The Relationships between African American Adolescents' Daily Racial Discrimination, Daily Racial Socialization, and Racial Identity with Academic and Psychological Outcomes

by

Bridget L. Richardson

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Dissertation Committee:

Professor Robert M. Sellers, Co-Chair
Professor Tabbye M. Chavous, Co-Chair
Associate Professor Deborah Rivas-Drake
Professor Stephanie J. Rowley

DEDICATION

To Sandra Bland, Tamir Rice, Trayvon Martin, Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Freddie Gray, Renisha McBride, Oscar Grant, and the countless others whose lives were taken too soon

To my ancestors, my family, all of the Black scholars who have paved the way before me, and all the Black scholars who will come after me

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ABSTRACT

African American adolescents are likely to encounter the risk factor of racial discrimination in their daily contexts. They also possess cultural resources such as parental racial socialization messages that help adolescents develop positive and affirmed self-concepts and prepare for racial discrimination they may encounter (Hughes et al., 2006). Additionally, adolescents' racial identity beliefs may promote positive adjustment and buffer negative impacts of discrimination (Spencer et al., 1997). Although scholars conceptualize racial discrimination and racial socialization as normative experiences in adolescents' daily contexts, little research examines these experiences at the daily level. The current dissertation aims to fill this void in the literature by using a daily diary methodology to examine adolescents' daily racial discrimination and racial socialization, along with their racial identity beliefs, as predictors of daily classroom engagement and psychological adjustment (positive and negative affect).

The dissertation's sample included 164 self-identified African American adolescents (56% girls; M_{age}=15 years old, SD =1.60) from the Midwestern United States, a random subsample of participants in a larger, multi-method longitudinal study. The sample completed a large annual survey and short daily surveys over 21 days. Due to the repeated measures data, Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) was used to examine direct relationships of daily discrimination and socialization with daily academic and psychological outcomes and to test whether parental racial socialization and racial identity moderated relationships between discrimination and outcomes. Finally, the study examined whether daily racial socialization and

adolescents' racial identity beliefs functioned interactively to influence academic and psychological outcomes. Key findings highlight the promotive nature of parental racial socialization messages that emphasize adolescents' worth as individuals and racial pride. For instance, when adolescents reported receiving self-worth messages from parents they reported more engagement, more positive affect, and less negative affect on the same day. Furthermore, the daily impact of racial discrimination varied when youth received racial socialization messages. For instance, among youth reporting a racial discrimination experience, those who received a racial pride message reported more school engagement than those with no pride message. Implications for adolescents, their parents, and researchers are discussed.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The racial discrimination African Americans experience in U.S. society and the cultural resources they use to combat the negative effects of discrimination is a major area of study in psychological research. For instance, much empirical research has documented how African Americans have been uniquely affected by racial discrimination, or the unfair and negative treatment of people based on phenotypical characteristics such as race, in the past and how this unfair treatment still persists in today's society (Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). Although there is a notion that the U.S. is now a post-racial society, the educational and career advancements some African Americans have gained do not negate the systemic discrimination in American institutions nor the daily interpersonal interactions of racism that African Americans continue to experience as a function of this systemic discrimination. In fact, in the period following President Obama's election (2008-2012), researchers report an increase in societal "explicit anti-Black attitudes" indicating that the myth of the post-racial society is just that (Pasek, Stark, Krosnick, Tompson, & Payne, 2014).

Despite a history of racial oppression in U.S. society, African Americans have devised ways to use their culture to help them cope and overcome extreme hardships (Anderson, 1988). For instance, cultural strategies such as the intergenerational passing down of racial messages have been used to counteract the negativity and racial hostility many African Americans experience in their daily contexts (Coll et al., 1996; Hughes & Chen, 1999). Many African

American parents serve as supportive resources to their adolescents and help them understand, prepare for, and cope with negative racial experiences in a way that is protective for their adolescents' psychological health and academic engagement and achievement (Neblett, Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006; Neblett et al., 2008). Racial messages parents provide their adolescents also inform adolescents' own beliefs and attitudes about the meaning and significance of race (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; Neblett, Smalls, Ford, Nguyên, & Sellers, 2009) or their racial identity. Particular racial identity beliefs and attitudes, for instance, those concerning how positively one feels about being Black and one's perceptions of how others view Black people, also help African Americans cope with negative racial experiences and can serve as another protective factor (Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006). When racial discrimination is not counteracted, African Americans may be placed at greater risk for poorer mental health and less engagement with cognitive activities (Chavous, Rivas-Drake, Smalls, Griffin, & Cogburn, 2008; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006).

Conceptually, the processes by which parents employ cultural strategies such as racial socialization are well documented in psychological literature (Hughes et al., 2006). Similarly, how racial discrimination functions as a risk factor on adolescents' outcomes over long periods of time is also discussed by scholars (Brown, 2008). However, there is a lack of methodological congruence between how researchers discuss racial discrimination's and racial socialization's effects on adolescents' outcomes (Coard & Sellers, 2005). For instance, although researchers conceptualize racial discrimination and racial socialization as normative experiences in adolescents' daily contexts, these experiences are often studied on an annual-basis instead of daily. The current study attempts to fill this void in the literature by examining the occurrences of and relationships between daily racial risk and promotive factors. Specifically, the current

dissertation employs a daily diary method to examine the relationships among daily racial discrimination, daily racial socialization, and racial identity with adolescents' daily classroom engagement and positive and negative affect. This study has a major benefit of capturing these racial experiences closer in time to when they actually occurred in individuals' lives.

Importance of Studying Racial Discrimination among African American Adolescents

A growing body of research emphasizes the need to study racial discrimination experiences as a potential risk factor among African American adolescents (Brown, 2008; Spencer, Fegley, & Harpalani, 2003). For instance, compared to younger children, adolescents have more advanced cognitive abilities that allow them to think abstractly and in hypothetical terms, giving them the ability to perceive how they are viewed by others (Brown & Bigler, 2005; Quintana, 1998). Adolescents are also given more independence compared to younger children and begin to spend less time at home with parents and more time at school and among peers. The combination of adolescents entering into social spaces where they interact with more people of different races and their advancements in their cognitive abilities is likely to increase the chances that they would perceive racial discrimination (Brown, 2008; Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Greene et al., 2006; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Spencer Dupree, & Hartmann, 1997; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003).

Additionally, the developmental period of adolescence is an important time to study racial discrimination and to counteract its effects. Adolescents may encounter difficulties adjusting to normative changes such as different school transitions, pubertal changes, and changes in social roles. When a racial stressor is added to these different changes in adolescents' lives, they may have especially deleterious effects on their continued healthy development and school achievement (Fisher et al., 2000; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999; Mroczkowski, &

Sánchez, 2015; Romero & Roberts, 1998; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). For instance, when African American adolescents perceive racial discrimination they report lower psychological well-being, more perceived stress, and increases in depression and anger (Benner & Graham, 2013; Brody et al., 2006; Cogburn, Chavous, & Griffin, 2011; Greene et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2008; Prelow, Danoff-Burg, Swenson, & Pulgiano, 2004; Seaton, Caldwell, Sellers, & Jackson, 2010; Sellers et al., 2006; Wong et al., 2003). These negative psychological outcomes and negative emotions experienced due to racial discrimination may be harmful for youth because adolescence is a challenging period even under the best circumstances (Spencer et al., 2003). Adolescents are challenged by their changing social roles and environments as well as the dissonance-producing need to find one's place and purpose in the world (Spencer et al., 2003). Adolescents are still figuring out who they are, finding their sense of self, and developing their various social identities (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1990). In addition, adolescents of color are actively exploring and seeking out information related to being a member of their racial/ethnic group (Phinney, 1990; Umaña -Taylor, Wong, Gonzales, & Dumka, 2012). If adolescents do not have the knowledge or resources to counteract negative racial hostility or have not developed a positive and healthy view of themselves as a member of their racial group, they may be at risk of internalizing the racism and negative stereotypes directed at them or towards their racial group (Spencer, 1995).

In the context of school, a significant number of African American adolescents report being victims of racial discrimination in the classroom from both classmates and teachers (Fisher et al., 2000). These negative racial experiences have predicted declines in academic engagement (curiosity and persistence in school), grades, achievement motivation, academic ability self-concept, academic task values, and increases in the proportion of one's friends who are not

interested in school and who have problem behaviors (Benner & Graham, 2013; Chavous et al., 2008; Cogburn et al., 2011; Eccles, Wong, & Peck, 2006; Neblett et al., 2006; Thompson & Gregory, 2011; Wong et al., 2003). Thus, studying racial discrimination experiences among adolescents is important to better understand possible avenues for intervention and for counteracting the negative consequences associated with discrimination.

African American Parental Racial Socialization

Given African American adolescents' unique risk for experiencing racial discrimination in their daily contexts, the roles of African American parents as contextual supports are particularly important. Many African American parents are aware of the history of oppression, discrimination, racism, and strained race relations in the United States as well as the continued discrimination and threats to their group's physical and psychological well-being (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hughes, 2003). Consequently, African American parents employ cultural strategies to help ensure the well-being of their children in the face of racial discrimination (Barnes, 1980; Coll et al., 1996; Hughes & Chen, 1999). One such strategy is parental racial socialization, which is a process of intergenerational communication that instills beliefs and meanings regarding the role of race in an individual's life (Hughes et al., 2006).

Although researchers have devised different ways of measuring racial socialization, there are consistent and prominent themes that have emerged as most commonly used racial socialization practices of African American parents. These common practices include messages that maintain or heighten youth's sense of self and self-esteem while simultaneously making them aware of and prepared for racial discrimination and racial biases that may be directed at them or towards their racial group. Cultural socialization include messages that emphasize African American history, culture, traditions, and pride in the group's accomplishments (Hughes

et al., 2006). Parents who view racial discrimination as something that is likely to happen to their child as they get older will give them racial socialization messages in efforts to prepare and warn them about the potential experience as well as messages that help them cope with discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006; Marshall, 1995). These types of messages are often referred to as preparation for bias socialization. To a lesser extent, African American parents also provide a range of other racial socialization messages; for example, messages that promote equality between people of different races (e.g., egalitarianism) and messages that promote wariness and mistrust in interracial interactions (e.g., promotion of mistrust).

There are several limitations in the ways in which researchers have examined racial socialization between parents and their children. First, when researchers study racial socialization between parents and their children it is often done using cross-sectional data. Almost all studies have asked participants to estimate the frequency with which they have received racial socialization messages during the past year. Then researchers link racial socialization frequency to outcomes that may or may not have been measured during the same time as the socialization. This is an issue because the measurement of racial socialization and its role on youth's outcomes do not align with how researchers conceptualize racial socialization as influencing outcomes daily.

Secondly, the traditional way of assessing racial socialization over the past year and sometimes over one's lifetime introduces potential for increased respondent bias due to errors in memory. As time passes, it becomes increasingly difficult for people to accurately report on particular conversations they had in the past. Thus, the employment of a method that measures racial socialization closer in time to the event occurring is likely to decrease memory burden of participants and allows them to provide more accurate reports of the racial socialization

experiences they had. One method that can get closer in time to the event occurring is a daily diary method (Bolger, Davis, & Rafaeli, 2003; Iida, Shrout, Laurenceau, & Bolger, 2012). This approach allows respondents to report every day during the duration of the study and reduces reporting bias (Telzer & Fuligni, 2009). By measuring racial socialization and other context-dependent experiences such as racial discrimination, one's affect, and academic engagement at the level of the specific day, we can better understand the proximal level factors that influence their occurrences. This method also allows researchers to examine whether specific events, behaviors, and feelings co-occur with one another on a daily basis. For example, do adolescents experience more positive feelings on days during which they receive particular racial socialization?

Research that can begin to address methodological limitations in the literature on African American race-related experiences will allow us to better understand racial socialization's role in the lived experiences of individuals as well as how it functions in relation to important factors such as psychological health and academic achievement. Empirical evidence of the importance of racial socialization in particular is growing, giving credence to racial socialization as a cultural resource and protective factor in the lives of African American adolescents. For instance, racial socialization messages (e.g., those emphasizing racial pride) have been found to be positively related to academic achievement and psychological outcomes for African American youth (Banerjee, Harrell, & Johnson, 2011; Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009; Neblett et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2008; Smalls & Cooper, 2012). Further, when racial socialization has been examined in the context of racial discrimination experiences, particular racial socialization messages (e.g., those emphasizing preparation for future racial bias and those emphasizing racial pride) have been found to buffer negative academic and psychological

consequences of experiencing discrimination (Bynum, Burton, & Best, 2007; Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007; Neblett et al., 2008; Seaton, 2009).

Racial Identity among African Americans

Racial identity is one of the most heavily researched aspects of African Americans' psychological experiences (Marks, Settles, Cooke, Morgan, & Sellers, 2004). As a socially constructed concept, race has real consequences for the life experiences and life opportunities of African Americans as a result of historical and present-day racial discrimination (Cokley, 2005; Marks et al., 2004). Although race has important consequences for African Americans, African Americans have diverse experiences that result in variability in the significance and qualitative meaning that they attribute to being a member of the African American racial group (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). For instance, some African Americans view their racial membership as the defining characteristic of their self-concept and others place little significance on race in defining who they are (Sellers et al., 1998). Even when individuals place similarly high levels of significance on race in their self-concepts, they may differ in the meanings they place on being Black and what they think Blacks should do in society (Sellers et al., 1998). Thus, researchers have examined the various beliefs and attitudes that individuals endorse about the role of race in their lives and the processes by which they come to develop their racial beliefs and attitudes in various models of racial and ethnic identity (for a review, see Marks et al., 2004). Individuals' racial identities can provide a lens by which they come to understand themselves, how they relate to others, how they appraise and interpret life experiences, and how they respond to and cope with race-related challenges (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). For instance, racial identity predicts African Americans' perceptions of racial discrimination and also can exacerbate or buffer against the negative psychological and academic

consequences associated with experiencing racial discrimination (e.g., Sellers et al., 2003; Wong et al., 2003).

In the current study, the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI, Sellers et al., 1998) provides a conceptual framework for understanding the multiple dimensions of African Americans' beliefs and attitudes about belonging to their racial group. Guided by the MMRI, racial identity is defined as the significance or importance individuals believe belonging to their racial group has in their lives as well as the qualitative meaning individuals use to come to understand themselves as a member of their racial group in U.S. society. Racial regard is one dimension of the MMRI that describes the evaluative or affective judgment an individual makes of his or her race and this dimension has two components (Sellers et al., 1998). Private regard refers to the extent to which individuals feel positively or negatively toward African Americans and their membership in the group. Public regard refers to the extent to which individuals feel that others, who are not African American, view African Americans positively or negatively.

Racial Identity among Adolescents

Much of the research on racial identity has focused on adolescents as the adolescent years are critical for identity exploration and development (Erikson, 1968). Increasingly, racial and ethnic identity are considered central to racial and ethnic minority adolescents' normative development (Rivas-Drake et al., 2011; Rivas-Drake, Syed et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). The racial identities adolescents come to have are partly influenced by their previous racial socialization experiences (Hughes, Hagelskamp, et al., 2009; Neblett et al., 2009; Phinney, 1990; Seaton, Yip, Morgan-Lopez, & Sellers, 2012) and similar to racial socialization, racial identity is viewed in the current study as a potential cultural asset. Particular racial identity beliefs may be promotive of outcomes and function as psychological and cognitive protection for

adolescents in the context of racial discrimination (Mroczkowski, & Sánchez, 2015; Potochnick, Perreira, & Fuligni, 2012). For instance, feeling positively about being African American and believing that bias against African Americans is prevalent in U.S. society have been found to be related to academic and psychological outcomes and shown to buffer the negative effects of racial discrimination among African American adolescents (Chavous et al., 2008; Neblett, Banks, Cooper, & Smalls-Glover, 2013; Rivas-Drake, Syed et al., 2014; Sellers et al., 2006; Sellers et al., 2003; Wong et al., 2003).

Additionally, adolescents' racial identity beliefs may interact with the racial socialization messages they hear from parents to influence daily outcomes. It may be the congruence of messages and beliefs that allow for adolescents' most positive outcomes. For example, if adolescents receive messages emphasizing racial pride and self-worth and they also feel positively about being Black, then they may have more positive mood and more engagement compared to adolescents who possess one or the other (i.e., positive messages or positive belief system about being Black). Additionally, previous research that has created cluster profiles of patterns of racial identity belief systems have found that adolescents have more positive academic outcomes when their belief system include feeling positively about being Black and also having an awareness that discrimination exists against African Americans (Chavous et al., 2003; Seaton, 2009). Continuing with this line of reasoning, if adolescents have the belief that others view African Americans in negative ways and also receive messages emphasizing their worth and racial pride then I would expect them to have more positive mood and more engagement compared to adolescents who have either one or the other. Similarly, if adolescents are given racial barrier messages emphasizing the existence of discrimination and they also feel positively about being Black then I would expect them to have more positive mood and more

engagement compared to adolescents who have either one or the other. There is not much previous research that has examined how racial socialization and racial identity operate together in adolescents' daily lives. Thus, the present study can contribute to our current understanding of how multiple promotive factors, within and external to adolescents, relate to adolescents' daily outcomes. Additionally, this area of research can inform our understanding of how racial socialization messages may function as a context in which adolescents' racial identity beliefs operate within.

The Present Study

The Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST: Spencer et al., 1997) provides a conceptual framework for understanding the normative development of African American adolescents. The PVEST model highlights various risks that African American adolescents face and the factors that could be protective against these risks. The model argues that experiences with racial discrimination are chronic stressors that occur and must be dealt with as part of the normative developmental process of African American adolescents (Coll et al., 1996; Spencer et al., 1997). According to the PVEST model, a number of important psychological and behavioral outcomes are dependent upon the way in which adolescents cope with discrimination (Spencer, 2006). The use of cultural resources and assets such as racial socialization and racial identity can be viewed as buffers against the negative consequences associated with experiencing racial discrimination. Particular racial socialization messages and racial identity beliefs can provide adolescents with a positive view of themselves while simultaneously allowing them to have an awareness of discrimination in society. The present study examines both a race-relevant risk factor (racial discrimination) and race-relevant protective factors (racial socialization and racial identity) in predicting the academic engagement

and psychological affect of African American adolescents. PVEST takes a risk and resilience approach to understanding the normative development and experiences of African American adolescents. A risk and resilience framework further informs the current study because the study seeks to understand how African American adolescents persist psychologically and academically when experiencing racial discrimination. Fergus and Zimmerman (2005) describe resilience as "the process of overcoming the negative effects of risk exposure, coping successfully with traumatic experiences, and avoiding the negative trajectories associated with risks" (p. 1). In their resilience framework, they describe resilience factors in terms of contextual factors (resources) and individual factors (assets), suggesting that both are relevant in buffering the negative impacts of risk factors. In the current study, racial socialization is viewed as a cultural resource, while racial identity is an individual difference factor representing a cultural asset that African American adolescents can potentially use to overcome the risk associated with experiencing racial discrimination.

Specifically, the primary aim of the present study is to examine the daily effects of racial discrimination and parental racial socialization messages on daily academic engagement in school and psychological affect among African American adolescents. Additionally, I will examine how experiences of racial socialization influence the relations between racial discrimination and academic engagement and psychological affect. Finally, I will investigate whether adolescents' racial identity moderates the relations among racial discrimination, racial socialization, academic engagement, and psychological affect. While we know that racial discrimination experiences have deleterious effects on adolescents' academic and psychological outcomes, we do not know how adolescents experience racial discrimination on a day-to-day basis and how this relates to their daily engagement with school content and the positive and

negative emotions they experience daily. Examining these relationships with a daily approach may produce different results than what has been found with cross-sectional data. Similarly, we know some information from past research about how different aspects of parental racial socialization are associated with adolescents' academic and psychological outcomes. However, little is known about these relationships on a daily level. Examining these relationships on a daily level is important because then researchers can investigate how the relationships between stressful race-related experiences and protective race-related experiences unfold more closely to how the individual experiences it (Coard & Sellers, 2005). There also may be greater success in intervention when we know how discrimination impacts' adolescents' daily engagement with school and their daily affect. Specifically, the daily diary approach allows for the comparison across time between how adolescents' level of engagement or affect changes on the days when they have experienced racial discrimination and/or racial socialization versus days when they do not have these experiences. One major contribution of the present study is that it will examine daily reports of racial discrimination, socialization, engagement, and affect. The employment of a daily diary study helps to reduce respondent memory bias because data collection happens much closer in time to the event in question (i.e., discrimination, socialization, engagement, affect) actually happening (Iida et al., 2012; London, Downey, Bolger, & Velilla, 2005; Telzer & Fuligni, 2009). By employing a daily diary method, this study has the potential to more accurately capture the normative experiences and behaviors of African American adolescents.

The present study is based upon a secondary data analysis of data collected in a multi-site longitudinal study focusing on family, school, and community resources Black youth draw on to support their positive development. This sample is a unique one in which to study the proposed research because there is diversity in these adolescents' family socioeconomic statuses and also

diversity with respect to the types of schools the youth attend. Socioeconomic diversity is important because this study will allow me to investigate how the relationships of interest may vary within the sample by different within-group variables. As such, the present study may illuminate the complexity and nuanced ways in which racialized experiences impact youth differently across settings. Adolescents in the present sample attended schools that differ in the racial composition of the student body and teachers. Racial diversity of adolescents' peers and teachers could influence the likelihood and types of racial discrimination youth encounter and the types of racial socialization messages that they receive from their parents.

A goal of the present study is to spotlight the fact that African American adolescents have unique strengths. Too often, research involving African American adolescents is focused on their failure and underachievement. This research has largely reinforced the stigma that African American youth are, by nature, failures and underachievers. The current study aims to show a more complete and nuanced picture of reality. First, this dissertation may highlight that some African American adolescents are at heightened risk of lowered psychological well-being and engagement in the classroom as a result of racial discrimination experiences. Secondly, the study aims to show that many African American adolescents persist, despite racial discrimination. African American adolescents possess strengths that are gained from their parents via racial socialization. Racial socialization in turn, influences the development of youth's racial identity. Thus, both are viewed in the current study as potential protective factors that can be used to counteract negative emotions and lowered engagement that might be expected when experiencing such a negative stressor as racial discrimination. By employing a within-group study, we can investigate the heterogeneity around African American youth's racial socialization processes and racial identity attitudes as well as the variation in the ways by which these

variables are related to important outcomes. Understanding these differences within a group of African American adolescents can help illuminate the contributing factors to their resilience, academic successes, and psychological health. The current study aims to address the following research questions:

1. How do daily experiences of racial discrimination relate to daily classroom engagement and daily affect among African American adolescents?

2. How do daily experiences of racial socialization relate to daily classroom engagement and daily affect among African American adolescents?

3. Does daily racial socialization moderate the relationships between daily racial discrimination and daily classroom engagement?

3a. Does daily racial socialization moderate the relationships between daily racial discrimination and daily affect?

4. Does racial identity moderate the relationship between daily racial discrimination and daily classroom engagement?

4a. Does racial identity moderate the relationships between daily racial discrimination and daily affect?

5. Does racial identity moderate the relationships between daily racial socialization and daily classroom engagement?

5a. Does racial identity moderate the relationships between daily racial socialization and daily affect?

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I present the conceptual frameworks that inform the current study and also inform the relevant literature that will be reviewed. Next, I discuss previous research that has documented the pervasiveness of racial discrimination among African Americans and how racial discrimination can be a risk factor in terms of African American adolescents' academic achievement and psychological health. I also describe a limitation of the literature on racial discrimination in the lives of African Americans and how my study will help to address this limitation. I then discuss research on African American racial socialization and the academic and psychological outcome correlates of racial socialization that have been commonly found in empirical research. I describe studies that examine the moderating influence of racial socialization in the relationships between racial discrimination and academic and psychological outcomes as well as the limitations in the area of racial socialization research. Next, I give a brief overview of racial identity among African American adolescents and how beliefs about the importance and meaning of race may moderate relationships between racial discrimination, racial socialization, and adolescent outcomes. I review how daily diary studies have been utilized in social science research. Lastly, I revisit the current study by describing how I will conceptualize and define the relevant concepts and provide hypotheses for the study's research questions.

Conceptual Frameworks

A risk and resilience conceptual framework informs this study by providing a view of African American adolescents' experiences that is focused on strengths rather than deficits. Although resilience requires the presence of both risks and promotive or protective factors,

resilience theory focuses on understanding healthy development in spite of adolescents' exposure to risks (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). One risk factor that African American adolescents are commonly exposed to is racial discrimination (Brown, 2008; Fisher et al., 2000; Wong et al., 2003). Among African American adolescents, racial discrimination experienced in the context of school can have detrimental consequences for their academic engagement and psychological well-being (Benner & Graham, 2013; Brody et al., 2006; Chavous et al., 2008; Cogburn et al., 2011; Greene et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2008; Prelow et al., 2004; Seaton et al., 2010; Sellers et al., 2006; Wong et al., 2003). However, many African American adolescents also possess promotive and protective factors. Promotive factors are ways of thinking or resources that relate to more positive outcomes. Protective factors allow adolescents to avoid, counteract, or buffer negative outcomes in spite of racial discrimination (Miller, 1999). Promotive and protective factors may be either assets youth have or resources youth draw on to overcome the negative effects of risk exposure (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). Assets are positive factors that reside within the individual, while resources are also positive factors that help youth overcome risk, but they are external to the individual. When adolescents use assets or resources to overcome risks they are enacting the process of resilience (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005).

In the current study, racial socialization that adolescents receive from their parents is conceptualized as a family and cultural resource that youth draw on to overcome risks associated with racial discrimination. Parents may proactively engage with their adolescents about the role of race in their lives by giving them racial messages before the adolescent encounters racial discrimination in efforts of preparing youth for the experience and instilling in them a positive sense of self (Hughes & Chen, 1999). Parents also may reactively provide racial messages to adolescents after adolescents encounter racial discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1999). In both

cases, the intent of racial socialization among African American families has been to counteract the negativity and mistreatment that is directed at the African American racial group and to raise psychologically healthy children who can excel in a society in which their racial status is marginalized (Coard & Sellers, 2005; Hughes & Chen, 1999).

Racial identity is conceptualized in the study as an individual-level asset that may also change the negative academic and psychological effects of experiencing racial discrimination. The beliefs and attitudes that youth hold about their membership in the African American racial group are in part influenced by parents' racial socialization messages (Hughes, Hagelskamp, et al., 2009; Neblett et al., 2009); however, unlike racial socialization, adolescents' racial identities are not external to them. Rather, they are internalized beliefs and attitudes that adolescents endorse. Adolescents' endorsement of particular racial beliefs and attitudes can provide them with the ability to overcome and persist through academic disengagement and feelings of inadequacy that repeated racial discrimination experiences are likely to be associated with (Benner & Graham, 2013).

The risk and resilience conceptual framework is consistent with the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST: Spencer et al., 1997), but PVEST additionally informs the current study because it explains the process of resilience by detailing ways in which contextual and cultural experiences of diverse groups relate to adolescents' normative development. Additionally, PVEST has a developmental and process-oriented focus that can help explain the appropriateness and criticalness of parents' racial socialization messages to their children during a critical period in their development in terms of their changing social experiences and their emerging racial identities. It further provides specificity about the individual-context-process links as suggested by Bronfenbrenner ecological systems theory

(Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994). Moreover, PVEST's emphasis on individuals' phenomenological experiences also makes it an informative framework for this study because the interest is in adolescents' own perceptions of their experiences and how these experiences can be risks or protective factors. Spencer (1995) describes the factors (such as racial discrimination) that may predispose individuals for adverse outcomes as risk contributors. Risk contributors that are encountered in everyday life are described in the PVEST framework as net stress engagement. In response to this stress, protective factors such as family supports or an identity that allows for adaptive coping can offset the risks. Models of resilience further provide explanations of different ways family supports (resources) and adolescents' racial identity (individual-level assets) could mitigate the relationships between racial discrimination and academic disengagement and lower psychological health.

Two of the three models of resilience that researchers have identified—compensatory and protective explain how promotive factors operate to change the trajectory when exposed to risks (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). Fergus and Zimmerman (2005) describe a compensatory model when a promotive factor counteracts or operates in an opposite direction of a risk factor. A compensatory model therefore involves a direct effect of a promotive factor on an outcome. This effect is independent of the effect of a risk factor. For example, adolescents who perceive racial discrimination are more likely to have poorer mental health and academic outcomes than adolescents who do not perceive racial discrimination. However, parental racial socialization messages may help compensate for the negative effects of discrimination. Another model of resilience is the protective factor model. In this model, assets or resources moderate (buffer) or reduce the effects of a risk on a negative outcome (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). A protective model exists if, for example, the positive relationship between racial discrimination and poorer

mental health outcomes is reduced for adolescents who receive higher frequencies of parental racial socialization messages.

Overall, models of risk and resilience and the PVEST framework fit well within the current study because they incorporate components that are facilitative of positive development. These frameworks acknowledge that there are psychological and/or environmental strengths that can deflect (or protect against) the negative outcomes associated with racial discrimination (Forrest-Bank & Jenson, 2015; Mroczkowski, & Sánchez, 2015; Wong et al., 2003).

Racial Discrimination as a Common Occurrence in the Lives of African Americans

Racial discrimination is the negative and unfair treatment of a group of people or individuals based on phenotypical characteristics such as skin color (Romero & Roberts, 1998). Racial discrimination can take many forms and can occur across settings (Brown, 2008; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). For instance, racial discrimination can be overt and blatant in nature such as being called a racists' name or being physically assaulted (Brown, 2008). There are more subtle, covert, and ambiguous forms of racial discrimination such as being ignored by peers in a school setting or being followed in a store by an employee (Brown, 2008). Research has documented the pervasiveness of racial discrimination and much of the pioneering work in the area has largely focused on the incidence of encounters with racism and discrimination within samples of African American adults and young adult college students (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993; Kessler et al., 1999; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Sanders-Thompson, 1996). There is much self-reported evidence indicating that racial discrimination is commonly experienced by African American adults at some point in their lifetimes and many African Americans report experiencing racial discrimination in their day-to-day lives (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993; Kessler et al., 1999; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Sanders-Thompson, 1996).

Some researchers have begun to link experiences with racial discrimination with mental and physical health issues among adults such as depression, anxiety, anger, distress, hypertension, and high blood pressure (Krieger, 1990; Jackson et al., 1995; Williams et al., 2003). Considering the negative implications racial discrimination can have for adults, scholars have begun to give major attention to understanding adolescents' experiences with racial discrimination. Although awareness and perceptions of racial discrimination begins in middle childhood, these perceptions increase through adolescence (Brown, 2008). Most of the discrimination perceived by children and adolescents occurs between peers, in public settings, or within educational settings and institutions (Brown, 2008). Some studies have examined race-related experiences youth have in different settings noting their frequency and type of discrimination (Fisher et al., 2000; Sellers et al., 2003; Sellers et al., 2006). For instance, Fisher et al. (2000) found that at least half of the African American, Hispanic, and South Asian youth in their sample reported being hassled by store personnel because of their race, perceived that racial discrimination was responsible for poor service they received at restaurants, and a large proportion of African American and Hispanic respondents believed that racial biases led others to perceive them as dangerous and to negative encounters with police.

Racial Discrimination within the Context of School

The context of school is an especially important domain in which to examine adolescents' experiences with racial discrimination. Adolescents, compared to younger children, spend more of their time at school and among teachers and peers than at home among family (Brenner & Graham, 2013; Fisher et al., 2000). This means that most adolescents begin interacting with people who are of a different race from them at higher frequencies and racial and ethnic minority youth do in fact report more perceptions of discrimination as the schools they

attend become more ethnically diverse, as the numerical representation of their own group declines, and as the diversity of the teaching staff does not reflect the students (Benner & Graham, 2011, 2013; Seaton & Yip, 2009).

Studies examining the frequency and types of racial discrimination adolescents experience now document that racial discrimination is not uncommonly experienced among racial and ethnic minority youth in schools from peers as well as authority adult figures (Brown, 2008; Mroczkowski, & Sánchez, 2015; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Some of the kinds of unfair treatment reported by youth in schools include receiving a lower grade than deserved from teachers, being discouraged from joining advanced level classes, being the recipient of unusually harsh discipline, and being the target of verbal, psychological, or physical abuse from peers at school (Benner & Graham, 2013; Fisher et al., 2000; Sellers et al., 2006). Additionally, using data collected as a part of the 1992 biennial census of the nation's public elementary and secondary schools, Gregory (1995) found that the disparity between Black children, and especially Black boys, compared to White children in receiving corporal punishment in school (i.e., the hitting of a child by an adult) and suspensions was strikingly large, suggesting that there are likely racial biases that teachers and administrators enact in schools that often go undetected. Considering the importance of education in American society and its relation to major life outcomes such as life satisfaction, income and wealth earnings, opportunities to live in a safe environment, health, and career opportunities, experiences of racial discrimination that may impede academic success and psychological health should be taken seriously and counteracted because if not, racial discrimination could be a risk factor for poor outcomes.

Racial Discrimination as a Risk Factor for African American Adolescents

During the developmental period of adolescence there are normative social and biological changes that may disrupt and have long-term implications for adolescents' academic achievement and psychological states (Eccles, 1993; Simmons, Burgeson, Carlton-Ford, Blyth, 1987). For instance, adolescents undergo school transitions, pubertal changes, and changes in their social roles that can increase risk for declining motivation, poorer self-perceptions, greater susceptibility to conforming to peers' negative influence, and involvement in problem behaviors (Eccles et al., 1993; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Adolescents of color have an added stress when they perceive racial discrimination and this can further increase the probability of negative outcomes.

When schools, peers, and other socializing agents communicate messages of devaluation that undermine individuals' feelings of relatedness to that context, there is an increased likelihood of negative outcomes (Forrest-Bank & Jenson, 2015; Mroczkowski, & Sánchez, 2015; Potochnick et al., 2012; Wong et al., 2003). For instance, previous research shows that children who are teased or bullied by their peers at school are more likely to do poorly in school and have lower self-esteem than are children who are not so victimized (Espinoza, Gonzales, & Fuligni, 2013; Ladd, 1990; Wentzel & Asher, 1995). There is also an increased probability for negative academic and socio-emotional outcomes when adolescents feel that their teachers do not respect or care about them as individuals (Eccles et al., 1993; Goodenow & Grady, 1993). In a similar way, racial discrimination can communicate to individuals that they are devalued because of their racial group membership. Such stigmatizing experiences are likely to increase the probability of negative outcomes, pointing to racial discrimination exposure as a potential risk factor.

Over the past decade researchers have provided increasing evidence supporting the notion that racial discrimination is a serious threat to African American youth across all social classes (Dotterer, McHale, & Crouter, 2009). Experiences with discrimination have been shown in numerous studies to have a negative impact on adolescents' well-being and adjustment (Benner & Graham, 2013; Brody et al., 2006; Cogburn et al., 2011; Forrest-Bank & Jenson, 2015; Greene et al., 2006; Mroczkowski, & Sánchez, 2015; Prelow et al., 2004; Scott, 2004; Seaton et al., 2010; Simons, Murry, McLoyd, Cutrona, & Conger, 2002; Umaña –Taylor et al., 2012; Wong et al., 2003). For example, Wong et al. (2003) found that among African American adolescents, perceived discrimination by peers and teachers was positively related to anger and depressive symptoms.

Fewer studies have examined the relationships between racial discrimination in the context of school and academic outcomes, but those that have generally find consistently poorer outcomes associated with discrimination (Benner & Graham, 2013; Cogburn et al., 2011; Dotterer et al., 2009; Neblett et al., 2006; Thompson & Gregory, 2011; Wong et al., 2003). One reason for there being less attention to examining racial discrimination in school contexts may be because the frequencies of reported experiences with discrimination in the schools in some studies are low to moderate (Benner & Graham, 2013; Dotterer et al., 2009; Wong et al., 2003), despite qualitative evidence that discriminatory encounters are common for racial and ethnic minority youth (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). The low frequency in reported school-related racial discrimination by students may be because current self-report quantitative assessments are not the best way to capture mistreatment youth experience. The low frequency of self-reported school related discrimination may also be because some schools have policies that police peer harassment such as discrimination as well as multicultural education programs that cut down on

racial discrimination. It is also possible that experiences with discrimination may occur more frequently from other non-school related adults (store clerks, police, etc.) or in contexts other than school (e.g., restaurants, malls). Nevertheless, in Dotterer and colleagues' (2009) study of 148 African American sixth through twelfth graders, despite the relatively low occurrence of discrimination reports from students, perceptions of discrimination by peers and teachers were related to lower academic engagement (defined by school self-esteem and school bonding). This finding supports the notion that even low frequencies of experiences with discrimination are a potential risk for adolescents' cognitive and affective school engagement. Similarly, Wong et al. (2003) found that perceived discrimination by African American adolescents from peers and teachers was negatively related to academic motivation outcomes (e.g., beliefs about the utility of school and their own academic competence). Both Dotterer et al. (2009) and Wong et al. (2003) found that discrimination was unrelated to academic achievement as measured by school grades. This finding underscores the need to consider how racial discrimination impacts dimensions of school engagement because it may be that discrimination impacts achievement performance outcomes such as grades in more indirect ways.

Methodological Limitations of Current Racial Discrimination Literature

The studies that have documented incidences of racial discrimination occurring among adolescents are extremely important because they provide increased evidence that racial discrimination is in fact a major issue for not only today's adults, but youth. Further, studies that have explored linkages between racial discrimination and psychological and academic outcomes provide us even more information about the dangers of discrimination and add enormously to the argument that racial discrimination is something that should be taken seriously and remedied because it can have serious consequences on important life factors. However, the vast majority of

studies examining racial discrimination are based on retrospective accounts, over long stretches of time. Common measures of racial discrimination ask respondents to report the frequency of discrimination experienced or report on a checklist the different types of discrimination one has experienced over the past six months, over the past year, or over a lifetime which introduces the potential for increased recall bias due to memory errors (e.g., Adolescent Discrimination Distress Index, Fisher et al., 2000; the Schedule of Racists Events, Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; The Index of Race-Related Stress, Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). As time passes, it becomes more difficult for people to accurately remember incidents that happened to them. An alternative of measuring discrimination closer in time to when it occurred would likely reduce memory bias and produce more accurate reports (Iida et al., 2012).

Daily Racial Discrimination

Researchers conceptualize racial discrimination as something that can occur in people's daily contexts (Harrell, 2000; Kessler et al., 1999; Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, & Sue, 2013; Ong, Fuller-Rowell, & Burrow, 2009; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Sue, 2010; Sue et al., 2008). In an empirical study, Kessler et al. (1999) found that that 25% of African Americans reported day-to-day discrimination as a regular occurrence. These daily experiences, termed racial microaggressions, could be in the form of daily racial slights, insults, and harassments (Sue et al., 2007). These daily forms of discrimination are often ambiguous and it has been suggested that they have cumulative implications for individuals after the discrimination occurred during the rest of their day and even the next day and subsequent days (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). However, the methods many researchers use when examining implications and impacts of daily racial discrimination on psychological and academic outcomes do not align with this conceptualization (Burrow & Ong, 2010). When researchers measure an aggregated number of

times an individual experienced racial discrimination over large periods of time, a global view of that person's experiences and is often used as a characteristic that the individual has (e.g., "Person with low frequency of discrimination in the past year" vs. "Person with high frequency of discrimination in the past year"). Then that global view of the person's discrimination experiences is often related to other aggregated assessments of the individual that may or may not have been measured by the researcher during that same year.

The current study aims to further add to the literature on African American adolescents' experiences with racial discrimination by measuring their experiences closer in time to the event actually occurring thereby allowing respondents to more accurately report their experiences. By utilizing a daily diary method, the current study's participants did not have as much of a burden on their memories as happens when traditional long retrospective measures are used. Also, the current study will examine the relationships between daily racial discrimination experiences and adolescents' academic and psychological outcomes that were also measured daily such that the measurement of the independent variable and the outcome will be both measured at the level of the event and situation. This will allow us to examine the consequences of racial discrimination as it plays out in real life—for instance, the effects of racial discrimination during the same day it occurred.

There has been some work examining daily experiences with discrimination and much of the work utilizing daily diary methods focuses on processes of stress and coping among adults (e.g., Bolger & Zuckerman, 1995; Hoggard, Byrd, & Sellers, 2012; Ong et al., 2009; Tennen, Affleck, Armeli, & Carney, 2000; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003). For instance, when examining daily racial discrimination among 174 African American doctoral students and graduates, Burrow and Ong (2010) found that the average individual reported

almost six racial discrimination encounters during the two-week study. At the daily level, the proportion of study days on which participants reported at least one racially discriminatory encounter was approximately 25%, which translates to roughly three or four days during the two-week diary period. This suggests that although racial discrimination was not literally a daily experience for most participants, they were reported fairly frequently, with many participants reporting multiple occurrences within a single day (Burrow & Ong, 2010). Another daily diary study found that exposure to microaggressions is common among Asian American college freshmen, with approximately 78% of participants in the sample reporting some form of racial microaggression within a 2-week time frame (Ong et al., 2013). However, Hoggard et al. found lower frequencies of discrimination, of their 299 participants in a daily diary study, 70 participants reported experiencing at least one racially stressful event during the 20-day study.

Even less work has examined daily racial discrimination experienced by adolescents. In a sample of 75 Black adolescents who completed daily surveys for 14 days, approximately 97% of adolescents reported experiencing at least one discriminatory experience over the 2-week period (Seaton & Douglass, 2014). In another study, Huynh and Fuligni (2010) examined ethnic and racial discrimination among 601 12th graders from Latin American, Asian, and European backgrounds using both a traditional measure and a daily measure. They found that over 60% of the youth reported experiencing some form of peer or adult discrimination and daily racial discrimination occurred on less than 1% of the days in a 2-week time period. Although daily discrimination was reported infrequently by these youth, it predicted youths' depressive symptoms and distress. Additionally, Huynh and Fuligni (2010) examined whether ethnic identity and ethnic socialization buffered the negative effects of discrimination. They found that neither ethnic identity nor positive ethnic socialization protected youths from the negative effects

of discrimination. The authors speculated that these cultural resources may be less protective for the youth in their sample in the face of discrimination because their ethnic identity may not be based as strongly on issues of discrimination as might be expected for African American youth.

Only a few studies have empirically examined the association between everyday racial discrimination and psychological outcomes. In one of the few longitudinal studies on the topic, Sellers and Shelton (2003) found that repeated encounters with everyday racial hassles increased psychological distress among African Americans. This finding aligns with qualitative accounts of the effects of daily racial discrimination. For example, Swim et al. (2003) investigated the frequency of typical racist incidents experienced by African American students attending a predominantly White public university. They found that over a 2-week period, the most common type of racial discrimination reported was being stared at with suspicion. In addition, anger was the most frequently reported emotional response to daily racial discrimination. Similarly, in a study of how everyday racial discrimination affects the educational experience of African American students attending predominantly White universities, Solorzano et al. (2000) found that the cumulative effects of racial discrimination resulted in emotions of discouragement, self-doubt, and isolation among African American students.

African American Racial Socialization

In addition to the socialization practices that are common in all families, the socialization process within racial and ethnic minority families must consider their marginalized social position within U.S. society and the historical consequences of this marginalization (Coard & Sellers, 2005; Dotterer et al., 2009). Within African American families specifically, teaching children how to interact effectively in two cultures, the dominant culture and Black culture, is an important aspect of socialization (Boykins & Toms, 1985; Parke & Buriel, 2006; Peters, 1985). It

is through this process that families attempt to prepare children for successful functioning in society and to instill a positive group identity. The primary socializing agents for children are their parents. A number of studies have shown that parents play a key role in shaping their children's racial knowledge by transmitting their values, attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Marshall, 1995; Peters, 1985) and scholars have described its unique relevance for African American parents specifically.

Conceptualizations and Definitions

In a society where racism and discrimination has historically existed against African Americans and still exists, it is a necessity that African American parents find a way to teach their children about their history, culture, and heritage as well as teach them how to operate successfully within the society. Parents do this through their racial socialization practices. Race socialization is a complex, multidimensional construct (Lesane-Brown, 2006). Because it is complex, there is no single or commonly accepted or used definition. Instead, multiple definitions that either describe single or multiple functions are used throughout the literature. For instance, Demo & Hughes (1990) conceptualize it as a process of helping future generations develop a positive racial identity. Other researchers provide multiple functions of racial socialization in their definitions. For instance, Fischer and Shaw (1999) conceptualized it as "the process of communicating behaviors and messages to children for the purpose of enhancing their sense of racial/ethnic identity, partially in preparation for racial hostile encounters" (p. 396). Similarly, it's been defined as a rearing practice that is intended to promote psychologically and physically healthy children in a society where dark skin and/or African features may lead to detrimental outcomes (Peters, 1985). Thornton and colleagues conceptualized the process as including "specific messages and practices that…provide information concerning the nature of

race status as it relates to personal and group identity, intergroup and inter-individual relationships, and position in the social hierarchy" (Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990, p. 401-402). Stevenson (1994) extended this conceptualization by proposing that racial socialization involves parents' instruction to their children about racism in society, educational struggles, importance of extended family, spiritual and religious awareness, African American culture and pride, and transmission of childrearing values.

The conceptual framework proposed by Boykin and Toms (1985) provides a basis for understanding the multidimensional nature of racial socialization messages and practices African American parents use. Boykin and Toms argue that Blacks must simultaneously negotiate three realms of experience or the triple quandary. The three realms include mainstream, minority, and cultural experiences. Mainstream experience messages deemphasize race but stress life skills and personal qualities such as ambition and respect as well as an emphasis on Blacks' co-existence in mainstream society. Minority experiences involve ways of promoting awareness of and preparation to cope with minority status such as preparing children to cope with racial prejudice, racial discrimination, and racism. Lastly, the cultural experiences realm involves teaching children of cultural customs, values, and traditions unique to African American culture. Messages that teach cultural experiences can be both positive and negative such as instilling pride in one's racial group as well as shame as a result of internalized racism. Black parents socialize their children to successfully operate in each realm.

The content of racial socialization discussed in most studies in the area can be captured within at least one of the three realms Boykin and Toms discussed. For instance, some African American parents either explicitly encourage their children to value individual qualities over racial group membership (Conceptually similar to mainstream experiences) or avoid any mention

of race in discussions with their children, these strategies have been referred to as *egalitarianism* (Hughes et al., 2006) or *self-development* (Bowman & Howard, 1985) and *silence about race*, respectively (Hughes et al., 2006). The umbrella term referred to as *cultural socialization* (Conceptually similar to cultural experiences) by Hughes et al. (2006) describes messages about being prideful of one's group and heritage and the group's history. Other researchers have labeled these types of messages as *racial pride* (Lesane-Brown, Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyên, 2006), *cultural emersion* (O'Connor, Brooks-Gunn, & Graber, 2000), *cultural pride reinforcement, cultural legacy appreciation* (Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, Cameron, & Davis, 2002), and *integrative/assertive socialization* (Demo & Hughes, 1990). Hughes et al. (2006) labeled discussions that prepare children for racial discrimination and racism as *preparation for bias socialization* and practices that emphasize the need for wariness and distrust in interracial interactions as *promotion of mistrust* (Both conceptually similar to minority experiences). Other researchers have labeled these types of messages as *racism awareness training* (Stevenson, 1994, 1995), *racial barrier awareness* (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Lesane-Brown et al., 2006), *racism struggles, Cultural coping with antagonism* (Stevenson et al., 2002), (Johnson, 1988), and *cautious/defensive socialization* (Demo & Hughes, 1990). A distinction can be made between preparation for bias messages and promotion of mistrust messages (aspects of minority experience) such that promotion of mistrust messages help children recognize potential racist and discriminatory events and preparation for bias include, in addition, cultural ways to cope with racism and discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson et al., 2002).

Boykin and Toms stress that there is diversity within African American families regarding the degree to which each of these types of teachings are emphasized. However, empirical research suggests that most African American parents frequently engage in racial

socialization practices with their children and consider these practices normative, routine, and critical aspects of Black childrearing (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004; Sanders-Thompson, 1994; Thornton, 1997). In several studies, parents have been more likely to report cultural socialization (i.e., Black cultural experience messages) than preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust socialization (i.e., minority experience messages) and to engage in it more frequently (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1999). Nonetheless, studies have found that African American parents are more likely to provide preparation for bias (minority experience messages) more frequently than are parents of other ethnic and racial backgrounds (Hughes, 2003; Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

Although there is no one consensus regarding the taxonomy of racial socialization messages, drawing from the conceptualizations of the early pioneers of this research (e.g., Boykin & Toms, 1985; Bowman & Howard, 1985; Peters, 1985; Spencer, 1983), other scholars have delineated some consistent themes of the most common racial socialization messages and practices African American parents use with their children (e.g., Coard et al., 2004; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Lesane-Brown et al., 2006; Sanders-Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1994; Thornton, 1997). For instance, after conducting an exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses on various racial socialization messages, Lesane-Brown et al. (2006) found support for six distinct dimensions of racial socialization: *egalitarian messages, negative messages, racial barrier messages, racial pride messages, behavioral messages*, and *self-worth messages*. Egalitarian messages promote equality in interracial interactions and harmony among all races. Negative messages emphasize negative experiences with and stereotypes of African Americans. Racial barrier messages emphasize awareness of discrimination and prejudice toward African Americans in the United States. Racial pride messages promote the positive attributes of African

Africans and their accomplishments. Behavioral messages promote active involvement, knowledge, and understanding of the African American community. Finally, self-worth messages emphasize the worth and positive attributes of the individual, regardless of race.

Racial Socialization as a Resource for African American Adolescents

Adolescents whose parents are neglectful or generally not involved in their lives are more likely to do poorly in school and engage in problem behaviors, than are adolescents whose parents support, monitor, and communicate with them (Connell, Spencer, & Aber, 1994). Additionally, across most risk factors for adolescents, parental factors seem to be particularly vital in helping youth be resilient (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). There is substantial evidence that parents' racial socialization messages and practices have an impact on important child developmental and psychological outcomes (Caughy et al., 2002; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Frabutt, Walker, & MacKinnon-Lewis, 2002; Stevenson et al., 2002; Stevenson et al., 2002). The term resource emphasizes the social environmental influences on adolescent health and development. It also stresses that external resources can be a focus of change to help adolescents face risks and prevent negative outcomes (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). Thus, parental racial socialization seems to be an important resource for adolescents, especially in the context of exposure to racial discrimination.

Racial Socialization and Psychological Health

Findings from studies examining the relationship between measures of psychological functioning and racial socialization have produced mixed results. For example, parents who provide messages that emphasize pride in one's race and one's racial heritage have been associated with a number of positive child outcomes, such as higher levels of self-esteem, well-developed racial identities, more positive socio-emotional functioning, more adaptive anger

expression, fewer externalizing and internalizing problems, and more effective racial coping skills (Caughy et al., 2002; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Johnson, 2001; Marshall, 1995; McAdoo, 1985; Spencer, 1983, Stevenson, Reed, Bodison, & Bishop, 1995). Although the research literature consistently suggests the positive benefits of racial socialization practices that emphasize racial pride, the relationship between racial socialization practices emphasizing the existence of racial barriers such as racial discrimination and child outcomes is more equivocal. Some research suggests a positive link between parents' providing messages about racial barriers and child outcomes such as decreased depression (Stevenson et al. 1995). Some researchers have argued that the absence of such socialization practices places the child at greater psychological risk once he or she experiences racial discrimination (Spencer, 1983; Stevenson et al., 2002). In doing so, these researchers argue that without knowledge of the existence of discrimination, children who experience racial discrimination may be more likely to personalize such racists behavior and stereotypes, which may in turn lead to expression of anger towards others or internalized racism. At the same time, Marshall (1995) cautions that an over emphasis on racial barriers may undermine children's development and cause isolation. She argues that too frequent or blatant messages about barriers, especially among children and adolescents of younger ages, may lead to anxiety and self-consciousness. The conflict between these two perspectives suggest the need for future investigation. The ways in which racial barrier messages may impact outcomes may be further clarified by examining these relations daily.

Fischer and Shaw (1999) found evidence supporting racial socialization as a potential moderator in the relationship between racial discrimination and psychological functioning. In a sample of Black college students, those who reported greater preparation by their families for racism struggles did not show a significant relation between racist events and poorer mental

health, whereas those who reported lower levels of preparation did. This finding gives some evidence that the types of racial socialization messages that may be protective are those emphasizing racial barriers and preparation for racial bias, particularly for older individuals.

Racial Socialization and Academic Outcomes

There is also research that suggests links between parents' providing racial messages with their children's academic motivation and achievement outcomes. For instance, Bowman and Howard (1985) found that Black youth and adults who reported receiving racial barrier messages received higher school grades than those who reported being taught nothing about race. Additionally, those who reported receiving self-development messages (messages emphasizing individual qualities) had higher self-efficacy scores than youth who did not receive racial socialization messages. Sanders (1997) examined the relation between racial barriers and academic achievement in a sample of African American eighth graders. High achieving students were defined in the study as those who earned a 3.0 grade point average or higher. Sanders (1997) found that students who had a greater awareness of racial barriers were more likely to be high achieving students, compared to those who had less awareness of racial barriers. These studies suggest that racial socialization that emphasizes racial barriers and prepares youth for the possibility of encountering discrimination may be especially beneficial for academic outcomes. This may be because adolescents who are aware of past and present-day limited educational opportunities because of racial discrimination may be especially motivated to want to do well in school and want to persist when they do encounter obstacles.

Contrarily, Marshall (1995) found that 9 and 10 year old children who reported receiving racial socialization messages from parents that prepared them for the significance of race had lower reading grades compared to children who did not report receiving messages. The

discrepancy in Marshall's (1995) finding and other research may be because of the age differences of the participants studied. In Marshall's study, most children in the sample were farther along in Cross' Nigrescence model of Black identity than expected and the researcher suggested that this may be because of the racial socialization they experienced. These children were in the encounter stage of Cross' model which is characterized by feelings of upheaval and hostility, and could, therefore, lead to lower academic performance. This suggests that racial socialization that is focused on preparing youth for future racism and discrimination may serve more beneficial and promotive functions in older youth. Also, this study was of cross-sectional data, thus, the research was not able to determine whether racial socialization influenced academic outcomes or if parents of children who were already struggling academically increased the frequency of their racial socialization.

In Dotterer and colleagues' (2009) study, preparation for bias racial socialization was a positive predictor of their measure of academic engagement and cultural socialization was positively related to school bonding for boys, but not girls. However, they did not find that preparation for bias or cultural socialization to be significant moderators in the relationships between racial discrimination and academic engagement outcomes (Dotterer et al., 2009). Similarly, Neblett et al. (2006) examined whether racial socialization buffered the association between discrimination and academic outcomes among African American adolescents in grades 7 through 10. The researchers did not find that racial socialization moderated the links between discrimination and their measure of academic engagement (curiosity and persistence in school) and academic achievement (school grades); however, they found that egalitarian messages, behavioral messages, and self-worth messages were positively related to academic outcomes after accounting for discrimination. They also found that negative racial socialization messages

(disparaging messages about being Black) were negatively related to academic persistence and surprisingly, racial pride messages were negatively related to academic curiosity and GPA. The findings from Neblett et al. (2006) and Dotterer et al. (2009) support a compensatory model of resilience. However, these studies are limited by the cross-sectional nature of their data and correlational analyses designs that may have hindered accurately knowing whether racial socialization can moderate or buffer the relationships between discrimination and academic engagement outcomes.

Methodological Limitations of Racial Socialization Literature

As suggested above, most studies that explore linkages between racial socialization, racial discrimination, and academic and psychological outcomes do so with cross-sectional data that produces a potential limitation in the studies' findings. Many of these studies measure an aggregated frequency of different types of parental socialization messages given to the adolescent or child and correlate the frequency with another aggregated academic and/or psychological measure that was assessed at a different point in time. This limitation could be reduced by examining racial socialization as it is likely to function in reality, by measuring it on a daily basis and relating it to outcomes that also are on a similar level of analysis (Iida et al., 2012). This would produce a more ecologically valid measurement of the daily and possibly varying communication between parents and their children. Similarly, when racial socialization is measured, participants are usually asked to recall the frequencies of messages and their content over long stretches of time (e.g., over the past year or over a lifetime). Similar to traditional retrospective ways of assessing racial discrimination, these assessments introduce a potential for higher recall bias because it becomes harder for people to accurately recall information as time passes. Measuring racial socialization on a daily basis will reduce the gap in time between

transmitting and receiving messages and data collection, producing more accurate and less bias reports (Coard & Sellers, 2005; Iida et al., 2012; Lesane-Brown, 2006).

Racial Identity among African American Adolescents

In a recent integrative review of ethnic and racial identity literatures, Rivas-Drake, Seaton et al. (2014) highlighted the period of adolescence as particularly important in the development of ethnic and racial identities within individuals' self-concepts. Furthermore, as a key task of adolescence is developing a secure sense of one's self and one's place in the world, the implications of adolescents' ethnic and racial identities are uniquely significant for their psychosocial adjustment. Similar to the literature on racial socialization, definitions and conceptualizations of racial identity in the literature vary greatly by researcher and time in history. Nonetheless, the various conceptualizations of racial identity can be categorized by those either using a developmental approach (e.g., Cross, 1991; Phinney, 1992; Parham & Helms, 1981; Milliones, 1980), an africentric approach (e.g., Baldwin & Bell, 1985; Milliones, 1980), a multidimensional approach (e.g., Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997; Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995; Sanders-Thompson; 1995; Resnicow, Soler, Braithwaite, Selassie, & Smith, 1999), or a combination of the approaches.

Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity

The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI, Sellers et al., 1998) is one conceptual framework of African American racial identity. The MMRI defines racial identity as individuals' beliefs regarding the importance and qualitative meanings of their membership within the African American racial group (Sellers et al., 1998). The MMRI emphasizes diversity within African Americans, with the idea that group members within the same environmental contexts may simultaneously endorse varying racial beliefs and attitudes. Three major

assumptions underlying the MMRI are: 1) identities are stable properties but can be influenced by different situations and contexts; 2) individuals have many different identities, each of which has different levels of importance to them; and 3) individuals' perceptions of what it means to be African American is the most valid indicator of racial identity (Sellers et al., 1998).

One of the MMRI's four dimensions of racial identity that have been commonly used in research with African American young adults and adolescents is racial regard. Racial regard describes an individual's evaluative or affective judgment of his or her race and this dimension has two components (Sellers et al., 1998). Private regard refers to the extent to which individuals feel positively or negatively toward African Americans and their membership in the group. An individual is described as having higher private regard when they endorse positive attitudes and feelings about being Black. Public regard refers to the extent to which individuals feel that others, who are not African American, view African Americans positively or negatively. An individual is described as having lower public regard when they believe that individuals from other racial groups do not value or view African Americans positively. Both private and public regard appear to be relatively stable across situations (Shelton & Sellers, 2000).

Racial Identity as a Cultural Asset for African American Adolescents

Racial identity can be viewed as a cultural asset for African American adolescents. Conceptually, youth may be likely to develop higher private regard after experiencing racial pride socialization from parents. Both private regard and racial pride socialization messages are concerned with feeling good about one's membership to the Black racial group and community. For instance, after learning about Black history and African Americans' accomplishments and contributions to society via racial pride socialization, youth may come to see themselves and other Black people positively (i.e., higher private regard). In the same way that more frequent

racial pride socialization messages would be expected to be promotive of positive academic and psychological outcomes and buffering of negative outcomes in the context of discrimination, I would expect higher private regard to work in a similar manner as a cultural asset. A number of studies have suggested the promotive nature of feeling positively about one's racial group and membership to psychological and academic outcomes among ethnic minority students (Bracey, Bamaca, & Umaña -Taylor, 2004; Chavous et al., 2003; Derlan & Umaña-Taylor, 2015; Resnicow et al., 1999; Rivas-Drake, Syed et al., 2014; Sellers et al., 2006; Street, Harris-Britt, &Walker-Barnes, 2009; Taylor, Casten, Flickinger, Roberts, & Fulmore, 1994).

Conceptually, youth may be more likely to develop lower public regard after experiencing racial discrimination or racial barrier socialization messages (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009). Racial barrier socialization provides youth with an awareness that discrimination exists, which implies that people of other races do not always value or think positively of African Americans compared to others. Thus, public regard as a cultural asset may function in similar ways as racial barrier messages on academic and psychological outcomes. A lower public regard may make African Americans' devalued status in society more salient for youth and lead to lower psychological health and less engagement in school (Chavous et al., 2003). Alternatively, lower public regard can provide a lens through which adolescents can be prepared for and understand discrimination, allowing them to cope with discrimination overtime more effectively (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). A lower public regard may be protective for Black students overtime by motivating them to persist and do well in school without internalizing negative stereotypes and racism they may encounter.

Several studies have theorized and shown empirically that aspects of racial identity can be beneficial for adolescents' psychological and academic adjustment (Ashmore, Deaux, &

McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Chavous et al., 2003; Chavous et al., 2008; McMahon & Watts, 2002; Miller, 1999; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Rivas-Drake, 2011; Sellers et al., 2006; Witherspoon, Speight, & Thomas, 1997; Wong et al., 2003). For instance, Seaton, Scottham, and Sellers (2006) found that the highest levels of psychological well-being were reported by 11- to 17- year-olds characterized as "Achieved" in the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (had explored and felt positively about the group). Aspects of racial identity are cultural assets because they can help to facilitate positive outcomes in youth and also can help youth be resilient in the context of discrimination. For instance, youth who have personal qualities such as self-confidence and social skills are somewhat predisposed to being resilient regardless of the risk exposure (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). Similarly, adolescents who endorse particular racial beliefs and attitudes may view their social world in such a way that their beliefs and attitudes can help them overcome the risk of racial discrimination exposure. Because experiences of racial discrimination lessen adolescents' sense of relatedness to their surroundings as well as lessen their self-worth, psychological variables that facilitate adolescents' feelings of belongingness and worth can compensate for and/or buffer against the potential threats posed by racial stigma (Grotevant & Cooper, 1998).

Racial Identity and Psychological Health

Different theories of racial and ethnic identity suggest that for adolescents of color, a healthy identification with one's racial or ethnic group is a psychological buffer against consequences of prejudice and discrimination (e.g., Cross, 1991; Phinney, 1990; Sellers et al., 1998). Empirical research in the area indicates that feeling a sense of relatedness to one's ethnic group is associated with higher self-esteem and better mental health for Asian Americans, Latinos, and African Americans (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994). When racial

identity, psychological outcomes, and racial discrimination are examined together, higher composite MEIM scores (measuring exploration and affirmation) significantly offset the negative impact of online racial discrimination on anxiety (Tynes, Umaña -Taylor, Rose, Lin, & Anderson, 2012). Utilizing the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) that is based on the MMRI conceptual model, Seaton (2009) reported that no association was found between interpersonal discrimination and self-esteem or depressive symptoms for a group of African American adolescents labeled "Buffering–Defensive" (i.e., who reported high racial centrality, high private regard and low public regard) and for a group labeled "Idealized" (who reported high centrality, high private and high public regard) profiles, whereas discrimination was positively linked to depressive symptoms among "Alienated" youth (i.e., who reported low centrality and private and public regard).

Racial identity, particularly aspects emphasizing positive feelings to Blacks, may moderate the influence of perceptions of racial discrimination on mental health indicators for African Americans. One reason individuals who are socialized and more strongly identify with members of their own race and/or ethnicity may be protected from the negative effects of racial discrimination is because it provides these individuals with the knowledge that discriminatory experiences result from societal injustice rather than personal deficits. This knowledge, in turn, prevents their self-concepts from being adversely affected when confronted with negative stereotypes or other forms of discrimination (Pascoe & Richman, 2009). In addition, racial/ethnic identity and socialization offer individuals with a sense of belonging and community when they are ostracized from other groups (Sellers et al., 2006).

Researchers have mixed theories concerning the role public regard plays in benefiting adolescents' mental health. Lower public regard beliefs could place an adolescent at risk by them

being more likely to perceive racial discrimination in their environments. However, believing that one's group is treated poorly may be protective in some contexts. Some research has found low public regard to be the only racial identity dimension serving protective functions (Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Sellers et al., 2006). Additionally, when an adolescent has low public regard in combination with higher private regard, it may lead to more adaptive coping when racial discrimination is experienced (Thomas, Caldwell, Faison, & Jackson, 2009; Seaton, 2009; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Sellers et al., 2006).

Racial Identity and Academic Outcomes

Empirical research has found private and public regard to be promotive of adolescents' academic outcomes (e.g., Chavous et al., 2003; Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005; Rivas-Drake, 2011; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). For instance, feeling positively about one's racial group membership and believing that others view their racial group positively has been related to adolescents' better academic performance, motivation, and adjustment outcomes (Chavous et al., 2003; Rivas-Drake, 2011). Given the powerful influence of other factors such as school quality and family resources on students' achievement, racial identity may serve largely as a way for ethnic minority students to remain engaged and motivated (Fuligni et al., 2005). In fact, racial identity may be particularly relevant for academic engagement and motivational outcomes such as educational persistence (Fuligni et al., 2005).

There is also some evidence of the buffering role of racial beliefs on adolescents' academic outcomes. For example, Wong et al. (2003) examined whether ethnic identity, operationalized as 'positive connection to one's ethnic group,' buffered the association between discrimination and adolescents' academic functioning. To index discrimination, adolescents reported on how frequently they were mistreated by their peers and teachers because of their

race. Results revealed that, as youth's connection to their ethnic group increased, greater perceived discrimination was related to smaller decreases in grade point average, but for adolescents with lower connection to their ethnic group, greater perceived discrimination was related to larger decreases in grade point average. In contrast, these researchers did not find that students' connections to their ethnic group buffered the relationship between discrimination and achievement motivation (importance of school, utility value of school, self-competency beliefs). They concluded that for African Americans, connection to one's ethnic group acts as a promotive and protective factor for some academic outcomes by both compensating for and buffering against the impact of perceived discrimination.

Other research has shown that low public regard levels buffered the negative consequences of high levels of perceived teacher discrimination on academic achievement among Caribbean Black adolescents (Thomas et al., 2009). Additionally, Chavous et al. (2008) reported that among middle school boys, higher significance of race buffered the relation between classroom discrimination and lower school importance attitudes and grades in 11th grade. Among middle school girls, higher significance of race was protective against the negative impact of peer discrimination on 11th grade school importance and academic self-concept (Chavous et al., 2008). Lastly, among African American girls (6th–12th graders) who experienced discrimination, lower levels of ethnic affirmation and belonging were associated with decreased school bonding (Dotterer et al., 2009).

Racial Identity and Racial Socialization

Resilience research is somewhat limited because it typically includes a single promotive factor, but most youth possess multiple assets and may have access to multiple resources (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). Additionally, promotive factors do not necessarily operate independently

in the lives of youth but rather mutually influence each other. As such, it may be important to view racial socialization and racial identity together to see the possible cumulative and moderating impacts of the two. Scholars have theorized that receiving race socialization messages in general and receiving specific messages about group membership and group pride would result in a positive racial identity and protection from internalizing negative racial stereotypes (Marshall, 1995; Phinney, 1992; Sanders-Thompson, 1994). Although many have theorized the relation, only few studies have empirically examined the relation between racial socialization and racial identity. Some studies have found significant relations between racial socialization and racial identity (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Neblett et al., 2009; Sanders-Thompson, 1994; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000). For instance, Demo and Hughes (1990) found that adults who received race socialization messages from parents while growing up were more likely to have strong feelings of closeness to other Blacks and to hold stronger support for Black separatism. More specifically, those who reported receiving individualistic and/or universalistic messages (messages emphasizing a need to work hard, and all people are equal) during childhood were positively associated with having a positive group evaluation (conceptually similar to high private regard). Those who received more cautious/defensive socialization (messages warning to beware of Whites) were positively associated with Black separatism. And integrative/assertive (similar to racial pride messages) and cautious/ defensive attitudes were positively associated with feelings of closeness to Blacks. Neblett and colleagues (2009) examined variation in adolescents' reported frequency of parental racial socialization messages and variation in the positive content of parental messages, with some youth reporting a higher frequency of positive messages than others, while other youth reported receiving few messages of any type. Furthermore, these parental racial socialization patterns were related to

adolescents' racial identity one year later, giving some support that past racial socialization does play a role in adolescents' developing racial identities. Specifically they found that adolescents who received a high amount of racial socialization messages that were positive in content felt that race was more central to their self-concept one year later compared to the previous year. Also, they found that higher levels of racial barrier messages one year were associated with lower public regard scores in the subsequent year. Adolescents who reported a low frequency of receiving racial socialization messages felt that race was less apart of their identity one year later.

However, other studies have not found relations between racial socialization and racial identity (Marshall, 1995; Parham & Williams, 1993; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). There exist, though, some limitations in these studies that could qualify their findings. For instance, the non-significant findings for the Phinney and Chavira (1995) study may be attributable to the small sample and could also be a result of the researchers combining the various ethnic groups in their sample. In addition, in the Phinney and Chavira (1995) study, parents reported the types of messages they transmitted to their children, and the children responded to questions regarding their racial identity. Consequently, these findings may differ from other studies because the person reporting the race socialization messages is the transmitter rather than the recipient.

Conceptually, racial socialization, socialization in other aspects of adolescents' lives, and racial identity are related. For example, Phinney & Chavira (1995) found that among parents of color, African American parents were more likely than Mexican American and Japanese American parents to use a form of racial socialization in which they emphasized the importance of getting a good education and working harder than their peers and discussed the problems of discrimination. Other work with adolescents of color indicates that building a sense of connection to one's heritage group is intertwined with emphasizing achievement and discussing

discrimination (Branch & Newcomb, 1986). These families help adolescents develop a bond to their ethnic group, socialize about discrimination, as well as the importance of working harder in school to get ahead. Thus, one plausible reason why adolescents are able to have a positive connection to their ethnic group and a positive orientation towards school may be because they learn that doing well in school and getting a good education are important for overcoming and combating discrimination (Wong et al., 2003)

Using a Daily Diary Approach in Psychological and Cultural Research

Daily Diary methods involve repeated self-reports that aim to capture events, reflections, moods, pains, or interactions that are often dependent on participants' contexts (Bolger et al., 2003; Iida et al., 2012). They have the potential to provide high-resolution information about evolving and dynamic psychological processes stemming from the idea that people's daily written accounts in dairies provide detailed information of the day's events. One of the earliest diary studies in psychological research is by Csikszentmihalyi, Larson, and Prescott (1977), who examined interaction quality among adolescents. They structured reports in such a way to make the information more systematic than free-form diaries. Larson and Csikszentmihalyi (1983) called this methodology experience sampling methods (also called ecological momentary assessment). Their method benefited psychological research by allowing researchers to capture daily experiences in participants' own, natural environment (Iida et al., 2012).

Daily diary methods are becoming increasingly important for many psychological fields including social (e.g., Iida, Seidman, Shrout, Fujita & Bolger, 2008), personality and social contexts (e.g., Hoggard et al., 2012), developmental (e.g., Kiang, Yip, Gonzales-Backen, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006; Yip & Fuligni, 2002), and clinical (e.g., Cranford, Tennen & Zucker, 2010), benefiting research interested in within-group variation, descriptions of within-individual

change, and understanding the impact of daily experiences. Robles, Reynolds, Repetti, Chung (2013) argued that most research on family environments, emotions, and health has primarily focused on ‘‘snapshots’’ of functioning through one-time self-report measures and retrospective interviews. To demonstrate the value of daily diary approaches, they examined social interactions within and outside the family, daily mood, health behaviors, and upper respiratory infections every day for two months among 37 families including mothers, fathers, and adolescents. They found that employing a daily diary study allowed them to better capture the natural occurrence of a behavior. Robles and colleagues (2013) concluded that diary methods are feasible for participants as well, showing good completion rates with adolescents and parents completing on average over 90% of their diaries. Proponents of daily diary studies in the examination of race-related experiences argue that the question of how discrimination influence unfolding adaptive processes is of particular theoretical importance. This may be important to examine given that the psychological effects of daily racial discrimination have been purported to result from their subtle, brief, and recurring nature (Solórzano et al., 2000; Sue et al., 2007). They argue that ecologically valid studies that probe the individuals' daily environmental transactions that characterize the experience of racial microaggressions in daily life are crucially needed.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the literatures in the areas of racial discrimination, racial socialization, and racial identity as they concern African American adolescents are substantial and provide valuable information of potential risks and promotive factors in their lives. As a risk factor, the literature on racial discrimination points to its deleterious influence on adolescent academic and psychological outcomes. As a promotive factor, racial socialization generally can provide

adolescents with an external resource to help them develop a positive sense of self as a Black person in America and learn about and prepare for the prevalence of racial discrimination. This is done by the conscious effort of parents to give and model a range of messages about the meaning and significance of race. These messages, as well as experiences with discrimination, partly influence adolescents' racial identities. As a stable part of their self-concept, past research points to adolescents' racial identity as an individual-level asset that can be used to promote academic success as well as positive psychological health in addition to counteracting or buffering the negative consequences of racial discrimination exposure.

Despite the richness of these existing research literatures, there are still limitations. Although adolescents' experiences with racial discrimination and racial socialization are often discussed by theorists and researchers as part of adolescents' daily lived experiences, there is a substantial lack of knowledge about these experiences as they play out daily. Retrospective reports over long periods of time can make reports unreliable and inaccurate. We are not capturing the true and most valid ways in which racial discrimination impacts academic and psychological outcomes on a daily basis. We do not know how racial discrimination experienced one day impacts adolescents' academic and psychological outcomes during the same day. Nor do we know how adolescents' cultural resources and assets function daily in the context of discrimination. An analysis that examines multiple promotive factors (racial socialization and racial identity) in relation to racial discrimination and how these factors impact adolescents' daily experiences in school and their daily experiences with their psychological affect has the potential to be very informative. This study aims to highlight the strength of resilience that African American adolescents enact on a daily basis.

The Current Study Revisited

The current study defined racial socialization by the comprehensive definition suggested by Lesane-Brown (2006) as "specific verbal and non-verbal messages transmitted to younger generations for the development of values, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs regarding the meaning and significance of race and racial stratification, intergroup and intragroup relations, and personal and group identity" (p.402). Further, the current study operationalized racial socialization using Lesane-Brown and colleagues' (2006) categorization of specific racial socialization messages from the Racial Socialization Questionnaire. The current study focused on messages that emphasize a positive sense of self (*self-worth messages* and *racial pride* messages), and an awareness of racial discrimination (*racial barrier messages*).

To operationalize racial identity, the study utilized Sellers and colleagues' (1998) conceptualization of racial identity as presented in the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI). The current study is specifically concerned with the potential protective function of one dimension of the MMRI—racial regard (*private regard*, individuals' personal affective feelings about being Black; and *public regard*, perceptions of societal evaluations of Blacks).

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The first research question assessed in the study is: **How do daily experiences of racial discrimination relate to daily reports of classroom engagement and daily reports of affect among African American adolescents?** I predicted that daily experiences of racial discrimination would negatively relate to daily classroom engagement and positively relate to disengagement. I also expected discrimination to negatively relate to daily positive affect but positively relate to negative affect among African American adolescents.

The second research question asks: **How do daily experiences of racial socialization relate to daily classroom engagement and daily affect among African American adolescents?** I predicted that adolescents' experiences with daily self-worth and racial pride messages would relate positively to engagement and positive affect and negatively to daily disengagement and negative affect. Because of mixed findings in the literature, the relationship between daily racial barrier messages and daily outcomes is more exploratory. However, I expected that racial barrier messages would relate to more negative affect and less positive affect among adolescents because of the awareness that others devalue and think negatively of their racial group. However, racial barrier messages may relate to more daily engagement and less disengagement in school because the knowledge of discrimination and disadvantage African Americans have faced, may be particularly motivating academically for Black students.

The next research questions of the study ask: **Does daily racial socialization moderate the relationships between daily racial discrimination and daily classroom engagement? And does daily racial socialization moderate the relationships between daily racial discrimination and daily affect?** I predicted that self-worth, racial pride, and racial barrier messages would moderate the relations between racial discrimination and daily engagement and affect. Self-worth and racial pride messages provide youth with positive feelings about their selves. Within the context of discrimination, I would expect the presence of self-worth and racial pride messages to decrease the negative relations between discrimination and engagement and positive affect. Such that adolescents who experience self-worth and racial pride messages would not be as negatively impacted by racial discrimination on their engagement and positive affect. Similarly, the presence of racial barrier messages may counteract or lessen the negative relation between discrimination and engagement. And in fact, racial barrier messages could enhance

adolescents' engagement within the context of discrimination, if the awareness and personal experience of discrimination is motivating to them. For instance, the presence of a racial barrier message may prepare adolescents for the experience of discrimination such that when it is experienced they are not as impacted negatively in their psychological affect and engagement compared to adolescents with no barrier message. Alternatively, the presence of racial barrier messages may exacerbate the positive relation between discrimination and negative affect. Adolescents experiencing messages about discrimination in addition to personal experiences with discrimination may feel worse in their mood than if they experienced one alone.

The fourth set of research questions are: **Does racial identity moderate the relationship between daily racial discrimination and daily classroom engagement? And does racial identity moderate the relationships between daily racial discrimination and daily affect?** It is predicted that aspects of racial identity may serve as a moderator. For instance, adolescents with higher private regard and lower public regard may be protected from disengagement and negative affect in the context of racial discrimination. Higher private regard provides adolescents with a positive sense of self that could allow them to stay just as engaged and positive in their affect, even when discrimination is experienced. Public regard may work in varying ways, similarly to racial barrier messages. For instance, adolescents with lower public regard may be protected academically and psychologically in the context of racial discrimination because they already have an awareness that bias they experience should not be associated with an internal cause, but could be a result of external discrimination. Thus, they may not be as negatively impacted by discrimination. Discrimination among low public regard individuals could also be more motivating academically and allow them to have even higher engagement. However, public

regard could also work in the opposite way in that adolescents with lower public regard are more likely to perceive discrimination and could have more negative affect as a result.

Lastly, the final set of research questions include: **Does racial identity moderate the relationships between daily racial socialization and daily classroom engagement? And does racial identity moderate the relationships between daily racial socialization and daily affect?** It is expected that private and public regard could serve as a moderator in the relationships between racial socialization and outcomes. Because both the racial identity aspects and racial socialization messages examined in the study are hypothesized to be promotive factors, I expected that adolescents with higher private regard who also experience self-worth or racial pride, and racial barrier messages would show enhancements or boosts in their positive outcomes. Similarly, I would expect the same for adolescents with lower public regard who also experience self-worth or racial pride messages. My conceptualization of these relationships is similar to previous research (Chavous et al., 2003; Seaton, 2009) that have examined particular patterns of racial identity beliefs to be most optimal for African American adolescents' academic outcomes. These patterns include beliefs that allow youth to be conscious and aware of racial discrimination against Blacks (low public regard) and, at the same time, endorse an affirmed and positive sense of self (high private regard). In the current study, self-worth and racial pride messages also provide an affirmed and positive sense of self and racial barrier messages can provide an awareness of discrimination. Thus, the combination of identity beliefs and messages that provide adolescents with both (positive sense of self and awareness of discrimination) may be particularly helpful in allowing them to have more engagement (less disengagement) and more positive affect (less negative affect).

CHAPTER III: METHOD

The current study utilizes data from a multi-method longitudinal study from the Center for the Study of Black Youth in Context (CSBYC). The 4-year longitudinal study examined family, school, and community resources that Black youth draw on to support their positive development. The study launched in 2010, after piloting, and has surveyed youth, their parents and caregivers, teachers, school administrators, and community members in three school districts in the Midwestern part of the United States. The current study examined data from self-identified African American/Black adolescents who participated in both the annual longitudinal survey and the daily diary portion of CSBYC's study. From the daily diary study, the current study examined youth-reported racial discrimination, racial socialization, classroom engagement, and psychological affect. The current study also utilizes youth-reported racial identity data from the annual longitudinal survey.

Participants

The current study's sample included 164 self-identified African American/Black adolescents (56 % female, n = 92). Participants were a random subsample of adolescents who completed the CSBYC's annual longitudinal survey during 2010-2014 and who were also in one of four groups who completed the daily diary portion of the CSBYC's study. The first three groups included a total 86 adolescents (52 % of the sample) who were each assessed at different time periods during the third year of the annual longitudinal survey administration (2013). The fourth group included 78 adolescents (48 %) who completed the diary surveys during the fourth

year of the annual longitudinal survey administration (2014). Adolescents attended one of seven middle and high schools within three school districts in a Midwestern metropolitan area. Adolescents were distributed across the 7th through 12th grades with approximately 12% of participants in 7th grade, 17% in 8th grade, 29% in 9th grade, 15% in 10th grade, 17% in 11th grade, and 10% in 12th grade. The adolescents ranged in age from 12 to 19 years old with an average age of slightly below 15 years old (*SD* = 1.60). The sample of adolescents' primary caretakers also completed the annual and diary surveys. The vast majority of adolescents' primary caretakers were their biological mother (86 %, n = 141). The father was primary caretaker of 9% (n = 14) of the adolescents. Approximately 1% of the adolescents had a step-mother (n = 1), foster-mother (n = 2), or legal guardian (n = 1) as their primary caregiver. Approximately 2% (n = 4) of primary caregivers were grandmothers. The type of primary caregiver for one adolescent is unknown. The average adolescents' family household income in 2011 ranged from approximately $55,000 to $64,999 (10 % of sample). The largest number of family incomes ranged from $35,000 to $44,999 (13 % of sample) and the median of family income ranged from $45,000 to $54,999 (9 % of sample).

Procedure

African American adolescents who attended three school districts in a Midwestern metropolitan area were recruited to participate in the CSBYC's 4-year longitudinal survey, which was administered annually. The three districts were selected because of the socioeconomic and racial diversity of their students and broader communities. Sixty-three adolescents in the current study's sample attended schools in District 1 (41%), which is located in a historically White, upper-middle class township with less than 2% of its families living below the poverty level. During the time of this study it had the highest socioeconomic status and was the largest of

the three districts. The total population of residents in the district was around 64,000, 7,000 of which were K-12 students. From 2009-2011, 26% of students in District 1 were African American. Sixty adolescents in the current study's sample attended schools in District 2 (40%). The racial composition of students in schools in District 2 was almost 95% Black during the years of the annual longitudinal portion of the study and was located in a working-class community. However, while the students in the district were almost all Black, only 57% of the 30,000 residents of the district's community were Black and 37% were White. Almost 18% of families were living below the poverty line and 60% of students in District 2 were economically disadvantaged. Additionally, 19 % of adolescents in the current study's sample (n=29) attended schools in District 3, which had the lowest percentage of African American students. The total population of residents in the district was just over 25,000 in 2010, 10% of which were Black and 5% of which lived below the poverty level. During the 2009-2010 school year 14.3% of the third district's students were African American. In 2010-2011 the number of African American students in District 3 grew to 20%. There were 12 adolescents in the current study's sample who attended schools outside of the three primary school districts.

Annual Longitudinal Survey Procedure

Contact was made between the CSBYC's study principal investigators and school district officials and school administrators. District officials and school administrators gave permission to the CSBYC's staff to contact parents of students and to run the study within each of the selected schools. A mailing list of all African American/Black students was given to the CSBYC's staff and information packets were mailed to parents. The CSBYC's staff also recruited participants at parent-teacher conferences and other school-specific events. Students who were eligible to participate needed to return a consent form to their school signed by their

parent or legal guardian. Data collection occurred in schools' computer labs and libraries during school hours, but mostly during students' lunch and study hours. Students who returned consent forms were summoned to the computer labs or library where the surveys were administered. All adolescents who completed the survey gave their assent prior to the start of the survey. Participants were instructed to complete the web-based survey individually on a computer using the Qualtrics software. Staff members and graduate students present at each site monitored the student participants, answered their questions, and reminded students to not talk and to answer survey questions individually. Survey completion took approximately 45 minutes for most adolescents. Upon completion, adolescents were compensated $20. Adolescents were also offered lunch before returning to class.

Daily Diary Study Procedure

Of adolescents who completed the annual longitudinal survey, a random subsample was recruited to participate in the diary study through information packets that were mailed to their families and emails and phone calls made to parents. The majority of parents gave their consent for their child's participation by signing and submitting a consent form electronically and there were some parents who chose to submit a paper consent form from the information packets by mail. Adolescents also signed assent forms before the study began. Adolescents were sent specific instructions to their email addresses regarding how to access and take daily surveys. Adolescents who did not have regular access to the internet and/or a computer were given laptops for the duration of the study and were trained on how to use the computers and access daily surveys.

There were four different groups of adolescents who participated in the diary study. The first three cohorts were each assessed at different time periods during the third year of the annual

longitudinal survey administration (2013) and the fourth cohort took the diary surveys during the fourth year of the annual longitudinal survey administration (2014). All participants were required to practice taking and submitting the survey to get them oriented to the process and to make sure participants did not have any difficulties before the actual diary study start date. A week prior to the official start date, participants were instructed to take the survey at least once and submit it. All participants within each cohort began the daily surveys on the same day. Participants were instructed to complete the 10-15 minute web-based survey using Qualtrics every day for a 21-day period. Survey items in the annual longitudinal survey and in the diary survey covered a range of topics including adolescents' engagement with school, affect, physical health, racial discrimination experiences, and racial socialization communication. Diary study items were largely based on the annual longitudinal survey items but included shortened forms of specified measures. Participants accessed their daily surveys through an individualized link sent to them every day in an email between 5 p.m. and 5 a.m. After this time frame, participants could no longer submit a survey for that particular day. If participants experienced an issue with submitting their survey, they were given a staff member's phone number to call and email for help. Participants were also encouraged to submit a "back-up" survey in the form of a pdf in the event that the participant did not have internet access during the scheduled times to access the online survey.

To encourage daily participation, participants received compensation based on the number of surveys they completed and received a bonus for taking a certain number of surveys. Adolescents received $1.00 for each survey completed in the first week, $2.00 for each survey in the second week, and $3.00 for each survey in the final week. If the adolescent completed 17 of the 21 surveys or more, he/she received an $18 bonus. Adolescents could earn up to $60 for

diary study completion. The range of compensation given ranged from $10 to $60. On average adolescents received approximately $48.

Annual Longitudinal Study Measure

Racial Identity. Racial identity was assessed by the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity—Teen Version (MIBI-t: Scottham et. al, 2008). This is an adapted version for adolescents of the original MIBI developed by Sellers and colleagues (Sellers et al., 1997). The MIBI-t was derived from theoretical and empirical research of African Americans beliefs and attitudes about the meaning and significance of race in their lives (Sellers et al., 1998). The present study included the racial regard scale, comprised of two sub dimensions—private regard and public regard. Three items comprised each subscale and participants responded on a 5-point Likert-type rating scale ranging from 1 (*really agree*) to 5 (*really disagree*). Participants were asked to respond indicating the extent to which they agreed with each of the items. Private regard measured positive feelings toward one's racial group (e.g., "I am proud to be Black") (α = .80, N = 158). Higher scores on this scale indicated an individual having stronger positive feelings toward being Black. Public regard assessed the extent to which the adolescent believed that others view Black people in a positive way (e.g., "Most people think that Blacks are as smart as people from other races") (α = .69, N = 157). Higher scores on this scale indicate that the individual believes people from other races view Black people more positively. See Appendix A for complete measure.

Daily Diary Study Measures

Racial Socialization. Adolescents responded daily over a 21-day period to summative questions which represented the overarching themes of the racial socialization dimensions from the Racial Socialization Questionnaire—Teen Version (RSQ-T: Lesane-Brown et al., 2006). The

RSQ-T is a theoretically-derived measure of content themes identified in the literature of messages African American adolescents receive from their parents about the role of race in their life. Each adolescent's primary (target) parent's name was inserted into each question the adolescent saw in efforts of increasing the likelihood that adolescents would be thinking of the racial messages that particular parent (the primary/target parent) gave them. Participants were asked whether the primary parent or another adult told them each statement today. Adolescents responded that either 1 (*Yes, the target parent*), 2 (*Yes, another adult*), 3 (*Yes, the target parent and another adult*), or 4 (*No*).

The current study only included data from questions asking about self-worth, racial pride, and racial barrier messages. Self-worth messages emphasize the worth and positive attributes of the individual, regardless of race. Adolescents were asked, "Did the target parent or another adult tell you that you are somebody special today?" to assess the reception of self-worth messages. Racial pride messages promote the positive accomplishments and attributes of African Americans. To measure a racial pride message, adolescents were asked, "Today, did the target parent or another adult tell you that you should be proud to be Black?" Racial barrier messages draw adolescents' attention to racial discrimination and racism towards African Americans. To measure a racial barrier message, adolescents were asked, "Today, did the target parent or another adult tell you that racism against Black people still exists?" See Appendix B for complete measure.

The racial socialization variables were transformed into dichotomous variables such that if adolescents responded "yes, the target parent" or "yes, the target parent and another adult" their responses were recoded as 1 (*Yes*). If adolescents responded "Yes, another adult" or "No"

their responses were recoded as 0 (*No*). This was done in order to have a measure assessing whether the adolescents received messages daily from the target parent at all.

Racial Discrimination. Racial discrimination was operationalized in the current study by combining two scales. The first scale consisted of six items that assessed adolescents' daily experiences with unfair treatment in school. The six events described experiences with negative treatment from teachers and peers. For instance, adolescents who reported going to school on that day were asked, "Did your teacher treat you like you are dumb today?" and "Did kids you wanted to hang out with not hang out with you today?" Participants responded to each event as 1 (*Yes*) or 2 (*No*). In cases where participants responded "*yes*" to an event, the question was followed by another question asking for the adolescents' attribution of why they think the event happened to them. Participants responded to the attribution prompt, "I think this happened because of…" by selecting one of six attributions to the event: 1 (*My race*), 2 (*My gender*), 3 (*My personality*), 4 (*I deserved it*), 5 (*Coincidence/by chance/just my luck*), 6 (*Another reason*). The second scale was adapted from the Racism and Life Experiences Scale (Harrell, 1994), a self-report measure assessing the occurrence of everyday racists events. The current study's scale was created to assess the occurrence of daily racial hassles. Participants responded to seven items every day that assessed whether or not they experienced a racists event. For instance, "Were you accused of something you did not do today because you were Black?" Participants responded by 1 (*Yes*) or 2 (*No*). See Appendix C for complete measures.

To create the daily racial discrimination variable, I first created a variable of the first scale by coding the event as racial discrimination only when participants selected 1 (*My race*) as their attribution to the event in question. For all six events asked daily, the attribution variables were transformed such that participants who thought the event occurred because of their race

were coded as 1 and those who chose any other reason were recoded as 0. Next, I recoded the seven items from the second scale such that participants' data was coded as a 1 if they answered that they experienced that racist's event or a 0 if not. Finally, I created a variable combining the scale such that, for each day, if participants experienced *any* of the 13 items assessing school-based racial discrimination or racial hassles they were coded as a 1. If they did not experience any of the 13 items, they received a 0. This was done for each day in the 21-day study.

Classroom Engagement and Disengagement. The extent with which adolescents were engaged in their classrooms with academic content being taught was assessed by eight items on a scale that was adapted from the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom scale (Furrer & Skinner, 2003; Patrick, Skinner, & Connel, 1993; Skinner & Belmont, 1993). This scale was originally designed to evaluate students' attention, participation, effort, and persistence. Participants were instructed to respond daily based on their experiences in school during the 21-day period and compared their engagement to other days in each of the eight items on a 3-point scale: 1 (*Less than usual*), 2 (*About the same*), 3(*More than usual*). To determine whether the scale had multiple dimensions, I conducted an exploratory factor analysis which showed that six items loaded highly on one factor (e.g., "Today compared to other days, I participated in class") and the two reversed items ("School was boring" and "It was hard to stay awake in class") loaded highly on a second factor. I then conducted bivariate correlations between the 6-item engagement subscale and 2-item disengagement subscale for each of the 21 days to determine if the scales seemed to be functioning in the same ways daily. Daily correlations were not consistent, thus, I used both the 6-item classroom engagement scale and 2-item classroom disengagement scale in analyses. Higher scores on the engagement scale indicated that participants were more engaged than usual. Higher scores on the disengagement

scale indicated that participants were more disengaged than usual. See Appendix D for complete measure. On average, across the 21 days adolescents reported that they were engaged (M = 2.11, SD = 0.40) and disengaged (M = 1.81, SD = 0.52) in the classroom 'about the same as usual.'

Positive and Negative Affect. Adolescents' daily affect was assessed by selected items from the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (PANAS: Watson & Clark, 1997; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). The participants were asked to rate themselves on 17 emotions taken from the General Dimensions scales (positive affect and negative affect). For each emotion, participants were asked to rate the extent they have felt this way today on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*very slightly or not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). To determine whether the scale should be analyzed as two subscales (positive and negative affect), I examined the frequencies of reporting across the 21-day study to examine if there were consistent patterns of reporting on the two scales. There were consistent patterns in that adolescents reported much more positive feelings (M = 24.20, SD = 8.94) compared to negative feelings (M = 13.12, SD = 5.70) during the duration of the study. Thus, there seemed to be justification that there were two separate dimensions.

To create the daily positive affect subscale, I summed the scores of 8 positive emotions (interested, excited, strong, proud, alert, determined, inspired, and active). To create the daily negative affect subscale, I summed the scores of 9 negative emotions (distressed, upset, guilty, scared, hostile, irritable, ashamed, nervous, and afraid). A higher score on each dimension is indicative of feeling more positive or negative feelings on that day. See Appendix E for complete measure.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

This chapter presents analyses performed to examine whether adolescents' daily experiences with racial socialization and racial discrimination related to their daily classroom engagement and psychological affect. Importantly, the analyses examined whether daily racial socialization messages and adolescents' racial identity served as promotive and protective factors in terms of their daily engagement and affect within the context of racial discrimination. Also, analyses examined whether racial identity moderated relations among daily racial socialization messages and adolescents' daily outcomes.

First, I present descriptive statistics of the main study variables. Next, I present preliminary analyses that examined variation in reports of daily racial socialization and racial discrimination based on adolescents' demographics. I then present the results of the study's main research questions, assessing whether daily racial socialization and discrimination related to daily outcomes and whether racial socialization moderated the associations between discrimination and outcomes. Finally, I present the findings from analyses that examined whether adolescents' racial identity moderated the associations between daily racial discrimination and daily outcomes and whether adolescents' racial identity moderated the associations between daily racial socialization and daily outcomes.

Descriptive Analysis

Adolescent Variation in Daily Racial Socialization Reporting

Table 1 displays the proportions and lower-level and upper-level confidence intervals of racial socialization messages reported being received by adolescents over 21 days. Because of the binary nature of our racial socialization variables, I calculated the proportions of responses by dividing the total number of messages received by adolescents by the total number of reports of any response, separately for each message type (Agresti & Coull, 1998). The table is organized by message types that were reported being received most frequently to least frequently. Adolescents in the sample reported receiving self-worth messages most frequently (35 % of the time). Adolescents reported receiving racial pride messages 23% of the time of the study and racial barrier messages were reported being received 14% of the time of the diary study. An average adolescent in the sample reported receiving approximately 5 self-worth messages during the course of the 21-day study (range: 0-21). An average adolescent reported receiving approximately 3 racial pride messages over the 21 days (range: 0-20). On average, adolescents reported receiving almost 2 racial barrier messages during the 21 days (range: 0-20).

Adolescent Variation in Daily Racial Discrimination Reporting

Daily racial discrimination was also transformed into a binary variable for our analysis. The variable represents whether or not an adolescent experienced at least one of thirteen racially discriminatory events for each day (0 = discrimination not experienced that day, 1 = discrimination experienced that day). As such, I used the same procedure described above to calculate proportions of racial discrimination being reported daily by adolescents. During the 21-day study, adolescents reported experiencing one of the racially discriminatory events asked of them approximately 7% of the time (95% Confidence Interval: 0.06-0.08). See Table 1.

Approximately 38% of the sample (n = 63) reported experiencing racial discrimination at least once during the 21-day assessment period. On average, participants reported discrimination

approximately 7% of the time during the study. Of those reporting discrimination, most reported one discrimination experience within a day (range: 1-8). Over the 21 days, 30 adolescents reported experiencing 1 discriminatory event, 7 adolescents reported 2 discriminatory events, 6 adolescents reported 3 events, 7 adolescents reported 4 discriminatory events, 5 adolescents reported 5 events, 3 adolescents reported 6 events, 2 adolescents reported 7 events, 2 adolescents reported 8 events, and 1 adolescent reported 11 events. In examining the reports of individual discriminatory events, adolescents reported most commonly that someone treated them unfairly because they are Black (n = 64 incidents), were called a racists name by someone of a different race (n = 62 incidents), felt ignored by someone because they are Black (n = 44 incidents), felt slighted by someone because they are Black (n = 39 incidents), was accused of something they did not do because of being Black (n = 35 incidents), and did not get something deserved because of being Black (n = 31 incidents).

Descriptive Statistics for Continuous Variables

Table 2 displays the means, ranges, and standard deviations for the racial identity and daily outcomes. Private regard (M = 4.30, SD = 0.76) and public regard (M = 3.05, SD = 0.95) were positively correlated (r = .23, $p < .01$) among the sample.

Preliminary Analysis

Demographic Differences in Daily Racial Socialization Reports

Gender, Age, Cohort Differences in Daily Racial Socialization

Hierarchical Linear Models implemented in the Hierarchal Linear Modeling software package (HLM version 7; Raudenbush, Bryk, & Congdon, 2010) was used to examine whether there were demographic differences among the daily diary study variables. HLM is the appropriate modeling technique to accommodate repeated measures per participant in the current

study. This technique takes into account the correlation between individuals' multiple reports. First, I examined whether there were gender (0 = boys, 1 = girls), age, cohort, and day of the week (0 = weekend, 1 = weekday) differences among the daily racial socialization reports. Three separate models were run to examine differences in self-worth, racial pride, and racial barrier messages, with each message type as the Level-1 binary outcome per model. Thus, the outcome distribution at Level-1 was set to Bernoulli (i.e., 0-1 response scale) and the method of estimation was restricted penalised quasi-likelihood (PQL) technique. In models with this method, the log odds ratios are presented along with coefficient and significance level. Adolescents' gender, age, and cohort were entered as Level-2 between-person variables and whether the day was a day of the week or weekday was included as a Level-1 variable. Age was grand centered in the models. HLM produces results for models with and without robust standard errors. I report the more conservative results in the unit-specific models with robust standard errors because of skewness of daily reporting responses (i.e., more zeros reported).

Results indicated that there were no significant differences in self-worth messages by gender, age, or day. See Table 3. Adolescents' gender and age were not related to racial pride messages; however, adolescents reported more racial pride messages on weekdays (b = 0.29, Odds Ratio (OR) = 1.34, $p < .05$). See Table 4. Similarly, gender and age were not related to racial barrier messages; however, adolescents reported more racial barrier messages on weekdays (b = 0.42, OR = 1.52, $p < .05$). See Table 5.

I examined differences in daily racial socialization reports by diary study cohort. There were four different groups of participants assessed during different times. Three groups were assessed during different time periods in 2013 and one group was assessed during 2014. I created a variable that combined the first three cohorts together and coded them as 0 and coded the last

cohort as 1. This was done in order to examine differences in daily racial socialization between adolescents surveyed in 2013 versus those surveyed in 2014. The cohort variable was entered as a Level-2 between person variable in HLM models and each racial socialization message was entered as a Level-1 outcome per model. Results indicated that there was a significant difference in self-worth messages by cohort, adolescents who were surveyed in 2014 reported significantly more self-worth messages compared to those surveyed in 2013 (b = 1.19, OR = 3.29, p = .01). See Table 3. There were no cohort differences in racial pride or racial barrier reports. See Tables 4 and 5.

School District Differences in Daily Racial Socialization

Next, I examined whether there were school district differences in racial socialization reports. There were three school districts, thus, I created dummy variables that represented each district. I entered two districts at a time as Level-2 between person variables in HLM models and examined each district as the reference group. I examined this with each racial socialization message type as the outcome per model. Results indicated that there were no school district differences in daily self-worth, racial pride, or racial barrier reports.

Demographic Differences in Daily Racial Discrimination Reports

Gender Age, Cohort Differences in Daily Racial Discrimination

To examine gender and age differences in daily racial discrimination reports, I included daily discrimination as a binary Level-1 outcome variable in a HLM model. Whether the day was the weekday or weekend was also included as a Level-1 variable. I included gender, grand centered age, and cohort variables as Level-2 between person variables. Results indicated that there were no significant gender or age differences in discrimination reports; however, racial discrimination was reported more frequently by adolescents on weekdays (b = 1.65, OR = 5.18, p

< .001). See Table 6. There were no significant differences in daily racial discrimination reports among adolescents surveyed in 2013 compared to those surveyed in 2014.

School Districts Differences in Daily Racial Discrimination

I examined whether there were differences in racial discrimination reports between the three school districts. I included two dummy variables representing the school districts at a time in models and examined each school district as the reference category. When District 1 was the reference category, there were significant effects for District 3 (b = 0.85, OR = 2.34, $p < .05$) and District 2 (b = -1.01, OR = 0.36, $p < .01$) districts. Students attending schools in District 3 reported significantly more racial discrimination reports compared to students attending District 1's schools. However, students attending District 2's schools reported significantly fewer racial discrimination reports compared to District 1 students. See Table 7. When District 3 was the reference category, students attending District 1 schools (b = -0.85, OR = 0.43, $p < .05$) and District 2 (b = -1.86, OR = 0.16, $p < .001$) schools reported significantly fewer racial discrimination reports compared to District 3's students. See Table 8. Finally, when District 2 was the reference category, students attending District 3 (b = 1.86, OR = 6.44, $p < .001$) and District 1 (b = 1.01, OR = 2.75, $p < .01$) reported significantly more racial discrimination than District 2 students. See Table 9. In sum, adolescents attending schools in District 3 reported more racial discrimination over the course of the diary study than those attending schools in District 1 and District 2 districts and District 2's students reported less discrimination compared to District 3 and District 1.

Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Academic and Psychological Outcomes

My first set of research questions answers whether daily experiences of racial discrimination relate to daily classroom engagement and disengagement and whether daily

discrimination relates to daily positive and negative affect. I examined this with four separate HLM models, one model per outcome (daily engagement, daily disengagement, daily positive affect, and daily negative affect). For each model, the outcome was entered as a Level-1 variable. All four outcomes were on a continuous scale, thus, the distribution for the Level-1 outcome was set to normal and the method of estimation was restricted maximum likelihood (RML). Racial discrimination and whether the day was the day of the week or weekend were entered in each model as Level-1 variables. Additionally, I controlled for participants' gender, age, and previous day's outcomes in the models.

Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Classroom Engagement and Disengagement

Results indicated that daily racial discrimination was not related to daily classroom engagement (b = -0.05, p = .34). See Table 10. Daily racial discrimination was not related to daily classroom disengagement (b = 0.10, p = .12). See Table 11.

Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Positive and Negative Affect

Daily racial discrimination was not related to daily positive affect (b = 0.56, p = .29); however, in this model there was a significant effect of day. Adolescents reported more positive affect on weekdays (b = 0.87, p < .001). See Table 12. There was a marginally significant effect of daily racial discrimination on daily negative affect (b = 0.99, p = .06). There is a trend such that on days when adolescents reported racial discrimination, they also tended to report more negative affect. See Table 13.

Daily Racial Socialization and Daily Academic and Psychological Outcomes

The next set of research questions examined whether daily racial socialization related to daily engagement and disengagement and daily affect. I examined this in four separate HLM models, one per outcome. For each model, the outcome was entered as a Level-1 continuous

variable. Daily self-worth, racial pride, and racial barrier messages were included as Level-1 variables as well as whether the day was a day of the week or weekday and previous day's outcome. Gender and age were included in models as Level-2 variables.

Daily Racial Socialization and Daily Classroom Engagement and Disengagement

First I examined how daily racial socialization related to daily classroom engagement. Results indicated that there was a marginally significant effect of daily self-worth messages on daily classroom engagement ($b = 0.08$, $p = .05$). There was a trend such that when adolescents reported receiving self-worth messages they tended to report more engagement than their usual in the classroom. Racial pride ($b = 0.04$, $p = .36$) and racial barrier ($b = 0.02$, $p = .66$) messages were not related to classroom engagement. See Table 14[1].

Next, I examined how daily racial socialization messages related to daily classroom disengagement. Results showed that daily self-worth messages ($b = -0.04$, $p = .34$), racial pride ($b = 0.03$, $p = .58$), and racial barrier ($b = 0.07$, $p = .29$) messages were unrelated to daily disengagement. See Table 15.

Daily Racial Socialization and Daily Positive and Negative Affect

I examined whether daily racial socialization messages related to daily positive affect. Results indicated that self-worth ($b = 2.36$, $p < .001$) and racial pride ($b = 1.11$, $p = .02$) messages positively related to daily positive affect. On days when adolescents reported receiving

[1] When models were examined separately by message, results were consistent except that self-worth messages related more strongly to engagement ($b = 0.10$, $p = .01$) and racial pride messages related positively to engagement ($b = 0.09$, $p = .01$).

self-worth and racial pride messages they also reported more positive affect. Racial barrier messages were unrelated to positive affect (b = 0.58, p = .29). See Table 16[2].

Next I examined how daily self-worth, racial pride, and racial barrier messages related to daily negative affect. Results indicated that daily self-worth messages related negatively to daily negative affect (b = -1.17, p < .001), which means that on days that adolescents reported receiving a self-worth message they also reported less negative affect. Racial pride (b = 0.14, p = .73) and racial barrier (b = 0.51, p = .35) messages were unrelated to daily negative affect. See Table 17.

Daily Racial Socialization as a Moderator in the Associations between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Academic and Psychological Outcomes

My next research question examines whether daily racial socialization messages moderate the relationships between daily racial discrimination and daily classroom engagement and disengagement and positive and negative affect. To examine this, I created within-level interaction terms between each racial socialization message and the racial discrimination variable. I examined four HLM models, one per outcome. For each model, the outcome, each racial socialization message type, racial discrimination, the within-level interactions between racial discrimination and each message, whether the day was a weekday or weekend day, and the previous day's outcome were entered as Level-1 variables. Gender and age were entered as Level-2 variables in the models.

[2] When models were examined separately by message, results were consistent except racial barrier messages positively related to positive affect (b = 1.77, p < .001).

Daily Racial Socialization as a Moderator in the Associations between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Classroom Engagement and Disengagement

When examining daily classroom engagement, results indicated that there was a marginally significant main effect of self-worth messages on daily classroom engagement (b = 0.07, p = .06). There was also a significant interaction between daily racial discrimination and daily racial pride messages (b = 0.24, p = .03) predicting daily engagement. See Table 18[3]. I plotted this significant interaction and tested the significance of simple slopes to examine the nature of the interaction. Simple slopes analyses indicated that within the context of racial discrimination, when adolescents received a racial pride message they reported higher classroom engagement compared to adolescents who did not receive a racial pride message (p = .02). When discrimination was not experienced, whether an adolescent received a racial pride message or not did not significantly change adolescents' engagement level (p = .97). Figure 1 displays the interaction effect. There were no other significant main effects of racial socialization messages or discrimination and no significant interactions predicting daily classroom disengagement. See Table 19.

Daily Racial Socialization as a Moderator in the Associations between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Positive and Negative Affect

[3] When models were examined separately by message, self-worth related to engagement (b = 0.09, p = .01), racial pride marginally related to engagement (b = 0.07, p = .05), discrimination negatively related to engagement when in the model with racial pride (b = -0.11, p = .03), and the racial pride X discrimination interaction became non-significant (b = 0.21, p = .08).

When examining positive affect as an outcome, results indicated that there was a significant main effect of self-worth messages (b = 2.61, p < .001) and marginally significant main effects of racial discrimination (b = 1.24, p = .06) and racial pride (b = 1.02, p = .05). There was also a significant interaction between racial discrimination and self-worth messages (b = -2.69, p = .04) in predicting positive affect. See Table 20[4]. Simple slopes analyses indicated that within the context of racial discrimination, adolescents' positive affect was not impacted based on whether they received a self-worth message (p = .97); however, when racial discrimination was not experienced, adolescents who received a self-worth message reported higher positive affect compared to adolescents who did not receive a self-worth message (p < .001). Figure 2 displays the interaction effect.

Next, I examined whether racial socialization moderated the relations between racial discrimination and negative affect. Results indicated that self-worth messages negatively related to negative affect (b = -1.32, p < .001). Racial discrimination, racial pride, racial barrier, and the interactions did not relate to daily negative affect in this model. See Table 21.

Racial Identity as a Moderator in the Associations between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Academic and Psychological Outcomes

My next research question examines whether aspects of racial identity moderates the relationships between daily racial discrimination and daily classroom engagement and

[4] When models were examined separately by message, the self-worth X discrimination interaction became marginal (b = -2.38, p = .06), racial discrimination positively related to positive affect with self-worth message in the model (b = 1.43, p = .02), racial pride related to positive affect more strongly (b = 2.37, p < .001), and racial barrier messages related to positive affect (b = 1.92, p < .001).

disengagement and positive and negative affect. To examine this, I examined four HLM models, one per outcome. For each model, the outcome and racial discrimination were entered as Level-1 variables and private and public regard were entered as Level-2 variables. Because they were continuous predictors, private and public regard were centered prior to entering them in the models to increase interpretability of findings (Aiken & West, 1991). I also included two cross-level interactions between the two racial identity sub dimensions and racial discrimination. The day, the previous day's outcome, gender, and age were controlled for in the models.

Racial Identity as a Moderator in the Associations between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Classroom Engagement and Disengagement

Results indicated that there was a significant interaction between daily racial discrimination and private regard in predicting daily classroom engagement (b = -0.14, p = .01). See Table 22. I probed the significant interaction for lower (-1 *SD* below the centered mean) and higher (+1 *SD* above the centered mean) levels of private regard. Simple slope calculations indicated that adolescents with higher private regard had higher engagement when they did not experience discrimination ($p < .01$). Within the context of discrimination, adolescents who were lower in private regard reported higher engagement compared to those higher in private regard ($p < .05$). See Figure 3.

When examining daily classroom disengagement, there was a significant negative main effect of private regard (b = -0.07, p = .01) but public regard, discrimination, and the interactions between discrimination and racial identity were non-significant. See Table 23.

Racial Identity as a Moderator in the Associations between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Positive and Negative Affect

Results indicated that when predicting daily positive affect, there were no significant main effects of discrimination or racial identity or significant interactions. See Table 24. When

examining the model predicting daily negative affect, there was a significant positive main effect of racial discrimination (b = 1.08, p = .03). However, racial identity and the interactions in the model were unrelated to daily negative affect. See Table 25.

Racial Identity as a Moderator in the Associations between Daily Racial Socialization and Daily Academic and Psychological Outcomes

My last research question asks whether racial identity plays a moderating role in the relations between daily racial socialization and daily engagement and disengagement and daily affect. I examined this in four HLM models, one per outcome. I examined models that included the outcome of interest, self-worth, racial pride, racial barrier messages, the day, and previous day's outcome as Level-1 variables. Private regard, public regard, gender, and age were included as Level-2 variables as well as six cross-level interactions between each racial socialization message and private and public regard. Private and public regard were centered around the mean prior to including them in the models.

Racial Identity as a Moderator in the Associations between Daily Racial Socialization and Daily Classroom Engagement and Disengagement

Results indicated that there was a marginally significant positive main effect of self-worth message on engagement (b = 0.08, p = .05). Racial pride, racial barrier, racial identity, and the interactions between racial socialization messages and racial identity were not related to daily engagement in the model. See Table 26[5].

When examining daily classroom disengagement as the outcome, results indicated that there was a significant negative main effect of private regard on classroom disengagement (b = -0.08, p =.01). Racial socialization messages, public regard, and the interactions between racial

[5] When models were examined separately by message results were consistent except that self-worth messages related to engagement more strongly (b = 0.10, p = .01) and racial pride positively related to engagement (b = 0.09, p = .01).

socialization messages and racial identity were not related to daily disengagement in the model. See Table 27.

Racial Identity as a Moderator in the Associations between Daily Racial Socialization and Daily Positive and Negative Affect

When examining racial identity as a moderator in the associations between daily racial socialization messages and daily positive affect, results indicated that there were significant positive main effects of private regard (b = 1.15, $p < .05$), self-worth (b = 2.32, $p < .001$), and racial pride (b = 1.10, $p < .05$) messages on positive affect. Public regard, racial barrier messages, and the interactions between socialization and racial identity were unrelated to daily positive affect. See Table 28[6].

When examining racial identity as a moderator in the associations between daily racial socialization messages and daily negative affect, results indicated that there was a significant negative main effect of self-worth messages (b = -1.20, $p < .001$) on negative affect. Racial pride, racial barrier, racial identity, and the interactions between racial socialization messages and racial identity were not related to daily negative affect in the model. See Table 29.

Control Variables

[6] When models were examined separately by message, results were consistent except that when racial pride was only in the model, private regard was not related to positive affect (b = 0.99, p=.09). When racial barrier messages was only in the model, racial barrier positively related to positive affect (b = 1.79, $p < .001$).

All of the aforementioned models included whether the day was a day of the week or a day on the weekend, the previous day's outcome, gender, and age as control variables. There were a few consistent associations between the control variables and the daily outcomes that are worth noting. The previous day's outcome was significantly positively related to the daily outcome in each model examined. Adolescents reported both more positive and negative affect on weekends. Adolescents who were younger in age consistently reported more classroom engagement than older adolescents. Lastly, some of the models indicated that boys reported more positive affect compared to girls

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

The Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) and resilience theory provided conceptual frameworks for the current dissertation. The PVEST enhances Bronfenbrenner's (1979) model by incorporating constructs salient for adolescents of color, namely racial discrimination (Spencer, 2006). PVEST argues that racial discrimination is a pervasive stressor that is linked to maladaptive developmental outcomes for youth of color. Additionally, the model articulates that although racial discrimination may be a pervasive stressor, many youth of color have support systems and identity beliefs that mitigate racial discrimination's negative effects. When adolescents encounter a risk factor but its negative effects are countered, buffered, or changed then adolescents are said to be resilient (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Mroczkowski & Sánchez, 2015). A central goal in the present study was to examine whether cultural resources and assets of racial socialization messages and racial identity functioned as resilience factors.

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine African American adolescents' daily race-related risk, promotive, and protective factors. Perceptions of racial discrimination were conceptualized to function as risk factors on adolescents' daily academic and psychological outcomes. Parental racial socialization messages were conceptualized in the current study as supportive cultural resources that may be promotive of positive outcomes and helpful in countering the effects of discrimination. Individual differences in adolescents' racial identity beliefs were conceptualized as cultural assets that also could allow adolescents to overcome risks

of discrimination. It was further conceptualized that when racial socialization and aspects of racial identity are viewed together, adolescents' positive outcomes may be enhanced. Specifically, in the dissertation I analyzed data from 164 African American adolescents who participated in a 21-day daily diary study to examine: 1) whether daily racial discrimination relates to daily classroom engagement and disengagement and positive and negative affect, 2) whether daily racial socialization messages relate to daily classroom engagement and affect, 3) whether daily racial socialization messages moderate the relationships between daily racial discrimination and daily engagement and affect, 4) whether racial identity moderates the relationships between daily racial discrimination and daily engagement and affect, and 5) whether racial identity moderates the relationships between daily racial socialization and daily engagement and affect.

Overall, this dissertation contributes conceptually and methodologically to our current understanding of the frequency and variation with which African American adolescents experience daily racial discrimination and racial socialization messages. Additionally, it contributes to the current understanding of how adolescents' daily race-related experiences relate to daily classroom engagement and psychological affect. Conceptually, the study explored whether daily racial socialization messages and adolescents' stable reports of racial identity functioned as cultural resilience factors in adolescents' daily contexts. The study offers methodological benefits by utilizing data that was assessed by a daily diary method. The daily diary method aligns with how researchers have traditionally discussed racial socialization and racial discrimination as normative experiences. Findings from the study suggest that self-worth messages and racial pride messages function in promotive ways on adolescents' daily engagement and positive affect. Private regard seems to function in promotive ways by relating

to less disengagement and as a risk factor in the context of discrimination. Taken together, my findings indicate that adolescents' cultural resources and assets are important factors in the ways adolescents behave and participate in their classrooms and play important roles in how adolescents feel emotionally. The findings have implications for parents, teachers, and researchers. Adults should be mindful of the racial messages they transmit to adolescents and findings suggest that messages that communicate worthiness, specialness, and pride in one's group are especially beneficial to adolescents. Researchers who study normative or process-oriented experiences can be further informed by this dissertation. The value of incorporating a data collection method that aligns with conceptualizations of normative experiences is a contribution of the current study.

In the present chapter, I first discuss the variation in adolescents' daily racial discrimination and daily racial socialization reporting. I then review my research questions and interpret the study's key findings within the broader literatures on African American racial discrimination, racial socialization, and racial identity. Furthermore, as this study is one of the first to examine the relations between adolescents' race-related experiences, racial identity, academic outcomes, and psychological outcomes daily, I will discuss how employing a daily diary method can contribute to the current literature. Finally, I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the limitations of the present study, directions for future research, implications of the study findings, and concluding thoughts.

Daily Racial Discrimination Reports

Despite the increase in research on discrimination experiences among adolescents, most research assesses retrospective reports of experiences, and little research examines the nature of youths' experiences in their day-to-day lives. In the current study, approximately 38% of the

sample (n= 63) reported experiencing racial discrimination at least once during the 21-day assessment period. On average, participants reported discrimination approximately 7% of the time during the study. The current study finds lower frequencies of daily racial discrimination reports compared to other daily diary studies with adults (Burrow & Ong, 2010; Ong et al., 2013) and with adolescents (Seaton & Douglass, 2014), but similar numbers compared to Hoggard et al.

Previous studies examining adults' daily discrimination may find higher frequencies of discrimination because adults are likely to have higher social cognitive skills compared to adolescents. Adults may have more experiences interacting with people of different races and may perceive more subtle forms of discrimination compared to adolescents. Adults also have more stable and formed racial identities than adolescents. Previous research suggests that those who view race as an important part of their self-concept and those who believe others view African Americans negatively are more prone to perceiving racial discrimination in their environments (Burrow & Ong, 2010; Sellers et al., 2006; Sellers & Shelton, 2003), thus, racial identity development may be a factor in the discrepancies between adults and adolescents' discrimination reports. Additionally, adults surveyed in previous studies with daily methods were African American doctoral students and graduates (e.g., Burrow & Ong, 2010). It could be that the context of higher education that these participants were in contributed to their more frequent reports of racial discrimination. Given the few studies that have examined racial discrimination experiences using a daily diary method and the smaller number of studies examining daily discrimination among adolescents, further investigation with different samples is warranted.

The most common types of racial discrimination adolescents reported experiencing in the current study was consistent with much of the microaggresion and daily racial hassles literature.

For instance, adolescents reported most commonly that someone treated them unfairly because they are Black. All of the most commonly reported types of discrimination experienced were items from the daily racial hassles scale. Adolescents reported far less school-based racial discrimination. The most frequently reported item from the school based measure was being treated dumb by a teacher (n = 16 incidents). This is consistent with some previous research that finds school-based racial discrimination to be reported less often compared to discrimination experienced in public places (Benner & Graham, 2013; Dotterer et al., 2009; Wong et al., 2003). The majority of adolescents in the sample did not report racial discrimination and of adolescents who did, the majority did not report literally daily discrimination. Nevertheless, there was a substantial portion of adolescents who did perceive discrimination during the 21 days. Although not a focal part of the study, it was surprising that there were no overall gender differences in daily racial discrimination reports given that in prior research with traditional discrimination measures African American boys report more experiences with discrimination compared to girls (Fischer, & Shaw, 1999; Richardson et al., 2015; Swanson, Cunningham, & Spencer, 2003). However, the current study's finding is consistent with Huynh and Fuligni's (2010) study who did not find gender differences in daily reports of racial discrimination, although they did find that boys reported more adult and peer discrimination when they used a traditional measure with the same sample. Thus, these discrepancies may be a function of differences in methods used to measure discrimination. Additionally, gender differences may be more apparent when discrimination is examined over longer periods of time. It could also be possible that there is gender variation in certain types of discriminatory experiences more likely to occur for girls than boys or vice versa (Chavous et al., 2008). For instance, African American boys and girls may experience different types of discrimination that are based on relevant gendered stereotypes.

Nevertheless, this study's examination of daily racial discrimination adds evidence to the literature that racial discrimination is something some adolescents have to deal with and overcome in their daily contexts.

Daily Racial Socialization Reports

Very little is currently known in the research literature about how adolescents experience daily racial socialization messages from parents. Although many scholars conceptualize racial socialization as a dynamic and daily process, research on its frequency, content, and relation to same day outcomes using daily diary techniques has been rare (Coard & Sellers, 2005). The current study aimed to help fill this gap in the current literature. Adolescents in the sample reported that they received self-worth messages most frequently (35 % of the study), followed by racial pride messages (23 %), and fewer racial barrier messages (14 %). This is consistent with what has been found with cross-sectional data with cultural socialization and messages emphasizes individual worth being reported more frequently than preparation for racial bias messages (Caughy et al., 2002; Hughes et al., 2006). I did not find gender or age differences in daily racial socialization reports as has been suggested by other researchers (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1997; McHale et al., 2006). However, other researchers have found no demographic differences in the frequency and content of racial socialization messages (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Scott, 2003). It could be possible that items designed to capture gendered racial messages would help clarify these mixed findings in the literature. For instance, gendered racial socialization items could assess parental messages related to the unique status, stereotypes, strengths, and challenges related to being a Black boy or Black girl, an approach which may have yielded differences. Future work might consider the

contexts in which boys' and girls' racial socialization may be similar and when they may be different when considering both race and gender.

Daily Racial Discrimination as a Risk Factor

My first primary research question examined whether daily racial discrimination related to daily classroom engagement and disengagement and daily positive and negative affect. I expected that daily racial discrimination would function as a risk factor and be related to lowered engagement, greater disengagement, lowered positive affect, and more negative affect. My hypothesis was partially supported. In models in which adolescents' racial identity was accounted, when adolescents reported racial discrimination, they reported more negative affect on the same day. This is consistent with previous cross-sectional research showing that experiences of everyday racial discrimination is linked with greater psychological distress, poorer mental health, and negative emotions (Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; Broudy et al., 2007; Greene et al., 2006; Jones, Lee, Gaskin, & Neblett, 2014; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). But, the current study demonstrates empirically daily associations that have been concluded and assumed in the prior work. Also, this finding parallels that of other research that has used a daily diary method and found a link between daily racial discrimination and negative affect and distress (Burrow & Ong, 2010; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Potochnick et al., 2012). Experiences in which individuals feel that they are being treated unfairly and negatively can produce stress. Some research shows that it is a unique type of stressor when unfair treatment is attributed to one's race and can produce negative feelings within the victim (Hoggard et al., 2012). Further, the insidious nature of everyday and subtle forms of racial bias and discrimination, or microaggressions has been suggested because they can often be explained away by those not affected, the perpetrator may not have acted in intentional ways, and the victim feels that her

identity is not valued (Sue, 2010). When individuals feel invalidated overtime, there may be cumulative negative impacts on individuals' health, similar if not worse to chronic stressors. Although racial discrimination was significantly related to negative affect in some models, discrimination was not related to engagement, disengagement, and positive affect. Nevertheless, daily discrimination may have unique implications for daily psychological negative affect in ways that may impact both psychological adjustment and school engagement over time, as suggested by prior cross-sectional and longitudinal research (e.g., Benner & Graham, 2013; Chavous et al., 2008; Neblett et al., 2006). But, the current results indicate that in the daily/short-term context, discrimination experiences mattered less to school engagement than youths' daily negative affect.

Daily Racial Socialization as a Cultural Resource

My next research question examined whether racial socialization messages related to daily classroom engagement and disengagement and daily positive and negative affect. I expected that self-worth and racial pride messages would function as cultural resources and be promotive of positive outcomes. I also expected that barrier messages would relate to more engagement; however, I expected that messages that made adolescents aware of discrimination against Blacks would likely be associated with more negative affect and less positive affect. My predictions were partially supported, in that self-worth and racial pride messages did show evidence of being promotive messages in the daily context. There was a consistent trend of self-worth messages on engagement such that when adolescents received a self-worth message they tended to report more engagement than usual on the same day. Self-worth significantly related to affect in the daily context, such that when adolescents received a self-worth message they reported more positive affect and less negative affect. These findings suggest the importance of

self-worth messages on adolescents' daily outcomes. The PVEST framework explains the appropriateness and criticalness of parents' racial socialization messages to their children during a critical period in their development in terms of their changing social experiences and their emerging racial identities. Parental messages that emphasize adolescents' worthiness and individual qualities and attributes may be especially helpful during a developmental time where adolescents are experiencing many potentially stressful changes. Adolescents may experience changes in their schools, peer groups, social roles, responsibilities, and identities. Adolescents also may experience less satisfaction with their body image and popularity in school compared to younger children and these experiences could be associated with more teasing and bullying from peers. Self-worth messages may help to remind adolescents that they are worthy and that they do have special qualities despite the internal upheaval they may experience. As self-worth messages are promotive of positive outcomes and negatively related to negative outcomes, they seem to allow adolescents to remain motivated and involved in classroom activities and to have greater well-being.

Racial pride messages were also promotive of positive affect. Adolescents may feel good when they hear about the successes and accomplishments of other Black people because it can signal to adolescents that they can have similar achievements. Negative stereotypes portraying African Americans as lazy, less intelligent, and criminal dominant U.S. society. Adolescents can see many of these portrayals in the media. However, when parents give messages that contradict negative stereotypes, adolescents may feel proud to be associated with such a group of people. Additionally, the fact that these messages are coming from parents could also signal to adolescents that their parents endorse these messages and have high and positive expectations for their children.

Racial barrier messages were unrelated to adolescents' daily outcomes in models in which the three racial socialization messages were included together. It could be that because the impact of messages on outcomes were examined together, self-worth and racial pride messages over-powered the impacts of barrier messages in these models. Also, because barrier messages deal with understanding discrimination they may be more adaptive over time on adolescents' outcomes as opposed to impacting outcomes during the same day. For example, being told that racism against Black people exists may not relate to adolescents' outcomes during the same day. However, if an adolescent is told this message repeatedly there may be a cumulative effect of this message over time. This may happen because the adolescent may need time to fully understand the meaning and significance of the message. Furthermore, the adolescent may need time to process what the message about an entire group of people actually means for his or her own life. It may take experiencing discrimination multiple times for the awareness of discrimination's existence to be an adaptive coping mechanism. Thus, it will be important to examine how racial barrier messages function using lagged analyses.

When racial socialization messages were examined in relation to daily outcomes individually, daily racial barrier messages positively related to daily positive affect. Although not in line with my expectations, this finding is interesting because it shows the promotive nature of daily racial barrier messages. It may be that with only racial barrier messages in the model, barrier messages' unique contribution can be seen on positive affect; whereas, with models including self-worth and racial pride, barrier messages' positive influence may have been washed out. There needs to be more examination of the particular contexts in which experiencing racial barrier messages are most adaptive for adolescents. Nonetheless, learning about racial discrimination may be indirectly related to more positive emotions via feeling a sense of pride.

For instance, although an adolescent is learning about the existence of discrimination through barrier messages, they still may feel a sense of pride when realizing how much their racial group has accomplished despite discrimination. Additionally, adolescents may experience positive emotions on the same day they received a racial barrier message because they could be realizing that the unfair treatment they experienced in the past may not have been because of something they did wrong. Instead, they may be developing a frame for understanding that the unfair and negative treatment they experienced in the past was due to something external to them, such as racial discrimination (Brown, 2008; Weiner, 2000).

Daily Socialization Moderates the Relationships between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Outcomes

My next research question examined whether racial socialization messages functioned as protective factors in the context of racial discrimination experiences. Social support can help alleviate negative feelings associated with perceiving discrimination (Brown & Bigler, 2005). Thus, I expected that self-worth and racial pride messages would not only be promotive of positive outcomes but also protective against negative outcomes associated with racial discrimination experiences. Specifically, I expected self-worth and pride messages to counteract or attenuate the negative effects of discrimination on outcomes. In these models, self-worth messages were similarly promotive, as highlighted in aforementioned findings. In these models, there was a positive trend of self-worth messages on engagement and self-worth messages related positively to positive affect and negatively to negative affect. Self-worth messages also moderated the relations between racial discrimination and positive affect. However, counter to predictions, this significant interaction did not reflect a protective model of resilience because results did not indicate that racial discrimination was a risk factor for less positive affect. Nevertheless, findings suggest self-worth messages acted in compensatory ways. Within the

context of racial discrimination, receiving a self-worth message was not related to adolescents' positive affect; however, when racial discrimination was not experienced, adolescents who received a self-worth message reported higher positive affect compared to adolescents who did not receive a self-worth message. The nature of this interaction shows the promotive function of self-worth messages on positive affect when racial discrimination is not experienced. It may be that in the context of discrimination, the presence of a self-worth message is not enough to bolster one's already positive emotions; but generally, self-worth messages are helpful to adolescents.

In the model with discrimination, there was a trend such that the presence of a racial pride message was related to more positive affect. Further, pride messages moderated the relations between daily racial discrimination and daily engagement. This finding demonstrated a protective model of resilience. Within the context of racial discrimination, when adolescents received a racial pride message they reported higher classroom engagement compared to adolescents who did not receive a racial pride message. Whereas, when adolescents did not experience discrimination, whether an adolescent received a pride message or not was unrelated to their level of engagement. This finding suggests the benefits of adolescents learning to be proud of their racial group's history. This type of cultural socialization provides developing adolescents with a historical context and possibly an understanding of the importance of education for the economic and social advancement of African Americans. Adolescents who may learn to see education and achievement as consistent with their racial group's values may be motivated to do well in school and display higher daily engagement. Furthermore, when experiencing racial discrimination, adolescents may be reminded of the racial bias African

Americans face and may be even more motivated to persist academically when racial stigma is experienced.

The current study results are consistent with previous research using cross-sectional data with similar measures of self-worth messages and classroom engagement with a different, but demographically similar sample of African American adolescents (Neblett et al., 2006). Although a compensatory model of resilience was found in previous research, the current study's findings are different from Neblett et al. (2006) and Dotterer et al. (2009) findings that did not find cultural socialization to moderate the associations between discrimination and academic engagement outcomes. These differences may reflect differences in method of measurements between the current study and previous studies that have relied on cross-sectional data. For instance, the method used in the current study reflects how the presence of pride messages changes the nature of the relationship between discrimination and engagement within the same day. This difference in level of analysis is important for researchers to consider. When discussing how pride messages serve as cultural resources daily, research may be benefited by incorporating a method that more closely aligns with a daily conceptualization.

Racial Identity Moderates the Relationships between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Outcomes

My fourth research question examined whether racial identity functioned in protective ways in the relationships between daily racial discrimination and daily engagement and affect. There was evidence that racial discrimination is a risk factor to increased negative affect. My hypothesis that higher private regard would be promotive of outcomes was partially supported. Adolescents with higher private regard reported less daily disengagement. The promotive nature of private regard on psychosocial outcomes has been found in previous research (Derlan & Umaña-Taylor, 2015). Additionally, there was a significant interaction between discrimination

and private regard on daily engagement. The nature of this interaction was counter to my hypothesis. I found that adolescents who had higher private regard were at increased risk of lower engagement in the context of discrimination. Instead of high private regard being protective, findings suggest that high private regard places adolescents at greater risk to lower engagement on the day when discrimination is experienced. Although this finding is counter to what I hypothesized, it is similar to other research that has found exacerbated negative effects among individuals for whom race was a central identity in the context of discrimination (Burrow & Ong, 2010; McCoy & Major, 2003). Adolescents with high private regard also may place more importance on their race, as these identity dimensions are often positively correlated. The finding also highlights the notion that racial identity may function as both a protective and risk factor in relation to adolescents' academic outcomes (Umaña -Taylor et al., 2012).

The present study's finding could reflect how racial identity functions on daily engagement, as opposed to how it functions overtime. For instance, in the moment that racial discrimination is experienced it is reasonable to expect that an individual who feels positively about his or her racial group membership would feel a threat to his or her sense of self. Although an individual with high private regard holds stable positive affective beliefs about being Black that does not mean that the person will not be negatively affected by racial discrimination. In fact, this findings suggests that those with higher private regard were more affected by it. A possible reason for this could be that an individual who has higher private regard may ruminate about the discriminatory event that happened to them throughout the day. Racial discrimination was related to positive and negative mood in some of the models examined. It could be that discrimination relates to daily engagement indirectly via adolescents' lowered mood. Overtime, feeling positively about being Black is likely adaptive because it could relate to adolescents

occupying particular social spaces in which they get the support that allows for their successful coping with discriminatory events. Nonetheless, during the specific day the discrimination took place, individuals who feel positively about being Black are at greater risk for lowered engagement.

Additionally, the congruence or consistency between individuals' beliefs and the racial undertones in their environments may be another reason for this finding (Byrd & Chavous, 2012). When adolescents who feel good about being Black perceive that others in their environments devalue Blackness it is reasonable to expect that this incongruence of beliefs would lead to less positive outcomes for the adolescents. Alternatively, when adolescents who do not feel positively about being Black encounter racial discrimination they may not be as negatively impacted because their beliefs may be more consistent with the feedback they are receiving from the individuals in their environments.

I did not find lower public regard to be a risk factor to lower affect, a promotive factor to engagement, nor a protective factor in the context of discrimination. This was surprising given scholars' theorizing and empirical work demonstrating that an awareness of racial discrimination against African Americans would be protective within the context of discrimination experiences (Chavous et al., 2003; Sellers et al., 2006; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; White-Johnson, 2012). There are several possible reasons why I did not find the predicted relationships. By far, most studies examining these relations have used cross-sectional assessments of discrimination and outcomes. It could be that how public regard functions daily and over longer periods of time differs. For instance, perhaps the protective value of low public regard found in previous work result from individuals engaging in effective coping strategies over longer periods of time that are not captured in a within-day time frame (Scott & House, 2005). Very little quantitative research has

examined how racial identity shapes the experience of daily discrimination among adolescents. However, several qualitative narratives do provide rich reports of how African American adolescents enact resilience by using their racial beliefs and attitudes to help them navigate racially challenging contexts (Ani, 2013; Archer-Banks & Behar-Horenstein, 2012; Carter, 2008; Marsh, Chaney, & Jones, 2012; O'Connor, 1997). Thus, perhaps quantitative survey data can be aided by qualitative methods to better capture the conditions and contexts under which racial identity can be protective for adolescents daily.

Additionally, adolescents' racial identities may not be as relevant in how racial discrimination impacts them during the same day. As seen with the current study's previous findings, racial socialization messages adolescents heard during the same day may be more relevant for how adolescents respond to discrimination in terms of their daily affect and engagement. Adolescents are still in the process of exploring and developing their racial identity beliefs (Phinney, 1990; Rivas-Drake, Seaton & Douglass, 2014). It could be that because adolescents' identities are not as stable as adults that they are not as relevant for adolescents' daily outcomes. However, parents' daily messages may be more salient for adolescents when reacting to discrimination experiences.

Racial Identity Moderates the Relationships between Daily Racial Socialization and Daily Outcomes

The study's last research question examines whether racial identity functioned along with racial socialization experiences in relation to adolescent outcomes. It was hypothesized that adolescents with higher private regard would show enhancements or boosts in their positive outcomes when they also experience self-worth, racial pride, or racial barrier messages. Also, I expected that adolescents with lower public regard would show boosts in their positive outcomes when they also experience self-worth or pride messages. These conceptualizations were based on

the notion that adolescents would have the most positive outcomes (more engagement and positive affect) when they had identities and received messages that give them both a positive sense of self and an awareness of racial discrimination against African Americans.

Results provided evidence that some of the predicted types of identities and messages were promotive of positive outcomes. There was a trend of daily self-worth messages predicting more daily engagement. Daily self-worth messages were related to less negative affect. Daily self-worth and pride messages predicted more positive affect. Additionally, adolescents with higher private regard reported lower disengagement and more positive affect daily. However, counter to predictions racial identity did not moderate any of the relationships between racial socialization messages and daily outcomes. As mentioned above, it could be that adolescents' racial identities are not as relevant to their daily affect and engagement because they are still developing, understanding, and exploring their racial identities. Few studies have examined how racial socialization messages and adolescents' racial identity beliefs function together. It would be important to further explore these relationships to better understand in what contexts particular combinations of identity beliefs and socialization messages would be most beneficial to adolescents.

These findings further support self-worth messages as an important promotive factor in adolescents' daily well-being. These findings inform current resilience research because it suggests more emphasis should be put in identifying and cultivating cultural resources for African American adolescents. Resilience theory highlights that external resources and supports can be powerful sources of change to help adolescents face risks and prevent negative outcomes (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). The current study provides evidence that the racial messages adolescents receive from parents are especially important. Some previous research also suggests

that the messages received from other adult figures, role models, and mentors are important in influencing adolescents' behaviors and developmental trajectories (Hurd, Sánchez, Zimmerman, & Caldwell, 2012). Thus, research on programs that cultivate positive relationships between adolescents and adult figures and socializing agents seem particularly fruitful.

Study Limitations

While the current study's findings provide some insight into the daily racial, academic, and psychological experiences among African American adolescents, several limitations should be noted. It is important to note that while previous day's engagement, disengagement, positive and negative affect were controlled in the analyses, relationships between racial socialization, racial discrimination, and outcomes were concurrent. Thus, causality cannot be determined. It will be important that future research examine these relationships using lagged analysis.

In order to make sure that I was not counting adolescents reports multiple times for the same discriminatory event in a day, I combined the racial hassles scale and school-based discrimination scale. As such, adolescents were operationalized as experiencing discrimination if they reported any one of the racial hassles or school-based discrimination items. I found that adolescents reported much more types of racial discrimination from the racial hassles scale items compared to the school-based discrimination items and this could potentially reflect differences in the structure for responding. For school-based items, adolescents had to make an attribution as to why they experienced negative or unfair treatment, whereas, the racial hassles items asked if an unfair event happened because of being Black. This difference in the responding structure could have dampened the reporting frequency of school-based racial discrimination (Brown, 2001). Examining these different questions (school-based and general daily discrimination) on the same responding scale in the future can help to ensure the most accurate reporting.

Another limitation of the current study is that I limited the number of racial socialization messages and racial identity dimensions to analyze. This helped the current study's analysis because it allowed me to focus on those messages and identity dimensions that most closely represented messages and aspects of identity that emphasize a positive understanding of oneself as a Black person and an awareness of discrimination and racial bias that Black people face. Nevertheless, adolescents receive other types of racial messages (e.g., messages emphasizing equality and messages emphasizing negative stereotypes of Blacks) and from other sources than solely parents. Also, racial socialization has been conceptualized as multi-dimensional (Lesane-Brown, 2006), thus, examining the patterns of messages adolescents receive from parents would be important. Although the current study took into account the presence of two other messages while examining the effect of one message on an outcome, future research could examine daily racial socialization cluster profiles to determine how particular configurations of racial socialization messages experienced within the same day influence the same day's outcomes. African American adolescents also vary in terms of the significance they place on race (i.e., racial centrality). Future work should take adolescents' centrality into account when examining how private regard and public regard may mitigate relations between discrimination, socialization, and outcomes. For instance, it may be that higher private regard and lower public regard function in more protective ways for adolescents who believe being Black is an important aspect of their identity compared to adolescents who do not.

Future Directions

The current study adds valuable information to the current literature on African American adolescents' daily race-related experiences. However, there are several next steps that can be taken to further this area of research. The current study examined how racial experiences of

discrimination and socialization relate to academic and psychological outcomes concurrently. Future research can examine how these racial experiences have longer lasting effects by examining these relations in lagged analyses. For instance, racial discrimination may not only be associated with same day negative affect, but could also be related to affect on the following day. This type of analysis would lend support to the hypothesis that the subjective experiences of daily stressors can exert continual influence on health and well-being over time (DeLongis, Folkman, & Lazarus, 1988). It is reasonable to expect that how long discrimination will be related to affect on subsequent days may depend on the nature and magnitude of the racial discrimination that was experienced as well as other individual differences. A lagged analysis could also examine the lasting positive effects of parental racial socialization, such as how self-worth messages experienced one day influence subsequent day's outcomes.

Another area of future research that I am excited to undertake is to examine racial barrier messages in more complex and nuanced ways. There have been mixed findings in the literature regarding how racial barrier messages relate to adolescent outcomes. It seems that too few and too many barrier messages could place adolescents at risk for more negative outcomes; however, a moderate amount could be the most optimal (Harris-Britt et al., 2007). In the future, I will examine this hypothesis in a challenge model of resilience (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). This could show that the association between racial barrier messages and outcomes is curvilinear.

Another area for future work would be to examine whether relationships between daily discrimination, socialization, identity, and outcomes vary as a function of adolescents' demographics. In the current study's analyses, I accounted for age and gender in the models thus; findings represent relationships to daily outcomes above the impact of age or gender. However, it will be informative to examine age and gender as moderators in the relations between

discrimination and outcomes and racial socialization messages and outcomes. It could be possible that parental messages matter more for younger adolescents in terms of their daily outcomes because parents may still be their primary source of socialization. Whereas, older adolescents begin to place importance on messages from peers and become more independent from parents. Alternatively, older adolescents cognitive skills are more developed compared to younger adolescents. This may allow them to understand and remember parents' racial socialization messages, especially when messages are subtle or implicit. Thus, parental messages may be more salient to older adolescents and function in stronger ways on their daily outcomes. Additionally, as adolescents get older they are likely to encounter individuals from other races and they also become better at perceiving social cues, making them more likely to perceive discrimination. If this is the case, parental messages may matter more for older adolescents when they are in the context of discrimination experiences.

It is reasonable to expect that the ways in which racial socialization and racial identity function as promotive and resilience factors may differ for boys and girls because previous research suggests that boys and girls experience differences in their treatments, social roles, discriminatory experiences, stereotypes, and socialization (Dubois, Burk-Braxton, Swenson, Tevendale, & Hardesty, 2002; Hill, 2002). In fact, some previous research has shown that the ways in which racial and ethnic identity functions as protective and risk factors on adolescents' academic outcomes varies by gender (Chavous et al., 2008; Mroczkowski & Sánchez, 2015; Richardson et al., 2015; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2012). It has been suggested that aspects of racial identity that emphasize connectedness and positivity towards one's racial group would have important academic implications for boys (Oyserman, Harrison, & Bybee, 2001). Thus, cultural resources and assets may be stronger resilience factors among boys. However, there have not

been empirical studies conducted that has examined gender variation in daily discrimination, daily socialization, and daily outcomes. The current literature will be aided by this work.

Additionally, examining differences among adolescents who occupy different contexts could inform when particular racial socialization messages and racial identity beliefs are most protective. Although not a focal part of the study, I did examine differences in racial discrimination reports by adolescent school district. Adolescents who attended schools that had greater populations of African American students reported the least discrimination. Surprisingly, adolescents attending schools that had a diverse student population reported the most discrimination, even when compared to schools with majority White populations. Some previous research has shown that whether ethnic identity relates to academic outcomes and buffers the negative effects of discrimination depends on school-level factors (Brown & Chu, 2012). Thus, it will be important that future research examine how cultural resources and assets influence daily academic and psychological outcomes differently among adolescents based on the racial composition of their proximal contexts.

Another area of future research that I am excited about is examining the context surrounding particular racial socialization. Racial socialization is often conceptualized as not occurring in isolation, but rather it occurs within a situational context in which the racial experiences of youth or parents during a particular day or moment lead to a discussion of race (Coard & Sellers, 2005; Hughes & Chen, 1999). The situational context of racial discrimination may ignite a conversation about race. For instance, an adolescent who perceives racial discrimination may come to his or her parent to discuss the incident and that could spark further racial socialization discussions. Also, a parent may experience discrimination in the workplace or in his or her neighborhood and bring the situation up to the adolescent and that could lead to

further racial socialization. By examining racial socialization at the level of the specific event or day, researchers can better understand what kinds of situational contexts may prompt racial socialization.

I would also like to explore how daily racial discrimination and socialization relate to other types of academic and social behaviors and how these relations function in specific contexts. A mixed-method study design in which quantitative daily surveys are complemented by qualitative interview data could provide a rich and informative examination of this. For instance, what behaviors follow racial discrimination experiences within and outside the academic context? What do adolescents do or say and what spaces do they occupy in order to cope successfully when discrimination has been experienced? This research could more closely examine the transactional nature of racial socialization by examining specifically how parents react and the kinds of racial socialization they give to adolescents following discrimination experiences. Having interview data where adolescents explain the nature and content of the racial socialization messages and racial socialization behaviors that help them the most in their academic success and psychological health would be informative. The current study did not find public regard to be protective in the context of discrimination. A mixed-method approach could reveal other racial and cultural assets African American adolescents have that help them to successfully understand and navigate experiences of racial discrimination.

Study Implications

This dissertation study has implications for those who care about the academic successes and psychological well-being of African American adolescents—their teachers, parents, and researchers. The study provides evidence that racial discrimination is experienced by some adolescents in their daily contexts. Although discrimination was reported less often on questions

asking explicitly about school instances, it has implications for adolescents' affect, which could have in-direct long-term effects on school engagement and productivity. There were some instances where adolescents did report that they experienced discrimination within the school context from teachers and peers. Given that the current study was only for 21 days and also given what we know from previous research about racial discrimination experienced by African American students from teachers, racial discrimination within schools is still an issue. Teachers should be aware of this type of devaluation some of their students face and as much as possible create an inclusive environment for all students. Previous research shows that when teachers value diverse classrooms and create environments in which cultural backgrounds can be freely discussed, students have more positive ethnic identities and perceive less peer discrimination (Brown & Chu, 2012).Teachers also can provide socialization that we know is associated with positive outcomes such as self-worth and racial pride messages. Often times many schools and teachers think it is best to take a color-blind approach with their students that de-emphasizes racial differences. This is done although there is more empirical research showing the benefits of a strong, positive sense of racial identity (Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña -Taylor, 2012; Spencer, Cunningham, & Swanson, 1995; Sellers et al., 2003). When students can feel validated and important and that their race and culture are valued and not diminished, then they are likely to have more engagement in school and more positive affect (Rivas-Drake, 2011). Some African American students perceived that teachers treated them as if they were dumb and attributed this treatment to their race. Often, research on discrimination within schools report that teachers hold lower expectations for their African American students (Fisher et al., 2000). Students can pick up on this unfairness or teacher's attitudes toward them even if the teacher has not blatantly discriminated against them (Russell, 2005). In these cases, it is important that parents intervene.

Parents may intervene to help their adolescents understand and cope with discrimination experienced by teachers, peers, and other adults. In a qualitative study with African American high school girls, researchers found that all their participants agreed that family and parental support were integral to their academic success and that managing their academic success became more challenging when family or parental support was lacking (Archer-Banks et al., 2012). In the current study, self-worth messages were related to the most optimal outcomes. When adolescents reported self-worth messages from parents they reported that they had more classroom engagement than usual, less disengagement than usual, more positive affect, and less negative affect during the same day. This shows the power of messages that emphasize adolescents' worth as individuals. When adolescents are told that they are valued, special, and important simply because of who they are as an individual, there are some positive effects on during the same day. Thus, socialization messages from parents that affirm positive racial identities and support youth when they experience racial discrimination can prevent them from internalizing such experiences in ways that lead to negative adjustment (Richardson et al., 2015).

Lastly, the current dissertation has some implications for researchers and the ways in which we study adolescents' experiences. Utilizing a daily diary method can allow researchers to capture normative experiences in a more ecologically valid way. This method allows for more accurate reporting compared to long retrospective measures because participants are not as susceptible to memory biases (Telzer & Fuligni, 2009). Both daily and long retrospective reports are important and they provide different types of valuable information. However, when researchers conceptualize phenomenon as daily and normative experiences or as processes then it is appropriate that the method corresponds to the conceptualization. Also, by measuring

outcomes that are also reported on a daily level, researchers can explain relationships more closely to how they actually play out in individuals' lives.

Conclusion

The present study was conducted to address the gaps in the extant literature with regard to African American adolescents' daily experiences with racial discrimination and racial socialization and their impacts on daily academic and psychological outcomes. Additionally, the study examined how adolescents enact resilience by including racial socialization and racial identity as moderators in models. The results of the present study overwhelmingly suggest that parental self-worth messages are important cultural resources for adolescents' daily engagement and psychological affect. Racial pride and racial barrier messages also serve as important promotive factors to positive outcomes. Within the context of racial discrimination, self-worth and pride messages demonstrate compensatory and protective roles respectively for daily outcomes. Given the high frequency of African American adults who report having experienced racial discrimination during their lifetime, cultural factors that can mitigate or compensate for discrimination early on in individuals' lifetimes may decrease the academic, psychological, and physical tolls of discrimination. Furthermore, this work reveals that private regard functions as promotive and risk factors for adolescents' daily academic and psychological outcomes. This is suggestive of the importance of parents' positive racial messages that emphasize an affirmed sense of self during a period of time where adolescents are still figuring out their racial identity beliefs and attitudes. It is encouraging that not only individual assets influence resilience, but also external resources serve as sources of support for adolescents in racially difficult contexts. Thus, despite potential risks and threats to adolescents' sense of self as a result of racial discrimination in society, African American adolescents have helpful resources. More research is

necessary to fully elucidate the various contexts and circumstances under which particular racial messages and racial identity beliefs can be helpful in adolescents' daily contexts. Nevertheless, the current dissertation provides new and foundational information for this work.

Table 1. Proportions and Confidence Intervals of Daily Racial Socialization Messages and Daily Racial Discrimination Over 21 Days.

Type of Message	Proportion	Lower Level (95%)	Upper Level (95%)
Self-worth	0.35	0.33	0.37
Racial Pride	0.23	0.21	0.25
Racial Barrier	0.14	0.13	0.16
Racial Discrimination	0.07	0.06	0.08

Table 2. Means, Ranges, and Standard Deviations for Racial Identity and Daily Outcome Variables.

Variable	**Range**	***Mean (SD)***
1. Private Regard	2-5	4.30 (0.76)
2. Public Regard	1-5	3.05 (0.95)
3. Daily Engagement	1-3	2.10 (0.40)
4. Daily Disengagement	1-3	1.81 (0.52)
5. Daily Positive Affect	2-40	24.20 (8.94)
6. Daily Negative Affect	4-45	13.12 (5.70)

Table 3. Gender, Age, Cohort, and Day Differences in Daily Self-worth Messages.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)					
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	**OR**	***p*-value**
Intercept	-1.93	0.38	160	0.15	<0.001
Gender (0=boy, 1=girl)	0.52	0.39	160	1.68	0.18
Age	-0.05	0.14	160	0.95	0.70
Cohort (0=2013, 1=2014)	1.19	0.43	160	3.29	0.01
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	0.21	0.14	3279	1.24	0.12
Final Estimation of Variance Components					
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**	
Intercept	2.25	5.07	1051.21	<0.001	

Table 4. Gender, Age, Cohort, and Day Differences in Daily Racial Pride Messages.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)					
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	**OR**	***p*-value**
Intercept	-2.37	0.37	160	0.09	<0.001
Gender (0=boy, 1=girl)	0.45	0.36	160	1.57	0.21
Age	-0.03	0.12	160	0.97	0.81
Cohort (0=2013, 1=2014)	0.28	0.40	160	1.32	0.49
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	0.29	0.13	3279	1.34	0.03
Final Estimation of Variance Components					
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**	
Intercept	2.04	4.15	1048.90	<0.001	

Table 5. Gender, Age, Cohort, and Day Differences in Daily Racial Barrier Messages.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)					
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	**OR**	***p*-value**
Intercept	-3.00	0.38	159	0.05	<0.001
Gender (0=boy, 1=girl)	0.17	0.34	159	1.18	0.62
Age	0.08	0.14	159	1.08	0.55
Cohort (0=2013, 1=2014)	0.35	0.40	159	1.41	0.39
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	0.42	0.18	3280	1.52	0.02
Final Estimation of Variance Components					
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**	
Intercept	1.76	3.11	894.86	<0.001	

Table 6. Gender, Age, Cohort, and Day Differences in Daily Racial Discrimination.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)					
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	**OR**	***p*-value**
Intercept	-4.47	0.44	160	0.01	<0.001
Gender (0=boy, 1=girl)	0.13	0.31	160	1.14	0.67
Age	-0.03	0.10	160	0.97	0.78
Cohort (0=2013, 1=2014)	-0.15	0.34	160	0.86	0.66
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	1.65	0.29	3279	5.18	<0.001
Final Estimation of Variance Components					
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**	
Intercept	1.42	2.01	542.34	<0.001	

Table 7. School District Differences in Daily Racial Discrimination.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)					
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	**OR**	***p*-value**
Intercept	-4.25	0.34	149	0.01	<0.001
District 3	0.85	0.40	149	2.34	0.03
District 2	-1.01	0.35	149	0.36	<0.01
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	1.62	0.30	3039	5.06	<0.001
Final Estimation of Variance Components					
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**	
Intercept	1.31	1.71	402.02	<0.001	

Reference category: District 1

Table 8. School District Differences in Daily Racial Discrimination.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)					
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	**OR**	***p*-value**
Intercept	-3.40	0.40	149	0.03	<0.001
District 2	-1.86	0.39	149	0.16	<0.001
District 1	-0.85	0.40	149	0.43	0.03
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	1.62	0.30	3039	5.06	<0.001
Final Estimation of Variance Components					
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**	
Intercept	1.31	1.71	402.02	<0.001	

Reference category: District 3

Table 9. School District Differences in Daily Racial Discrimination.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)					
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	**OR**	***p*-value**
Intercept	-5.26	0.35	149	0.01	<0.001
District 3	1.86	0.39	149	6.44	<0.001
District 1	1.01	0.35	149	2.75	<0.01
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	1.62	0.30	3039	5.06	<0.001
Final Estimation of Variance Components					
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**	
Intercept	1.31	1.71	402.02	<0.001	

Reference category: District 2

Table 10. The Association between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Classroom Engagement.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	2.61	0.39	148	<0.001
Racial Discrimination (0=experienced, 1=not experienced)	-0.05	0.05	3290	0.34
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	-0.51	0.39	3290	0.19
Previous Day's Engagement	0.31	0.05	3290	<0.001
Gender (0=boy, 1=girl)	0.01	0.03	148	0.74
Age	-0.03	0.01	148	0.02
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	0.17	0.03	430.54	<0.001
Level-1	0.31	0.09		

Table 11. The Association between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Classroom Disengagement.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	2.63	0.20	148	<0.001
Racial Discrimination (0=experienced, 1=not experienced)	0.10	0.06	3290	0.12
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	-0.86	0.20	3290	<0.001
Previous Day's Disengagement	0.24	0.04	3290	<0.001
Gender (0=boy, 1=girl)	0.08	0.04	148	0.07
Age	0.01	0.01	148	0.57
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	0.17	0.03	288.92	<0.001
Level-1	0.45	0.20		

Table 12. The Association between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Positive Affect.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	24.27	0.66	152	<0.001
Racial Discrimination (0=experienced, 1=not experienced)	0.56	0.53	3286	0.29
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	0.87	0.25	3286	<0.001
Previous Day's Positive Affect	0.22	0.04	3286	<0.001
Gender (0=boy, 1=girl)	-1.36	0.91	152	0.14
Age	-0.09	0.28	152	0.75
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	5.62	31.62	2638.43	<0.001
Level-1	5.12	26.17		

Table 13. The Association between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Negative Affect.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	12.68	0.53	152	<0.001
Racial Discrimination (0=experienced, 1=not experienced)	0.99	0.52	3286	0.06
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	0.37	0.20	3286	0.06
Previous Day's Negative Affect	0.09	0.03	3286	0.01
Gender (0=boy, 1=girl)	0.01	0.03	148	0.74
Age	-0.03	0.01	148	0.02
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	3.92	15.35	2266.86	<0.001
Level-1	3.74	13.97		

Table 14. The Association between Daily Racial Socialization Messages and Daily Classroom Engagement.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	2.59	0.39	148	<0.001
Self-worth (0=received, 1=not received)	0.08	0.04	3288	0.05
Racial Pride (0=received, 1=not received)	0.04	0.04	3288	0.36
Racial Barrier (0=received, 1=not received)	0.02	0.05	3288	0.66
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	-0.53	0.39	3288	0.18
Previous Day's Engagement	0.31	0.05	3288	<0.001
Gender (0=boy, 1=girl)	0.01	0.03	148	0.87
Age	-0.03	0.01	148	0.02
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	0.15	0.02	381.78	<0.001
Level-1	0.31	0.09		

Table 15. The Association between Daily Racial Socialization Messages and Daily Classroom Disengagement.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	2.62	0.20	148	<0.001
Self-worth (0=received, 1=not received)	-0.04	0.05	3288	0.34
Racial Pride (0=received, 1=not received)	0.03	0.05	3288	0.58
Racial Barrier (0=received, 1=not received)	0.07	0.06	3288	0.29
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	-0.84	0.19	3288	<0.001
Previous Day's Disengagement	0.22	0.04	3288	<0.001
Gender (0=boy, 1=girl)	0.09	0.04	148	0.06
Age	0.01	0.01	148	0.66
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	0.19	0.04	320.06	<0.001
Level-1	0.44	0.20		

Table 16**.** The Association between Daily Racial Socialization Messages and Daily Positive Affect

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	23.26	0.62	152	<0.001
Self-worth (0=received, 1=not received)	2.36	0.50	3284	<0.001
Racial Pride (0=received, 1=not received)	1.11	0.46	3284	0.02
Racial Barrier (0=received, 1=not received)	0.58	0.54	3284	0.29
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	0.87	0.26	3284	<0.001
Previous Day's Positive Affect	0.22	0.04	3284	<0.001
Gender (0=boy, 1=girl)	-1.70	0.82	152	0.04
Age	-0.02	0.25	152	0.93
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	5.06	25.58	2140.69	<0.001
Level-1	5.08	25.77		

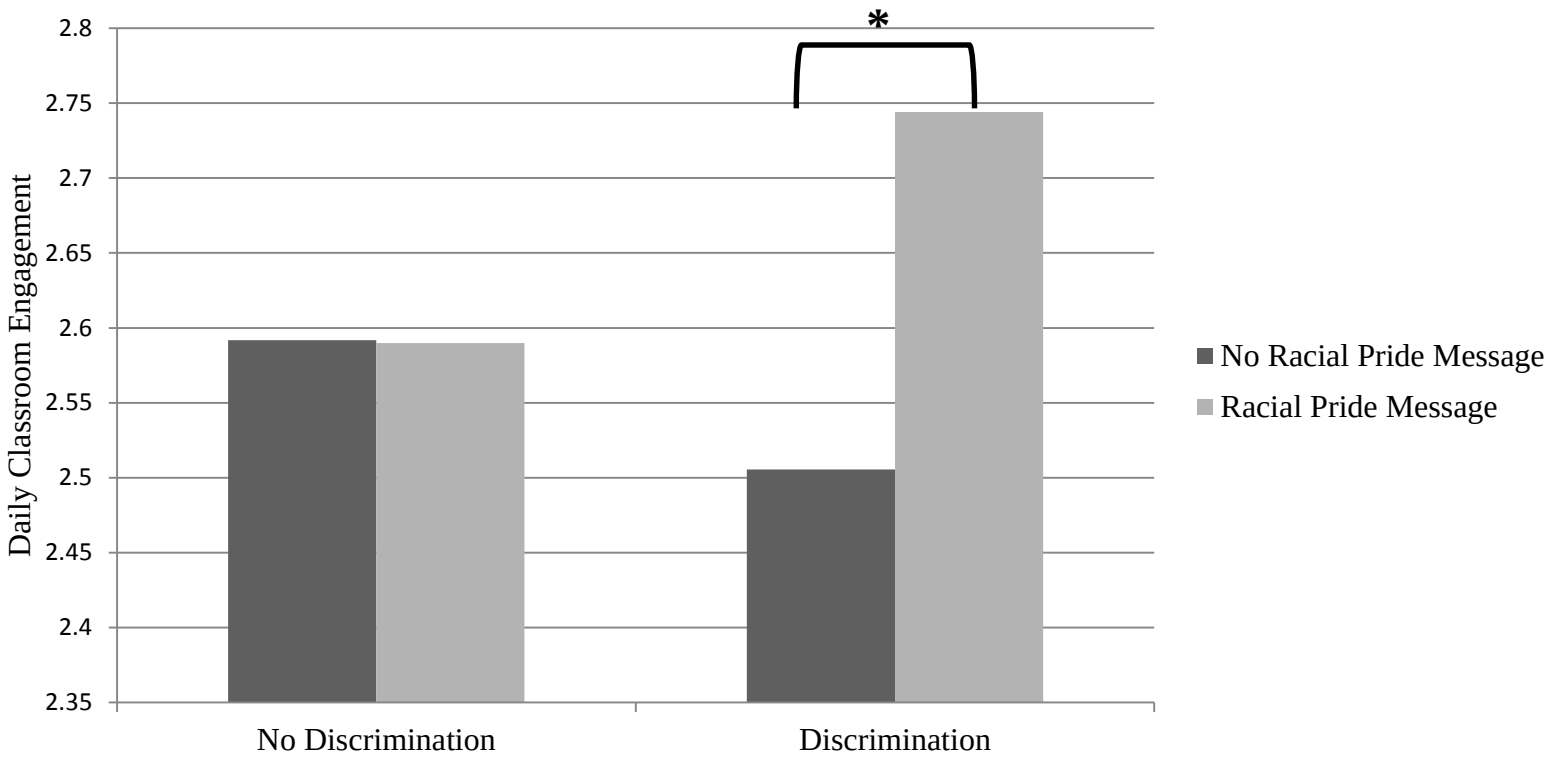
Table 17. The Association between Daily Racial Socialization Messages and Daily Negative Affect

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	12.94	0.54	152	<0.001
Self-worth (0=received, 1=not received)	-1.17	0.33	3284	<0.001
Racial Pride (0=received, 1=not received)	0.14	0.39	3284	0.73
Racial Barrier (0=received, 1=not received)	0.51	0.55	3284	0.35
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	0.45	0.21	3284	0.03
Previous Day's Negative Affect	0.09	0.04	3284	0.01
Gender (0=boy, 1=girl)	0.39	0.66	152	0.56
Age	0.14	0.23	152	0.55
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	3.92	15.38	2224.48	<0.001
Level-1	3.72	13.84		

Table 18. Daily Racial Socialization Moderating the Association between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Classroom Engagement

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	2.59	0.39	148	<0.001
Racial Discrimination (0=experienced, 1=not experienced)	-0.09	0.06	3284	0.12
Self-worth (0=received, 1=not received)	0.07	0.04	3284	0.06
Racial Pride (0=received, 1=not received)	-0.00	0.05	3284	0.97
Racial Barrier (0=received, 1=not received)	0.07	0.06	3284	0.25
Racial Discrimination X Self-worth	0.06	0.11	3284	0.57
Racial Discrimination X Racial Pride	0.24	0.11	3284	0.03
Racial Discrimination X Racial Barrier	-0.20	0.11	3284	0.07
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	-0.52	0.39	3284	0.18
Previous Day's Engagement	0.30	0.05	3284	<0.001
Gender	0.00	0.03	148	0.95
Age	-0.03	0.01	148	0.01
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	0.15	0.02	383.48	<0.001
Level-1	0.31	0.09		

Figure 1. Daily Racial Pride Message Moderates the Relationship between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Classroom Engagement.



Note: *p<.05

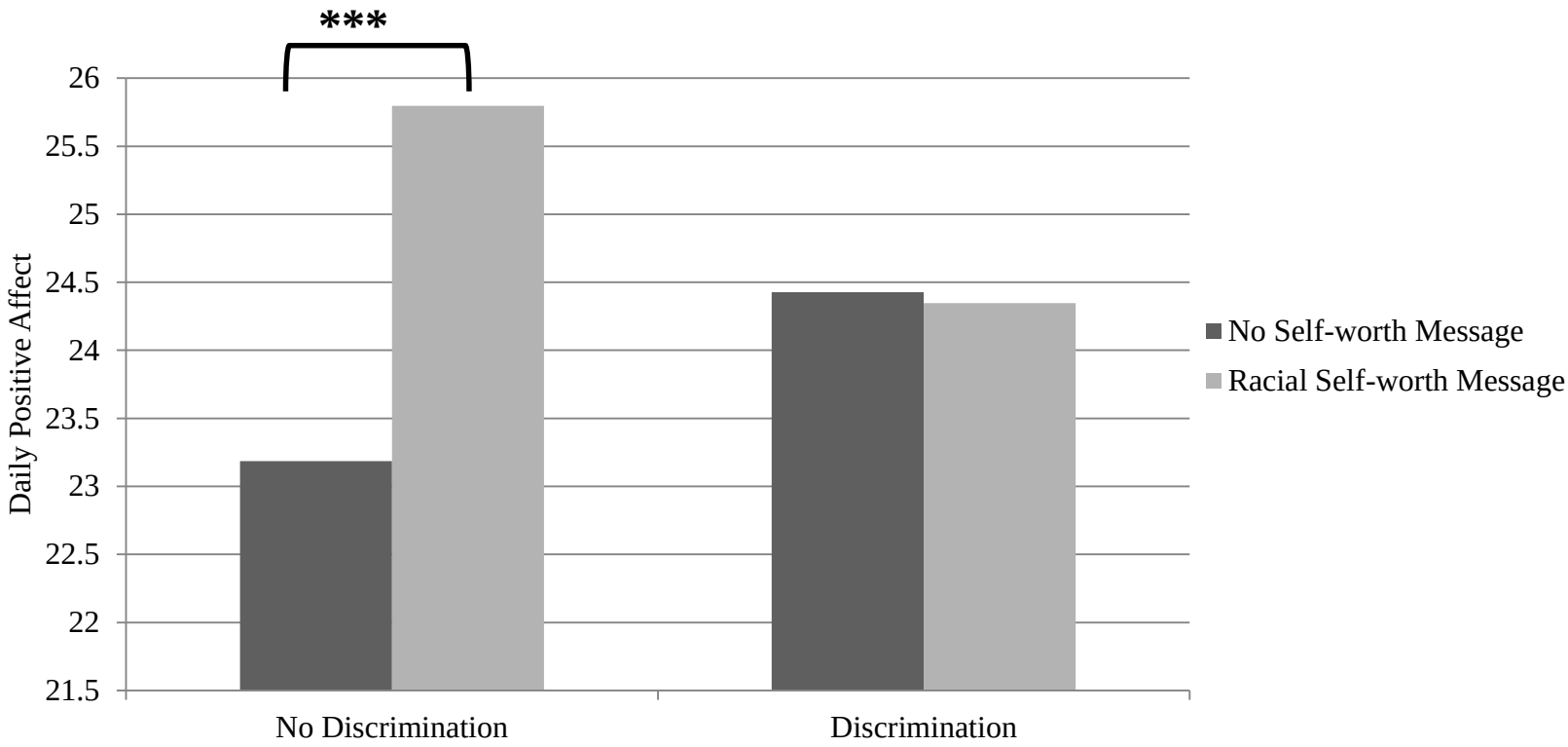
Table 19. Daily Racial Socialization Moderating the Association between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Classroom Disengagement

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	2.62	0.20	148	<0.001
Racial Discrimination (0=experienced, 1=not experienced)	0.00	0.08	3284	0.98
Self-worth (0=received, 1=not received)	-0.04	0.05	3284	0.43
Racial Pride (0=received, 1=not received)	-0.04	0.06	3284	0.55
Racial Barrier (0=received, 1=not received)	0.03	0.07	3284	0.64
Racial Discrimination X Self-worth	-0.06	0.20	3284	0.78
Racial Discrimination X Racial Pride	0.16	0.18	3284	0.37
Racial Discrimination X Racial Barrier	0.18	0.21	3284	0.39
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	-0.84	0.19	3284	<0.001
Previous Day's Disengagement	0.22	0.04	3284	<0.001
Gender	0.08	0.04	148	0.07
Age	0.01	0.01	148	0.63
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	0.19	0.03	313.31	<0.001
Level-1	0.44	0.20		

Table 20. Daily Racial Socialization Moderating the Association between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Positive Affect.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	23.19	0.61	152	<0.001
Racial Discrimination (0=experienced, 1=not experienced)	1.24	0.67	3280	0.06
Self-worth (0=received, 1=not received)	2.61	0.53	3280	<0.001
Racial Pride (0=received, 1=not received)	1.02	0.52	3280	0.05
Racial Barrier (0=received, 1=not received)	0.64	0.59	3280	0.28
Racial Discrimination X Self-worth	-2.69	1.31	3280	0.04
Racial Discrimination X Racial Pride	0.74	1.26	3280	0.56
Racial Discrimination X Racial Barrier	-0.24	1.25	3280	0.85
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	0.84	0.26	3280	0.001
Previous Day's Positive Affect	0.22	0.04	3280	<0.001
Gender	-1.71	0.82	152	0.04
Age	-0.03	0.25	152	0.92
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	5.04	25.40	2120.88	<0.001
Level-1	5.07	25.74		

Figure 2. Daily Self-worth Message Moderates the Relationship between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Positive Affect.



Note: ****p*<.001

Table 21. Daily Racial Socialization Moderating the Association between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Negative Affect.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	12.97	0.54	152	<0.001
Racial Discrimination (0=experienced, 1=not experienced)	0.28	0.61	3280	0.65
Self-worth (0=received, 1=not received)	-1.32	0.34	3280	<0.001
Racial Pride (0=received, 1=not received)	0.11	0.38	3280	0.78
Racial Barrier (0=received, 1=not received)	0.42	0.57	3280	0.46
Racial Discrimination X Self-worth	2.16	1.69	3280	0.20
Racial Discrimination X Racial Pride	0.29	1.58	3280	0.86
Racial Discrimination X Racial Barrier	-0.27	1.24	3280	0.83
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	0.40	0.21	3280	0.06
Previous Day's Negative Affect	0.09	0.04	3280	0.01
Gender	0.37	0.65	152	0.57
Age	0.15	0.22	152	0.49
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	3.84	14.71	2153.94	<0.001
Level-1	3.72	13.81		

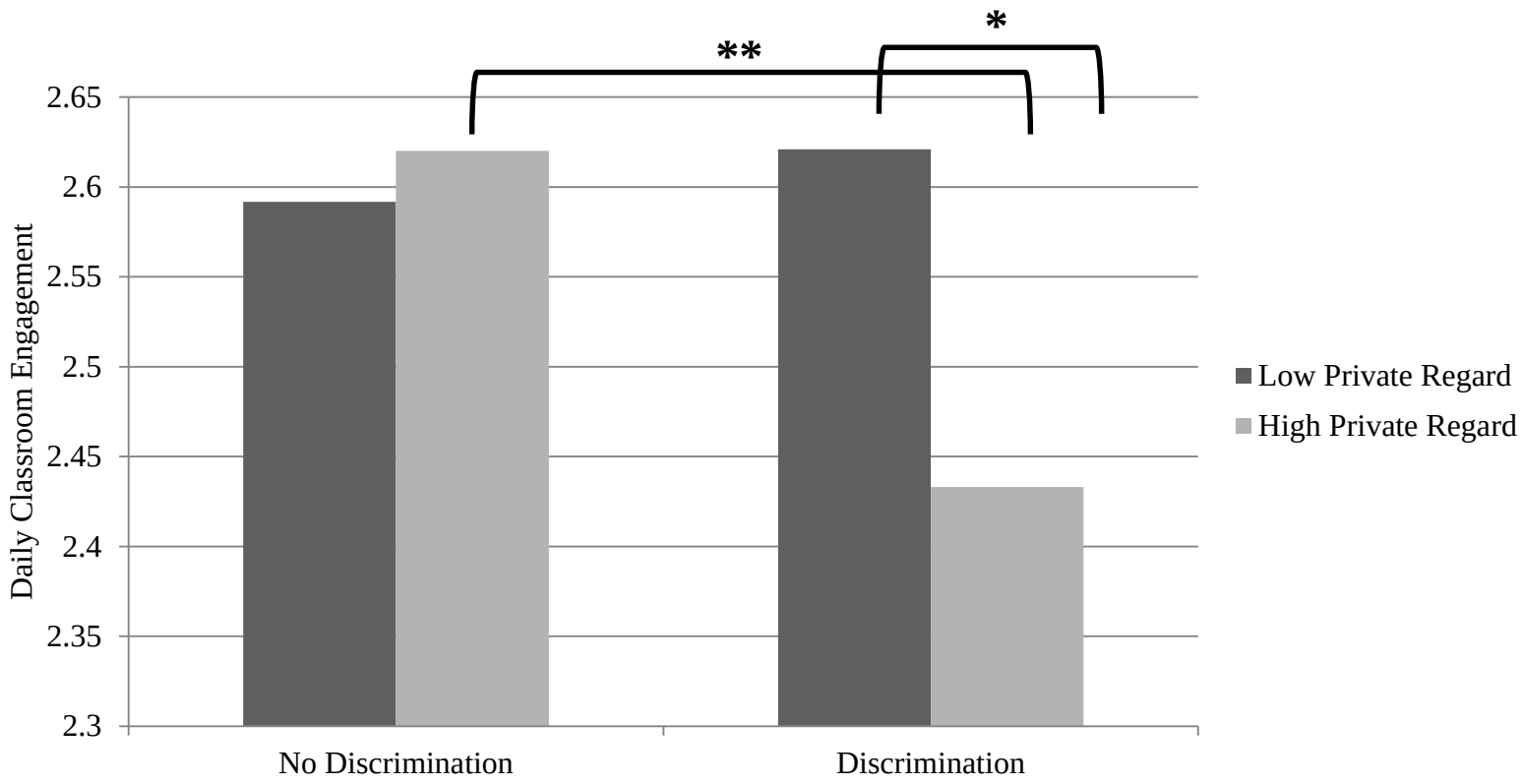
Table 22. Racial Identity Moderating the Association between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Classroom Engagement.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	2.61	0.38	146	<0.001
Racial Discrimination (0=received, 1=not received)	-0.08	0.05	3288	0.10
Private Regard	0.02	0.02	146	0.44
Public Regard	0.02	0.02	146	0.39
Discrimination X Private Regard	-0.14	0.05	3288	0.01
Discrimination X Public Regard	-0.06	0.04	3288	0.12
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	-0.51	0.38	3288	0.18
Previous Day's Engagement	0.30	0.05	3288	<0.001
Gender	0.02	0.03	146	0.60
Age	-0.03	0.01	146	0.02
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	0.17	0.03	436.93	<0.001
Level-1	0.30	0.09		

Table 23. Racial Identity Moderating the Association between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Classroom Disengagement.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	2.61	0.23	146	<0.001
Racial Discrimination (0=received, 1=not received)	0.08	0.06	3288	0.21
Private Regard	-0.07	0.03	146	0.01
Public Regard	-0.02	0.02	146	0.35
Discrimination X Private Regard	-0.01	0.07	3288	0.91
Discrimination X Public Regard	0.01	0.06	3288	0.91
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	-0.84	0.22	3288	<0.001
Previous Day's Disengagement	0.23	0.04	3288	<0.001
Gender	0.08	0.04	146	0.07
Age	0.00	0.01	146	0.95
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	0.17	0.03	291.68	<0.001
Level-1	0.44	0.20		

Figure 3. Private Regard Moderates the Relationship between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Classroom Engagement.



Note: *p<.05, **p<.01

Table 24. Racial Identity Moderating the Association between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Positive Affect.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	24.29	0.67	150	<0.001
Racial Discrimination (0=received, 1=not received)	0.63	0.59	3284	0.28
Private Regard	1.07	0.61	150	0.08
Public Regard	0.07	0.51	150	0.89
Discrimination X Private Regard	0.24	0.56	3284	0.67
Discrimination X Public Regard	-0.04	0.48	3284	0.93
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	0.86	0.25	3284	<0.001
Previous Day's Positive Affect	0.22	0.04	3284	<0.001
Gender	-1.41	0.90	150	0.12
Age	-0.00	0.29	150	1.00
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	5.61	31.46	2575.35	<0.001
Level-1	5.12	26.19		

Table 25. Racial Identity Moderating the Association between Daily Racial Discrimination and Daily Negative Affect.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	12.72	0.53	150	<0.001
Racial Discrimination (0=received, 1=not received)	1.08	0.50	3284	0.03
Private Regard	-0.58	0.56	150	0.30
Public Regard	-0.41	0.39	150	0.29
Discrimination X Private Regard	0.64	0.62	3284	0.30
Discrimination X Public Regard	0.09	0.45	3284	0.85
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	0.38	0.20	3284	0.06
Previous Day's Negative Affect	0.09	0.03	3284	0.01
Gender	0.22	0.68	150	0.75
Age	0.11	0.22	150	0.61
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	3.93	15.46	2271.10	<0.001
Level-1	3.74	13.96		

Table 26. Racial Identity Moderating the Association between Daily Racial Socialization and Daily Classroom Engagement.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	2.58	0.39	146	<0.001
Private Regard	0.00	0.02	146	0.97
Public Regard	0.02	0.02	146	0.41
Self-worth (0=received, 1=not received)	0.08	0.04	3282	0.05
Racial Pride (0=received, 1=not received)	0.04	0.04	3282	0.39
Racial Barrier (0=received, 1=not received)	0.03	0.05	3282	0.63
Self-worth X Private Regard	-0.00	0.05	3282	0.94
Self-worth X Public Regard	-0.03	0.03	3282	0.42
Racial Pride X Private Regard	0.01	0.06	3282	0.88
Racial Pride X Public Regard	-0.00	0.05	3282	0.95
Racial Barrier X Private Regard	-0.01	0.08	3282	0.89
Racial Barrier X Public Regard	0.03	0.05	3282	0.63
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	-0.53	0.39	3282	0.17
Previous Day's Engagement	0.30	0.05	3282	<0.001
Gender	0.01	0.03	146	0.79
Age	-0.03	0.01	146	0.02
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	0.16	0.03	388.10	<0.001
Level-1	0.31	0.09		

Table 27. Racial Identity Moderating the Association between Daily Racial Socialization and Daily Classroom Disengagement.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	2.60	0.22	146	<0.001
Private Regard	-0.08	0.03	146	0.01
Public Regard	-0.03	0.03	146	0.36
Self-worth (0=received, 1=not received)	-0.04	0.05	3282	0.35
Racial Pride (0=received, 1=not received)	-0.02	0.05	3282	0.67
Racial Barrier (0=received, 1=not received)	0.07	0.06	3282	0.24
Self-worth X Private Regard	0.06	0.07	3282	0.43
Self-worth X Public Regard	-0.00	0.05	3282	0.97
Racial Pride X Private Regard	-0.04	0.09	3282	0.63
Racial Pride X Public Regard	-0.02	0.05	3282	0.70
Racial Barrier X Private Regard	-0.02	0.08	3282	0.82
Racial Barrier X Public Regard	0.05	0.06	3282	0.40
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	-0.82	0.22	3282	<0.001
Previous Day's Disengagement	0.21	0.04	3282	<0.001
Gender	0.08	0.04	146	0.06
Age	-0.00	0.01	146	0.97
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	0.19	0.04	321.25	<0.001
Level-1	0.44	0.19		

Table 28. Racial Identity Moderating the Association between Daily Racial Socialization and Daily Positive Affect.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	23.23	0.62	150	<0.001
Private Regard	1.15	0.56	150	0.04
Public Regard	-0.20	0.52	150	0.69
Self-worth (0=received, 1=not received)	2.32	0.51	3278	<0.001
Racial Pride (0=received, 1=not received)	1.10	0.49	3278	0.03
Racial Barrier (0=received, 1=not received)	0.51	0.52	3278	0.33
Self-worth X Private Regard	-1.13	0.81	3278	0.16
Self-worth X Public Regard	0.81	0.48	3278	0.09
Racial Pride X Private Regard	1.08	0.81	3278	0.18
Racial Pride X Public Regard	-0.73	0.45	3278	0.10
Racial Barrier X Private Regard	-0.51	0.76	3278	0.50
Racial Barrier X Public Regard	0.81	0.46	3278	0.08
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	0.90	0.25	3278	<0.001
Previous Day's Positive Affect	0.22	0.04	3278	<0.001
Gender	-1.66	0.82	150	0.04
Age	0.03	0.26	150	0.92
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	5.03	25.30	2078.82	<0.001
Level-1	5.07	25.73		

Table 29. Racial Identity Moderating the Association between Daily Racial Socialization and Daily Negative Affect.

Final Estimation of Fixed Effects (Unit-specific model with robust standard errors)				
Fixed Effect	***b***	***S.E.***	***d.f.***	***p*-value**
Intercept	12.98	0.54	150	<0.001
Private Regard	-0.36	0.53	150	0.50
Public Regard	-0.35	0.44	150	0.43
Self-worth (0=received, 1=not received)	-1.20	0.36	3278	<0.001
Racial Pride (0=received, 1=not received)	0.28	0.46	3278	0.55
Racial Barrier (0=received, 1=not received)	0.50	0.55	3278	0.36
Self-worth X Private Regard	0.23	0.53	3278	0.66
Self-worth X Public Regard	-0.34	0.42	3278	0.42
Racial Pride X Private Regard	-1.21	0.70	3278	0.08
Racial Pride X Public Regard	0.16	0.46	3278	0.72
Racial Barrier X Private Regard	0.33	0.69	3278	0.63
Racial Barrier X Public Regard	0.29	0.39	3278	0.46
Day (0=weekend, 1=weekday)	0.44	0.21	3278	0.03
Previous Day's Negative Affect	0.09	0.04	3278	0.01
Gender	0.37	0.66	150	0.57
Age	0.05	0.22	150	0.81
Final Estimation of Variance Components				
Random Effect	***S.D.***	**Variance Component**	X^2	***p*-value**
Intercept	3.88	15.09	2182.90	<0.001
Level-1	3.72	13.84		

Appendix A: Racial Identity Measure

Instructions: People have many different beliefs and feelings about race. We are interested in your beliefs and feelings. Please read the statements below and choose the response that most closely represents how you feel. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers to these questions, and all of your responses are confidential. Choose how you feel:

Response scale: (1) Really disagree, (2) Kind of disagree, (3) Neutral, (4) Kind of agree, (5) Really agree.

Private Regard Items
1. I am happy that I am Black.
2. I am proud to be Black.
3. I feel good about Black people.

Public Regard Items
1. Most people think that Blacks are as smart as people from other races.
2. People think that Blacks are as good as people from other races.
3. People from other races think that Blacks have made important contributions.

Appendix B: Racial Socialization Measure

Instructions: For the following questions, indicate if your Target Parent/Guardian, Target Parent, and/or another adult have discussed with you today about race and what it means to be Black. Please choose the appropriate response for each question.

Response Scale: (1) Yes, Target Parent, (2) Yes, another adult, (3) Yes, Target Parent and another adult, (4) No.

Self-Worth Message
Did Target Parent or another adult tell you that you are somebody special today?

Racial Pride Message
Today, did Target Parent or another adult tell you that you should be proud to be Black?

Racial Barrier Message
Today, did Target Parent or another adult tell you that racism against Black people still exists?

Appendix C: School-Based Racial Discrimination and Racial Hassles Measures

Instructions: The following questions ask about events that may have occurred and the experiences that you may have had in school today. Please choose the response that most closely represents how you feel.

Response Scale: (1) Yes, (2) No.

Event Items

1. Did you get into a fight in school today?
2. Did you get kicked out of class today?
3. Were you punished more harshly than someone else today?
4. Did your teacher treat you like you are dumb today?
5. Did you get left out of particular school activities today?
6. Did kids you wanted to hang out with not hang out with you today?

Attribution Item (followed after every event responded to by 'Yes'

1. I think this happened because of…

Attribution Item Response Scale: (1) My race, (2) My gender, (3) My personality, (4) I deserved it, (5) Coincidence/by chance/just my luck, (6) Another reason.

Racial Hassles Measure

Instructions: The following questions ask about incidents that you experienced today. Please choose the best answer.

Response Scale: (1) Yes, (2) No.

Items

1. Today, did someone of a different race call you a racist's name?
2. Today, did someone hit or attack you because you are Black?
3. Today, did someone ignore you because you are Black?
4. Today, did someone slight you because you are Black?
5. Today, did you not get something that you deserved because you are Black?
6. Today, were you accused of something you did not do simply because you are Black?
7. Today, did someone treat you unfairly in any way because you are Black?

Appendix D: Classroom Engagement and Disengagement Measure

Instructions: The following statements are related to your experiences in school today compared to other days. Please read each statement and choose the response that most closely represents how you feel. Today compared to other days....

Response Scale: (1) Less than usual, (2) About the same, (3) More than usual.

Classroom Engagement
1. I paid attention
2. When the school work was hard to complete, I tried to complete it
3. When the school work was hard to understand, I tried to understand it
4. I participated in class
5. I liked school
6. I was interested in what my teacher taught

Classroom Disengagement
1. School was boring
2. It was hard to stay awake in class

Appendix E: Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS)

Instructions: Below are a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then choose the appropriate response for that word. Indicate to what extent you have felt this way today.

Response Scale: (1) Very slightly or not at all, (2) A little, (3) Moderately, (4) Quite a bit, (5) Extremely.

Feelings and Emotions

1. Interested
2. Distressed
3. Excited
4. Upset
5. Strong
6. Guilty
7. Scared
8. Hostile
9. Proud
10. Irritable
11. Alert
12. Ashamed
13. Inspired
14. Nervous
15. Determined
16. Active
17. Afraid

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