleagues assessed adolescents' coping strategies (e.g., primary versus secondary control), the present study demonstrated that culturally relevant coping strategies (e.g., positive religious coping) are important mechanisms to strengthen for promoting academic motivation and protecting against externalizing symptoms in the context of high foreigner-based discrimination.

In addition, programs should be created with the intent on cultivating school and community environments that are promotive for *all* youth coupled with gap-closing practices that specifically focus on the needs of Latino youth from immigrant backgrounds (Gamoran, 2013). Findings from the present study demonstrated that racial-ethnic discrimination from peers is particularly damaging for Latino adolescents' psychosocial adjustment and that being highly familistic may enhance the associated risk for adolescents' internalizing symptoms. Moreover, promotive environments for Latino

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youth likely include contexts in which individuals emphasize diversity as an asset, provide affirmation for adolescents' various social identities, enforce anti-racial/ethnic discrimination policies while also cultivating positive peer cultures (Brown & Chu, 2012; García Coll et al., 1996; García Coll & Szalacha, 2004; Hamm, Farmer, Lambert, & Gravelle, 2013).

For example, Brown and Chu (2012) found that Latino children who had teachers who valued multiculturalism were more likely to experience a promotive school environment that resulted in more positive feelings about their ethnic group (e.g., private regard), and lower levels of peer and community racial-ethnic discrimination. Brown and Chu posited that these teachers likely created prosocial peer cultures that reduced discriminatory behavior and also reduced the discrimination children perceived in their community. Similarly, a universal intervention program for middle school students in rural schools targeted "peer cultures" (e.g., peer social dynamics and classroom interactions) to increase prosocial behaviors (e.g., social, behavioral, academic—valuing learning and effort) by shaping teachers' classroom behaviors (SEALS; Hamm et al., 2013). Hamm and colleagues (2013) shaped teachers' classroom behaviors by providing developmentally-based professional development and directed consolation through site visits and online video teleconferencing. The directed consultation approach allowed for opportunities to observe classroom dynamics and at times, advocate for students of color by identifying students' positive behavior while challenging teachers who engaged in differential treatment due to racial and ethnic biases (L. Vernon-Feagans, personal communication, September 19, 2014). Moreover, these studies found that a promising

approach toward cultivating promotive contexts is to shape teachers' behavior through support and training. In turn, teachers play a strong role in promoting positive classroom and peer cultures (e.g., reducing discrimination, increasing peer cultures that support achievement) which has had associated effects on adolescents' self-system processes (e.g., racial-ethnic identity; Brown & Chu, 2012; Hamm et al., 2013) and may lead to more positive adjustment outcomes (e.g., friendships, improved mental health, and academic engagement).

In sum, more work is needed that can inform gap-closing practices for Latino adolescents' developmental competencies. The present study demonstrated the uniquely harmful effects of peer racial-ethnic discrimination for adolescents' psychosocial adjustment and the uniquely promotive effects of religious coping and familism values for academic motivation among Latino youth living in emerging immigrant communities in the rural South. Findings from intervention programs (Brown & Chu, 2012; Hamm et al., 2014) indicated that raising consciousness and intentionality among school-adults (e.g., valuing diversity, encouraging prosocial peer relations) resulted in more positive outcomes for all youth and particularly for Latino youth. The goal is not to "fix the student" or remove the "bad teachers" but rather to create promotive environments for all students while recognizing that Latino youth have unique challenges and strengths that are shaped by their cultural group's history and their own lived experiences. More work is needed to understand the nuanced protective and vulnerability mechanisms of familism values and religious coping depending upon individual and contextual factors to inform more effective prevention and intervention programs.

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