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THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL VALUE ORIENTATION,
PERCEIVED CONTROL, AND RACISM-RELATED STRESS
ON COPING AMONG AFRICAN-AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Lionel D. Scott, Jr., M.S.W.

The Ohio State University
2001

Dissertation Committee:

Professor Virginia Richardson, Advisor
Professor Shantha Balaswamy
Professor Patrick McKenry

Approved by

Virginia C. Richardson
Advisor
College of Social Work
ABSTRACT

This study was guided by four primary objectives: (a) to examine to what degree African American adolescents endorsed a Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo value orientation and if this endorsement influenced the strategies used to cope with perceived everyday racism; (b) to examine the degree to which racial stressors were perceived as controllable and if perceived control influenced the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies; (c) to examine whether the level of stress associated with perceived everyday racism experiences influenced the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies; and (d) to examine whether a Black/Afro value orientation and mainstream/Anglo value orientation influenced coping over and above background characteristics and race-related factors.

The theoretical framework that served as the basis for this study was Triple Quandary which posits that the African American social experience is complex and simultaneously transverses three distinct social realms: minority, mainstream American, and Black. Triple Quandary theory was operationalized through the Cultural Questionnaire for Children that assessed the degree to which values distinctive of Black culture (affect, communalism, and spirituality) and mainstream American culture (competition, effort optimism, and individualism) were endorsed. Using a median-split criterion on the Black/Afro and mainstream/American value orientation scales, 139
African American adolescents between the ages of 14 to 18 were classified as high or low in these orientations as well as either mainstream-oriented, Black-oriented, bicultural, or marginal in their value orientations. Based on previous studies on the influence of perceived control and stress level on coping, African American adolescents were similarly classified as high- or low in perceived control over racial stressors and racism-related stress using a median-split criterion.

The results indicated significant variability in the degree to which participants endorsed a Black/Afro value orientation and mainstream/Anglo value orientation. The degree of endorsement of both value orientations and their interaction was related to coping in complex ways. Consistent with previous research on stress and coping, high perceived control over racial stressors was significantly and positively related to the use of approach coping strategies but not avoidance coping strategies. A high level of racism-related stress was significantly and positively related to greater use of internalizing and externalizing coping strategies and less use of self-reliance/problem solving coping. Hierarchical regression analysis indicated that greater endorsement of the values distinctive of mainstream American culture was related to greater use of self-reliance/problem solving coping over and above background characteristics and race-related factors. The results also indicated that greater endorsement of the values distinctive of Black culture was a significant and negative predictor of externalizing coping over and above background characteristics and race-related factors. The implications of findings for individual, group, and community practice and programming with African American adolescents and recommendations for future research are discussed.
DEDICATION

First, and foremost, to God, whose undeserved favor and mercy brought me through this endeavor and process. Secondly, to the African ancestors and forebears who did not receive the promises of liberty, justice and equality on these shores, but whose blood, sweat, tears, and faith enabled this achievement and countless others, that they through us would receive the promise. To my familial forebears, Abraham & Amy Phillips and Bennett & Mattie Scott who produced Lionel, Sr., & Shirley Scott on whose shoulders I stand, and without whose unconditional love and sacrifices this feat, which was unthinkable to me as a child, youth, and early adult would not be realized. To Youlanda, who through smooth, rocky, and uncertain terrain, was a steadfast support and “Shining Light.” Lastly, to the principals, school administrators, teachers, and students who ultimately made this research and personal achievement possible. This work is dedicated to you all.
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VITA

March 6, 1967 ............................................... Born – Baton Rouge, Louisiana

1990 ................................................................. B.A., Psychology, Oakwood College, Huntsville, Alabama

1992 ................................................................. M.S.W., Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts

1992 — 1993 .................................................... Adjustment Counselor, Springfield Public Schools, Springfield, Massachusetts

1993 — 1996 .................................................... Probation Officer, Springfield Juvenile Court, Springfield, Massachusetts

1997 — 1999 .................................................... Graduate Teaching and Research Associate, The Ohio State University

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Social Work
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

The psychological and social realities of African Americans are complex and multidimensional. Perhaps nowhere has this complexity and multidimensionality been as poignantly explicated as in the writings of W. E. B. DuBois, who is considered the premier Black intellectual of the 20th Century. At the beginning of the 20th Century, W. E. B. Dubois argued that African Americans had to contend with two seemingly unreconcilable identities or orientations within one body, that being American and Negro (Dubois, 1920). This depiction of the internal striving within the souls of black folk still holds considerable currency among many African Americans as we begin the 21st Century. The mediation and reconciliation of an American self and a Negro self is a daunting task according to Dubois. It is only by “dogged strength” that Negroes (i.e., Blacks or African Americans) are able to maintain their physical, mental, and spiritual equilibrium (Dubois, 1920, p. 3).

Only recently has there been a concerted effort on the part of scholars and researchers to apply more culturally- and contextually sensitive conceptualizations,
methodologies, and theories to the exploration and examination of African-American life and functioning. Moreover, research that seeks to explore, explain, and describe the nuances of African-American adolescent development has been meager in comparison to research that focuses on the same in African American children and adults.

The concept or process of acculturation has been absent in studies of stress, coping, and adjustment among African Americans. It has primarily been used to explore the adjustment of immigrants and refugees. It is argued that the cultural discontinuities that exist between these populations and the dominant European American culture are more salient and pronounced due to differences in language, customs, values, and behaviors (Gonzalez & Cause, 1995). However, the ethnic and cultural disparities between African Americans and European Americans are no less salient or pronounced. Although all African Americans have been socialized and inculcated with values, orientations, beliefs, and behaviors descriptive of mainstream American culture, the level of endorsement and utilization of them are divergent among African Americans (Boykin & Toms, 1985). The divergence in levels of endorsement and utilization of mainstream American cultural values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors among African Americans is not only likely to effect their goodness of fit within mainstream systems and institutions but also effect short-term as well as long-term mental and physical health.

Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study is to examine the influence of cultural orientation on the strategies used by African-American adolescents to cope with racism in their daily life experiences. For the purposes of this study, cultural orientation is defined
as the degree to which African American adolescents endorse core values that are thought to symbolize Black culture and mainstream American culture. The theoretical framework on which this study is based is called *triple quandary*.

From the standpoint of the triple quandary framework, African Americans have three distinct social worlds and/or identities that they must reconcile: American, Black (i.e., Negro), and minority (Boykin, 1983, 1986). This framework expands the postulation presented by W. E. B. DuBois about the dual nature of African Americans, in that a third dimension is added. The third dimension, *minority*, is linked to the non-dominant and historically oppressed status of African Americans. According to A. Wade Boykin (1983, 1986), these distinct social worlds or identities, which he calls *realms*, encompass values and behavioral styles that are incompatible with one another.

As a result of navigating the complex interplay of the mainstream American, Black, and minority social experiences, it is suggested that African Americans develop a predominant cultural orientation and/or identification: Black/Afro cultural, mainstream/Anglo cultural, bicultural, or marginal. A Black/Afro orientation and mainstream/Anglo orientation refers to the predominant endorsement of values and behavioral styles reflective of Black culture and mainstream American culture, respectively. A bicultural orientation refers to the endorsement of values and behavioral styles reflective of both cultures, while a marginal orientation refers to a general lack of endorsement of the values and behavioral styles reflective of both cultures (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Jagers & Mock, 1993). Based on Berry’s (1997) conceptualization of acculturation strategies, more positive mental health outcomes should be linked to a
biculural (or integrated) orientation, while a marginal orientation should be linked to more negative outcomes. More intermediate outcomes should be linked to the Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo orientations.

The specific stressor that is the focus of this study is perceived racism in the daily life experiences of African American adolescents. Although there is fierce debate about the prevalence of racism and its ill effects on African Americans, many notable scholars such as James Comer maintain that the dimension of racism adds a powerful layer of complexity to the adolescent period for African Americans (Comer, 1995). A number of scholars are beginning to acknowledge the function of racism as a psychological stressor and have developed models and instruments to examine the interplay between racism, stress, and coping (e.g., Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; S. Harrell, 1997a, 2000; Outlaw, 1993; Thompson & Neville, 1999). However, the role that culture (as expressed through orientation or identification) may play in influencing the use of approach versus avoidance coping strategies has not received significant attention, particularly as it relates to African American adolescents.

Objectives of the Study

There are several questions of importance in this study. They include: (a) Does the degree to which African American adolescents endorse a Black/Afro or mainstream/Anglo value orientation influence the strategies used to cope with perceived racism in their everyday life experiences; (b) Does the degree to which racial stressors are perceived as controllable influence the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies among African American adolescents; (c) Does the level of stress caused by perceived
everyday racism experiences influence the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies among African American adolescents; and (d) Does a Black/Afro value orientation and mainstream/Anglo value orientation influence coping over and above background characteristics and race-related factors.

The population of interest for this study is African American adolescents between the ages of 14 to 18. In this phase of adolescence, explicit worldviews, ideologies, and identities begin to evolve, find expression and crystallize (Cross, Strauss, & Fhagen-Smith, 1999). Although there may be questions as to African American adolescents’ acuity in perceiving or appraising racism in its various forms (i.e., cultural, institutional, and individual), numerous articles, books, and qualitative studies that document the experiences and thoughts of African America adolescents provide an unequivocal answer to this question (e.g., Carroll, 1997; Way, 1998; and McCoy, 1998). It is evident that many African American adolescents are aware of the manifestations of racism either through first-hand experience, intuitive knowledge, or priming by parents and significant others.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Acculturation

The involuntary deportation of Africans from their native country to the alien and hostile shores of America resulted in subsequent changes in their original cultural patterns. Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits (1936) refer to the changes in original cultural patterns that take place when people from distinct cultures come into continuous contact as the process of acculturation. While elements of American culture were forced upon Africans, slave owners attempted to strip Africans of the knowledge and practice of their native language, customs, and traditions. According to Cross (1995), this required the development of a "multidimensional mindset," which "allowed blacks to oppose certain features of the American culture, while engaging, and even incorporating into black culture, other dynamics" (p. 186). Such mechanisms were necessary if slaves were to maintain any semblance of their traditional African culture and incorporate it into their new American identity and experience.
Consideration of the concept or process of acculturation has been absent in studies of adjustment, coping, and mental health of African Americans. However, there is a burgeoning body of literature and empirical studies on the acculturation and adjustment of “migrant peoples” to North America and other continents (Berry, 1997, p. 7). Landrine and Klonoff (1996) contend that theories of acculturation have not been applied to African Americans because they are believed to be a “cultureless race” (p. 42). Having arrived in America over 300 years ago, it may be felt that African Americans have maintained no distinctive value system, orientation, or behavioral style that is divergent or incompatible with mainstream American society. Because of “cultural discontinuities” in language, learning styles, values, and behaviors, it is suggested that the acculturation demands to adapt to “two cultures simultaneously” is more pronounced for immigrant groups (Gonzales & Cauce, 1995, p. 141). However, Landrine and Klonoff (1996) contest this viewpoint by stating that “issues of acculturation are as salient (if not more salient for) African Americans as they are for new immigrants” (p. 42).

Afro-cultural Realm

Although African Americans do not have an intact and untransformed connection to the cultural patterns of traditional African culture, many African American scholars contend that the “core character of African American cultural expression is emphatically linked to a traditional West African cultural ethos” (Boykin & Toms, 1985, p. 40). Based on the work of these scholars, Boykin (1986) has identified nine interrelated dimensions of African American culture. They are (a) spirituality, which entails an approach to life that is “vitalistic rather than mechanistic” and belief that a higher power governs the course of life; (b) harmony, which connotes that one is not separate from the environment
(c) movement, which implies a rhythmic approach to life where rhythm, movement, music, dance, and percussiveness are emphasized and appreciated; (d) verve, which connotes a preference for change, variety, and stimulation; (e) affect, which connotes an emphasis on emotions and feelings and belief that thoughts and feelings are not distinct and separate; (f) communalism, which connotes the belief that one’s well-being and self-worth is inextricably tied to others; (g) expressive individualism, which connotes the individual expression of personality, spontaneity, and talents; (h) orality, which connotes a preference for verbal forms of communication; and (i) social time perspective, which connotes an orientation where life is not dictated by clocks and calendars but by social phenomenon (Boykin, 1986, p. 61). Boykin and Ellison (1995) make the important point that these dimensions are “not necessarily unique” to African American culture, but are rather “distinctive” of African American culture (p. 99).

Eurocultural Realm

The values and orientations which are distinctive of African Americans serves as a refutation to the premise that they are cultureless or have become indistinguishable from mainstream American culture. Boykin (1983) contends that the “cultural ethos” of African Americans is not only distinct from the “Euro-American ethos,” but also, incompatible to it (p. 346). Based on the views of several analysts of American society, Boykin (1983) identifies the following as core values of Euro-American culture: (a) effort optimism, which connotes the belief that work is positive and good for its own sake; (b) material well-being, which serves as the benchmark of hard work and provides a sense of mastery; (c) possessive individualism, which connotes that one’s identity is marked by
what is acquired, possessed, or earned; (d) egalitarian-based conformity, which connotes the belief that individuals must work identically according to a common set of rules; (e) the democratization of equality, which connotes the belief that general laws are applicable to every one equally; and (f) a person-to-object orientation, which connotes an emphasis on reason and detachment. (pp. 335, 336)

**Triple Quandary Model**

Although there is no language barrier, as is the case with many immigrant groups, between African Americans and European Americans, there is general consensus that there is still a “great racial divide” between these two groups. Within African American culture, spirituality, harmonic unity with nature and other people, feelings, expressiveness, spontaneity, individual duty to the group, and collective ownership are emphasized, whereas within mainstream American culture, materialism, mastery over nature, individualism, control of impulses, self-discipline, dispassionate reason, individual rights, and private property are emphasized (Boykin, 1983, p. 346). Notwithstanding the fact that neither African Americans or European Americans are monolithic, the divide is exacerbated by the stigmatization of African American culture and social life (Ogbu, 1991). For example, communalism is viewed as dependency, a movement rhythmic orientation as hyperactivity, an affective orientation as too emotional, spirituality as superstition, and expressive-individualism as showing off (Boykin & Toms, 1985, p. 43).

The interface of African American culture and European American culture poses a profound dilemma for African Americans. DuBois (1920) described the dilemma in the following statement:
The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife, this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face (p. 4).

Boykin (1983, 1986) suggests that the dilemma of African Americans is more complex and multidimensional than that presented by Dubois. Not only are they faced with the challenge to mediate and reconcile an American self and an African self, but also a minority self. The minority self is linked to the historical economic, political, and social oppression of African Americans. According to Boykin (1983), “participation in the minority experience results in the development of a particular set of coping styles, adaptive reactions, social outlooks, defensive postures, and compensatory reactions that allow individuals to adjust to the burdens imposed by their racial membership” (pp. 347, 348).

Boykin (1983) refers to the social and psychological experience of African Americans as a *triple quandary* (p. 350). They are faced with the challenge of negotiating three realms of experience: a mainstream American experience, a Black cultural experience, and an oppressed minority experience (Boykin, 1986, p. 74). Boykin (1983) characterizes the triple quandary framework as a composite and extension of the explanatory strengths of the cultural-difference and social structural approaches. Although the cultural difference approach recognizes the inherent strengths in the African American culture and psychological experience, Boykin suggests that it has failed to adequately show how African Americans cultural “repertoire” impedes or facilitates
performance (p. 333). Likewise, while providing an accurate depiction of the social forces which African American youth must confront, the social-structural approach underestimates the strengths and adaptability of African American culture, according to Boykin. The triple quandary framework evolved out of a quest to apply and provide both a descriptive and prescriptive framework for analyzing the performance and behavior of African American children and youth. Although Boykin does not refer to "the triple quandary" as an acculturation model, it has many similarities with the two dimensional models that have been applied to immigrants, refugees, and sojourners.

Acculturation Models

Berry’s Two-dimensional Model

Berry’s (1997) model of acculturation concerns how individuals from one cultural context adapt to the demands of a new cultural context due to migration. According to Berry (1997), there are two primary issues involved in acculturation: (a) cultural maintenance, which connotes the extent to which cultural values and orientations are important and the level of striving to maintain them; and (b) content and participation, which connotes the extent of involvement in or separation from the dominant culture (p. 9). Four acculturation strategies are possible based on how individuals or groups respond to these issues. The first strategy is assimilation, which refers to the relinquishing of one’s cultural identity and movement into the dominant culture. Integration refers to the maintenance of one’s cultural identity, while seeking involvement in the institutions of the dominant culture. Separation refers to the intentional withdrawal from the dominant culture and maintenance of one’s cultural identity. Marginalization refers to the loss or
renouncement of one’s cultural identity and estrangement from the dominant culture (Berry, 1997, p. 9; Berry & Kim, 1988, pp. 211, 212).

Acculturation strategies are greatly influenced by the will of the dominant group. As Berry (1997) indicates, certain forms of acculturation are enforced or constrained by the dominant group. For example, the strategy of marginalization is not typically self-imposed or chosen voluntarily, but results from the combination of “forced assimilation” and “forced exclusion” (Berry, 1997, p. 10).

The challenge of having to deal with and participate in two cultures simultaneously can be quite demanding on individuals and groups. However, based on their appraisal of this situation, individuals and groups will go either through a process of adjustment or will experience acculturative stress (Berry, 1997, pp. 18, 19). While adjustment involves the accidental or deliberate loss or replacement of behaviors to allow for a better fit in the dominant culture, acculturative stress refers to the mental and physical, behavioral, and attitudinal reactions to the demands and conflicts of the acculturation process (Berry, 1997, Berry & Annis, 1974). More positive or successful adjustment and adaptation have been linked to the acculturation strategy of integration, while marginalization has been linked to more negative adjustment and adaptation. The strategies of assimilation and separation are linked with more intermediate outcomes (Berry, 1997).

**Landrine and Klonoff’s Linear Model**

Landrine and Klonoff (1996) have developed the first model and scale to examine acculturation in African Americans. However, unlike the models of Berry and others, their model does not address acculturation at the societal level. It, rather, focuses on
“differences among individual African Americans in the extent to which they participate in African American culture and in the role that such levels of acculturation play in African American behavior” (Landrine and Klonoff, 1996, p. 40).

Landrine and Klonoff (1996) identify three levels of acculturation: traditional, bicultural, and acculturated. Rather than viewing these levels as strategies or changes resulting from the interface of distinct cultures, they are conceptualized along a continuum of extent of involvement in the values, traditions, beliefs, and practices of one’s own culture versus those of the dominant culture. Landrine and Klonoff (1996) provide the following description:

Traditional people are those who remain immersed in many of the beliefs, practices, and values of their own culture. In the middle are bicultural people, who have retained the beliefs and practices of their own culture (their culture of origin) but also have assimilated the beliefs and practices of the dominant White society and so participate in two very different cultural traditions simultaneously. At the other end of the continuum are highly acculturated people, who have rejected the beliefs and practices of their culture of origin in favor of those of the dominant White society or have never learned their own culture’s traditions (pp. 1, 2).

Landrine and Klonoff (1996) also classify some individuals or groups as marginal, which connotes the rejection or lack of acquirement of beliefs and practices endemic of their own culture and the dominant culture.

According to Landrine and Klonoff (1996), the immediate outcome of the acculturation process is influenced by the quality of contact with the dominant culture and the ethnic socialization messages transmitted to individuals about the meaning and nature of their status in relation to the dominant culture. From the standpoint of their model, acculturation implies movement toward the dominant culture. Therefore, acculturative stress results when the messages regarding the dominant group are negative
but the quality of contact is positive, or when the messages regarding the dominant
culture are positive, but the quality of contact is negative. Rapid acculturation results
when an individual receives positive messages about the dominant group and the quality
of contact is also positive. It also results when the messages communicated are that the
dominant group is inclusive of all individuals and the quality of the contact is either
positive or negative. The acculturation process is slow or unsuccessful when the
messages regarding the dominant group is negative and the quality of the contact is
negative (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996, p. 59).

Convergence of Models

The acculturation strategies presented by Berry (1997) and the levels of
acculturation presented by Landrine and Klonoff (1996) are similar, conceptually, to the
orientations presented by Boykin (1983, 1986). For example, the acculturation strategies
of assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization presented by Berry (1997)
are analogous to the Anglocultural, bicultural, Afrocultural, and oppressed minority

Culture- and Race-Related Variables

The triple quandary has considerable implications for the adjustment, adaptation,
and mental health status of African American adolescents. Although the majority of
African American adolescents are overtly inculcated with beliefs and values consistent
with those of the dominant culture, Boykin and Toms (1985) contend that their facility of,
success with, and commitment to mainstream ideals are lessened due to inequitable
access to the mainstream socialization process, its conflict with the Black cultural
experience, and marginalization due to non-dominant status. Therefore, the orientations and behavioral repertoires of African American adolescents can be understood in terms of their cultural conditioning or socialization and racial/cultural identity. The divergent developmental, social, and psychological outcomes that characterize African American adolescents from similar and dissimilar backgrounds and environments may be a function of the adaptive strategies or coping styles employed.

**Racial Socialization**

Socialization, as defined by Elkin and Handel (1960), refers to “the process by which we learn the ways of a given society or social group so that we can function within it” (p. 2). The socialization process is extremely complex, according to Zigler, Lamb, & Child (1982), due to multiple determinants of personality (e.g., gender, class, and culture) and differential influences by multiple agents (e.g., family, school, peers, and community). The inherent complexity of the socialization process is more pronounced for African Americans in comparison to their European American counterparts according to Boykin (1986) and Boykin and Toms (1985). Given the suggestion by Demo and Hughes (1990) that the function of socialization is “to transmit values, norms, morals, and beliefs from one generation to the next,” the differential processes that are argued to underlie this task for African Americans and European Americans appear obvious (p. 365).

Children because of their limited cognitive abilities, initially learn how to function appropriately in the larger social milieu through observation of and modeling by parents, caretakers, and significant others (Elkin & Handel, 1960). Boykin and Toms (1985) refer to this as a “tacit conditioning process” whereby patterns of behaviors, tendencies, and
thoughts are acquired by children without any overt pronouncements that these are linked to the values and beliefs of a given social system or group (p. 42). As children grow older and come into contact with different social institutions and socialization agents, Boykin (1986) suggests that a convergence or conflict occur. While the behavioral styles in which European American children have tacitly acquired converges with the values and beliefs of mainstream American society, Boykin argues that the behavioral styles acquired by African American children are often at odds with the values and beliefs of mainstream American society and its institutions. Moreover, the socialization agenda of schools and other social institutions are typically congruent with the cultural imperatives of mainstream American society (Boykin, 1986). According to Boykin, it is this incongruence that gives rise to the differential experiences and stressors of African American children and adolescents.

Given the differential experiences and stressors which most African American children and adolescents are likely to have and encounter within mainstream American society, race and ethnicity becomes an integral part of the socialization process. Stevenson (1994) refers to racial socialization as the process whereby children acquire a “sense of their unique ethnic and racial identity” (p. 446). Thornton (1997) suggests that racial socialization is that part of the socialization process that prepares children to “recognize their position within the larger social structure” (p. 201). Referring to this process by the term, *ethnic socialization*, Rotheram and Phinney (1987) define it as “the developmental processes by which children acquire the behaviors, perceptions, values, and attitudes of an ethnic group, and come to see themselves and others as members of such groups” (p. 11).
Despite the multiple terms and definitions used to describe racial socialization, they all possess similar fundamental elements, the recognition of one’s individual and/or group identity and status within the larger society. In their studies of racial socialization among African American families, Thornton (1997) and Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, and Allen (1990) explicate three racial socialization orientations found among African American parents: mainstream, minority, and Black cultural. Parents who possess a mainstream orientation are not likely to emphasize race, but more so emphasize self-confidence, personal self-esteem, competence, and hard work to defend against societal insults and racial barriers. Those who possess a minority orientation are more likely to emphasize the significance of race in society and the institutional barriers that their children will likely confront due to their racial and ethnic background. The transmission of particular coping strategies emanate from this orientation (Thornton, 1997). Parents who possess a Black cultural orientation are more likely to emphasize the history and achievement of African Americans. Parents possessing this orientation attempt to instill a sense of racial pride in their children (Thornton, 1997).

Racial socialization that emphasizes racial issues and prejudice, whether tacitly or explicitly, is argued to serve as a buffer against race-related adversity (Miller, 1999; Ward, 1999). Moreover, Stevenson, Reed, Bodison, and Bishop (1997) suggest that African American adolescents who do not possess an “internalized awareness of racism and their unique cultural heritage” are handicapped in terms of their ability to cope effectively with racism-related experiences and accompanying stress (p. 198). Racial
socialization, as it relates to racism, is argued not only to promote and enhance effective coping, but also psychological strength to resist oppression and devaluation (Ward, 1999).

Research Findings

One of the few studies appearing in the literature that examines the influence of parental ethnic socialization on adolescent coping with problems related to ethnicity was conducted by Phinney and Chavira (1995). The sample consisted of Japanese American (n=18), African American (n=16), and Mexican American (n=26) adolescents and their parents. Phinney and Chavira (1995) found that African American parents, more so than their counterparts, emphasized prejudice as a problem and strategies for handling it in their socialization messages.

To further examine the effects of ethnic socialization, Phinney and Chavira (1995) created a classification scheme. The different socialization themes were identified as: an achievement style which emphasized achievement rather than prejudice; a social problems style which emphasized prejudice and discrimination rather than achievement; and a combined style which emphasized both achievement and prejudice/discrimination. In comparison to the other groups, African American parents were more likely to use a combined style (75%). Moreover, African American adolescents (81.3%) reported considerably more discriminatory treatment than their counterparts. Those African American adolescents who were socialized by the combined style were more likely to use proactive coping strategies (vs. passive or aggressive coping strategies) in response to discrimination.
In a recent study of the relationships between gender, components of racial socialization, and anger expression in terms of their implications for racism stress management, Stevenson et al. (1997) found that gender and racial socialization were related to anger expression in complex ways. Among 287 African American adolescents (mean age = 14.6), higher endorsement of cultural pride reinforcement, that emphasizes the importance of African-American history, culture, and pride, was related to lower inclinations to express anger without provocation, but also a lower inclination to suppress anger when treated unfairly. Similarly, higher endorsement of racism awareness teaching, that emphasizes cautious and preparatory messages relating to racism, was related to a lower inclination to control anger.

In regard to gender effects, Stevenson et al. (1997) found that females who endorsed higher levels of cultural pride reinforcement reported higher levels of reactive-anger and a greater tendency to express outward anger than their male counterparts. Conversely, higher levels of racial awareness teaching attitudes among males were related to higher levels of repressed anger. Stevenson et al. suggest that these gender effects may be due to differential ways in which African American males and females are racially socialized. For example, Thomas and Speight (1999) found that although African American parents in their study imparted messages of racial pride, the importance of achievement, coping strategies, and the reality of racism to both boys and girls, boys received significantly more messages relating to negative societal stereotypes and coping with racism. Girls received significantly more messages relating to achievement and racial pride.
In their study of the relationship between perceptions of racist discrimination and mental health among 119 young African American adults (ages 18 to 25), Fischer and Shaw (1999) hypothesized that racial socialization would have a moderating effect. They expected the relationship between perceptions of racist discrimination and mental health to be stronger among those with lower levels of racial socialization. To their surprise, Fischer and Shaw found that perceptions of racist events were not significantly related to mental health for the total sample. However, among African Americans who reported lower levels of preparation by their parents or caregivers to deal with racism struggles, a significant inverse relationship between perceptions of racist discrimination and mental health was found. Fischer and Shaw found no such relationship among those who reported high racial socialization experiences.

Racial Identity

The contention by Erikson (1968) that identity formation is the central task or process during adolescence is widely accepted. Along with the dimensions of vocational plans, religious beliefs, values and preferences, political affiliations and beliefs, and gender roles, Tatum (1997) suggests that for African American youth, identity also involves questions about one’s ethnic/racial membership and what it means to be Black. As a multidimensional construct, ethnic identity involves “how youths choose to label themselves, the role models they identify, and the norms and values they endorse” (Rotheram-Borus, 1993, p. 82). An important decision that evolves during the adolescent period, according to Rotheram-Borus (1993), is whether one will identify with the mainstream culture, maintain their cultural integrity, or embrace a bicultural orientation.
This process is a “tumultuous and stressful” endeavor for African American adolescents due to the historical “mixture of racial hatred, ambivalence, and civility” which African Americans encounter (Stevenson, Reed, Bodison, & Bishop, 1997, p. 198).

The bedrock of contemporary theories and empirical studies of racial identity among African Americans are the landmark studies of Black identity conducted during the 1930s and 1940s (Cross, 1991). These studies gave rise to the constructs of wishful thinking (Horowitz, 1939), white preference (Clark & Clark, 1947), and Negro self-hatred (Clark, 1955) which served as the underpinnings of racial identity studies until the late 1960s. According to Cross (1985), these studies indicated a tendency on the part of African American children to be out-group oriented, an attraction of African American children toward symbols descriptive of the European American perspective, and the selection by African American children of European American symbols even when they displayed a Black in-group preference. However, these studies found that out-group preferences decreased as the age level of the children increased.

In their lifespan perspective of Black social identity development, Cross, Straus, and Fhagen-Smith (1999) propose a model that depicts the relationship between ego identity development and Black identity development. They suggest that African Americans pass through six sectors: a) infancy & childhood; b) pre-adolescence; c) adolescence; d) late adolescence & early adulthood; e) adult nigrescence; and f) identity refinement across life span. The first four sectors are inevitable. During infancy and childhood, the evolving salience of race to African American children will be greatly influenced by varying household and environmental factors (e.g., locale, social class, parental socialization orientation) as well as the child’s “distinctive temperament” (Cross
et al., 1999, p. 34). As African American children enter preadolescence, Cross et al. (1999) suggests that variable social identities begin to emerge that may or may not be centered in African American culture.

Questions regarding identity and/or the search for identity begin to emerge during adolescence. Due to the varying contexts in which African American adolescents have lived and grown, the questions and/or search may be more or solely focused on areas that have very little racial or cultural content such as religious ideas, sexual orientation, and gang membership (Cross, Strauss, & Fhagen-Smith, 1999). The socializing and environmental experiences of African American children and adolescents are critical in that the identity status or foundational identity that takes hold in late adolescence and early adulthood will be the guiding force of emotions, ideas, and actions throughout their lives, according to Cross and Fhagen-Smith (1996). Due to the seemingly perpetual and permeating issue/problem of race in American society, it is likely that race will be salient to most African Americans throughout their lives. However, the model proposed by Cross, Strauss, and Fhagen-Smith accounts for African Americans who never make the issue or subject of race a defining or salient aspect of their self-conceptions, yet arrive at an achieved identity as well as enjoy psychological and social health. For those African Americans who incorporate their ethnicity (or race) as a central aspect of their identities, they are likely to go through a process of “recycling” whereby their perspectives and insights regarding their Blackness are constantly reworked, enhanced, and refined by new experiences and encounters of a racial nature (Cross, Strauss, and Fhagen-Smith, 1999).

It is generally agreed that race and ethnicity are very vital to the sense of self and identity of most African Americans. Similar to arguments concerning racial
socialization, racial identity is argued to serve as a buffer against negative race-related stressors (Miller, 1999). However, this argument is debatable, according to Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, and Smith (1997), due to the "equivocal nature of the literature" (p. 805). The lack of consensus on the conceptualization and operationalization of racial identity for African Americans makes definitive empirical links difficult (Sellers et al, 1997).

Research Findings

Despite the equivocal nature of the literature, studies utilizing divergent models of racial identity indicate that race (or ethnicity) is central to the social identities of most African Americans and related to positive adjustment and mental health. For example, in comparisons of ethnic identity scores among African American adolescents and adolescents from other ethnic groups (e.g., Latinos, Asians, Whites) utilizing Phinney’s (1992) model, studies have consistently found higher ethnic identity scores among African American adolescents (Phinney, 1992; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Phinney, DuPont, Espinosa, Revill, & Sanders, 1992). The explanation given for the high ethnic identity among African American adolescents is that they are more likely to examine ethnicity as an identity issue due to the legacy of racism and discrimination toward their group (Phinney 1992; Phinney, DuPont, Espinosa, Revill, & Sanders, 1992). Moreover, in a recent study that examined the association of ethnic identity with psychological well being, Roberts et al. (1999) found that higher scores on ethnic identity were positively associated with self-esteem, sense of mastery, optimism, and coping among African American adolescents.
Studies utilizing the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (RIAS, Helms & Parham, 1990), which is an operationalization of Cross’ (1991) model, have found that African American adolescents primarily endorse internalization attitudes (e.g., Plummer, 1995; Plummer, 1996; Witherspoon, Speight, & Thomas, 1997). Internalization attitudes indicate an embracement of and comfort with one’s Blackness that does not denigrate individuals, customs, or objects representative of other ethnic/racial heritages (Plummer, 1995). Plummer (1996) suggests that the primary endorsement of internalization attitudes among adolescents may be a function of racial socialization. In that African American parents are likely to begin preparing their children for life in American society during early childhood, Plummer (1996) suggests that by the time they reach adolescence, “their racial identity and the attitudes associated with that racial identity may be clearly defined” (p. 176). In a study of the relationship between racial identity attitudes and racial socialization attitudes among 287 African American adolescents (14-16 years of age), Stevenson (1995) found a significant positive relationship between internalization attitudes and global racial socialization. Global racial socialization, as explicated by Stevenson (1995) encompassed spiritual and religious coping, extended family caring, cultural pride reinforcement, and racism awareness teaching.

In a study using Phinney’s (1992) model of ethnic identity to examine perceptions of discrimination among a diverse group of adolescents, Romero and Roberts (1998) hypothesized that ethnic affirmation (embracement of one’s ethnic group) and ethnic exploration (activities to learn about one’s ethnic group) would predict perception of more discrimination. In comparison to European-American adolescents (n=775), African-American adolescents (n=1237) were found to have significantly higher mean
scores on ethnic affirmation, ethnic exploration, and perceived discrimination. In comparison to their Mexican-American (n=755) and Vietnamese-American (n=304) counterparts, African-Americans adolescents were found to have the highest mean scores on ethnic affirmation (non-significant difference compared to Mexican-American group), the second highest mean scores on ethnic exploration (significant difference compared to both groups), and the highest mean scores on perceived discrimination (significant difference compared to both groups). Gender differences (across groups) were also found. Females scored significantly higher on ethnic affirmation and ethnic exploration and significantly lower on perceived discrimination. In regard to the influence of ethnic identity on perceived discrimination, Romero and Roberts (1998) found that higher levels of ethnic exploration predicted the perception of more discrimination.

In another study utilizing Phinney’s (1992) model to operationalize minority group identity, Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey (1999) found that a greater perception among African Americans (n=139; mean age = 22 years) that prejudice was pervasive was associated with poorer personal and collective well-being. However, Branscombe et al. found that minority group identity mediated this relationship, whereby higher identification with their ethnic group predicted positive personal and collective well being. Racial group identity was also found to have a mediating affect in Williams, Spencer, and Jackson’s (1999) study of the relationship between acute and chronic experiences of unfair treatment and health outcomes. In comparison to their White (n=520) counterparts, Williams et al. (1999) found that the level of perceived racial/ethnic discrimination reported by Blacks (n=586) was nearly 10 times higher (50% to 5.5%). Chronic everyday discriminatory experiences (e.g., receiving poorer service
than others in restaurants or stores) were a consistent and significant negative predictor of Black's subjective assessment of their health. Conversely, acute major discriminatory experiences (e.g., being unfairly stopped or questioned by the police) were a consistent and significant positive predictor of chronic health problems reported by Blacks. Discrimination was found to be unrelated to health for Whites. For chronic health problems, racial identity was found to have a buffering effect for Blacks. Higher identification with Blacks as a group was associated with a reduction in reports of chronic health problems.

In their study of the relation between racial identity and stress and coping using Cross' model, Neville, Heppner, and Wang (1997) found that higher immersion/emersion attitudes (signifying pro-Black, anti-White sentiments) were associated with more general- and cultural-specific stress among African American college students (n=136; mean age = 20.7 years). Higher immersion/emersion attitudes were also associated with a lower use of problem solving-coping and greater use of avoidance coping responses. No such associations were found with internalization attitudes. Moreover, higher internalization attitudes were associated with lower levels of cultural-specific stress.

Cultural Orientation

Culture is a concept that is defined and conceptualized in manifold ways. According to Ritchie (1973), culture is a "slippery" concept that is difficult to pen down theoretically and empirically (p. 314). Lonner (1994) refers to a 1952 literature review by Kroeber and Kluckhohn where they found 164 different definitions of culture. Currently, there is no seminal or contemporary definition of culture that is universally applied or used. However, Doucette-Gates, Brooks-Gunn, and Chase-Lansdale (1998)
suggest that "most definitions include some combination of customs, social institutions, artifacts, rituals, belief systems, expectations, and shared specific knowledge" (p. 219).

According to Lonner (1994), culture is typically used to reflect an abstract idea or hypothetical construct. He states that "culture is not behavior" (Lonner, 1994, p. 233). Rather, culture provides the context by which variations in behavior can occur and be understood. According to Lonner (1994), values, orientations, and ideologies that emanate from a particular cultural context are adaptations that emerge out of the "geographic and temporal circumstances that have impinged on the lives of a group of people who agree on what to call themselves" (p. 234). Lonner suggests that those adaptations that have been found to be useful are transmitted to succeeding generations through socialization or implicit learning through everyday observation (enculturation).

In his provocative book entitled, *Yo ' Mama's Disfunctional! Fighting the Culture Wars in Urban America*, Robin D. G. Kelley (1997) concurs with Lonner’s (1997) contention regarding culture and behavior. Kelley (1997) argues that much of the literature, particularly as it relates to urban African American culture, "conflates behavior with culture" (p. 17). However, Kelley would take issue with Lonner’s contention that the values, orientations, and ideologies that emanate from a particular cultural context are simply adaptations of individuals and groups to their circumstances. Kelley states:

...when social scientists explore “expressive cultural forms or what has been called “popular culture” (such as language, music and style), most reduce it to expressions of pathology, compensatory behavior, or creative “coping mechanisms” to deal with racism and poverty. While some aspects of black expressive cultures certainly help inner city residents deal with and even resist ghetto conditions, most of the literature ignores what these cultural forms mean for the practitioners. Few scholars acknowledge that what might also be at stake here are aesthetics, style, and pleasure. Nor do they recognize black urban culture’s hybridity and internal differences. Given the common belief that inner
city communities are more isolated than ever before and have completely alien values, the notion that there is one discrete, identifiable black urban culture carries a great deal of weight. By conceiving black urban culture in the singular, interpreters unwittingly reduce their subjects to cardboard typologies who fit neatly into their definition of the "underclass" and render invisible a wide array of complex cultural forms and practices (p. 17).

In her discussion of culture, Helms (1994) provides further elaboration of the non-monolithic cultural forms and/or multiple cultural frames of reference that may emanate from a particular ethnic/racial group. She first makes a distinction between culture at the macro level and culture at the "subsidiary" level (Helms, 1994, p. 292). Culture at the macro level refers to the worldview and way of life of the dominant society or group, whereas culture at the subsidiary level refers to the "customs, values, traditions, products, and sociopolitical histories" of social groups existing within the macro culture (Helms, 1994, p. 292). Although many social groups adopt characteristics that distinguish them from others, all individuals within a particular social group do not subscribe to or identify with characteristics that may be descriptive of their ethnic/racial group. As stated by Helms (1994):

People can form commitments to a culture (that is, a CULTURAL identification) that differ markedly from their racial-group identifications. CULTURAL identifications, then, represent macro-level or global aspects of identity and might appropriately be measured and otherwise studied by macro-level constructs such as worldview or value orientation inventories (p. 293).

As alluded to by Kelley (1997) and Helms (1994), there are varying cultural orientations and/or identifications that African Americans may espouse or endorse. Jagers, Smith, Mock, and Dill (1997) define the concept of cultural orientation as "the degree to which one resonates with a given fundamental cultural theme" (p. 330). As previously presented, Boykin (1983, 1986) delineates three primary cultural orientations
that may evolve from African American’s negotiation of their social milieu: Afrocultural, Eurocultural, and oppressed minority. An Afrocultural (i.e., Afro/Africentric) orientation and Eurocultural (i.e., Anglocultural, mainstream American) orientation encompasses “world views, sensibilities, and behavioral tendencies” reflective of traditional African culture and European American culture, respectively (Jagers, 1996, p. 372; Jagers et al., 1997). A marginalized minority orientation, as conceptualized by Jagers and Mock (1993) refers to the “endorsement of cultural expressions informed by the legacy of race-based social, political, and economic disenfranchisement” such as rejection of the mainstream American schooling experience, participation in illicit economic activities, and involvement in gang-related activities (p. 397). Although Boykin (1986) acknowledges the bicultural nature of the African American psychosocial experience, he contends that a bicultural orientation is difficult to actuate due to the incompatibility of an Afro-American frame of reference and a Euro-American frame of reference. Nevertheless, as indicated by Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997), biculturality is considered “necessary and inevitable” for African Americans (p. 8).

Birman (1994) suggests that there are different types of biculturalism that may be descriptive of African Americans and other ethnic groups, immigrants, or refugees. Some individuals may be described as being blended biculturals in that they not only identify with both African American culture and European American culture but also participate behaviorally in both. Instrumental biculturalism is descriptive of those individuals who are behaviorally involved in both African- and European-American cultures but do not possess a “sense of identity as belonging to either or both cultures” (Birman, 1994, p. 279). African Americans who are behaviorally involved in both
cultures, but have a strong sense of identity with their culture of origin can be described as integrated biculturals. Lastly, Birman (1994) accounts for those individuals who are exploring their cultural identity (i.e., seeking a reconnection with their cultural roots). Individuals who may fall in this category are those who are “highly involved behaviorally in the majority culture and not their culture of origin, but who have a high identification with their culture of origin and not the majority culture” (Birman, 1994, p. 279). These multiple variations of possible orientations/identifications among African Americans are indicative of the complexity of the African American psychological and social experience as explicated by Boykin (1983, 1986).

In her delineation of an Afrocentric worldview, Myers (1987, 1993) makes a crucial distinction between the surface structure of culture and the deep structure of culture. The surface structure of culture encompasses rituals and specific practices or beliefs of a social group, whereas the deep structure of culture encompasses a unifying conceptual system that shapes the world view, and subsequent behavior and responses of a social group (Myers, 1987, 1993). Myers (1987) contends that attitudes and behaviors embedded in the surface structure of culture are transient. However, a conceptual system embedded in “a particular set of philosophical assumptions” (i.e., deep structure of culture) creates “a pattern of beliefs and values that define a way of life and the world in which people act, judge, decide, and solve problems. It is this conceptual system that structures the world view at the level of cultural deep structure to be reflected in surface structures across time and space” (Myers, 1987, p. 74, 75). Whether an Afrocentric worldview (or identity or orientation) is related to positive social and psychological outcomes may depend largely on whether researchers assess African American culture at
the level of deep structure or surface structure. Attitudes and behaviors embedded in African American culture at the surface structure may be similarly related to sub-optimal functioning as embedment in the surface structure of any other culture (Myers, 1993).

Research Findings

The study of cultural orientation (i.e., identity) has primarily consisted of the assessment of acculturation or ethnic/racial attitudes. The most popular approaches are to either classify individuals as integrated, assimilated, separated, or marginal in terms of their acculturation attitudes or assess all individuals in terms of their level of endorsement of each acculturation attitude (e.g., Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989). The majority of these studies have not been conducted with African Americans, but with Canadian and American immigrants, refugees, and sojourners.

In his extensive examination of acculturation and adaptation among a variety of acculturating groups, Berry (1997) indicates that studies have consistently found that attitudes reflective of integration (or biculturality) are positively associated with adjustment and well being, while attitudes reflective of marginalization are consistently negatively associated with these outcomes. In regard to coping, Berry (1997) reports that integration attitudes have been found to be positively associated with approach-oriented (i.e., problem-solving) coping strategies, separatist attitudes with emotion-oriented coping strategies, and assimilation attitudes with both approach and emotion-oriented coping strategies. In terms of stress, findings have been more varied. Some studies find that separatist attitudes are associated with lower stress, while others indicate that assimilationist attitudes are more stress alleviating. As indicated, the associations of attitudes (or orientations or identities) reflective of assimilation or separation (e.g.,
nationalistic or Afrocentric) with adjustment and mental health are more paradoxical and follow no predictable pattern (Berry & Annis, 1974). The level of support for these cultural attitudes within individuals’ proximal environments may determine their short-term and long-term influence on adjustment and mental health (Berry & Annis, 1974).

Other researchers have primarily been concerned with the amount of importance and salience individuals or groups place on the behavioral proclivities, language, customs/rituals, values, and beliefs descriptive of their own cultural group versus those of the dominant society. Typically, these measures consist of two dimensions, an “ethnic/cultural” domain and a “non-ethnic/cultural” domain. In general, individuals are either classified as having weak or strong ethnic/cultural identities in both domains (e.g., Ting-Toomey et al., 2000). In a recent study of ethnic/cultural identity salience among multiple ethnic groups, Ting-Toomey (2000) found that in comparison to their Asian American, European American, and Latino(a) American counterparts, African Americans reported a significantly greater degree of affiliation and belonging toward their own ethnic group. Conversely, cultural identity, as represented by embracement of US cultural values and practices, an assimilationist orientation, and feelings that the dominant US culture is “a reflection of the self” was significantly lower among African Americans (Ting-Toomey et al., 2000, p. 73).

No systematic study of the association between cultural orientation and stress and coping among African Americans is evident in the literature. Nevertheless, there is general consensus among many African American scholars that an Africentric worldview, cultural identity, or value orientation serves as a protective factor for and buffer against the environmental and socio-cultural stressors that are unique to African
Americans (e.g., Jones, 1991). Consequently, the preponderance of studies of culture and its relation to the behavior, attitudes, and psychological well-being of African American children, adolescents, and adults have focused on the endorsement of an Afro/Africentric (i.e., Black) world view, cultural identity, or ideology.

In a cluster analysis of 701 African American students attending predominantly Black colleges, Chambers et al. (1998) examined the influence of an African self-consciousness, daily stress, and perceived stress on a number of psychological variables including self-esteem, Beck depression, anger-control, etc. African self-consciousness was operationalized through the African Self-Consciousness Scale which explicates four factors: value for African identity and heritage; ideological and activity priorities placed on Black survival, liberation, and proactive/affirmative development; value for self-knowledge, Africentric values, customs, and institutions; and value for African survival (Chambers et al., 1998). The following clusters were identified: a) high Africentric identity and low stress (HI/LS); b) medium Africentric identity and high stress (MI/HS); and c) low Africentric identity and medium stress (LI/MS).

Chambers et al. (1998) found that African American students in the HI/LS cluster reported lower levels of perceived stress, depression, suppressed anger, and anger arousal and higher levels of self-esteem and anger-control than their MI/HS and LI/MS counterparts. African American students in the MI/HS cluster reported higher levels of perceived stress, depression, suppressed anger, and anger arousal and lower levels of self-esteem and anger control, while LI/MS students were in the moderate range between the HI/LS and MI/HS clusters. Chambers et al. suggested that this interesting pattern may have been due to independent relationships between the psychological variables, an
African-centric cultural identity, and perceived and daily stress. The relations between the psychological variables and perceived and daily stress are predictable. However, in regard to identity, Chambers et al. suggested that “a high level of African-centric cultural identity may fortify the sense of self-concept and self-worth in the face of negative insults that can contribute to a devaluation of self” rather than alleviate stress (p. 393). If this suggestion is correct, Chambers et al. acknowledge that the link between an African-centric cultural identity and stress remains unclear.

One of the few studies to examine bicultural identification among African American adolescents was conducted by Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997). Based on the analysis of qualitative and quantitative data, adolescents were classified as either blended biculturals, alternating biculturals, or separated. Of the 52 African American adolescent participants, 28 (54%) were classified as blended biculturals, 13 (25%) as alternating biculturals, and 9 (17%) as separated. In contrast, most of the Mexican American adolescents (n = 46) were identified as alternating biculturals (63%), followed by blended biculturals (35%), and separated (2%).

Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) found no significant associations among the bicultural identification types to indices of ethnic identity: attitudes, behaviors, and achievement. However, African-American adolescents classified as alternating biculturals reported a greater sense of belonging to and greater involvement in the behaviors and practices of their ethnic group, while African American adolescents classified as separated reported a higher level of exploration of and commitment to their ethnic group. In regard to identification with American culture, African American adolescents classified as blended biculturals scored significantly higher than separated
adolescents. In terms of indices of adjustment, self-concept was positively correlated with ethnic identity among separated adolescents. In addition, self-concept was significantly and strongly related to positive attitudes toward other groups among African American adolescents identified as blended biculturals and alternating biculturals. No significant differences in terms of anxiety, self-concept, and academic grades were found among the bicultural orientation types.

Racism, Stress, and Coping

Patterson and McCubbin (1987) suggest that the simultaneous demands incumbent upon adolescents makes adaptation a complex endeavor. In their model of coping, they address the typical, but multiple and simultaneous demands, which adolescents have to contend: their own development; the development of other family members; the family unit; and the community (Patterson & McCubbin, 1987, p. 166). In Compas’ (1995) delineation of subtypes of stress, these aspects of adolescent development would be classified as generic or normative stressors (p. 251). The other dimensions of stress, as identified by Compas (1995), are acute and chronic (p. 252). Acute stress encompasses traumatic events that have a “discrete onset,” whereas chronic stress connotes ongoing exposure to adversity due to environmental conditions such as poverty, neighborhood and familial violence, and racism (Compas, 1995, p. 252). As suggested by Comer (1995), the dimension of racism adds a powerful layer of complexity to the adolescent period for African Americans.
Racism

In his seminal book, *Prejudice and Racism*, Jones (1972) distinguishes between prejudice, discrimination, and racism. Prejudice is defined as "a negative attitude toward a person or group based upon a social comparison process in which the individuals' own group is taken as the positive point of reference" (Jones, 1972, p. 3). Discrimination is the behavioral manifestation of prejudice which Jones argues is more concerning than prejudicial attitudes. The definition of racism, proposed by Jones, incorporates the function of prejudice, ethnocentrism, and power. It is defined as "the transformation of race prejudice and/or ethnocentrism through the exercise of power against a racial group defined as inferior by individuals and institutions with the intentional or unintentional support of the entire culture" (Jones, 1972, p. 117).

There is significant and spirited debate among social and cultural critics (i.e., right vs. left wingers) about the current pervasiveness of racism and its deleterious effects on the social and psychological functioning of African Americans. For example, Robert H. Bork, who is considered the most distinguished conservative scholar in the United States, contends that "racism has never been at a lower ebb" (Bork, 1996, p. 228). Moreover, in his provocative and controversial book, *The End Of Racism*, D'Souza (1995) argues that the main contemporary obstacle facing African Americans is not racism, but "destructive and pathological cultural patterns of behavior" which includes what he calls a "conspiratorial paranoia about racism" (p. 24). On the other side of the spectrum are African American intellectuals such as Cornel West who argue that race still matters in the American present (West, 1993). Racism, be it, real or perceived, extant or virtually
extinct, is argued to exact a “heavy psychological, emotional, and somatic toll” (Utsey, 1998, p. 269), its lingering effects being the “overriding psychiatric (psychological) problem for African Americans” (Ramseur, 1998, p. 5).

Swim, Cohen, and Hyers (1998) report that the prevalence of everyday racism in the lives of African Americans and others has been primarily documented indirectly through studies that “examine people’s endorsement of prejudiced beliefs and situational characteristics that affect the likelihood that perpetrators act out their prejudices” (p. 46). Only a few studies according to Swim et al. (1998) have attempted to assess the frequency in which African Americans experience specific racist behaviors in their daily life experiences. The majority of respondents in these studies report experiencing some form of racism during their lives while one-third report frequent experiences with specific racist behaviors on a daily basis (Swim, Cohen, and Hyers, 1998). Overall, these studies show that experiences with prejudice and discrimination are common.

Harrell, Merritt, and Kalu (1998) state that “racism operates as a psychological stressor” (p. 255). In their conceptual model describing the relationship among racism, mediating variables, and health outcomes, Harrell et al. (1998) delineate three types of racist environmental inputs: cultural racism/cultural hegemony, institutional racism, and individual racism (p.256). Utsey and Ponterotto (1996) suggest that cultural racism, institutional racism, and individual racism are spheres (i.e., areas, realms) in which racism can occur in the lives of African Americans (p. 490). Cultural racism emanates from cultural imperialism whereby the values, beliefs, and customs of one group are deemed as superior to another (Jones, 1972; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). Those values, beliefs, and customs that are deemed as superior are typically perpetuated and reinforced
by mainstream institutions such as the mass media, schools, etc. (Jones, 1972; Ramseur, 1998). Institutional racism refers to racist and discriminatory policies and practices embedded in the major institutions (i.e., social, political, economic, educational, etc.) of a given society, whereas individual racism is experienced on a personal level through overt or covert acts of discrimination and prejudicial attitudes (Ramseur, 1998; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

**Stress**

In the conceptual model presented by Harrell, Merritt, and Kalu (1998), cultural racism is linked with chronic, sustained, and contextual forms of psychological stress (e.g., environmental disparities). Institutional racism is linked not only to chronic, sustained, and contextual forms of psychological stress, but also to acute, intermittent, and discrete forms (e.g., life stress, daily hassles), whereas individual racism is linked solely to acute, intermittent, and discrete forms of psychological stress. According to Utsey (1998), researchers have only recently begun to conceptualize experiences with racism as a chronic source of stress. This development has allowed researchers to approach African Americans' experiences with racism and discrimination within various models of stress and coping (e.g., Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). More recently, Clark, Anderson, Clark, and Williams (1999) have outlined a biopsychosocial model for the study of perceived racism as a stressor for African Americans. Also, in her multidimensional conceptualization of racism-related stress, S. Harrell (2000) identifies six types of racism-related experiences or events that can affect the psychological, physical, social, functional, as well as spiritual outcomes of people of color.
In the recent empirical investigations by David R. Williams and his colleagues (Ren, Amick, & Williams, 1999; Williams, Spencer, & Jackson, 1999; Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997) of the influence of race and stress on the physical and mental health of African Americans, acute and chronic indicators of perceived discrimination are differentiated. Everyday discrimination consisting of acts such as being treated with less courtesy than others is linked to "more chronic, routine, and relatively minor experiences of unfair treatment" (Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997, p. 340). Acute experiences of discrimination, on the other hand, are linked to "major experiences of unfair treatment" that can have lasting economic and social consequences, such as being unfairly fired or denied a promotion (Williams, Spencer, & Jackson, 1999, p. 77).

The six types of racism-related stressors proposed by S. Harrell (2000) are: (a) racism-related life events (e.g., being harassed by the police); (b) daily racism microstresses (e.g., being watched closely or treated suspiciously); (c) chronic-contextual stress (e.g., substandard housing quality); (d) vicarious racism experiences (e.g., being told about a racism experience that happened to a friend); (e) collective experiences (e.g., observing racial disparities in education, employment, health status, etc.); and (f) transgenerational transmission of group traumas (e.g., slavery, lynchings of African Americans) (Harrell, 2000).

Cultural, institutional, and/or individual experiences with racism and discrimination may lead to the development of what Gilbert (1998) calls "stigma vulnerability." She defines stigma vulnerability as "a tendency for socially stigmatized individuals to make attributions of prejudice against their group as an explanation for
negative interpersonal outcomes in ambiguous situations" (Gilbert, 1998, p. 306). From this standpoint, Gilbert (1998) asserts that “regardless of whether an event was actually the result of prejudice, the mere effort of coping with perceived prejudice can create psychoemotional stress” (p. 307). Stevenson (1998) conveys the complexity of this situation in the following statements:

Not to minimize the actual discrimination experiences of living in America, but what African Americans perceive to be oppressive or empowering in their immediate and not-so-immediate environments are often oppressive or empowering in their impact upon identity development, psychological integrity, physical health, and community survival... Moreover, the very perception of oppression or anticipated oppression is just as likely to influence decision-making and behaviors that contribute to a different phenomenological experience for a child of African descent (e.g., fearing that policeman will do him or her harm) (pp. 223, 224).

According to Harrel, Merritt, and Kalu (1998), the psychological forms of stress, be they chronic, acute, or intermittent, caused by the various types of racist environmental inputs are filtered through a series of moderator variables. Referred to as person variables, they include sex, racial and cultural identification, Afrocentrism, and coping resources such as social support (J. Harrell et al., 1998, p. 256). Other moderator variables, as described by Clark, Anderson, Clark, and Williams (1999), include skin tone, family history of hypertension, socioeconomic status, age, Type A behavior, self-esteem, anger expression-suppression, and affective state. S. Harrell (2000) also identifies spirituality, worldview, cultural values, psychological acculturation, and social support as mediators. Mental and physical health outcomes will depend on the success or failure of personal and cultural buffers in filtering the negative or deleterious effects of
race-related stress. Moreover, these intervening factors may primarily account for the
differential patterns and strategies used by African Americans to cope with race-related
experiences and concomitant stress.

Coping

The definition of coping that is most cited in the stress and coping literature is that
of Lazarus & Folkman (1984). They define coping as “the process of managing demands
(external or internal) that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the
person” (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 283). Coping represents “a transaction between
an individual and his environment” (Lazarus, Averill, & Opton, 1974, p. 258). Rather
than emphasizing trait/style and mastery, this definition emphasizes process and
management. According to Lazarus & Folkman (1984), coping has five primary tasks:
(a) to reduce harmful environmental conditions and enhance prospects for recovery; (b)
to tolerate or adjust to negative events and realities; (c) to maintain a positive self-image;
(d) to maintain emotional equilibrium; and (e) to continue satisfying relationships with
others (p. 284).

Coping strategies have been differentiated into two types: problem-focused
coping and emotion-focused coping. Problem-focused coping is described as
constructive or proactive efforts to do something about harmful, threatening, or
challenging conditions, while emotion-focused coping is described as efforts directed at
regulating emotional reactions to a stressor (Causey & Dubow, 1992; Lazarus &
Folkman, 1984). Problem-focused coping, also conceptualized as active (i.e., direct)
strategies and approach strategies, is generally related to positive functioning, whereas
emotion-focused coping, also conceptualized as *indirect strategies* and *avoidant strategies* is generally related to poorer adjustment (Anderson, Eaddy, & Williams, 1990, pp.259, 260; Causey & Dubow, 1992; Roth & Cohen, 1986, p. 813).

According to Lazarus & Folkman (1984), the focus of emotion-focused coping may be the regulation of behavior and expression, physiological disturbance, subjective distress, or all three (p. 284). This type of coping can lead to denial or avoidant strategies, the diminishing or minimizing of a threat, the use of alcohol or drugs, self-blame, and taking out feelings on others (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Although, as previously mentioned, problem-focused coping is typically considered more conducive to social and psychological functioning, Lazarus and Folkman suggest that problem-focused coping can be potentially damaging when persistently used in situations that cannot be changed.

Roth and Cohen (1986) state that determining the effectiveness of specific coping strategies is not an easy task. Factors which have been found to be important in determining coping effectiveness are: “the point in time at which effectiveness is evaluated; the controllability of aspects of the stressful situation; and the fit between coping style and certain demands of the stressful situation” (Roth & Cohen, 1986, p. 816). In regard to children and adolescents, coping effectiveness may also be a function of the goodness of fit (or interaction) between the child/adolescent and the environment (Compas, 1987; Myers, 1989).

Central to the process of coping is *appraisal* which has three central aspects: (a) primary appraisal, which connotes assessment as to whether a situation is harmful, beneficial, or irrelevant; (b) secondary appraisal, which connotes perception of the range
of coping strategies that can be used to achieve a desirable outcome or to overcome a challenging or harmful situation; and (c) reappraisal, which connotes change in the original perception from favorable to unfavorable, and vice-versa, depending on changes in external and internal conditions (Lazarus, Averill, & Opton, 1974). In comparison to European Americans, Ramseur (1998) reports that studies show that African Americans possess a different appraisal style that is based on their “religious orientation, causal attributions of undesirable events to racial discrimination, and ‘paradoxical’ control beliefs” (p. 21). A religious orientation provides African Americans with a cognitive framework in which to view stressful circumstances and enables them to remain optimistic. Nevertheless, negative life outcomes are often viewed as the result of individual and institutional racism and discrimination. Therefore, even as African Americans may maintain some sense of personal efficacy, they may also believe that they have very little control over their plight and circumstances (Ramseur, 1998).

In regard to the experiences of racism for African Americans, Utsey and Ponterotto (1996) suggest that interpretations of racist, discriminatory, or prejudicial encounters are filtered through “past experiences with racism, knowledge of other’s experience with racism, and knowledge about the systematic nature of racism” (p. 490). Therefore, Outlaw (1993) hypothesizes that racist situations or encounters (i.e., person-environment interactions) are likely to automatically be appraised as stressful. However, the manner in which African Americans respond may vary according to whether the stressor is appraised as a threat, harm/loss, or challenge (Outlaw, 1993). What distinguishes threat appraisals from harm/loss appraisals are their time perspective, according to Holroyd and Lazarus (1982). While threat refers to the anticipation of
imminent harm, harm/loss refers to the conclusion that harm has already occurred (Holroyd & Lazarus, 1982, p. 23). Challenge, on the other hand, "involves not only the judgment that a transaction contains the potential for harm and the potential for mastery or gain but also the judgment that this outcome can be influenced by the individual" (Holroyd & Lazarus, 1982, p. 23).

African Americans who appraise racism, oppression, and discrimination from a threat perspective (e.g., being stopped by the police) may respond by being more cautious about behavior that may invite harassment and avoiding situations or locales that may invite suspicion or fear. According to Outlaw (1993), harm/loss appraisals are likely to be more prevalent among African Americans who feel they have no control over their lives. Passive emotional reactions such as withdrawal and depression may be demonstrated by African Americans who appraise the stress of racism from this perspective (Outlaw, 1993). The more hopeful responses are likely to be demonstrated by African Americans who appraise racism, oppression, and discrimination as a challenge. Racism, from this perspective, is viewed as a phenomenon (i.e., reality) that can be navigated and overcome. Factors which are likely to influence challenge appraisals are "religious faith, extended family kinship ties, and community support" (Outlaw, 1993, p. 404). Outlaw contends that upon this primary appraisal, African Americans determine what coping resources are available to respond to the situation (i.e., secondary appraisal).

Correlates Of Coping

Perceived Control. In terms of coping strategies used by children and adolescents, Compas (1995) reports that studies show that "the association between
control beliefs and problem-focused coping may emerge fairly early in life” (p. 258). In response to a wide range of stressors, studies show that problem-focused coping is positively related to perceived control, while emotion-focused coping is related to higher levels of emotional distress and unrelated to control beliefs. Compas (1995) indicates that when problem-focused coping is used and perceived control is high, emotional distress is generally lower. Conversely, higher levels of emotional distress have been found when problem-focused coping efforts are used and perceived control is low. As previously mentioned, when confronting situations which are clearly and “objectively” uncontrollable, perceived control and the use of problem-focused coping may lead to “an increased sense of frustration, helplessness, and distress” (Compas, 1995, p. 260).

In an application of the Ways of Coping Checklist, based on the stress, appraisal, and coping model of Lazarus & Folkman (1984), Halstead, Johnson, and Cunningham (1993) measured coping in a sample of 306 adolescents, 31.2% of which were African American and 59.7% of which were European American. Halstead et al. (1993) found that in comparison to European Americans, African American adolescents had higher coping means on the various coping scales (i.e., problem focused, seeks social support, wishful thinking, avoidance). While school, family, and social relationships were identified as the most stressful contexts by all adolescents irrespective of race, African American adolescents appraised these stressful situations as something they could change more frequently than did their European American counterparts. Although in preliminary analyses adolescents who perceived more control over the stressful episode reported higher coping means, when race was controlled in subsequent analyses, no significant associations between appraisal and coping style appeared.
Halstead et al. (1993) acknowledged that their findings in terms of the appraisal and coping style of African American adolescents, particularly as it relates to internal locus of control, is counter to prior studies. They suggested that the discrepant findings might be due to the minute samples of African American children and adolescents in most studies. Halstead et al. also propose that African American adolescents may feel that they have greater control over events in their daily lives but feel more powerless in terms of the larger social context. The most interesting proposition made by Halstead et al. about the discrepancy between findings of current studies in comparison to earlier studies is that it is "possible that today’s African American youth appraise events as more changeable than cohorts of an earlier time; the social and political environment may have changed sufficiently to induce a greater sense of control" (p. 343).

Age. Studies of developmental changes in coping from childhood to young adulthood indicate that emotion-focused coping is positively related to age (i.e., cognitive development), whereas no consistent increase in the use of problem-focused coping has been found with age (Compas, 1995; Compas, Orosan & Grant, 1993). An increase in emotion-focused coping and "dual-focused coping (that is, strategies that accomplish both problem- and emotion-focused coping functions)" has been found as children move into adolescence but not as adolescents move into young adulthood; hence, emotion-focused coping appears to level-off by early adulthood (Compas, 1995, p. 256). Problem-focused coping, on the other hand, has been found to be stable across developmental periods (Compas, 1995). Compas, Orosan, and Grant (1993) suggest that the contrast in the use of emotion-focused coping and problem-focused coping from childhood to young adulthood may be a function of adult modeling. Whereas problem-focused coping skills
are more readily observable through adult models, emotion-focused coping skills, in that it involves more of a cognitive and emotional process are less observable. Moreover, the use of dual-focused coping strategies appears to follow a slow developmental trajectory in that it involves “the use of more complex strategies that are intended to achieve multiple goals” (Compas et al., 1993, pp. 340, 341).

Gender. The proposition that boys and girls cope with life stressors differently should be no surprise, according to Frydenberg (1997), due to the divergent ways they are socialized based on the social constructions of gender in many societies. Although girls are taught to express emotion, boys are taught to repress emotion (Frydenberg, 1997). In addition, it is generally agreed that with girls, social connectedness is emphasized, whereas with boys, autonomy and independence are emphasized (Frydenberg, 1997). In the case of African American children and youth, it has often been said that “mothers raise their daughters and love their sons” (Cauce et al., 1996, p. 100). From this standpoint, along with the encouragement of attachment, African American girls are also encouraged to be independent, self-reliant, and resourceful given the multiplicity of roles they often fulfill in the Black community and the multiple stressors of racism and sexism (Cauce et al., 1996). African American boys on the other hand receive mixed messages regarding how they should respond to life events and stressors (Franklin, 1994). Although they are broadly expected to approach situations aggressively and competitively as all males are, Franklin (1994) suggests that such impulses are restrained by primary group caretakers who realize that such a stance by Black males may not be welcome or even feared by members of the broader society.
Studies of gender differences in coping have found patterns that are consistent. In the previously mentioned study by Halstead et al. (1993) where 31.2% of the sample (n = 306) consisted of African American adolescents, girls were found to use significantly more seeking social support and wishful thinking coping strategies than boys, whereas boys used significantly more avoidance coping strategies. The significant greater use of social support coping strategies among girls is consistent across multi-ethnic and international studies (e.g., Bowker, Bukowski, Hymel, and Sippola, 2000; Causey & Dubow, 1992; and Plunkett & Henry, 1999). The main effects of gender on avoidance coping strategies, however, are inconsistent. The overarching factor that may influence the greater report of avoidance strategies by girls or boys is the type of stressor assessed. For example, Griffith, Dubow, and Ippolito (2000) found that in response to family and peer stressors, girls reported greater use of avoidance coping strategies than boys did. As indicated by Compas et al. (1993), early to middle adolescent girls tend to report more interpersonal stressors (i.e., family, peer, social/intimate relationships) and tend to perceive these situations as more stressful than boys. This tendency, ironically, may also contribute to the greater use by girls of approach coping strategies in response to these stressful situations across studies (e.g., Causey & Dubow, 1992; Griffith et al., 2000). In response to a range of stressors, boys are likely to use more diversions, suppression, externalizing, and physical recreational activities as coping mechanisms (Frydenberg, 1997).

Although there is a general notion that males are prone to use more problem-focused coping than females, research findings have not been definitive (Frydenberg, 1997). As previously indicated, many studies show a greater use among females of
problem-focused (or approach) coping. Other studies show no significant differences in the use of problem-focused coping strategies among males and females (Frydenberg, 1997). The differences in the use of problem-focused coping strategies between males and females, according to Frydenberg, may be more qualitative than quantitative. However, in the final analysis, greater mobilization of coping efforts are likely to arise among females and males in response to those events or situations that are reported as more distressing in their everyday life experiences (Griffith et al., 2000).

Coping with Racial Stressors

In regard to responses to racism and/or differential levels of race-related stress based on one's cultural orientation/identification, Harrell, Merritt, and Kalu (1998) state that “cultural variables can have a complex impact on the manner in which one responds both physiologically and effectively to racist stressors” (p. 270). They suggest that African Americans with a high Afro/Africentric orientation will react to racial stressors in complex ways. While some will be particularly sensitive to racism, others will not respond at all to racist encounters in that such encounters are unsurprising and considered typical of the African American experience. In the case of African American adolescents, Comer (1995) contends that those who reject “White-dominated mainstream culture” and strongly and indiscriminately embrace Black culture address one major problem (i.e., countering a negative identity) but create another (i.e., loss of psychic strength) (p. 164).

African Americans with a mainstream orientation may respond to individual racism with heightened reactivity in that such encounters run counter to expectations and a belief that America is a race-neutral society. Harrell et al. (1998) suggest that it is not
clear whether a heightened response to racist stressors among those possessing a mainstream orientation is due “to failure of the circumstances to be consistent with expectations or increased anger because the situational elements themselves violate expectations” (p. 270). The responses and coping mechanisms of African Americans who possess a marginalized orientation that denies “all collective culture, Black or White” are likely to be totally ineffective (Comer, 1995, p 164). Comer contends that such an orientation carries a considerable psychic price, namely “anger, hostility, and the need for self-limiting projection of bad, evil, and incompetence” (p. 164). From a psychic standpoint, Comer contends that an orientation that “does not require denial or rejection of the self or others, and that provides group appreciation and belonging in the group and larger society—and the related collective strength—is most economical and useful” (p. 165). African American children and adolescents socialized from this standpoint are better able to counter and minimize the damaging effects of racist attitudes and acts, according to Comer. J. Harrell (1979) suggests that whether the outcome of a particular coping style or strategy used by African Americans is positive or pathological is primarily the function of the interaction between “personality and situational variables” (p. 107).

Research Findings

Perceptions of Discrimination. Sigelman and Welch’s (1994) analysis of the perceptions of racial prejudice and discrimination among African Americans is considered one of the definitive works on this subject. In their analyses of national surveys, they found that a tremendous perceptual gap existed between Blacks and Whites. While Blacks on average reported experiences of discrimination in three to four areas of
life (e.g., housing, employment, education, etc.), Whites on average perceived that Blacks were discriminated against in only one area of life. Sigelman & Welch (1994), however, noted a discrepancy in the degree to which Blacks perceived discrimination against themselves personally versus their perception of discrimination against Blacks as a group. Blacks tended to perceive more group discrimination than personal discrimination. Nevertheless, Sigelman & Welch acknowledged that their analyses might not have captured the full breadth of discriminatory experiences of Blacks in that the measures used in the studies assessed the broader dimensions of life and not the micro and mundane everyday occurrences.

The analyses by Sigelman and Welch (1994) also found that gender, age, and socioeconomic status affected perceptions of personal discrimination by Blacks. First of all, Black females perceived themselves as the targets of discrimination significantly less than Black males. In regard to age, older Black adults reported more discriminatory experiences than younger Black adults. Surprisingly, in terms of education, more highly educated Blacks perceived greater personal discrimination than less educated Blacks. However, other markers of socioeconomic status showed different patterns. For example, Blacks who considered themselves to be working-class reported greater personal discrimination than middle-class Blacks. Also, Blacks who reported more economic difficulties perceived greater personal discrimination than Blacks who were better off financially. Therefore, Sigelman and Welch concluded that despite the finding for education level, Blacks who live in poverty are more likely to perceive the deck as stacked against them than their middle or upper class counterparts.
Racism, Stress, and Mental Health. There have been a number of recent studies that have explored the relation between racism, stress and the mental and physical health of African Americans. The majority of these studies have focused on African American adults.

In a study to confirm the concurrent validity of the Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS), a multidimensional measure of the stress associated with daily racism experiences among African Americans, Utsey and Ponterotto (1996) examined the degree to which 341 African Americans (mean age of 23.4) perceived that racism impacted them personally, impacted African Americans as a group, and the degree to which they viewed their lives as stressful. A significant, positive relationship was found between individual racism, connoting personal experiences with racism and the concomitant stress, and racism-self, racism-group, and perceived stress. The greater the amount of individual racism and the concomitant stress reported by African Americans, the more likely they were to perceive that racism impacted them personally and collectively, and the greater were their perceptions that life was stressful.

In a similar validation study of the Schedule of Racist Events (SRE), another index of racism experiences, Klonoff and Landrine (1999) examined the frequency of discriminatory experiences reported by African Americans and the level of stressfulness of these experiences. The frequency and appraisal of racist events were also examined to determine if they influenced differential levels of psychological symptoms (e.g., somatization, obsessive-compulsive, interpersonal sensitivity, depression and anxiety).
The sample was comprised of 521 African Americans (mean age of 28.2) whose communities in southern California were randomly selected based on middle- and working-class census tracts.

Klonoff and Landrine (1999) found that 96% of African Americans in their study reported experiencing racial discrimination during the past year, 97.7% reported experiencing racism in their lifetime, and 95.6% reported that they found racism to be stressful. To determine whether greater reports of racism and racism-related stress would be associated with higher reports of psychological symptoms, Klonoff and Landrine divided the sample of African Americans based on whether the number of symptoms they reported were above or below the median. They found that the high symptom group (those scoring above the median) reported a significantly greater number of racist events during the past year and during their lifetimes as well as reported more stressfulness as a result of such events. Based on these findings, Klonoff and Landrine suggested that their measure of racism events among African Americans was valid in that “such events are defined as culturally specific, negative life events (stressors)” (p. 249).

In another study which utilized the same data as Williams, Spencer, and Jackson (1999), Williams, Yu, Jackson, and Anderson (1997) examined the influence of race-related stress on physical and mental health. Everyday discrimination was found to be a consistent and significant predictor of reports of poorer psychological well-being and greater psychological distress. However, its effect was more negative for Whites. In other words, race-related stress had more of an adverse effect on the mental health of Whites in comparison to their Black counterparts. This was found to be the case despite the fact that Blacks reported significantly more routine and relatively minor experiences
of unfair treatment. According to Williams, Yu, et al. (1997), the finding of differential
effects of everyday discrimination on psychological well-being and distress supports the
suggestion that Blacks may be less adversely affected by certain stressful life events due
to earlier and more frequent exposure, greater emotional response flexibility, and greater
use of certain coping resources such as religion and spirituality (p. 348).

Racism, Stress, and Coping. In a recent published study, Utsey, Ponterotto,
Reynolds, and Cancelli (2000) examined the use of problem-solving, seeking social
support, and avoidance coping strategies in response to racial discrimination among
African Americans (n = 213; mean age = 21.35) and the association of these coping
strategies with race-related stress. In examining the influence of gender, Utsey et al.
found that women reported significantly greater use of seeking social support coping
strategies. In addition, across racism conditions (individual, cultural, and institutional),
women reported a significantly greater use of avoidance coping strategies than seeking
social support or problem-solving strategies in response to individual racism. No
significant differences in the use of coping strategies were found for men in response to
the various forms of racism. Those factors that were found to be significant predictors of
race-related stress were seeking social support coping and cultural racism. Greater uses
of seeking social support coping strategies and more reported experiences with cultural
forms of racism (e.g., noticing the inadequate or lack of public services in Black
communities) were related to higher levels of race-related stress. Utsey et al. suggest that
seeking social support coping in many instances may be the only viable strategy available
to African Americans when confronting racism, particularly more elusive forms of
racism.
In another recent study, Plummer and Slane (1996) examined the patterns of coping in racially stressful situations among White (n = 380) and African Americans (n = 164). In comparison to 56% of the their White counterparts, only 25% of African Americans indicated that they could not think of a specific racially stressful situation. Plummer and Slane (1996) found that in response to racial stress and general stress, African Americans reported significantly more problem-focused and emotion-focused coping than their White counterparts. Except for the greater use of confrontive and planful problem solving strategies in response to racial stress, African Americans employed a lower use of seeking social support, accept responsibility, distancing, escape avoidance, positive reappraisal, and self-controlling coping strategies in response to racial stress than general stress. Notable interactions between race and type of stress, however, indicated that Blacks used less distancing and more problem solving and seeking social support coping in response to racial stress than their White counterparts. Plummer and Slane suggested that these coping differences might be attributable to the greater likelihood of African Americans experiencing racially stressful situations. Also, there may be restrictions in the options available for coping with racially stressful situations. Lastly, African Americans may possess more flexibility or a greater repertoire of coping mechanisms due to the range and typically greater amount of stressors they must confront (Plummer and Slane, 1996).

In a laboratory-to-field analysis of racism, stress, and coping among 86 Black college students (mean age = 19.6 years), Brown (1997) found that active coping strategies were used to a significantly lesser degree in response to real-life racist events in comparison to a racist laboratory vignette. Brown (1997) had hypothesized that there
would be no significant difference in the use of active coping across racism conditions due to its "survival function" (p. 54). Brown speculates that the reduced use of active coping in response to real-life racist events may have been due to the perception that such situations are "not amenable to change" (p. 110). Although not significant, the degree to which participants reported the use of focusing on/venting of emotions, religious coping, and seeking social-support for emotional reasons was greater in response to the laboratory racist stimulus than to real-life racist events. Again, Brown speculates that African Americans may be more uncomfortable venting feelings in real-life racist situations due to fear of reprisals. Also, the short duration of many individual experiences with racism may not allow African Americans to fully reflect on what is occurring before utilizing particular coping strategies, such as religious coping (Brown, 1997). In regard to the degree to which various coping strategies were used based on the level of stress caused by real-life racism experiences, a significant effect was found only for focusing on/venting of emotions. African American students who reported the experience as highly stressful reported the use of this strategy to a significantly greater degree than those who reported the experience as not stressful, slightly stressful, or moderately stressful (Brown, 1997).

In the previously cited study by Phinney and Chavira (1995), styles of coping with prejudice and discrimination were examined among a sample of Japanese American (n=18), African American (n=16), and Mexican American adolescents (n=26). Three coping styles were identified: proactive (e.g., self-affirmation, discuss); passive (e.g., ignore); and aggressive (e.g., verbal retort). Although no significant differences were found among the three ethnic groups in their use of these coping styles, Phinney and
Chavira (1995) found that higher self-esteem and greater ethnic identity were related to greater use of proactive coping styles. Those adolescents who were more likely to use an aggressive coping style were lower in both self-esteem and ethnic identity.

Summary and Conclusions

As illustrated by this review of the literature on racial socialization, racial identity, cultural orientation, and racism, stress and coping, there is no unifying theoretical or conceptual framework nor methodology that has guided research on these vital areas of African American life and functioning. However, taken as a whole, many of the research findings are consistent.

It would be counterintuitive not to expect, at least conceptually, an interrelationship between racial socialization, racial identity, and cultural orientation. In terms of human development, it seems only logical that the emergent identities and orientations of African-American children and adolescents would be directed and influenced by the racial socialization orientation of their parents/guardians. Regardless of the model used, studies of racial identity clearly indicate that race/ethnicity is central to the self-concepts and identities of most African American adolescents and adults. Likewise, the studies that assess an Afri/Afrocentric worldview (i.e., frame of reference, orientation) among African American youth and adults also consistently find high endorsement or identification with Black culture. In that these studies did not assess the type of racial socialization received from parents, it cannot be determined whether a particular socialization orientation or agenda influenced the consistently high racial/ethnic and cultural identities. However, based on the research on racial
socialization that indicates that many African-American parents make race, Black culture, or minority status an essential feature of their racial socializing, it may be inferred that racial socialization is a significant influencer.

As suggested by Cross, Strauss, and Fangen-Smith (1999) as well as by Sellers et al. (1997), the identities and orientations of African American adolescents need not be rooted in their race/ethnicity or culture. There are opposing viewpoints as to whether such an identity or orientation is conducive for buffering societal racial assaults. Many African American scholars maintain that an identity or orientation that is rooted in Black cultural values, customs, and traditions is most advantageous. Others argue that such an identity or orientation is limiting, maladaptive, and ultimately not conducive to successfully navigating a society that aspires to be (or proports to be) race neutral or color-blind. There has been no systematic empirical analysis that provides an unequivocal validation of either viewpoint.

As suggested by Harrell et al. (1998) and Comer (1995), cultural identification (i.e., orientation) and racism-related stress and coping are likely to be related in complex ways. Similar responses may emanate from individuals who possess an Afrocentric and mainstream orientation. African Americans possessing both respective orientations may respond to racism with heightened reactivity, Afrocentric individuals because of sensitivity to racism and mainstream individuals because the experience is contrary to a color-blind or race neutral society. Although a bicultural orientation is argued by Comer and others to be most conducive for emotional well being and psychosocial functioning, the assessment of biculturality among African Americans has been utterly absent in the literature. The assessment of culture among African Americans has primarily focused on
an Afro/Africentric worldview, consciousness, or identity. More than not, these studies have shown that an identity or orientation that is rooted in Black or African culture is related to positive emotional well being and better psychological outcomes.

When perceived racism, racism-related stress, and psychological outcomes are examined, a different picture emerges. These studies tend to show that more perceived racism at the individual and collective level is associated with increased reports of stress and more negative psychological symptoms. When the influence of racial identity is examined, an identity rooted in one’s race and Black culture is typically associated with greater perceptions of racism. Although possessing a strong cultural or racial identity that does not denigrate non-Blacks or mainstream culture is found to be related to better adjustment, perceptions that racism affects African Americans as a group remain. Possessing what may be considered a more “healthy” or “adaptive” cultural or racial identity does not mean that individuals become oblivious to societal circumstances. These findings suggest that perceptions of racism need not be a prelude to psychological maladjustment. The factor that may contribute to the differential effects of racism and racism-related stress is coping.

The research findings of the effect of gender, level of distress, and degree of perceived control over stressors on coping are more definitive and have been substantiated across studies with different age and ethnic/racial group cohorts. The significantly greater use of seeking social support coping among adolescent females and greater use of externalizing coping among adolescent males are most consistent among the range of approach and avoidance coping strategies examined across studies. That those acute or chronic events or experiences that are most distressing to individuals will
initiate a greater use of coping resources is logical. However, as indicated by several scholars, the degree of perceived control may moderate the level of distress and result in more adaptive coping. But the success of such coping mechanisms largely depends on whether the stressor event or experience is in reality, controllable. There is some question as to whether racism-related experiences are controllable. As suggested by Compas, using more approach coping strategies in situations that are clearly uncontrollable further jeopardizes individuals emotional and psychological well being. Moreover, it is argued by some scholars that specific coping strategies such as seeking social support or passive coping strategies may be the only viable or appropriate response given the elusiveness of many forms of racism, fear of reprisals for using more active strategies, or fear of being deemed over reactive or sensitive. On the other hand, due to the wider range and more chronic nature of the stressors that are argued to impinge upon the lives of African Americans, a greater and more flexible repertoire of coping strategies to respond to perceived racism may be found.

In regard to the influence of culture, the positive link between an African (and Black) worldview and psychological well being can be argued to be a reflection of the inherent biases of many Afrocentric theories or the failure of researchers to simultaneously assess the influence of other racial/cultural attitudes, values, beliefs, etc. In that models that are informed by arguably more mainstream scholars tend to show opposite patterns, a similar argument can be made that these findings are also biased. The distinction between the surface (i.e., subjective) vs. deep (fundamental) structure of culture may provide some explanation as to the discrepant findings as well. Underlying values or principles that guide behavior and interactions are likely to provide a more
rigorous and valid indicator of individuals’ and groups’ psycho-social functioning given Myers (1987) contention that behavior proclivities and styles are transient. Moreover, certain behavioral proclivities whether they are Afrocentric or Eurocentric in nature may be dysfunctional given a particular context or situation or stressor.

Although conceptual links have been made between the various orientations emanating from the complex social experience of African Americans and coping, these links have not been empirically validated. Moreover, in that values rather than racial or cultural preferences and attitudes are being assessed, the findings from this study may be quite different from studies which focus on surface (i.e., subjective) racial or cultural elements. The values of spirituality, communalism, and affect, which are dimensions of a Black/Afro cultural orientation in this study, may be an effective buffer against stress or related to more adaptive coping regardless of the race or ethnicity of the respondents. Spirituality is a value or orientation that inspires hope in many individuals regardless of proximal or environmental stressors. The value or orientation of communalism implies that individuals are not left to deal with stressors alone, but have kinship or non-kin support. An affective orientation connotes the release of intense emotions or feelings that may be conducive for alleviating stress.

In regard to the dimensions representing a mainstream/Anglo cultural orientation in this study, the values of individualism, competition, and effort optimism may also be effective buffers against stress or related to more adaptive coping. Individualism connotes the ability and confidence to handle or resolve situations and difficulties without outside help or support. The value of competition implies that individuals are willing to or even thrive on taking on challenges. Lastly, effort optimism connotes an affinity to
working hard to achieve aspirations and goals. Therefore, what this study may indeed be assessing are value orientations rather than cultural orientations.

This study attempts to build on previous work by examining the interaction effects of a high or low (or strong or weak) Black/Afro value orientation and mainstream/Anglo value orientation. This approach will allow for the examination of biculturality (or an integrated value system) to explore whether a high endorsement of the values of both cultural (or value) orientations may be most desirable and conducive to effective coping. Such an approach has not been evident in the literature with African Americans. Although a non-representative sample of African American adolescents is used for this study, the findings may provide some insights into the applicability of the triple quandary framework in the African American experience. Whether these cultural or value distinctions are operable as we begin the 21st Century and whether they influence the coping of African American adolescents in a racially hostile society is the focus of this study.

Conceptual Model

The research model for this study is conceptually illustrated in Figure 1. The top level of Figure 1 depicts the distinct social worlds that make up the African American experience: a) Eurocultural, being the mainstream American experience; b) Afro-cultural, being the Black (or African) experience; and c) minority, being the minority or oppressed experience. As a result of navigating these distinct social worlds, many African Americans experience race-related experiences in the form of perceived everyday racism and concomitant stress. This is portrayed in the second level. The third level depicts the
possible cultural orientations that may exist among African American adolescents and subsequently influence the type of strategies used to cope with perceived racism. There are a number of factors that may serve to moderate the effect of stressful racial events or experiences on coping. African American adolescents who have a greater sense of control over racial stressors, who possess higher levels of racial identity, and who have received a greater degree of racial socialization messages from parents or guardians may respond to race-related experiences differently. This is depicted at the fourth level. Lastly, based on cultural orientation and moderating factors, some African American adolescents may be more likely to cope with everyday racism and racism-related stress through approach strategies (i.e., self-reliance/problem solving and seeking social support) or avoidance strategies (internalizing, distancing, and externalizing). Each of these coping strategies may have different effects on the well being of African American adolescents.
Figure 1: Research Conceptual Model
Definition of Terms

The following variables along with their theoretical and operational definitions served as the bases of this study.

**Cultural Orientation:** For the purposes of this study, cultural orientation was defined as the degree to which African American adolescents endorse values reflective of Black culture and mainstream American culture. Black/Afro values assessed were: (a) affect, referring to the emotional expressiveness of thoughts and feelings; (b) communalism, referring to the importance of social connections; and (c) spirituality, referring to the importance of religious activity and belief in a higher power or spiritual force and the spiritual essence of all things. Mainstream/Anglo values assessed were: (a) competition, referring to an emphasis on social comparisons and winning; (b) effort optimism, referring to the importance of hard work and sacrifice; and (c) individualism, referring to the importance of independence and individual effort and thought. Cultural value orientation was measured by the Cultural Questionnaire for Children (CQC; Jagers & Mock, 1993).

**Coping:** Two types of strategies differentiated coping. *Approach* coping was defined as the extent to which African American adolescents report the use of direct action to alter discriminatory and/or unfair treatment due to race (i.e., seeking social support and self-reliance/problem solving). *Avoidance* coping was defined as the extent to which African American adolescents report the use of indirect efforts to adjust to or distance
themselves from discriminatory and/or unfair treatment due to race (i.e., internalization, distancing, and externalizing). The Self-Report Coping Scale (Causey & Dubow, 1992) measured approach and avoidance coping strategies.

Racial Identity: One component of racial identity was examined. Racial centrality was defined as the extent to which African American adolescents normatively define themselves in terms of race. Racial identity was measured by the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, and Smith, 1997).

Perceived Racism: Perceived racism was defined as the extent to which African American adolescents perceive that offensive behavior or actions (whether overt, verbal, or gestural) directed toward them in their daily life experience is due to race or racism. Perceived racism was measured by the Daily Life Experiences Scale (DLE-R; S. Harrell, 1997a).

Racism-related Stress: Racism-related stress was defined as the degree to which African American adolescents report that racially offensive experiences in their daily lives are stressful for them. Racism-related stress was measured by the Racism Experiences Stress Scale (EXP-STR; Harrell, 1997a).

Racism-Related Socialization: Racism-related socialization was defined as the extent to which African American adolescents report that issues related to race and racism has been discussed with them by their parents or guardians. Racism-related socialization was measured by the Racism-related Socialization Influences Scale (SOC; S. Harrell, 1997a).
Research Questions and Hypotheses

The research questions and hypotheses for this study were guided by the conceptual and empirical links made in the literature and previous research.

1. Does gender, geographic region, ethnic identification, and the racial make-up of their neighborhood and school significantly influence the degree of perceived racism and racism-related stress reported by African American adolescents.

   Hypothesis 1a: There will be a significant difference in the degree of perceived racism and racism-related stress between African American males and females, whereby males will report significantly more perceived racism, but significantly less racism-related stress than their female counterparts.

2. Does gender, age range, socioeconomic status, and family structure significantly influence the degree to which African American adolescents use approach or avoidance strategies to cope with perceived everyday racism experiences.

   Hypothesis 2a: African American females will report a significantly greater use of seeking social support and internalization coping than their male counterparts.

   Hypothesis 2b: African American males will report a significantly greater use of distancing and externalizing coping than their female counterparts.

   Hypothesis 2c: There will be no significant difference between younger and older African American adolescents in the degree to which they use approach coping strategies.
Hypothesis 2d: There will be a significant difference between younger and older African American adolescents in the degree to which they use avoidance coping strategies.

Hypothesis 2e: There will be no significant difference in the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies between African American adolescents based on their socioeconomic status and family structure.

3. Are there significant differences in the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies among African American adolescents based on their reported level of racism-related stress and the degree of control they perceive over racial stressors?

Hypothesis 3a: African American adolescents who report a high level of racism-related stress will report a significantly greater use of approach and avoidance coping than their counterparts who report a low level of racism-related stress.

Hypothesis 3b: African American adolescents who perceive a high degree of control over racial stressors will report a significantly greater use of approach coping strategies than their counterparts who perceive a low degree of control.

Hypothesis 3c: There will be no significant differences in the use of avoidance coping strategies based on the degree of perceived control over racial stressors.

4. Is there an interaction effect of the level of racism-related stress and the degree of perceived controllability over racial stressors on the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies among African American adolescents.

Hypothesis 4a: African American adolescents who report a high level of racism-related stress and perceive low control over racial stressors will report a greater use of avoidance coping strategies.
Hypotheses 4b: African American adolescents who perceive high control over racial stressors and report a low or high level of racism-related stress will report a greater use of approach coping strategies.

5. Are there significant differences in the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies among African American adolescents based on the degree to which they endorse a Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo value orientation.

Hypothesis 5a: African American adolescents who strongly endorse a Black/Afro value orientation will report a significantly greater use of approach coping strategies and less use of avoidance coping strategies than their counterparts who weakly endorse a Black/Afro value orientation.

Hypothesis 5b: African American adolescents who strongly endorse a mainstream/Anglo value orientation will report a significantly greater use of approach coping strategies and externalizing and internalizing coping strategies than their counterparts who weakly endorse a mainstream/Anglo value orientation.

6. Is there an interaction effect of the degree of endorsement of a Black/Afro value orientation and the degree of endorsement of a mainstream/Anglo value orientation on the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies among African American adolescents.

Hypothesis 6a: African American adolescents who strongly endorse both a Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo value orientation (bicultural orientation) will report a significantly greater use of approach coping strategies and significantly less avoidance coping strategies than their counterparts who weakly endorse both value orientations (marginal orientation).
7. Does a Black/Afro value orientation and mainstream/Anglo value orientation influence the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies over and beyond background characteristics and race-related factors.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Participants

A total of 164 African American adolescents participated in this research study. Of this number, 25 questionnaires were eliminated because of missing data (more than 6 items), a proliferation of erroneous responses, participants identifying themselves as not being of African descent, or failure to meet other criterion. Consequently, the final sample on which analyses were conducted consisted of 139 African American adolescents. Analysis comparing the background characteristics of the final sample and the 25 participants eliminated from the study found no significant differences. As indicated in Table 1, the study sample consisted of 86 females (61.9%) and 53 males (38.1%) between the ages of 14 to 18 years (mean age = 16.12). Twenty-two (15.8%) of the participants were in the 9th grade, 46 (33.1%) in the 10th grade, 47 (33.8%) in the 11th grade, and 23 (16.5%) in the 12th grade. A greater percentage of participants self-reported as living in two-parent homes (n=75, 54%), followed by those from single-parent homes (n=44, 31.6%). In addition, a greater percentage of participants reported as having at least one parent with some college education or who worked in a skilled job
such as nurse, salesperson, secretary, technician, or clerk (n=63, 45.3%), followed by those with at least one parent with some advanced education (after college) or who worked in a profession such as doctor, lawyer, or teacher (n=51, 36.7%).

Participants were solicited from three geographical areas within the United States: Columbus, Ohio (n=49, 35.2%); Huntsville, Alabama (n=71, 51.4%); and Augusta, Georgia (n=19, 13.4%). Participants from Columbus, Ohio were recruited from three area public high schools where the student populations were predominately Black/African American (80.6% to 91.5%). Participants from Huntsville, Alabama were recruited from a private, Protestant-denominational high school where 99% of the student population was Black/African American. The participants from Augusta, Georgia were recruited informally through local contacts. All of the participants from Augusta, Georgia attended public high schools, most of whom reported attending high schools that were at least 50% Black/African American (n=15, 78.9%). In terms of the racial make-up of participant’s neighborhoods, 75 (53.9%) of the participants reported that they resided in areas that were mostly to all Black. Forty-two participants (30.2%) reported as living in neighborhoods that were about half Black, while 21 (15.1%) resided in neighborhoods that were mostly to all White. Lastly, the majority of participants identified themselves as Black, African-American, or both (n=119, 85.6%). Ten participants (7.2%) identified as biracial/multiracial, 4 (2.9%) as American, and 6 (4.3%) as other. Based on a content analysis, it appears that participants who marked other as an ethnic identifier did so for philosophical reasons. For example, such descriptors as “human,” “Black American,” “Negro,” and “a little bit of everything” were written. (See Table 1 for detailed report of characteristics of final sample).
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Table 1: Characteristics of the Final Sample (N=139).
Design

This research study was explanatory. To test the research hypotheses, a non-experimental, cross-sectional research design was utilized. Participants were obtained through a non-random, purposive data collection method. Data were collected at one point in time through self-report questionnaires. Differences among African American adolescents on the dependent variables were examined based on their self-selection on levels of the primary independent variable, cultural orientation. The other independent variables for this study were perceived control, racism-related stress, racial identity, racism-related socialization, age, gender, socioeconomic status, and other demographic characteristics. The primary dependent variables were approach and avoidance coping strategies.

The research design utilized in this study did not allow for causal inferences in that no randomization or manipulation of variables occurred. Therefore, alternative hypotheses could not be ruled out. However, several factors that have been found to be correlates of coping such as age, gender, and perceived control were examined and controlled. By controlling these important correlates, the main effects of the various dimensions of a Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo value system were examined.

Procedure

Students from Columbus Public Schools were recruited from three of the four high schools that possessed the greatest percentage of Black/African American students. Upon receiving consent to complete the study at their respective high schools, participation from students was solicited during class or study hall periods. In each
school, a script was used to inform students about the nature and purpose of the study. Students who expressed an interest in participating were given parental letters and consent forms and instructed as to their proper return. As an incentive, students were informed that a drawing of gift certificates from a local venue (theater) would occur on the date of data collection among those who participated in the study. On dates arranged to collect data, students completed self-administered questionnaires in small-to-large sessions or individual sessions. Out of the approximately 160 students who were invited to participate across the three Columbus Public High Schools, 55 returned consent forms and completed questionnaires, for a response rate of 34%.

Students at the private, Protestant denominational high school in Huntsville, Alabama were notified of the nature and purpose of the study and solicited to participate by proxy by their principal and teachers. Students were given parental letters and consent forms and informed that they would not be allowed to participate unless signed consent forms were returned by the date of data collection. A slice of pizza was used as an incentive to garner participation. Participating students were administered the questionnaire by their teachers during class sessions. Out of the approximately 100 freshmen, sophomores, and juniors, 88 students returned consent forms and completed questionnaires, for a response rate of 88%.

Through parental networks in Augusta, Georgia, African American adolescents attending area high schools were solicited to participate in the study. Prospective participants were approached in informal settings and informed about the nature and purpose of the study and given parental letters and consent forms. No incentives to
participate were offered. Only those African American adolescents who received parental consent and returned consent forms were allowed to participate. Questionnaires were administered in individual sessions.

All participants were administered the same questionnaire and allowed to complete the questionnaire at their own pace. In the instructions, participants were asked not to write their names or other identifying information on the questionnaire. In regard to the sensitivity of the topic under study, prospective participants were informed through the script and parental letters that some of the questions might cause them to become uncomfortable, and if so, the researcher would be available to discuss their feelings individually or as part of the group. At the end of each questionnaire, participants were debriefed as to the overall purpose of the study. Most participants were able to complete the questionnaire within 20 to 40 minutes. None of the participants indicated that they found any of the questions to be offensive or upsetting. (See Appendices A through D for copies of the script, parental letter and consent form, and questionnaire).

**Instrumentation**

*Cultural Questionnaire for Children* (CQC; Jagers and Mock, 1993). The Cultural Questionnaire for children is an index of endorsement of dimensions of a Black/Afro, mainstream/Anglo, and minority orientation. The Black/Afro Cultural Orientation Questionnaire assesses the degree of endorsement of three core values that are suggested to be reflective of Black/Afro culture: spirituality, communalism, and
affect. The Mainstream/Anglo Cultural Orientation Questionnaire assesses the degree of endorsement of core values that are suggested to be reflective of mainstream/Anglo culture: interpersonal competition, individualism, and effort optimism.

The Cultural Questionnaire for Children uses a series of vignettes to assess respondents' endorsement of the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of a single actor as it relates to core values of the respective cultural orientations. The following is an example of a vignette representing the value of spirituality:

Fred believes very strongly in God. He thinks people and all other things are made by God and therefore have God in them. Because all things have a spiritual quality Fred tries to show respect for them instead of thinking of things simply as objects to be used for his own purposes.

Endorsement is assessed through a series of questions which ask respondents to indicate on a 4-point rating scale the degree to which the actor is: (1) like members of their own family; (2) like their friends; (3) like themselves; and (4) how much they liked the actor. The means of these items are computed to obtain a mean orientation score. Through pilot testing, Jagers (1996) has found the vignettes and rating system to be comprehensible to students in the 3rd, 5th, and 8th grades. A recent study (Jagers et al., 1997) yielded a two-week test-retest coefficient of .81.

For the purposes of this study, all three vignettes generated to assess each of the Black/Afro cultural values were used. This approach was divergent from the approach employed by Jagers and his associates. In their studies, only one of the three vignettes for each Black/Afro cultural value was administered. This researcher felt that the use of all three vignettes is likely to provide a more valid and expansive index of a Black/Afro
orientation. In regard to a mainstream/Anglo orientation, new vignettes were generated to more reliably and validly assess the degree of endorsement of core values reflective of mainstream American culture. Similar to the approach of Jagers (1996), only the self-identification (you) and preference (like) questions were utilized to assess degree of endorsement.

**Self-Report Coping Scale** (Causey & Dubow, 1992). The Self-Report Coping Scale is a 34-item child and adolescent self-report coping inventory that assesses five coping strategies: seeking social support, self-reliance/problem solving, distancing, internalizing, and externalizing. The internalizing, externalizing, and distancing coping subscales are conceptualized as avoidance (i.e., emotion-focused) coping strategies, while the seeking social support and self-reliance/problem solving subscales are conceptualized as approach (i.e., problem-focused) coping strategies. For the purpose of this study, adolescents were asked to respond to each item on a 5-point, Likert-type scale from 1 (never) to 5 (always) to the lead question, “When I feel that I have been discriminated against or treated unfairly because of my race, I usually (e.g., talk to someone how it made me feel; forget the whole thing).” Higher scores indicate greater endorsement of that particular coping strategy. **Perceived Control** was assessed through one item: “When you feel you have been discriminated against or treated unfairly because of your race, how often do you think you can do something to change this situation?” Adolescents were asked to respond to this question on a 5-point Likert scale (1=never to 5=always).

Internal consistency of the subscales based on Cronbach’s alphas has been reported to range from .68 to .84. Predictive validity was established by examining the
relation among the coping subscales and measures of adjustment (Causey & Dubow, 1992). For example, self-reports of anxiety were found to be positively related to internalizing coping strategies, while global self-esteem was found to be positively related to the use of problem solving strategies to cope with a poor grade. Causey and Dubow (1992) also found that higher perceived competence in terms of behavioral conduct was negatively related to externalizing coping strategies.

**Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity** (MIBI; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, and Smith, 1997). The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity is a 65-item, self-report scale that measures three dimensions of racial identity: centrality, ideology, and regard. In the present study, only the Racial Centrality scale was used. The racial centrality scale measures the extent to which being African American is central to the self-conceptions and identities of respondents. The Racial Centrality scale consists of 10-items where respondents indicate on a 7-point, Likert-type scale (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree) the extent to which they agree or disagree with an item (e.g., Being Black is an important reflection of who I am). A high score indicated that race is central to the identity of respondents. Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, and Smith (1998) found the racial centrality scale to have an acceptable level of internal consistency with a Cronbach’s alpha of .73 with a sample of high school students. To allow for better ease of use and simplicity for participants in this study, the Racial Centrality scale was reduced from a 7-point scale to a 5-point scale.

Construct validity for the Racial Centrality scale has been demonstrated with greater positive regard toward African Americans and greater endorsement of nationalistic attitudes among respondents for whom being Black is central to their
definition of themselves. High central respondents have also been found to less likely endorse assimilation attitudes (Sellers et al., 1997). Predictive validity has been demonstrated through measures of race-related behaviors. Sellers et al. (1997) found that higher scores on racial centrality was related to having a best friend who was Black, having taken at least one Black studies course, and more contact with African Americans.

*Daily Life Experience & Racism Experiences Stress Scale* (DLE-R & EXP-STR; Harrell, 1997). The Daily Life Experience Scale and Racism Experiences Stress Scale is a composite scale from the Racism and Life Experience Scales (RaLES). The RaLES are a comprehensive set of scales designed to measure multiple dimensions of racism experiences (e.g., direct, vicarious, and collective) and associated constructs (e.g., reactions to racism, coping styles, and racial attitudes). The Daily Life Experience Race Scale assesses the frequency of 20 “micro-aggressions” including “being observed or followed in public places”, “being ignored, overlooked, or not given service”, and “others reacting to you as if they were afraid or intimidated” that respondents report in their daily life experience that they feel is due to race or racism (0=never; 4=all the time). The Racism Experiences Stress Scale assesses how stressful each of the daily life experiences attributed to race or racism are for respondents (0=no stress; 4=extremely stressful). Responses to both frequency of racism experiences and degree of stressfulness are indicated on a 4-point, Likert-type scale. For the purposes of this study, higher scores indicated more perceived racism in daily life experiences and more racism-related stress. In addition, the 20-item scale was reduced to 10 items to account for experiences that are more likely to occur among Black adolescents and to reduce the time required to complete the scales.
In a reliability and validity test with a predominant adolescent sample (81.2% of sample composed of 16-18 year olds, N=187), Harrell, Merchant, and Young (1997) reported a Cronbach's alphas of .92 for the Daily Life Experience Race Scale (DLE-Race) and .89 for the Racism Experiences Stress Scale (EXP-STR). In regard to construct validity, Harrell et al. found a significant positive relationship between DLE-Race and racial identity salience, membership collective self-esteem, and identity collective self-esteem. Those respondents for whom race was important to their self-identity and self-image and who were more involved with their racial/ethnic group reported more racism in the daily life experiences. A significant negative relationship was found between DLE-Race and public collective self-esteem, whereby those respondents who reported more racism in their daily life experiences perceived that society held more negative views toward their racial/ethnic group. Criterion validity was demonstrated with higher degrees of urban stress reported by those respondents who reported more racism experiences in their daily lives. The direction and magnitude of the relationships between EXP-STR and racial identity salience, membership collective self-esteem, identity self-esteem, and urban stress were similar to those reported among DLE-Race. In terms of criterion validity, the EXP-STR was also found to be significantly and positively related to perceived stress among respondents (Harrell, Merchant, & Young, 1997).

Racism-related Socialization Influences Scale (SOC, Harrell, 1997). The Racism-related Socialization Influences Scale is a 9-item, self-report measure that assesses the frequency and content of racism-related messages from family members and other important adults (e.g., teachers, clergy). Respondents indicate on a 4-point, Likert-
type scale (0=not at all; 4=extremely) the extent to which they have been racially socialized (e.g., to what extent have your parents, other family members, or other important adults in your life prepared you to deal with racism or talk to you about how to cope with racism). Higher scores indicate more discussion of race and racism by family, school, peers, etc. The scale has been found to have acceptable reliability with a Cronbach's alpha ranging from .70 to .77 (Harrell, Merchant, & Young, 1997). For the purposes of this study only racism-related socialization messages received from parents or guardians were assessed. This modified version consists of 5-items. Construct validity was demonstrated for this scale by a significant positive relationship between racism-related socialization influences and cultural mistrust, racial identity salience, and identity collective self-esteem. Those respondents who reported more discussion of race and racism were more likely to be mistrustful of Whites and to possess an identity and self-image where their race was important and meaningful (Harrell, Merchant, & Young, 1997).

**Demographic Information.** A demographic questionnaire was used to ascertain gender (male/female), age, and grade level. Respondents were asked to indicate how they identified themselves (e.g., Black, African-American, biracial/multiracial etc.) and the racial make-up of their neighborhood and school (e.g., all Blacks, mostly Blacks, etc.). Respondents were asked to select one of the following options for socioeconomic status: (1) At least one of my parents has some advanced education (after college) or works in a profession (doctor, lawyer, professor, teacher); (2) At least one of my parents has some college education or works in a skilled job like a nurse, salesperson, secretary, technician, or clerk; (3) My parents have no college education or work as laborers in
agriculture, construction, janitorial work, and so forth; or (4) My parents are not employed and receive some form of public assistance (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997).

Analysis

Preliminary analysis included factor analyses, scale reliability assessments, examination and replacement of missing data, and multivariate analyses to determine which background characteristics should be included in the main analyses. To identify the factor structure of the Cultural Questionnaire for Children, Self-Report Coping Scale, and Racial Centrality subscale of the Cultural Inventory of Black Identity, principal components factor analyses using varimax rotation methods were conducted. Item analyses were conducted to assess the internal consistency estimates of reliability for each of the scales used in the study. Descriptive statistics were calculated to summarize the data and bivariate correlational analysis to examine the interrelations among the values representing Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo orientations and the interrelations among the main study variables.

Two scales were created as indicators of a Black/Afro value system and mainstream/Anglo value system. The Black/Afro value system scale assessed the overall endorsement by African American adolescents of the values of spirituality, communalism, and affect. The scale was computed by taking the composite mean of vignette items that assessed each of the three values representing Black culture. The mainstream/Anglo value system scale assessed the overall endorsement of the values of
individualism, competition, and effort optimism. The scale was computed by taking the composite mean of vignette items that assessed each of the three values representing mainstream American culture.

African American adolescent participants were classified as high in Black/Afro orientation and mainstream/Anglo orientation if they scored above the median on the Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo value system scales and low in these orientations if they scored below the median on the respective value system scales. Participants were classified into low- and high racism-related stress groups based on a median split of scores on the racism experiences stress scale. Likewise, participants were classified into low- and high-perceived control groups based on the median score on the single perceived control item.

To examine whether background characteristics (e.g., gender, geographic region, and socioeconomic status) significantly influenced the key dependent variables, coping strategies, multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted. Likewise, to test for the main and interaction effects of level of racism-related stress and degree of perceived control over racial stressors, and the degree of endorsement of a Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo value system on approach and avoidance coping strategies, multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted. Follow-up analyses of significant main effects and interaction effects were conducted.

Hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to examine whether values descriptive of Black/Afro culture and mainstream/Anglo culture significantly influenced coping strategies over and above background characteristics and moderating factors. In
step 1, those background characteristics that were found to significantly affect coping strategies were entered. In addition, perceived control and racism-related stress were entered into step 1. In step 2, racial identity and racism-related socialization were entered to examine their effects on coping. In step 3, both cultural value orientations were entered. Finally, in the fourth step, interaction terms were entered into the regression analysis.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Seven research questions and their underlying hypotheses guided the analyses conducted for this study. Preliminary analyses consisted of factor analyses of primary instruments, conducting reliability estimates of scales, descriptive analyses to provide a profile of African American adolescent participants, and correlation analysis. The main analyses focused on the research questions and hypotheses. Research questions and hypotheses were primary analyzed through multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). The use of MANOVA was selected because it is a more powerful statistical test and reduces the probability of making Type I errors (Bryman & Cramer, 1999). Hierarchical multiple regression analysis was used to determine the relative importance of cultural values to the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies.

Preliminary Analysis

Factor Analyses

Factor analysis was conducted for several instruments used in this study. In previous studies using the Cultural Questionnaire for Children, only one vignette has been used to assess endorsement of each value corresponding to a Black/Afro or
mainstream/Anglo cultural orientation. In addition, no information has been reported about the internal consistency or factor structure of the questionnaire. Original items of the Cultural Questionnaire for Children, as well as newly generated items, were subjected to a factor analysis to determine whether the questionnaire yielded multiple dimensions of a Black/Afro or mainstream/Anglo value system.

The 33-items of the Self-Report Coping Scale were factor analyzed to determine whether the original five-factor structure of the scale was maintained with the African American adolescents in this study. In the original study by Causey & Dubow (1992), African American children comprised only 8% of the scale development sample. Moreover, the stressors by which the use of coping strategies was assessed were interpersonal arguments/fights and receiving a bad grade, whereas in this study, the stressor was perceived everyday racism. Therefore, it was important to determine the psychometric characteristics of the scale for this study. Studies using the Racial Centrality Scale and Daily Life Experience Scale with early to middle adolescents have, heretofore, not appeared in the literature. Therefore, it was important to also determine the psychometric characteristics of these scales for this study.

Factor Analyses of the Cultural Questionnaire for Children

The 30 vignette items (affect=6 items; communalism=6; spirituality=6; competition=4; effort optimism=4; and individualism=4) from the Cultural Questionnaire for Children were initially analyzed using a principal-components factor analysis with an unrotated factor solution. The initial analysis yielded 10 eigenvalues greater than 1 and accounted for 69.6% of the total variance. The scree plot suggested that a four- to five-factor solution might be considered. Nevertheless, an a priori criterion was used to
determine the number of factors to rotate. Given the three values (or dimensions) of a Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo cultural orientation, a six-factor solution was chosen. A principal-components factor analysis using a Varimax rotation procedure was then conducted. The six-factor solution accounted for 52.3% of the variance.

To obtain unique and reliable measures for each of the three values representing a Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo cultural orientation, only items that loaded strongly (> .50) on a single factor were retained. The 4-composite items from vignettes assessing the level of endorsement of competition, effort optimism, and individualism loaded strongly on a unique factor. Conversely, the six-composite items assessing each of the Black/Afro values (i.e., affect, communalism, and spirituality) were fragmented and did not hang together as a unique factor. Consequently, the number of items for the affect, communalism, and spirituality scales were reduced to three, two, and four, respectively. The factors included:

1. Factor 1, Affect (3 items, $\alpha = .58$);
2. Factor 2, Communalism (2 items, $\alpha = .74$);
3. Factor 3, Spirituality (4 items, $\alpha = .69$);
4. Factor 4, Competition (4 items, $\alpha = .77$);
5. Factor 5, Effort Optimism (4 items, $\alpha = .67$); and
6. Factor 6, Individualism (4 items, $\alpha = .72$).

A confirmatory factor analysis on the remaining 21 items was conducted using an oblique rotation procedure. An oblique rotation procedure was chosen in that correlational analysis (see Table 5) indicated that there were statistically significant intercorrelations among many of the cultural values. Table (2) presents the factor
structure matrix for the six-factor solution. As shown, 20 of the 21 items had factor loadings greater than .50. Only 3 items yielded cross loadings on multiple factors that were greater than .30.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
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<th>VI</th>
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<tbody>
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<td><strong>Affect</strong></td>
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<td>Vignette 1-Item 1</td>
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<td>Vignette 2-Item 1</td>
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<td>Vignette 3-Item 1</td>
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<td><strong>Communalism</strong></td>
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<td>Vignette 1-Item 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vignette 1-Item 2</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Spirituality</strong></td>
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<td>Vignette 1-Item 2</td>
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<td>Vignette 2-Item 1</td>
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<td>Vignette 3-Item 1</td>
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<td>Vignette 3-Item 2</td>
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<td><strong>Competition</strong></td>
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<td>Vignette 1-Item 1</td>
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<td>Vignette 1-Item 2</td>
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<td>Vignette 2-Item 1</td>
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<td>Vignette 2-Item 2</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Effort Optimism</strong></td>
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<td>Vignette 1-Item 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vignette 1-Item 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vignette 2-Item 1</td>
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<td>Vignette 2-Item 2</td>
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<td>.69</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Individualism</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Vignette 1-Item 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vignette 1-Item 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vignette 2-Item 1</td>
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<td>.81</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vignette 2-Item 2</td>
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<td>.84</td>
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</table>

*Note. These results were obtained through a principal component analysis with oblique rotation (n=139).*

Table 2: Factor Structure Matrix for Cultural Questionnaire for Children
Factor Analyses of the Self-Report Coping Scale

The 33 items of the Self-Report Coping Scale were initially analyzed using a principal-components factor analysis with an unrotated factor solution. Six factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0 were yielded, accounting for 58% of the total variance. The scree plot suggested that a five- to six-factor solution would be most desirable. A five-factor solution was chosen given the five-factor structure of the original scale. A principal component analysis using a Varimax rotation procedure was then conducted. The five-factor solution accounted for 54.3% of the total variance.

Table 3 presents the factor structure matrix for the five-factor solution. Items that loaded similarly on multiple factors or failed to load strongly on their original factors were deleted from their respective coping subscales. The final scale consisted of 25 of the original 33 items, all of which possessed loadings between 0.49 to 0.81.

The factors included:

1. Factor 1, Seeking Social Support (7 items, \( \alpha = .88 \));
2. Factor 2, Self-reliance/Problem Solving (6 items, \( \alpha = .70 \));
3. Factor 3, Distancing (6 items, \( \alpha = .76 \));
4. Factor 4, Internalizing (3 items, \( \alpha = .70 \)); and
5. Factor 5, Externalizing (3 items, \( \alpha = .70 \)).

A confirmatory factor analysis using an oblique rotation procedure was performed on the 25-item scale in that correlational analysis indicated that several of the intercorrelations among coping strategies were statistically significant (see Table 5). All items retained their strong loadings on a single factor.
**Table 3: Factor Structure Matrix for Self-Report Coping Scale**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
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<th>V</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seeking Social Support</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Tell a friend or family member what happened.</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Talk to somebody about how it made me feel.</td>
<td>.81</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Get help from a friend</td>
<td>.70</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Ask a friend for advice</td>
<td>.65</td>
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<tr>
<td>17. Ask a family member for advice</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22. Talk to someone who has had this problem what he or she would do.</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>29. Talk to my pastor, minister, or bishop about it.</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td></td>
<td>(.38)</td>
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<tr>
<td>31. Get help from a family member</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Self-reliance/Problem solving</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Try to think of different ways to solve it.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Change something so things will work out.</td>
<td>.57</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Decide on one way to deal with the problem and I do it.</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Do something to make up for it</td>
<td>.64</td>
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<tr>
<td>18. Know there are things I can do to make it better.</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>23. Go over in my mind what to do or say.</td>
<td>(.54)</td>
<td>.24</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. Try to understand why this happened to me.</td>
<td>(.42)</td>
<td>.47</td>
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<tr>
<td>33. Try extra hard to keep this from happening again.</td>
<td>.58</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Distancing</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Make believe that nothing happened.</td>
<td>.49</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Forget about the whole thing.</td>
<td>.74</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Tell myself it doesn't matter.</td>
<td>.79</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Refuse to think about it.</td>
<td>.73</td>
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<tr>
<td>24. Do something to take my mind off of it.</td>
<td>.56</td>
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<tr>
<td>28. Say I don't care.</td>
<td>.61</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Internalizing</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Go off by myself.</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>(.49)</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Become so upset that I cant that I can't talk to anyone.</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>(.57)</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Worry too much about it.</td>
<td>.70</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Cry or let my feelings out.</td>
<td>(.54)</td>
<td>.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Just feel sorry for myself.</td>
<td>.68</td>
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<tr>
<td>25. Worry about what others might think.</td>
<td>.77</td>
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<tr>
<td>32. Get mad at myself for doing something that I shouldn't have done.</td>
<td>(.41)</td>
<td>.50</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Externalizing</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Take it out on others because I feel sad and angry.</td>
<td>(.53)</td>
<td>.46</td>
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<tr>
<td>21. Yell to let steam off.</td>
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<td>.74</td>
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<tr>
<td>26. Curse out loud.</td>
<td>.74</td>
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<tr>
<td>30. Get mad and throw or hit something.</td>
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<td>.76</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Note: These results were obtained through a principal component analysis with varimax rotation (n=139).*

*These items were deleted from their respective subscales due to multiple factor loadings.*
Factor Analysis of the Racial Centrality Scale

To identify the factor structure of the 10-item Racial Centrality Scale, a principal-components factor analysis using a Varimax rotation procedure was conducted. The initial analysis yielded 3 factors with eigenvalues greater than 1, while the scree plot suggested that a two-factor solution should be considered. The two-factor solution accounted for 42.3% of the total variance among the 10 items. Three of the four negatively worded items loaded strongly on a single factor while the other failed to load strongly on either factor. It was suspected that participants might have experienced difficulty interpreting the negatively worded items given their relatively lower mean scores. Moreover, item analysis using the reliability procedure indicated that these items reduced the alpha level of the scale. Consequently, these items as well as a single item that loaded strongly on both factors were eliminated to maintain the unidimensionality of the construct, resulting in a 5-item scale ($\alpha = .67$).

Factor Analysis of the Daily Life Experiences Scale

To identify the factor structure of the 10-item Daily Life Experiences Scale, a principal-components analysis using a Varimax rotation procedure was performed. The initial analysis yielded two factors with eigenvalues greater than 1. Likewise, the scree plot suggested that a two-factor solution would be most interpretable. The two-factor solution accounted for 50% of the total variance among the 10 items. Five items had loadings of 0.60 or higher on the first factor, while the second factor had 4 items with loadings of 0.60 or higher. One item failed to load strongly on both factors and was eliminated from further scale consideration. The items on the first factor appeared to be related to direct perceived racism experiences (e.g., being treated rudely or
disrespectfully), while the items on the second factor seemed to be related to indirect perceived racism experiences (e.g., being observed or followed while in public places). In order to investigate the overall level of perceived racism, an Overall Perceived Racism Scale was created from the 9 items ($\alpha = .77$).

**Reliability of Instruments**

Internal consistency estimates of reliability were computed for all the instruments used in this study. These analyses included the new scales for the Cultural Questionnaire for Children, Self-Report Coping Scale, Racial Centrality Scale, and Daily Life Experiences Scale based on the factor analyses conducted. The low to moderate reliabilities (.58 to .77) previously reported for the subscales of the Cultural Questionnaire for Children are sufficient for new scales according to Nunnally & Durham (1975). The reliability estimates for four of the five subscales (except Self-reliance/Problem Solving) of the Self-Report Coping Scale in this study were higher than those reported by Causey and Dubow (1992) in their report of the initial findings of the reliability and validity of the scale. The reliability estimates for the other instruments were low to high: Overall Racism-Related Stress Scale ($\alpha = .86$); Black/Afro Value Orientation Scale ($\alpha = .57$); and mainstream/Anglo Orientation System Scale ($\alpha = .71$). Table (4) presents the alpha reliabilities of the instruments.
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<th>Scale</th>
<th># of items</th>
<th>Cronbach’s alpha</th>
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<td>Competition Scale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Effort Optimism Scale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Individualism Scale</td>
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<td><strong>Race-Related Scales</strong></td>
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<td>Racism Experiences Stress Scale</td>
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Table 4: Scale Reliabilities
Descriptive Analysis

Separate descriptive statistics and Pearson correlation coefficients were computed for the cultural orientation values and coping strategies to evaluate their comparative mean level of endorsement and intercorrelations in order to provide a profile of the African American adolescents who participated in the study. No specific research questions or hypotheses were proposed. As shown in the upper portion of Table 5, six out of the 15 correlations among the cultural values were statistically significant albeit in the low to moderate range. The strongest associations were between affect and two of the mainstream/Anglo values: individualism ($r = .30$) and effort optimism ($r = .28$). Spirituality and an emphasis on hard work and sacrifice were also moderately related ($r = .27$). The significant positive relationship between competitiveness and individualism ($r = .20$) and the significant inverse relationship between communalism and competition ($r = -.18$) made theoretical sense. In regard to the mean level of endorsement of the cultural values representing Black culture and mainstream culture, spirituality, effort optimism, and communalism, respectively, were endorsed significantly more highly than the other cultural values. The least strongly endorsed value was competition, endorsed significantly lower than all other values.

The lower portion of Table 5 shows that 4 out of 10 correlations among the coping strategies were statistically significant. The association between seeking social support and self-reliance/problem solving was substantial ($r = .52$), while the intercorrelations among the avoidance coping strategies were weak and insignificant, indicating that they were more independent of one another. The significant inverse relationship between seeking social support and distancing ($r = -.29$) makes theoretical
sense. However, the significant positive relationship between seeking social support and internalizing ($r = .22$) is less interpretable, while the significant positive association between internalizing and self-reliance/problem solving ($r = .22$) is theoretically meaningful.

While the range of mean scores on the coping strategy scales indicates significant variation among participants, the overall mean scores indicate that Black adolescents in this study used these strategies to cope with racism to a moderate degree. Nevertheless, paired sample $t$-tests indicated that seeking social support was used significantly more than the other coping strategies, followed by self-reliance/problem solving and distancing which were used significantly more than internalizing and externalizing coping strategies.
<table>
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<th>1b</th>
<th>1c</th>
<th>2a</th>
<th>2b</th>
<th>2c</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Possible Range</th>
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<td>.93</td>
<td>1.00-5.00</td>
<td>1.00-5.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Means with different superscripts are significantly different from each other (p<.01) using paired samples tests (n=139).

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

Table 5: Intercorrelations Among and Descriptive Statistics for Cultural Orientation Values and Self-Report Coping with Perceived Overall Racism
One-way ANOVAs were conducted to evaluate gender differences on study variables. Results are shown in Table 6. The ANOVAs were statistically significant for one out of the 12 study variables. Results indicated that males and females differed significantly in their endorsement of competition, $F(1, 136) = 6.01, p=.015$. Males endorsed the value of competition significantly higher than their female counterparts. No other significant gender differences were found.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Females</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>(N=86)</td>
<td>(1, 136)</td>
<td>(N=138)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>$M$ (SD)</td>
<td>$M$ (SD)</td>
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<td>Black/Afro Value System</td>
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<td>3.25 (.35)</td>
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<td>2.86 (.35)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Communalism</td>
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<td>3.25 (.63)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 6: Comparison of Mean Scores Between Male and Female Adolescents on Primary Variables
**Correlation Analysis**

Pearson correlation coefficients were computed among all the primary variables. No specific hypotheses were proposed about the direction and strength of the bivariate relationships among variables. Results are shown in Table 7. Statistically significant results included the positive relationship of perceived control with self-reliance/problem solving ($r = .38$) and seeking social support ($r = .35$). Also, there was a lack of significant relationships between racial identity and study variables, while racism-related socialization was significantly related to 8 of the study variables, most strongly with self-reliance/problem solving ($r = .30$), seeking social support ($r = .29$), and perceived control over racial stressors ($r = .21$). Most noteworthy were the significant relationships between self-reliance/problem solving and 4 of the 6 cultural values investigated in this study: effort optimism ($r = .37$), spirituality ($r = .26$), affect ($r = .23$), and competition ($r = .23$). Internalizing and distancing coping were statistically unrelated to the cultural values investigated, while seeking social support was positively related to affect ($r = .25$) and the composite Black/Afro value system orientation ($r = .17$). Externalizing coping was negatively related to spirituality ($r = -.27$) and the composite Black/Afro value orientation scale ($r = -.25$). The strongest association was between overall perceived racism and overall racism-related stress ($r = .72$).
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Variable</th>
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<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.27**</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14-Perceived Control</td>
<td></td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.38**</td>
<td>.35**</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-Overall Perceived Racism</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.23**</td>
<td>.20'</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.27**</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-Overall Racism-Related Stress</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.17'</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.22**</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.24**</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.72**</td>
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<tr>
<td>17-Racial Identity</td>
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<td>.11</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.18'</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-Racism-Related Socialization</td>
<td></td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.19'</td>
<td>.18'</td>
<td>.15'</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.21'</td>
<td>.17'</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.20'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 7: Intercorrelations among Primary Variables
Main Analysis – Research Questions/Hypotheses

Research Question 1

The first research question focused on the influence of gender, geographic region, ethnic identification, and the racial make-up of participants' neighborhood and school on overall perceived racism and overall racism-related stress. No hypotheses were proposed in that no suggestions about the influence of these factors are made in the literature. A multivariate analysis of variance was conducted to assess the influence of these factors. The main effects of ethnic identification, geographic region, racial make-up of neighborhood and racial make-up of school were not significant. Table 8 reports the means and univariate F-tests results for overall perceived racism and overall racism-related stress based on each of the five background characteristics.

Hypothesis 1a proposed that African American males would report a significantly greater degree of perceived racism experiences, but significantly less racism-related stress than their female counterparts. A MANOVA was conducted with overall perceived racism and overall racism-related stress as the dependent variables. The overall main effect for gender was significant, Wilks’ Λ = .88, \( F(2, 126) = 8.59, p<.001 \).

As shown in Table 8, the univariate effect of gender on overall perceived racism approached significance, \( F(1, 127) = 3.17, p=.08 \). The univariate test for overall racism-related stress was not significant. Although the effect of gender on overall perceived racism and racism-related stress was in the hypothesized direction, the hypothesis was only weakly supported.
### Table 8: Group Means and Univariate F Values for Overall Perceived Racism and Racism-Related Stress as a Function of Background Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Overall Perceived Racism</th>
<th>Overall Racism-Related Stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>1.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ F(1, 127) = 3.17; p = .08</td>
<td>Univ F(1, 127) = 1.18; p = ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Ethnic Identification</strong></th>
<th>Overall Perceived Racism</th>
<th>Overall Racism-Related Stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black/African-American</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>1.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>1.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biracial/Multiracial</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ F(3, 127) = .30; p = ns</td>
<td>Univ F(3, 127) = .26; p = ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Racial Make-up Neighborhood</strong></th>
<th>Overall Perceived Racism</th>
<th>Overall Racism-Related Stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mostly to all Black</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>1.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About half Black</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly to all White</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>1.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ F(2, 127) = .122; p = ns</td>
<td>Univ F(2, 127) = .03; p = ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Racial Make-up School</strong></th>
<th>Overall Perceived Racism</th>
<th>Overall Racism-Related Stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mostly to all Black</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About half Black</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly to all White</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>1.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ F(2, 127) = .98; p = ns</td>
<td>Univ F(2, 127) = .44; p = ns</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Geographic Region</strong></th>
<th>Overall Perceived Racism</th>
<th>Overall Racism-Related Stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Ohio</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>1.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Alabama</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>1.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast Georgia</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ F(2, 127) = .40; p = ns</td>
<td>Univ F(2, 127) = 1.38; p = ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** These results were obtained through a GLM MANOVA (n=138).
Research Question 2

The second research question focused on the influence of age range, gender, grade, family structure, and socioeconomic status on the use of approach or avoidance strategies to cope with perceived everyday racism experiences. The data were analyzed using a five-way MANOVA. The dependent variables were seeking social support, self-reliance/problem solving, distancing, internalizing, and externalizing coping strategies. The overall main effect of gender was significant, Wilks’ $\Lambda = .85$, $F(5, 121) = 4.28$, $p<.001$. The overall main effects of age range, grade, family structure, and socioeconomic status on coping strategies were not significant. Table 9 shows the means and univariate $F$-tests results.

**Hypothesis 2a** proposed that females would report significantly greater use of seeking social support and internalizing coping strategies than males. The univariate effects of gender on seeking social support was significant, $F(1, 125) = 12.85$, $p<.001$, and approached significance on internalizing, $F(1, 125) = 3.24$, $p<.07$. In both cases, females reported greater use of seeking social support and internalizing, thereby supporting the hypothesis.

**Hypothesis 2b** proposed that African American males would report significantly greater use of distancing and externalizing coping strategies than their female counterparts. As shown in Table 9, the mean scores of males and females for distancing coping strategies were virtually identical. Although males reported greater use of externalizing coping strategies as hypothesized, the univariate effect of gender was not significant, $F(1, 125) = 1.30$, $p=ns$. Therefore, hypothesis 2b was not supported. The univariate effect of gender on self-reliance/problem solving was not significant.
Hypothesis 2c proposed that there would be no significant difference between younger and older African American adolescents in the use of the approach coping strategies, seeking social support and self-reliance/problem solving. In both cases, as shown in Table 9, the univariate effect of age range was not significant, thereby supporting the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2d proposed that there would be significant differences between younger and older African American adolescents in their use of distancing, internalizing, and externalizing coping strategies. Although older adolescents reported greater use of distancing and internalizing coping and less externalizing coping than younger adolescents, the univariate tests were not significant. Hence, hypothesis 2d was not supported.

The last hypothesis, Hypothesis 2e, proposed that the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies would not be significantly influenced by socioeconomic status or family structure. As hypothesized, none of the univariate tests were significant at $p<.05$, albeit the univariate effect of family structure on externalizing coping did approach significance, $F(2, 125) = 2.39$, $p=.09$. However, paired contrast $t$-tests did not indicate significant differences between adolescents on this factor. Therefore, hypothesis 2e was supported.
### Independent Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Seeking Social Support</th>
<th>Self-reliance/Problem Solving</th>
<th>Distancing</th>
<th>Internalizing</th>
<th>Externalizing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age Range</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-15 years old</td>
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<td>2.45</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-18 years old</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>1.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Univ F(1, 125) = .08, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(1, 125) = .50, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(1, 125) = .59, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(1, 125) = .85, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(1, 125) = .08, p=ns</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Grade</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>1.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Univ F(3, 125) = 1.75, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(3, 125) = .54, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(3, 125) = .61, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(3, 125) = 1.36, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(3, 125) = 1.43, p=ns</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2.28b</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>1.58</td>
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<td>Female</td>
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<td>2.53</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>1.92</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Univ F(1, 125) = 12.85, p&lt;.001</td>
<td>Univ F(1, 125) = .67, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(1, 125) = .00, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(1, 125) = 3.24, p=.07</td>
<td>Univ F(1, 125) = 1.30, p=ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family Structure</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two parent</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>1.77</td>
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<td>Single parent</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>2.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (relatives, etc.)</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>2.20</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Univ F(2, 125) = 1.25, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(2, 125) = .41, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(2, 125) = 1.22, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(2, 125) = .16, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(2, 125) = 2.39, p=.09</td>
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<td><strong>Socio-economic Status</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/advanced education</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>1.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled/some college education</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>2.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled/no college education</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None working</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>2.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Univ F(3, 125) = 1.04, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(3, 125) = .31, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(3, 125) = .85, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(3, 125) = 1.26, p=ns</td>
<td>Univ F(3, 125) = 1.63, p=ns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* These results were obtained through a GLM MANOVA (n=136). Means with different superscript letters differed significantly.

Table 9: Group Means and F Values on Coping Strategies as a Function of Background Characteristics
Research Question 3

The third research question focused on the influence of the level of racism-related stress and the degree of perceived control over racial stressors on the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies among African American adolescents. African American adolescents were placed in a low stress or high stress group based on a median-split criterion, with those scoring below the median being placed in the low stress group and those scoring above the median being placed in the high stress group. Similarly, African American adolescents were placed in a low-perceived control or high-perceived control group based on a median-split criterion. A MANOVA with coping strategies as the dependent variable was conducted to test the underlying hypotheses for this question. Table 10 shows the means and univariate F-tests results.

Hypothesis 3a proposed that African American adolescents who reported a high level of racism-related stress in reaction to perceived racism experiences would report a significantly greater use of approach and avoidance coping than those who reported a low level of racism-related stress. The overall main effect of level of racism-related stress was significant, Wilks’ $\Lambda = .85, F(5, 130) = 4.30, p<.001$. The univariate effects of racism-related stress were significant for internalizing, $F(1, 134) = 6.11, p<.05$, and externalizing, $F(1, 134) = 6.92, p<.10$, and approach significance for self-reliance/problem solving, $F(1, 134) = 3.53, p=.06$. African American adolescents who reported a high degree of racism-related stress reported a significantly greater use of internalizing and externalizing coping and less use of self-reliance/problem solving coping than their low stress counterparts. For seeking social support and distancing
coping, the univariate effects of racism-related stress were not significant. Therefore, the hypothesis was supported for two out of the five coping strategies.

**Hypothesis 3b** proposed that African American adolescents who reported a high degree of perceived control over racial stressors would report a significantly greater use of approach coping strategies than their counterparts who reported low perceived control over racial stressors. The overall main effect of perceived control was significant, Wilks' $\Lambda = .78, F(5, 130) = 6.95, p < .001$. As shown in Table 10, the univariate effects of perceived control was significant for approach coping strategies: seeking social support, $F(1, 134) = 15.53, p < .001$, and self-reliance/problem solving, $F(1, 134) = 24.18, p < .001$. African American adolescents who reported high-perceived control over racial stressors reported a significantly greater use of both approach coping strategies. Hypothesis 3b was supported.

**Hypothesis 3c** proposed that the degree of perceived control over racial stressors among African American adolescents would not significantly influence the use of avoidance coping strategies. As hypothesized, the univariate effects of perceived control were not significant for distancing, internalizing, and externalizing coping strategies. As shown in Table 10, the mean scores for low and high perceived control individuals for avoidance coping strategies were very similar, thereby, supporting hypothesis 3c.
## Coping Strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategies</th>
<th>Degree of Perceived Control</th>
<th>Level of Racism-Related Stress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low Perceived Control (n=101)</td>
<td>High Perceived Control (n=37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low Stress (n=72)</td>
<td>High Stress (n=66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approach Coping:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeking Social Support</td>
<td>2.65 3.32</td>
<td>2.97 3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UnivF=15.53***</td>
<td>UnivF=.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-reliance/Problem Solving</td>
<td>2.42 3.05</td>
<td>2.85 2.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UnivF=24.18***</td>
<td>UnivF=3.53*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Avoidance Coping:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distancing</td>
<td>2.49 2.53</td>
<td>2.54 2.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UnivF=.04</td>
<td>UnivF=.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internalizing</td>
<td>1.88 1.76</td>
<td>1.62 2.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UnivF=.58</td>
<td>UnivF=6.11*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Externalizing</td>
<td>1.91 1.96</td>
<td>1.70 2.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UnivF=.06</td>
<td>UnivF=6.92**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. These results were obtained through a GLM Multivariate MANOVA (n=138).*

*p<.10. *p<.05. **p<.01. ***p<.001.

Table 10: Group Means and Univariate F Values on Coping Strategies due to Main Effects of Degree of Perceived Control and Level of Racism-Related Stress
Research Question 4

The fourth research question focused on the interaction effects of level of racism-related stress and degree of perceived controllability on the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies among African American adolescents. Two hypotheses were proposed that were analyzed using a multivariate analysis of variance. The overall MANOVA effects for stress group x perceived control group was not significant, Wilks' $\Lambda = .94, F (5, 130) = 1.45, p=.21$. Table 11 shows the means and univariate $F$-tests results.

Hypotheses 4a proposed that African American adolescents who reported a high level of racism-related stress and perceived low control over racial stressors (LC/HS) would report a greater use of avoidance coping strategies. The univariate effects of stress group x perceived control group for distancing, internalizing, and externalizing were not significant. Table 11 displays the means for individuals based on their perceived control and stress level groupings. As shown, the mean for low control/high stress adolescents on distancing was very similar to the mean scores of adolescents in the other groups. Although univariate $F$-tests were not significant, contrast $t$-tests indicated that low control/high stress (LC/HS) adolescents reported a significantly greater use of internalizing and externalizing coping than low control/low stress and high control/low stress adolescents ($t=2.77, df=134, p<.01$ and $t=2.50, df=134, p<.05$, respectively).

Furthermore, contrast $t$-test also indicated that high control/high stress adolescents used
externalizing coping significantly more than low control/low stress and high control/low stress adolescents ($t=1.93, df=134, p=.05$). Therefore, hypothesis 4a was partially supported.

**Hypothesis 4b** proposed that African American adolescents who perceived a high degree of control over racial stressors and reported either a low or high level of racism-related stress (HC/LS or HC/HS) would report a greater use of approach coping strategies. The univariate effects of stress group $\times$ perceived control group were significant for seeking social support, $F(1, 134) = 5.68, p<.05$, and approached significance for self-reliance/problem solving, $F(1, 134) = 3.05, p=.08$. Table 11 shows the means for the significant univariate interaction effects of stress $\times$ control. Contrast $t$-tests indicated that high control/low stress adolescents used seeking social support coping significantly more than low control/low stress, low control/high stress, and high control/high stress adolescents ($t = -3.02, df=134, p<.01$). $T$-tests further indicated that high control/high stress adolescents used seeking social support coping significantly more than low control/low stress and low control/high stress adolescents ($t = -2.22, df=134, p<.05$). For self-reliance/problem solving, contrast $t$-tests indicated that high control/low stress adolescents used self-reliance/problem solving coping significantly more than low control/low stress and low control/high stress adolescents ($t = -4.95, df=134, p<.001$). $T$-tests further indicated that high control/high stress adolescents used self-reliance/problem solving coping significantly more than low control/low stress and low control/high stress adolescents.
adolescents \( t = -2.44, \text{df}=134, p<.05 \). Furthermore, high control/low stress adolescents used self-reliance/problem solving coping more than high control/high stress adolescents \( t = -2.12, \text{df}=134, p<.05 \). Hypothesis 4b was supported.
### Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategies</th>
<th>LC/LS (n=55)</th>
<th>LC/HS (n=46)</th>
<th>HC/LS (n=17)</th>
<th>HC/HS (n=20)</th>
<th>UnivF</th>
<th>Significant Group Differences*</th>
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<td>5.68*</td>
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<td>.06</td>
<td>LC/HS&gt;LC/LS, HC/LS; HC/HS&gt;LC/LS, HC/LS</td>
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</table>

*Note.—LC/LS = Low Control/Low Stress; LC/HS = Low Control/High Stress; HC/LS = High Control/Low Stress; HC/HS = High Control/High Stress.

*Group Score differences are significant based on Contrast T-tests at \( p < .05 \) (\( n = 138 \)).

\( ^* p < .10 \). \( ^* p < .05 \).

Table 11: Group Means, Univariate \( F \) Values, and Significant Group Differences for Coping Strategies due to Degree of Perceived Control and Level of Racism-Related Stress Interactions
Research Question 5

The fifth research question focused on differences in the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies among African American adolescents based on the degree to which they endorsed a Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo value orientation. African American adolescents were placed in a low endorsement or high endorsement group based on a median-split criterion for both the Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo value orientation scales. A multivariate analysis of variance with coping strategies as the dependent variable was conducted to test the underlying hypotheses.

Hypothesis 5a proposed that African American adolescents who strongly endorsed a Black/Afro value orientation would report a significantly greater use of approach coping strategies and less use of avoidance coping strategies than their counterparts who weakly endorsed a Black/Afro value orientation. The overall main effect of degree of Black/Afro value orientation was significant, Wilks’ $\Lambda = .85, F (5, 131) = 4.34, p<.001$. Two of the univariate tests were significant: self-reliance/problem solving, $F(1, 135) = 6.11, p<.05$, and externalizing, $F(1, 135) = 11.18, p<.001$. The univariate effects of degree of Black/Afro value orientation were not significant for seeking social support, distancing, and internalizing. Table 12 displays the means for the univariate effects. As shown, African American adolescents who highly endorsed a Black/Afro value orientation used self-reliance/problem solving coping significantly more and externalizing coping significantly less than those with a low Black/Afro value orientation. Although the univariate effects were in the hypothesized direction for seeking social support and distancing coping, the differences were not statistically
The level to which low and high endorsers used internalizing coping strategies was identical. Therefore, the hypothesis was only partially supported.

**Hypothesis 5b** proposed that African American adolescents who strongly endorsed a mainstream/Anglo value orientation would report a significantly greater use of approach coping strategies and externalizing and internalizing coping strategies than their counterparts who weakly endorse a mainstream/Anglo value orientation. The overall main effect of degree of mainstream/Anglo value orientation approached significance, Wilks' $\Lambda = .92, F(5, 131) = 2.11, p = .07$. The univariate tests were significant for self-reliance/problem solving, $F(1, 135) = 8.04, p < .01$, and approached significance for internalizing, $F(1, 135) = 3.31, p = .07$. The univariate effects of degree of mainstream/Anglo value orientation were not significant for seeking social support, distancing, and externalizing coping strategies. As shown in Table 12, African American adolescents who highly endorsed a mainstream/Anglo value orientation used self-reliance/problem solving coping significantly more and internalizing more than those with a low mainstream/Anglo value orientation. Although the univariate effects were in the hypothesized direction for seeking social support and externalizing, the differences were not statistically significant. Low and high endorsers reported the same level of distancing coping strategies. Based on these results, the hypothesis was only partially supported.
### Coping Strategies

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<th>Degree of Mainstream/Anglo Value Orientation</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Self-reliance/Problem Solving</td>
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<td></td>
<td>UnivF=6.11**</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Avoidance Coping:</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distancing</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UnivF=11.18***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** These results were obtained through a GLM Multivariate MANOVA (n=139).

*p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Table 12: Group Means and Univariate F Values on Coping Strategies due to Main Effects of Degree of Black/Afro Value Orientation and Degree of Mainstream/Anglo Value Orientation
Research Question 6

The sixth research question focused on the interaction effects of degree of a Black/Afro value orientation and degree of a mainstream/Anglo value orientation on the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies among African American adolescents. One hypothesis was proposed and analyzed using a multivariate analysis of variance.

Hypothesis 6a proposed that African American adolescents who highly endorsed both a Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo value orientation (bicultural orientation) would report a significantly greater use of approach coping strategies and significantly less avoidance coping strategies than their counterparts who weakly endorsed both value orientations (marginal orientation). The overall main effect of Black/Afro group x mainstream/Anglo group was not significant, Wilks’ $\Lambda = .96, F = 1.05, p = .39$. Only one of the univariate tests were significant: seeking social support, $F (1, 135) = 4.20, p < .05$. The univariate effects were not significant for self-reliance/problem solving, distancing, internalizing, and externalizing coping strategies. Table 13 shows the means, univariate $F$-tests results, and significant group differences. Contrast $t$-tests were conducted to determine where significant differences existed.

The difference between bicultural and marginal adolescents in the use of seeking social support coping approached significance ($t = -1.75, df=135, p = .08$). In regard to the other coping strategies, the differences in mean scores between bicultural and marginal adolescents were in the hypothesized direction for self-reliance/problem solving, distancing, and externalizing. Although as previously mentioned, the univariate tests were not significant across groups, contrast $t$-tests were conducted to determine if there
were paired mean differences between groups. For self-reliance/problem solving coping, contrast t-tests indicated that bicultural adolescents used self-reliance/problem solving coping significantly more than marginal adolescents ($t = -4.13$, $p < .001$). There were no paired group differences for distancing coping. For externalizing coping, contrast t-tests approached significance for the difference in use of externalizing coping between bicultural and marginal adolescents, with more use of externalizing coping among marginal adolescents ($t = 1.84$, $p = .07$). Therefore, hypothesis 6a was supported for self-reliance/problem solving coping, but only weakly supported for seeking social support and externalizing coping.

Contrary to hypothesis 6a, bicultural adolescents reported greater use of internalizing coping than marginal adolescents. However, contrast t-tests indicated that the degree to which bicultural adolescents used internalizing coping was not significantly greater than their marginal counterparts. Other findings included a significantly greater use of seeking social support coping among bicultural adolescents than mainstream-oriented adolescents ($t = 2.41$, $df = 135$, $p < .05$) and Black-oriented adolescents ($t = 1.96$, $df = 135$, $p = .05$). In addition, contrast t-tests indicated that bicultural adolescents used self-reliance/problem solving coping significantly more than mainstream- and Black-oriented adolescents ($t = 3.11$, $p < .01$). For internalizing coping, contrast t-tests indicated that bicultural adolescents used internalizing coping significantly more than Black-oriented adolescents ($t = 2.04$, $p < .05$). Finally, for externalizing coping, contrast t-tests indicated that mainstream-oriented adolescents used externalizing coping significantly
more than Black-oriented adolescents ($t = 2.97, p < .01$) and bicultural adolescents ($t = -2.25, p < .05$), while marginal adolescents used externalizing coping significantly more than Black-oriented adolescents ($t = 2.70, p < .01$).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coping Strategies</th>
<th>LB/LM (n=47)</th>
<th>LB/HM (n=31)</th>
<th>HB/LM (n=26)</th>
<th>HB/HM (n=35)</th>
<th>UnivF</th>
<th>Significant Group Differences</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approach Coping</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>3.14</td>
<td>4.20*</td>
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<td>2.54</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>HB/HM&gt;LB/LM, HB/HM&gt;LB/HM, HB/LM</td>
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<tr>
<td>Avoidance Coping</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distancing</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>HB/HM&gt;HB/LM</td>
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<td>1.60</td>
<td>2.06</td>
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<td>Externalizing</td>
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<td>1.71</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>LB/HM&gt;LB/LM, LB/HM&gt;HB/HM, LB/LM&gt;HB/LM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—LB/LM = Low Black Value Orientation/Low Mainstream Value Orientation (i.e., Marginal); LB/HM = Low Black Value Orientation/High Mainstream Value Orientation (i.e., Mainstream-oriented); HB/LM = High Black Value Orientation/Low Mainstream Value Orientation (i.e., Black-oriented); HB/HM = High Black Value Orientation/High Mainstream Value Orientation (i.e., Bicultural). *Group Score differences are significant based on Contrast T-tests at *p*<.05 (n=139).

Table 13: Group Means, Univariate F Values, and Significant Group Differences of Coping Strategies due to Degree of Black/Afro Value Orientation and Degree of Mainstream/Anglo Value Orientation Interactions
Research Question 7

The seventh research question focused on the influence of a Black/Afro value orientation and mainstream/Anglo value orientation on the use of approach and avoidance coping over and beyond background characteristics and race-related factors. No hypotheses were proposed in that this aspect of the study was primary exploratory due to the absence of previous studies that have examined linkages of cultural values to specific coping strategies.

Five separate hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine the degree to which the use of seeking social support, self-reliance/problem solving, distancing, internalizing, and externalizing strategies to cope with perceived everyday racism was influenced by background characteristics, race-related factors, and cultural value orientations. In the first step of the hierarchical regressions, the background characteristics of age, gender, racism-related stress, and perceived control over racial stressors were entered. In the second step, racial identity and racism-related socialization were added. In the third step, an Afro value orientation and Anglo value orientation were included. In the final step, the interaction terms, control × stress and Afro × Anglo value orientation, were entered to determine whether they affected coping over the previously entered variables. It is important to note that age, racism-related stress, perceived control, racial identity, racism-related socialization, Afro value orientation, and Anglo value orientation were used as continuous variables in this analysis, whereby higher scores indicated a greater presence of that variable. Table 14 shows the results of the hierarchical regression analyses for the coping strategies.
As shown in Table 14, the background characteristics entered in step 1 accounted for 1 to 23% of the variance across coping strategies. The results for step 1 indicated that the amount of variance explained by background characteristics was significant for four of the five coping strategies: seeking social support, self-reliance/problem solving, internalizing, and externalizing. In regard to individual predictors, age was not a significant predictor for any of the coping strategies. Gender was a significant predictor for seeking social support and externalizing coping strategies. The betas indicated that being female was related to a greater use of seeking social support ($\beta = .27, p<.001$) and lower use of externalizing ($\beta = -.17, p<.05$). Racism-related stress was a significant positive predictor for seeking social support ($\beta = .16, p<.05$), internalizing ($\beta = .28, p<.001$), and externalizing ($\beta = .26, p<.01$). The greater the amount of stress caused by perceived everyday racism experiences, the greater use of these coping strategies reported by African American adolescents. Lastly, higher perceived control over racial stressors predicted a greater use of seeking social support ($\beta = .32, p<.001$) and self-reliance/problem solving ($\beta = .36, p<.001$).

Table 14 shows that in step 2, racial identity and racism-related socialization accounted for an additional 0 to 5% of the total variance. The amount of variance explained was only significant for seeking social support and self-reliance problem solving coping strategies. The betas indicated that racial identity was not a significant predictor of any of the coping strategies, whereas racism-related socialization was a significant positive predictor of seeking social support ($\beta = .19, p<.05$) and self-reliance/problem solving ($\beta = .22, p<.01$). The more discussion of issues regarding race
and racism by parents/guardian reported by adolescents, the greater the use of these
coping strategies. On the other hand, the extent to which race was central to the self-
concepts and identities of African Americans had no significant influence on coping
strategies.

In step 3, an Afro value orientation and Anglo value orientation accounted for an
additional 1 to 9% of the total variance. The amount of variance explained was only
significant for self-reliance/problem solving and externalizing coping strategies. For self-
reliance/problem solving coping, an Anglo value orientation was a significant positive
predictor ($\beta = .23, p<.01$). A greater endorsement of an Anglo value orientation was
related to a greater use of self-reliance/problem solving coping strategies. For
externalizing coping, an Afro value orientation was a significant negative predictor ($\beta =
-.24, p<.01$). A greater endorsement of an Afro value orientation was related to a lower
use of externalizing coping strategies. No other significant relationships between value
orientations and coping strategies were indicated by the regression analyses.

In the final step, step 4, the two interaction terms accounted for 0 to 4% additional
variance in coping strategies. Across coping strategies, the amount of variance explained
in step 4 was not significant. However, the interaction term Afro $\times$ Anglo orientation
was a significant positive predictor of internalizing coping strategies ($\beta = .24, p<.05$).
Similar to the approach by Griffith et al. (2000), the significant interaction was examined
through bivariate correlations of internalizing coping with an Anglo value orientation at
low and high degrees of a Black value orientation. The results indicated that
internalizing coping was positively related to endorsement of an Anglo value orientation
among adolescents who highly endorsed a Black value orientation ($r = .28, p < .05$) but not for those who weakly endorsed a Black value orientation ($r = .05$). Results indicated that the control $\times$ stress interaction term was not a significant predictor across coping strategies.
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<th>Seeking Social Support</th>
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<th>Externalizing</th>
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<td>$R^2$ Change</td>
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</table>

Note. $F$ Values and Betas are obtained at each step in the model (n=138).

*Gender coding: 1=female, 0=male.

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

Table 14: Hierarchical Regression Predicting Coping Strategies from Background Characteristics, Race-Related Variables, and Cultural Value Orientations
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This study was guided by four primary objectives: (1) to examine to what degree African American adolescents endorsed a Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo value orientation and if this endorsement influenced the strategies used to cope with perceived everyday racism; (2) to examine the degree to which racial stressors were perceived as controllable and if perceived control influenced the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies; (3) to examine whether the level of stress associated with perceived everyday racism experiences influences the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies; and (4) to examine whether a Black/Afro value orientation and mainstream/Anglo value orientation influenced coping over and above background characteristics and race-related factors.

The theory of triple quandary was utilized to examine the influence of cultural value orientation on the strategies used by African American adolescents to cope with everyday racism experiences. Triple quandary theory posits that the African American social experience is complex and simultaneously transverses three realms: minority,
mainstream American, and Black. According to triple quandary theory, these three social realms of experience are shaped and/or informed by values, behavioral proclivities, and worldviews that are incompatible to one another. Consequently, as a result of navigating these three social realms of experience, African Americans develop a predominant cultural orientation that can be classified as mainstream-oriented, Black-oriented, bicultural, or marginal. In this study, triple quandary theory was operationalized through the Cultural Questionnaire for Children that assessed the degree to which African American adolescents endorsed the values of affect, communalism, spirituality, competition, effort optimism, and individualism. Using a median-split criterion on the Black/Afro value orientation scale and mainstream/American value orientation scale, African American adolescents were classified as high- or low in these orientations as well as either mainstream, Black, bicultural, or marginal in their value orientations. Based on previous studies on the influence of perceived control and stress level on coping, African American adolescents were similarly classified as high- or low in perceived control and racism-related stress using a median-split criterion on the single-item Perceived Control Index and Racism Experiences Stress Scale.

Adolescents in small-to-large group sessions or individual sessions completed self-administered questionnaires. In addition to the previously mentioned measures, adolescents also completed measures of racial identity, racism-related socialization, daily life racism experiences, and indices of seeking social support, self-reliance/problem-solving, distancing, internalizing, and externalizing coping strategies. Adolescents also provided demographic information. Research questions and hypotheses were tested using multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) and hierarchical regression statistical
techniques. Many of the proposed hypotheses were weakly, partially, or fully supported.

The following sections of this chapter provide a discussion of the general characteristics of the sample, general findings, and research hypotheses/questions. The strengths and limitations of the study will also be discussed followed by the implications of the findings and recommendations for future research.

General Characteristics of the Sample

The sample for this study consisted of 139 African American adolescents from 3 geographic regions in the country: Central Ohio, Northern Alabama, and Northeast Georgia. Although the mean age of African American adolescents was 16 years, there were almost an equal percentage of 9th-10th graders (48.9%) and 11th-12th graders (50.4%). Similar to most studies of adolescents, in general, the greater percentage of adolescents who participated in this study were female (61.9%). However, unlike many studies of African American adolescents, in particular, the greater percentage of adolescents resided in two-parent homes (54%) with parents/guardians who worked in skilled jobs with some college education (45.3%) or held professional jobs with advanced education (36.7%). Seventy-one adolescents (51.4% of the total sample), who attended the private, Protestant-denominational high school in Northern Alabama heavily influenced the demographic difference in this study. Analysis indicated that there were no significant differences across groups in terms of family structure. However, as expected given the greater incomes generally required for tuition, there was a significant difference in the proportion of parents who held professional positions and advanced
education across groups; 47.9% of adolescents who attended the private school compared to 25% and 26.3% of adolescents who attended public schools in Central Ohio and Northeast Georgia, respectively.

Given the study's purpose, participating African American adolescents were solicited from schools where they were predominantly represented. Consequently, 90.6% of adolescents attended schools that were comprised of mostly African Americans. However, the racial makeup of the neighborhoods where adolescents lived was more diverse. Adolescents from Central Ohio (75.5%) were more likely to live in a majority African American neighborhood compared to those from Northern Alabama (40.8%) and Northeast Georgia (50%). In contrast, the percentage of Central Ohio, Northern Alabama, and Northeast Georgia adolescents who lived in majority White neighborhoods were only 8.2%, 18.3%, and 22.2%, respectively.

Discussion of General Findings

Perceived Overall Racism. Given the recency of studies of perceived racism among African Americans and the lack of studies that have employed nationally-representative samples, no specific hypotheses were proposed related to differences in perceived racism and other important variables based on geographic region, racial composition of neighborhood, family structure, or age range. However, data analysis indicated that there were no significant differences in perceived overall racism or overall racism-related stress by geographic region or racial composition of neighborhood. One explanation for this finding is the relatively low reports of overall perceived racism reported by adolescents (mean score of 1.34 based on a 5-point scale). In contrast, in
response to the single question, “Overall, how much do you think racism affects the lives of people of your same race/ethnic group,” 71.7% of adolescents responded “a lot” or “an extreme amount” (mean = 3.84). This finding supports the theory of personal/group discrimination discrepancy which proposes that “disadvantaged group members typically perceive a higher level of discrimination aimed at their group as a whole, compared with themselves personally as individual members of that group” (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1995, p. 827). In their examination of national surveys of Blacks on perceptions of racial inequality, the tendency on the part of Blacks to perceive more racial discrimination directed at their group rather than themselves was found by Sigelman & Welch (1991).

**Cultural Values.** Key findings in this study included the significant and positive relationships between affect and the mainstream/Anglo values of effort optimism and individualism. The relationship between spirituality and effort optimism was also significant and positive. These findings suggest that a greater propensity to express one’s feelings and thoughts strongly is moderately related to an emphasis on hard work and sacrifice and to individualistic efforts and thinking. Results also suggest a significant link between a spiritual orientation and the belief that hard work and sacrifice are important. Jagers (1996) also found such links in his study of cultural orientation among Black 5th and 6th graders. These findings fail to support Boykin’s (1983, 1986) arguments that the values distinctive of Black culture and mainstream culture are incompatible.

Similar to the mean endorsement pattern of cultural values reported by Jagers (1996), this study found a greater endorsement of spirituality, effort optimism, and communalism compared to other cultural values. An affective orientation was also highly endorsed in both studies. In this study, the level of endorsement of effort
optimism was equal to that of spirituality. In Jagers' (1996) study, effort optimism was endorsed higher than any other cultural value. The strong endorsement of effort optimism, connoting the importance of hard work and sacrifice, suggests that it may be misclassified as a value distinctive of mainstream American culture. In his seminal work on the Black family, Hill (1999) argues that an irrefutable strong work orientation exists among Blacks given their forced labor without payment for over two centuries and their subjugation to employment in menial jobs for over another century.

Although this study found a significant and positive relationship between the values of competition and individualism, the level of endorsement by African American adolescents was significantly different. Individualism was endorsed to a similar degree as affect. Competition, on the other hand, was endorsed to a significantly lesser degree than the other values. This finding supports Stewart and Bennett's (1991) contention that resistance to a competitive orientation to life and a strong tendency toward affiliation is typical of individuals and groups from non-western cultures. Although African American adolescents in this study have developed within the environment of an American culture, that is argued to foster a competitive spirit (Stewart & Bennett, 1991), the importance of winning or striving to be better than others was not a value strongly endorsed by adolescents. The strong communalistic orientation among African Americans has been well documented by observers of Black culture (e.g., Hill, 1999; Stack, 1974). The high endorsement of communalism by adolescents and its significant and negative relationship with competition provides further support for this value orientation.

**Coping Strategies.** Study results indicated the greater use of seeking social support, self-reliance/problem solving, and distancing strategies to cope with perceived
racism. This is consistent with previous findings on coping among African American adolescents (Halstead et al., 1993; Steward et al., 1998). Although there was a significant and positive relationship between perceived control and approach coping strategies, the level of perceived control over racial stressors reported by African American adolescents was moderate. Moreover, the overall mean scores for seeking social support, self-reliance/problem solving, and distancing coping strategies were moderate. Unlike previous studies, this study did not employ a comparison group or examine coping across multiple stressors. Consequently, it is indeterminable whether the level of perceived control and coping strategy utilization reported by African American adolescents in this study is a function of stressor type or ethnic background.

The higher reports of seeking social support and self-reliance/problem solving coping suggests that adolescents in this study perceived themselves as having the necessary social supports or internal resources to adequately respond to personal discriminatory experiences. As noted throughout the research literature, approach coping strategies such as seeking social support and self-reliance/problem solving are considered most conducive for well being. Furthermore, in the majority of studies on coping, approach coping strategies are related to more positive adjustment.

Turning to the use of distancing strategies as a coping mechanism for perceived racism, Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens (1999) suggest that the passive acceptance of such experiences or not reacting to them at all may be the most viable coping responses. However, Noh et al. (1999) acknowledge that such passive or distancing responses can also have deleterious effects on one’s psychological well-being. In this study, the moderate use of distancing coping strategies by African American
adolescents may be explained by a number of factors: the novelty or shock of discriminatory experiences and the subsequent immobilization of coping resources; negative appraisals of their options for responding; or perceptions that the situation was uncontrollable.

The significantly less use of externalizing and internalizing coping strategies by adolescents can be considered a positive finding. Externalizing strategies included cursing out loud or getting mad and throwing or hitting something. Internalizing coping included worrying too much about the situation or feeling sorry for oneself. In the stress and coping literature, these avoidance strategies are generally considered maladaptive and to be least conducive to long-term psychological adjustment.

Discussion of Research Hypotheses

Hypotheses 1a. Hypothesis 1a proposed that gender would have a significant effect on perceived everyday racism and racism-related stress. It was expected that male adolescents would report significantly more perceived racism experiences but significantly less racism-related stress than their female counterparts. Study results indicated that gender had a significant main effect on perceived racism and racism-related stress. However, the univariate effects of gender only approached significance for overall perceived racism. As expected, African American males perceived racism in their day-to-day experiences more than females (means of 1.45 and 1.23, respectively). Although the level of racism-related stress reported by females was greater than males as expected, the differences were not statistically significant.
Expectations about gender differences in perceived racism and racism-related stress were influenced by previous studies that indicate that females report interpersonal or social stressors to be more stressful than males. In contrast, previous studies of perceived racial discrimination found that African American women perceive themselves as victims of discrimination significantly less than African American males (Sigelman & Welch, 1991). Moreover, Sigelman & Welch suggest that there is an inclination among women of all races to deny or downplay personal discriminatory experiences; and that there is more acceptability among women to view discrimination as directed toward their group rather than themselves. In regard to African American males, it is argued by many Black scholars that the stereotypes of African American males as “threatening, aggressive, violent, irresponsible, undependable, and less capable” makes them more frequent targets of day-to-day discriminatory experiences (A. J. Franklin, 1998, p. 395).

In interviews with Black and Latino adolescents, Way (1999) found that in comparison to males, females reported infrequent personal discriminatory experiences but at the same time acknowledged the existence of racism in society. Similarly, Klonoff and Landrine (1999) found that African American women reported personal discriminatory experiences to be equally stressful although they reported significantly less racist events than males. Given the link between stress and psychological distress, the pattern of perceived racism and racism-related stress found among African American males and females should not simply be glazed over as an insignificant artifact of gender. The significant and positive association between the perceived stress of racist events and psychological symptoms found by Klonoff and Landrine (1999) underscore the relevance of this concern.
**Hypothesis 2a.** Hypothesis 2a proposed that compared to males, females would report significantly greater use of seeking social support and internalizing coping strategies. The hypothesis was supported only for seeking social support. The mean difference between females and males was substantial (difference = .58). This finding is consistent with previous studies of gender differences in coping across multiple stressors and ethnic groups. There are several possible explanations for this consistent finding. Females may perceive themselves to have more external social resources to call upon in times of stress than males. Also, due to efforts to preserve a pretense of “manhood,” males may be too prideful or afraid to utilize external social resources in times of stress and difficulty. Notwithstanding the arguably sexist and most widely accepted explanation that suggests that females are socialized to be more connected and less self-reliant, seeking social support is considered by many researchers to be an adaptive coping strategy.

Internalization is another coping strategy most frequently associated with females and their response to interpersonal or social stressors. In this study, the hypothesis for internalizing coping was only weakly supported ($F=3.24, p=.07$). African American females reported the use of internalizing coping to a greater degree than males, but the difference was not statistically significant. The use of internalizing coping for racism-related stressors has considerable psychological consequences. Scholars agree that the internalizing of racial oppression or experiences with racial discrimination is injurious to African American’s self-concept and mental health (Akbar, 1991; Baldwin, Brown, & Hopkins, 1991).
**Hypothesis 2b.** Hypothesis 2b proposed that compared to females, males would report significantly greater use of distancing and externalizing coping in response to perceived everyday racism. The univariate effects of gender on distancing coping were not significant. The degree to which males and females reported the use of distancing coping strategies was virtually identical. Although males reported more externalizing coping than females, the difference was not statistically significant.

Expectations of greater use of distancing coping by males was influenced by literature suggesting that African American males are more likely than females to mask their vulnerability and true emotions when confronted with racial stressors (A. J. Franklin, 1998). However, in studies of coping, adolescent males were found to use more external projection and/or overt aggression in response to interpersonal or social conflicts (de Anda, 2000). The equal use of distancing coping by male and females in this study may indicate a similar need or desire to diminish, ignore, or get over the experience. However, as suggested by Way (1998), the mere desire to forget or distance oneself from such experiences does not mean that they have actually done so. The use of denial, the suppression of anger and emotions, or the display of “cool pose” (i.e., covering up or masking one’s true feelings) in the face of perceived discrimination is argued to exact a heavy physical and mental toil on African Americans, particularly males (A. J. Franklin, 1998).

As previously mentioned, the difference in the use of externalizing coping between males and females was not statistically significant. The lack of significant difference may be attributed to a number of factors: the appraisal that responses such as cursing out loud or throwing or hitting something may engender fear and result in legal
reprisals; strong control over impulses when faced with inflammatory experiences; or the appraisal that more helpful coping options were available.

**Hypothesis 2c.** Hypothesis 2c proposed that there would be no significant difference between younger and older adolescents in the use of approach coping strategies. As hypothesized, the use of seeking social support and self-reliance/problem solving coping by 14 to 15 year old adolescents did not significantly differ from 16 to 18 year old adolescents. This is consistent with findings from previous studies that show no developmental differences in the use of problem-focused coping between younger and older adolescents. Approach coping is argued to be stable across developmental levels because these strategies involve observable behaviors (Compas, Orosan, & Grant, 1993). This explanation seems plausible given that perceived racism is the social stressor assessed in this study.

The literature on racial socialization suggests that many African American parents are very proactive in their preparation of children and adolescents for the myriad types of racial slights they may encounter in their day-to-day experiences. African American children and adolescents are not only likely to learn strategies for dealing with personal discrimination from their parents or guardians, but they may also learn vicariously through the lives of other African Americans, past and present. Therefore, as suggested by Plummer (1995), the requisite skills, although not fully developed, for dealing with racial issues may be present by the time many African Americans enter adolescence.

**Hypothesis 2d.** Hypothesis 2d proposed that there would be a significant difference between younger and older adolescents in the use of avoidance coping strategies. It was expected that older adolescents would report significantly greater use of
avoidance coping strategies than younger adolescents. The univariate effects of age range on distancing, internalizing, and externalizing coping was not significant. Although 16 to 18 year old adolescents reported greater use of distancing and internalizing coping than 14 to 15 year olds, the differences were not significant. The effect of age range on externalizing coping was not in the expected direction. However, the difference in mean scores between 14 to 15 and 16 to 18 year old adolescents on externalizing coping was minute.

The expectation that older adolescents would use more avoidance coping strategies than their younger counterparts was influenced by findings from previous studies which suggest a positive association between age and reports of avoidance coping (i.e., emotion-focused coping). One explanation for the positive association between age and avoidance (i.e., emotion-focused) coping is that such strategies involve a greater reliance on certain cognitive and emotional processes that are less observable, therefore requiring a greater period of instruction about their ability to alleviate stress (Compas, Orosan, and Grant, 1993). Based on the racial stressor assessed in this study, this explanation is somewhat problematic particularly in the case of internalizing and distancing coping. It is unlikely that African American parents would at a certain point in their children’s development instruct them to handle personal discrimination through internalizing or externalizing strategies. In this study, the similar use by younger and older adolescents of avoidance coping may simply be a function of their similar appraisals of perceived control over racial stressors.

**Hypothesis 2e.** Hypothesis 2e proposed that family structure and socioeconomic status would make no significant difference in the use of approach and avoidance coping.
Results of MANOVA indicated that neither family structure nor socioeconomic status had a significant main or univariate effect on seeking social support, self-reliance/problem solving, distancing, internalizing, and externalizing coping among participants.

Although family structure was not significantly related to coping, family structure appeared to affect seeking social support and externalizing coping in a theoretically meaningful manner. Adolescents from two parent homes reported slightly more use of seeking social support coping than those from single parent homes but substantially more than adolescents from other family and/or home situations. Conversely, reports of externalizing coping by adolescents from two parent homes was slightly lower than those from single parent homes but substantially lower than adolescents from other family and/or home situations. These results suggest that adolescents from other family and/or home situations (e.g., living with a grandparent or sibling) may not have or perceive themselves to have family- or extended family supports to respond more adaptively to racial stressors compared to their counterparts from two-parent or single-parent homes.

This pattern is consistent with research literature focusing on the effects of family variables on adolescent adjustment. In particular, the role of a supportive family and community environment in fostering resiliency among African American youth is well-documented (Compas, 1987; Winfield, 1995). In addition, high levels of family support was found to be related to lower externalizing behaviors (Zimmerman, Ramirez-Valles, Zapert, & Maton, 2000). However, factors such as family structure or perceived social support are rarely if ever examined in studies of stress and coping among African American adolescents.
In this study, socioeconomic status did not appear to affect approach or avoidance coping in a theoretically meaningful manner. However, these factors may have differential effects on the coping strategies used by African American adolescents across different stressor types.

**Hypothesis 3a.** Hypothesis 3a proposed that the level of racism-related stress reported by African American adolescents would have a significant effect on the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies. It was expected that high levels of racism-related stress would be related to greater use of approach and avoidance coping. As expected, the overall main effect of racism-related stress on coping strategies was statistically significant. However, the univariate effects were only significant for internalizing and externalizing coping, and approached significance for self-reliance/problem solving coping. Adolescents who were highly stressed by perceived discriminatory experiences reported significantly greater use of internalizing and externalizing coping, and moderately less use of self-reliance/problem solving coping. There was no significant difference between those who reported high and low stress in the use of seeking social support and distancing coping.

The hypothesis regarding the effect of stress level on coping was influenced by the stress and coping literature that suggests that approach and avoidance responses increase as the level of stress increases. The findings from this study suggest that in response to racial stressors, high stress is more likely to be positively related to avoidance coping and inversely or unrelated to approach coping. Although this suggestion is not indisputable, it is theoretically grounded. High stress among African American adolescents and the use of avoidance coping for perceived racist experiences may be
indicative of several factors: psychological under-preparedness; temperament or personality styles/traits that either limit or fail to inhibit certain reactions (e.g., Type A behavior); lack or underdevelopment of cognitive problem-solving skills; and learning history (e.g., absence of racial socialization). As indicated by Compas (1987), each of these factors can have a direct bearing on adolescents' invulnerability to stress and range of coping responses.

**Hypothesis 3b.** Hypothesis 3b proposed that the degree of perceived control over racial stressors would have a significant effect on the use of approach coping strategies. It was expected that a high degree of perceived control over racial stressors would be related to greater use of approach coping. As expected, both the overall main and univariate effects of perceived control were significant. Adolescents who perceived a high degree of control reported significantly greater use of seeking social support and self-reliance/problem solving coping than those who perceived low control over racial stressors. Previous studies of perceived control and adolescent coping have not included racism-related stressors. However, this finding is consistent with the stress and coping literature which suggests that approach coping strategies will be directed toward those stressors perceived as controllable (Compas, 1995).

**Hypothesis 3c.** Hypothesis 3c proposed that the degree of perceived control over racial stressors would have no significant effect on the use of avoidance coping strategies. Adolescents who perceived high control were not expected to significantly differ from those who perceived low control in their reports of distancing, internalizing, and externalizing coping. As expected, perceived control did not have a significant overall or univariate effect. This finding is consistent with the stress and coping literature. Rather
than perceptions of control over stressful situations, avoidance coping is argued to be more reliant on “internal cues of emotional distress” (Compas, 1995, p. 257).

**Hypothesis 4a.** It was hypothesized that adolescents reporting a high level of racism-related stress and who perceived low control over racial stressors would report greater use of avoidance coping. A stress group $\times$ perceived control group interaction term was created to test this hypothesis. Although both the main and univariate effects of stress group $\times$ perceived control group was not significant, mean scores between specific groups tended to vary according to expectations. The mean scores for low control/high stress adolescents were much higher than low control/low stress and high control/low stress adolescents on internalizing and externalizing coping, while not differing to any significant degree from high control/high stress adolescents. This pattern of mean scores between groups is significant when considering the findings for Hypotheses 3a and 3c. For all three hypotheses, the level of racism-related stress and not degree of perceived control appears to affect the use of internalizing and externalizing coping. High stress is related to greater use of these coping strategies. As indicated by the non-significant $F$-tests, this hypothesis was not supported but the findings appear to be theoretically meaningful.

**Hypothesis 4b.** It was hypothesized that greater use of approach coping strategies would be used by adolescents who perceived high control over racial stressors and reported a low or high level of racism-related stress. As hypothesized, a significant interaction between degree of perceived control and level of racism-related stress was found. Both high control/low stress and high control/high stress adolescents reported
significantly greater use of seeking social support and self-reliance/problem solving coping than low control/low stress and low control/high stress adolescents. Moreover, high control/low stress adolescents reported significantly greater use of seeking social support and self-reliance/problem solving coping than high control/high stress adolescents.

Similar to findings in support of Hypothesis 3b, these results suggest that low perceptions of control over stressful situations are related to lesser use of approach coping strategies, whereas the amount of stress experienced makes little to moderate difference. These results are important given the findings of previous studies suggesting that the use of approach coping strategies for stressors perceived to be uncontrollable is related to higher psychological symptoms (Compas, 1995). Therefore, ironically, the lesser use of seeking social support and self-reliance/problem solving by low control adolescents in response to perceived discriminatory experiences should not be viewed negatively. Moreover, as alluded to by J. P. Harrell et al. (1998), acceptance to the reality that personal day-to-day experiences with racism cannot be controlled may be the most advantageous outlook in that the individual’s psyche is not taxed or devastated by the mundaneness and/or extremeness of these environmental stressors. Although it is questionable whether individuals should employ such an outlook indefinitely or in all situations, African Americans who appraise perceived racism-related experiences as uncontrollable may be less susceptible to damage to their self-concepts or mental and physical health.

**Hypothesis 5a.** It was hypothesized that the degree to which adolescents endorsed a Black/Afro value orientation would have a significant effect on the use of
approach and avoidance coping strategies. Adolescents who strongly endorsed a Black/Afro value orientation were expected to report significantly greater use of approach coping and less use of avoidance coping strategies in response to perceived personal discriminatory experiences. To test this hypothesis, adolescents were placed in high or low endorsement groupings based on a median-split criterion. As expected, the overall main effect of a Black/Afro value orientation was significant. Univariate effects were only significant for self-reliance/problem solving and externalizing coping.

Adolescents who highly endorsed a Black/Afro value orientation reported significantly greater use of self-reliance/problem solving coping and significantly less use of externalizing coping. No significant effect was found for seeking social support, distancing, and internalizing coping.

Although the literature reveals no previous findings on the effect of an “Afrocentric” value system on coping, expectations about the differential effect of a Black/Afro value orientation on coping was influenced by the argument that such an orientation is most advantageous for adaptation. Therefore, this argument was applied to coping given the general acceptance in the literature that the use of approach strategies is most adaptive and that avoidance strategies are maladaptive in many situations.

Although only partially supported in this study, findings suggest that high endorsement of the values distinctive of Black culture is related to greater self-reliance and mobilization of problem solving capacities and less use of externalizing responses that may detrimentally affect outcomes and well-being. The lack of significant effect on distancing and internalizing and seeking social support coping is not easily explainable.
Findings suggest that endorsement of Black cultural values may not foster nor diminish the use of certain coping strategies. Other individual or personality factors may be more influential.

**Hypothesis 5b.** It was hypothesized that the degree to which African American adolescents endorsed a mainstream/Anglo value orientation would have a significant effect on the use of approach and avoidance coping strategies. Adolescents who strongly endorsed a mainstream/Anglo value orientation were expected to report significantly greater use of approach coping and internalizing and externalizing coping in response to perceived personal discriminatory experiences. Contrary to the proposed hypothesis, the overall main effect of a mainstream/Anglo value orientation only approached significance \( (F=2.11, p=.07) \). However, a significant univariate effect was found for self-reliance/problem solving. The effect of a mainstream/Anglo value orientation approached significance for internalizing coping \( (p<.10) \). For both coping strategies, the effect was in the hypothesized direction. High endorsement of a mainstream/Anglo orientation was related to significantly greater use of self-reliance/problem solving coping and more use of internalizing coping. No significant effect was found for seeking social support, distancing, and externalizing coping.

The hypothesis of the differential effects of a mainstream American value system on coping was more so influenced by the specific values identified as distinctive of mainstream/Anglo culture rather than the literature on acculturation or culture. The values of competition, effort optimism, and individualism, by their very nature, would seem to contribute to more of a problem-focused approach to stressful situations. These values would also more likely be associated with internalizing and externalizing coping.
in response to stressful situations perceived to be uncontrollable or exceeding one’s capacities. Although this expectation was partially supported by the study findings, it suggests that a mainstream worldview or value system may have a complex effect on African American’s responses to racially stressful situations.

**Hypothesis 6a.** It was hypothesized that the degree of endorsement of a Black/Afro value orientation and mainstream/Anglo orientation would have a significant interaction effect on the use of approach and avoidance coping. It was expected that bicultural adolescents (high Black/high mainstream orientations) would report significantly greater use of approach coping strategies and significantly less avoidance coping strategies than marginal adolescents (low Black/low mainstream orientations). The overall main effect of Black/Afro group $\times$ mainstream/Anglo group was not significant. Univariate effects were only significant for seeking social support coping. However, contrary to expectations, the use of seeking social support coping by bicultural adolescents was significantly greater than mainstream-oriented and Black-oriented participants, but only moderately greater than marginal adolescents.

Based on results of the MANOVA, this hypothesis was not supported. However, contrast $t$-tests detected significant paired mean differences between bicultural and marginal adolescents on self-reliance/problem solving and moderate differences on externalizing coping that supported the hypothesis. Bicultural adolescents reported significantly greater use of self-reliance/problem solving and moderately less use of externalizing coping than marginal adolescents. Unexpectedly, bicultural adolescents reported greater use of internalizing coping than marginal adolescents but the difference was not significant.
The expectation that marginal adolescents would use significantly less approach coping and significantly more avoidance coping than bicultural adolescents was based on previous studies of acculturation that have consistently found biculturality to be positively associated with approach-oriented coping and marginality to be positively associated with emotion-oriented coping. These studies have primarily examined factors such as racial attitudes, social customs, in-group/outgroup preferences, and language rather than cultural values. However, it was surmised that the pronounced differences between bicultural and marginal adolescents in value endorsement would result in more significant differences between them. This did not occur as expected across coping strategies.

The coping distinctions that did evolve as a function of cultural value orientation are not easily explainable and seem to follow no existing theoretical logic. For example, mainstream-oriented adolescents (low Black/high mainstream orientations) used externalizing coping significantly more than Black-oriented (high Black/low mainstream orientations) and bicultural adolescents, but not marginal adolescents. Also, bicultural adolescents used internalizing coping significantly more than Black-oriented adolescents, but not marginal or mainstream-oriented adolescents. Finally, bicultural adolescents used seeking social support coping significantly more than mainstream-oriented and Black-oriented adolescents, but not marginal adolescents.

Regarding externalizing coping, it appeared that the lower use of externalizing coping was more contingent on high endorsement of a Black/Afro value system rather than a high or low endorsement of a mainstream/Anglo value orientation. Similarly, the lesser use of internalizing coping seemed to be contingent on having more of a Black-
oriented value orientation. In contrast, the use of seeking social support coping seemed to be less of a function of level of endorsement of either value orientations, but may be more related to individual or group characteristics.

The failure of these findings to mirror those from studies of the association between acculturation and coping may be due to a number of factors including the influence of other individual or group variables not considered in this study; an operationalization of cultural orientation that was not equivalent to traditional acculturation models and measures; and issues of construct validity for the questionnaire used to assess value endorsement.

Discussion of Research Question 7

This research question focused on the amount of variance explained for approach and avoidance coping by a Black/Afro value orientation and mainstream/Anglo value orientation over and beyond background characteristics and race-related factors. Due to the lack of published studies examining the influence of cultural values on coping strategies, no hypotheses were proposed. Separate hierarchical regression analyses were conducted for seeking social support, self-reliance/problem solving, distancing, internalizing, and externalizing coping. The analysis consisted of four steps: 1) background characteristics; 2) racial identity and racism-related socialization; 3) Black/Afro value orientation and mainstream/Anglo value orientation, and 4) control × stress and Afro × Anglo value orientation.

In Step 1, a significant amount of variance was explained for all of the coping strategies except distancing. The influence of gender and perceived control on coping
was consistent with previous studies. Results indicated that greater perceived control over racial stressors was related to greater use of approach coping, and unrelated to avoidance coping. Regarding gender, being female was related to greater use of seeking social support coping ($\beta = .27$) and less use of externalizing coping ($\beta = -.17$). The influence of racism-related stress confirmed the notion that higher levels of stress influenced greater coping efforts, whether adaptive or maladaptive. Regression analysis indicated that a higher level of racism-related stress was related to greater use of seeking social support ($\beta = .16$), internalizing ($\beta = .28$), and externalizing coping ($\beta = .26$).

In Step 2, the variables racial identity and racism-related socialization were entered to determine whether they promoted greater or less use of approach and avoidance coping. A significant amount of variance was explained for approach coping strategies, but not avoidance coping strategies. Greater racism-related socialization was related to greater use of seeking social support ($\beta = .19$) and self-reliance/problem solving ($\beta = .22$). Racial identity, on the other hand, did not evolve as a significant predictor for any of the coping strategies. As previously mentioned, approach strategies such as seeking social support and self-reliance/problem solving are argued to promote and sustain more positive well-being for adolescents over time. Therefore, these findings suggest that preparation of African American children and adolescents for possible racist or discriminatory experiences is essential for fostering what Ward (1999) calls “healthy psychological resistance in order to withstand and oppose the reality of oppression” (p. 179).
The lack of influence of racial identity on coping is somewhat puzzling. Based on the mean score for the total sample (mean of 3.92 on a 5-point scale), adolescents indicated that their race/ethnicity was highly central to their sense of self. This finding is even more difficult to interpret given the argument posited by Sellers, Shelton, et al. (1998) that the importance of an individual’s race to their self-concept is likely to heighten in racially noxious situations, particularly among high race-central individuals. Therefore, it would seem that racial identity would influence to some degree the use of certain coping strategies. The only possible explanations for this negative finding is that given the relatively low overall report of perceived personal discriminatory experiences and racism-related stress by the total sample, the saliency of race was not significantly heightened as to affect coping behavior. As suggested by Sellers, Shelton et al. (1998), the stable nature of racial centrality is likely to vary only in race-salient conditions.

Step 3 specifically focused on the influence of Black/Afro and mainstream/Anglo value orientations over and above background characteristics and race-related factors. A significant amount of variance was explained only for self-reliance/problem solving and externalizing coping. For self-reliance/problem solving, a mainstream/Anglo value orientation was a significant and positive predictor ($\beta = .23$). High endorsement of the values distinctive of American culture was related to greater use of self-reliance/problem solving coping. Conversely, a Black/Afro value orientation was a significant and negative predictor of externalizing coping ($\beta = -.24$). High endorsement of the values distinctive of Black culture was related to lesser use of externalizing coping.
Follow-up regression analysis indicated that effort optimism was the mainstream American value that most contributed to the greater use of self-reliance/problem solving coping ($\beta = .30, p < .001$) followed by competition ($\beta = .14, p = .08$). The Black value that contributed mostly to the lesser use of externalizing coping was spirituality ($\beta = -.26, p < .01$). These findings suggest that particular cultural value orientations or specific cultural values may have unique and divergent relationships with coping. An emphasis on Black cultural values such as spirituality and communalism may moderate coping responses that are ultimately injurious to self and others. On the other hand, values argued to be distinctive of mainstream American culture such as individualism and competitiveness may influence greater mobilization of problem-oriented responses. In other words, both traditionally Black values and American derived values may have positive implications for coping.

Step 4 included the interaction terms stress × control and Afro × Anglo value orientation given their significant univariate effects for particular coping strategies. No significant additional amount of variance was explained for any of the coping strategies. However, the interaction term Afro × Anglo orientation was a significant and positive predictor of internalizing coping ($\beta = .24$). Among adolescents who highly endorsed a Black value orientation, endorsement of an Anglo value orientation was significantly and positively related to internalizing coping. This further confirms findings from Hypothesis 6a indicating greater use of internalizing coping by bicultural adolescents.

Finally, analysis indicated that the linear contribution of background characteristics, race-related factors, and cultural value orientations accounted for a
significant amount of the total variance for seeking social support ($R^2=.30$), self-reliance/problem solving ($R^2=.30$), internalizing ($R^2=.17$), and externalizing coping ($R^2=.15$). However, no significant variance was explained for distancing coping by any of the variables entered. This is consistent with earlier MANOVAs which found that neither demographic factors, perceived control, racism-related stress, culture value orientation, nor control × stress interactions or Afro × Anglo interactions explained any of the variance in use of distancing coping. This finding suggests that other individual or group factors may be more important in explaining the use of distancing coping in response to perceived discriminatory experiences.

**Strengths and Weaknesses of the Study**

This study possesses a number of weaknesses. First of all, no generalizations about African American adolescents in general, or about African American adolescents from the geographic areas sampled can be made due to the small, non-random purposive sample used in this study. Secondly, the *Cultural Questionnaire For Children* used to assess cultural value orientation was not a well-established measure and had heretofore only been used with 5th to 7th grade African American adolescents. This raises questions about the developmental appropriateness of the questionnaire for the 9th to 12th grade participants in this study. In addition, post-study content analysis of the vignettes suggests that some may have possessed multiple meanings. Therefore, this raises questions as to what underlying meaning of the vignettes adolescents were responding to. Although attempts to establish stronger indices of reliability and validity for the Cultural
Questionnaire for Children were somewhat successful in this study, questions still remain about its construct validity. Therefore, interpretations about the findings should proceed with caution.

The arbitrary placement of adolescents in cultural value orientation groupings and perceived control/stress groupings based on median-split criteria was done for heuristic purposes. No where is it argued in the literature that African Americans have a discrete cultural identity or frame of reference. Moreover, perceived control and stress level is argued to vary along a continuum. The complex and less interpretable findings may have been influenced by the research approach taken in this study.

The major strength of this study lies in its attempt at further theory building. Application of triple quandary theory has not been notable in size and scope in the literature. The use of traditional acculturation models has also not been extensively used in studies of African American behavior or adjustment. This study is instructive about the current utility of this multidimensional cultural framework in the study of African American adolescent behavior and adjustment. This study is also important because it contributes to the existing literature on stress and coping among African American adolescents.

Implications for Individual, Group, and Community Practice and Programming

Despite the limited generalizability and other acknowledged weaknesses of this study, the findings have several implications for individual, group and community practice and programming with African American adolescents. First of all, as suggested by Way (1998), many minority youth attempt to downplay personal discriminatory
experiences but will readily discuss their personal stories if provided a safe and non-judgmental environment to do so. Despite the claim by some that simply broaching the subject of racism inflames passions, incites further racial divisiveness, or perpetuates victimization, individuals and agencies providing services to African American youth should facilitate ongoing discussions about racism and discrimination to ward against the internalization of discriminatory experiences and to expunge feelings of pain, anger, or aggression. Not talking about issues of race and racism may be of greater detriment to African American adolescents. Given the ambiguity of many discriminatory experiences and the confusion that can arise, coaching African American adolescents how to make more accurate appraisals and then to use more adaptive coping responses that enhance feelings of personal control and self-esteem should become an important part of group and community programming.

The findings from this study also have implications for the help seeking attitudes and behaviors of African Americans, in general. Previous studies have consistently shown that in comparison to other ethnic/racial groups, African Americans are less inclined to use and more resistant to mental health and other counseling services. The disinclination and resistance of African Americans to use mental health services has been attributed to a greater reliance on informal supports, fear of stigmatization, and concerns about privacy. Moreover, it is suggested that many African Americans are suspicious and mistrustful of mental health and other social service agencies and may view such institutions as agents attempting to exact control over them. Therefore, it is conceivable that greater perceptions of individual and/or group discrimination by African Americans would be related to more negative attitudes about seeking mental health services, lower
rates of mental health service utilization, and higher drop out rates from mental health and other social services. A more concerted effort on the part of mental health and other social service delivery systems to incorporate racially- and culturally sensitive procedures, practices, and approaches from intake to termination may serve as an adequate countermeasure.

Implications for Ethnic and Racial Studies

Implications for further theory building, refinement, and/or modification of acculturation and Afrocentric theories for contemporary African-Americans are suggested by the results of this study. The cultural value discontinuity or incompatibility that is suggested to exist between Black culture and mainstream American culture may not be as tenable as in past eras. Findings from this study suggest that high endorsement of particular values from both cultural systems may produce or be able to produce more adaptive coping responses, or on other hand, may reduce or be able to reduce less adaptive coping responses. What may be needed now is more of a diunital rather than dichotomous or oppositional stance or approach regarding certain mainstream- and Black cultural values. The differences between African Americans and their European American compatriots may resonate more in terms of racial attitudes, experiential perceptions, and particular cultural customs and/or artifacts. However, arguments about the pros and cons of an Afrocentric versus Eurocentric worldview, value system, or behavioral style, or the advantages of a bicultural or integrated orientation, in terms of
mental health and short- and long-term adjustment and adaptation should be based on sound theoretical frameworks which account for contemporary issues and are supported by strong empirical evidence.

Recommendations for Future Research

Despite the claims by scholars and cultural critics that there are certain values that are distinctive of mainstream American culture and traditional Black culture, comparative studies utilizing strongly validated measures should be undertaken among multiple ethnic groups to determine whether true cultural or ethnic value peculiarities exist. In addition, due the lack of consensus about the definition of culture and the multiple conceptualizations and operationalizations of cultural identity and acculturation, interdisciplinary symposiums should be fostered to determine which aspects of culture are more relevant and authentic in Contemporary America. Subsequently, interdisciplinary research efforts with large representative community and/or national samples should be undertaken to locate inter- and intra-group differences in physical and mental health.

The literature on the development of cultural beliefs, values, and behaviors among children and adolescents is equivocal. Moreover, the extent to which African American children and adolescents are even cognizant of specific beliefs, values, and behaviors that are argued to be distinctive of their ethnic/racial group is unknown. It is likely that such development and cognition will vary by household and community. More unequivocal knowledge and information about these vital areas of African American adolescent development will likely only be gained through qualitative research studies. Studies
employing in-depth interviews with African American adolescents should be undertaken in order to explore the “intricacies and subtleties” of how they “perceive, assign value to, and speak about different parts of their lives” (Way, 1998, p.6).

The focus on adolescent resilience has continued to gain momentum over the past two decades. However, research that focuses on African American adolescents, in particular, has not been extensive in the literature. Therefore, more systematic research efforts should be undertaken to uncover those factors that contribute to greater perceived control over stressful situations and those factors that make African American adolescents more invulnerable to stress.

Given the apparent veracity of the personal/group discrimination discrepancy, wherein individuals perceive more discriminatory behavior toward their group than at themselves, future studies should focus on perceived group discrimination to determine whether it has a differential effect on the level of well being of African Americans over time. Perceived group discrimination may have greater implications for African American adjustment in that such discrimination may be viewed as more institutional and therefore less amenable to change or repair.

Closing Comments

It is a foregone conclusion that African Americans are not monolithic in their values, behaviors, preferences, or ideologies. However, there is growing sentiment and espousal of the belief that in order for African Americans, individually, and as a group, to catch up or keep in step socially, academically, professional, and economically with other ethnic/racial groups, they must subscribe to a similar set of values and behaviors and
relinquish racial and/or cultural identifications. What is typically ignored in this debate is that certain elements of African American culture and ascription have contributed to the resiliency of African Americans in the face of arguably greater oppression and social stressors. What is probably of greater importance is how certain elements of African American culture and cultural/ racial identity interact with situational circumstances or contexts and individual factors to influence short- and long term well being. This study was a small step in that direction.
REFERENCES


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Hi, my name is Lionel Scott. I am a graduate student at the Ohio State University College of Social Work. I am completing a study about culture and identity among Black youth. I want to know how values and identity influence the way that Black youth cope with racism in their daily life experiences. What I mean by values are those beliefs and ideals that you think are important and that guide your life and the way you interact with people. And what I mean by identity is the way you define and describe yourself in terms of race. You will be asked questions about values, identity, experiences with racism in your daily life and how much stress it causes you, and the ways that you cope with racism experiences. The questionnaire will ask you about general experiences that you have that you think are due to race or racism, and not specific incidents. However, if any of the questions cause you to become uncomfortable, I’ll be available to talk to you individually or as part of a group.

Whether you participate in this study is totally voluntary. If you decide not to participate in the study, that’s fine. Teachers, program staff, or I will not penalize you in any way. If you decide to participate, everything that you report will be confidential, meaning nobody will have access to the information but me. In addition, I won’t be able to identify you because your name, address, or phone number will not be asked for nor placed on the questionnaires you complete. Even if you decide to participate and you begin to complete the questionnaire, you can stop at any time you want to for whatever reason and you will not be penalized. Any information that is provided to your school or program, or the public will be general information about the overall results of the study. Your answers to the items in the questionnaire will in no way effect your standing within this school or program.

It will take you about 45 minutes to an hour to complete the questionnaire. Completion of the questionnaire will take place during school or program time. As an incentive to participate as well as to provide a token of appreciation, a drawing/raffle of pairs of AMC Movie Theater passes will be held among students who participate. All of you who are interested will have to pick up a parental consent form, take it home, ask your parent/guardian to sign it, and return it to school (or the program or agency). You will not be able to participate in the study if the consent form with your parents/guardian signature is not returned. Those of you who are 18 years of age or older do not need to obtain parental consent to participate in the study.

Are there any questions? All those who want to participate make sure you pick up a consent form from me. Thank you and I very much appreciate your time.
APPENDIX B

PARENTAL RESEARCH LETTER
Dear Parent/Guardian:

My name is Lionel Scott, and I am a Ph.D. student at the Ohio State University College of Social Work. My area of concentration is Black Adolescent Development, and I am currently conducting a research study involving Black youth.

Your child has been invited to participate in this research study which is designed to explore how cultural and racial identity influences the way Black youth perceive and cope with racism, racial discrimination, and racial prejudice. If your son/daughter agrees to participate and is granted your permission, he/she will be asked to complete a questionnaire packet that will take about 45 to 60 minutes to complete. The questionnaire will contain items about cultural values, racial identity, racial prejudice and discrimination, and ways of coping with racism. Your child will be asked about general experiences with racism in their everyday life experiences. If any of the questions regarding racism should make your child feel uncomfortable, I will be available to discuss his/her feelings individually or as part of a group. No other private information about your child’s personal or family life will be asked. The completion of the questionnaire will take place during school and program time and will require no further commitment from your child.

Your child will be free to refuse to participate and withdraw from the research study at any time without penalty. All information provided by your child will be confidential and no identifying information such as name, address, or telephone number will be requested. All questionnaires will be coded with a number. As a token of appreciation for participating in the study as well as to provide an incentive, a drawing/raffle of pairs of AMC Movie Theater passes will be held among those who participate in the study.

Although your child may not directly benefit from this study, the information provided by your son/daughter will be of benefit to those who are not only concerned about Black youth but who are also committed to their welfare and success.

If you are giving permission for your child to participate, please sign the “Parents Consent For Participation Form” that is attached to this letter. If you should have any questions or concerns, please contact Lionel Scott at (614) 840-9546.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Lionel Scott  
Ph.D. Student

Virginia Richardson  
Professor, College of Social Work  
Principal Investigator
APPENDIX C

YOUTH/PARENT CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION FORM
Youth/Parent Consent Form for Participation

I consent to my participating/ my child's participation in a research study entitled:

NAVIGATING A COMPLEX SOCIAL WORLD: THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL ORIENTATION ON PERCEIVED RACISM, RACISM-RELATED STRESS AND COPING AMONG BLACK YOUTH

Dr. Virginia Richardson (Principal Investigator) or her authorized representative, Lionel Scott, has explained the purpose of the study, the procedures to be followed, and the expected duration of my participation/ my child's participation. Possible benefits of the study have been described as have alternative procedures, if such procedures are applicable and available.

I understand that my participation/ my child's participation in this study is totally voluntary and that I/ my child may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. I also understand that some of the questions may cause me/ my child to feel uncomfortable. If this should happen, I understand that the researcher will be available to discuss my/ my child's feelings individually or as part of a group.

I understand that all information reported in the questionnaire will be confidential and that any information provided to my/ my child's school, program, or agency will be in the form of general information about the overall results of the study.

Finally, I acknowledge that I have had the opportunity to obtain additional information regarding the study and that any questions that I have raised have been answered to my full satisfaction. I acknowledge that I have read and fully understand the consent form. I sign it freely and voluntarily. A copy has been given to me.

Date: ___________________________ Signed: _______________________________
(Parent or Guardian Signature)

Signed: __________________________ Signed: _____________________________
Virginia Richardson, Professor
College of Social Work
Ohio State University
(Principal Investigator)

Signed: __________________________
(Youth Participant Signature)

Signed: __________________________
(Witness)
APPENDIX D

RESEARCH STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE
Cultural Questionnaire for Children (COC)

DIRECTIONS: On the following pages are descriptions of how some people think and feel. Listen to each of the descriptions to see how much you think these people are like you. We also want to know how you feel about the person being described. For each question circle the response which best represents your views and feelings.

Fred believes very strongly in God. He thinks people and all other things are made by God and therefore have God in them. Because all things have a spiritual quality Fred tries to show respect for them instead of thinking of things simply as objects to be used for his own purposes.

1) Fred is ____________ me.

1 not at all 2 not much 3 somewhat 4 very much
like like like like

2) How do you feel about Fred?

1 strongly dislike 2 dislike 3 like 4 strongly like

Chris likes to compete with other people. He feels that the only way to tell how he is doing is to compare himself to his friends and classmates. Since Chris is always concerned about who did the best or who has the most of something, he is willing to work extra hard to do better and to get more than everybody.

1) Chris is ____________ me.

1 not at all 2 not much 3 somewhat 4 very much
like like like like

2) How do you feel about Chris?

1 strongly dislike 2 dislike 3 like 4 strongly like
Cultural Questionnaire for Children (CQC) - continued

Candace prefers discussions where feelings are as important as what is being said. She thinks feelings and ideas are closely related. She prefers discussions where people have a personal point of view and express their feelings and thoughts together.

1) Candace is ____________ me.
   1  2  3  4
   not at all not much somewhat very much
   like like like like

2) How do you feel about Candace?
   1  2  3  4
   strongly dislike dislike like strongly like

Sabrina believes that people become successful through their own individual efforts. She is mostly proud of those things that she has accomplished on her own, rather than those things she has accomplished as part of a group. Sabrina sees herself as more of an individual rather than as part of a group.

1) Sabrina is ____________ me.
   1  2  3  4
   not at all not much somewhat very much
   like like like like

2) How do you feel about Sabrina?
   1  2  3  4
   strongly dislike dislike like strongly like

Carl is aware of how important people are. He prefers to be around and to interact with other people. Carl prefers activities that involve others over activities done alone. His reason for taking part in activities often has to do with wanting to be with others. His orientation to life is a social one.

1) Carl is ____________ me.
   1  2  3  4
   not at all not much somewhat very much
   like like like like

2) How do you feel about Carl?
   1  2  3  4
   strongly dislike dislike like strongly like
Cultural Questionnaire for Children (CQC) - continued

Dean often feels strongly and deeply about things. Many of the things with which he is concerned stir up strong emotions within him. When he expresses himself on a topic it is clear he feels strongly about the issue.

1) Dean is ___________ me.

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<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>not much</td>
<td>somewhat</td>
<td>very much</td>
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<tr>
<td>like</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>like</td>
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2) How do you feel about Dean?

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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strongly dislike</td>
<td>dislike</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>strongly like</td>
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Brenda feels that everyone can succeed if they work hard enough. If to become successful means she has to work twice as hard or twice as long as some other people, she is willing to do this. In Brenda's opinion, hard work and sacrifice are the key to success.

1) Brenda is ___________ me.

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<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>not much</td>
<td>somewhat</td>
<td>very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>like</td>
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2) How do you feel about Brenda?

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<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strongly dislike</td>
<td>dislike</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>strongly like</td>
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Roy feels that it is important to work for his family, friends and community. He feels best when he is doing things for friends and family rather than just for himself. Instead of helping just himself, Roy helps everyone he is close to. He believes that what you do for your community is more important than what you get out of it. The people Roy helps also help him.

1) Roy is ___________ me.

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<th>4</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>not much</td>
<td>somewhat</td>
<td>very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>like</td>
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</table>

2) How do you feel about Roy?

<table>
<thead>
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<th>1</th>
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<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strongly dislike</td>
<td>dislike</td>
<td>like</td>
<td>strongly like</td>
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</table>
Cultural Questionnaire for Children (CQC) - continued

Grace feels that God can make things happen in her life. She believes that it is important to give thanks to God and to request help in achieving her goals. Because of this she tries to attend church services as often as possible. Grace also feels that it is important to pray before a meal, a test, or other important activities.

1) Grace is ____________ me.

   1 not at all like  2 not much like  3 somewhat like  4 very much like

2) How do you feel about Grace?

   1 strongly dislike  2 dislike  3 like  4 strongly like

Sandy sees herself as connected to others. She feels that people are dependent on each other rather than just on one’s self. She believes that rather than just trying to take care of their own needs, people need to share with one another so that everyone does well.

1) Sandy is ____________ me.

   1 not at all like  2 not much like  3 somewhat like  4 very much like

2) How do you feel about Sandy?

   1 strongly dislike  2 dislike  3 like  4 strongly like

Erica feels that winning is everything. She is not satisfied with being second best or coming in second place. For her life is a big contest. Erica defines herself by how well she does in comparison to other people.

1) Erica is ____________ me.

   1 not at all like  2 not much like  3 somewhat like  4 very much like

2) How do you feel about Erica?

   1 strongly dislike  2 dislike  3 like  4 strongly like
Cultural Questionnaire for Children (CQC) - continued

Avery feels that it is important for people to express their feelings. He believes it is important to tell how you feel and is most comfortable in situations where this is done. He doesn't believe in holding back from saying something if he feels strongly about it.

1) Avery is ___________ me.

1 not at all 2 not much 3 somewhat 4 very much
    like    like    like    like

2) How do you feel about Avery?

1 strongly 2 dislike 3 like 4 strongly
    dislike   like

Jermaine feels that he has the right to think and live as he chooses. He believes that people shouldn't have to think or act in a certain way just because they are part of a particular group. Jermaine feels that it's more important to be independent and stand on your own two feet rather than be dependent or rely on others.

1) Jermaine is ___________ me.

1 not at all 2 not much 3 somewhat 4 very much
    like    like    like

2) How do you feel about Jermaine?

1 strongly 2 dislike 3 like 4 strongly
    dislike   like

Ida feels that there is a Higher Power or Supreme Force that guides the universe. She believes that this Higher Power is responsible for the good things that happen in her life. When things are not going so well in her life, her spiritual beliefs keep her going. Ida feels that her faith makes her stronger.

1) Ida is ___________ me.

1 not at all 2 not much 3 somewhat 4 very much
    like    like    like

2) How do you feel about Ida?

1 strongly 2 dislike 3 like 4 strongly
    dislike   like
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Lee likes to work hard at whatever he does. He believes if he tries very hard and sacrifices he can accomplish anything he wants. He thinks that this is the only way to achieve goals. In fact, even if he doesn’t always reach his goal Lee feels good because he tried very hard.

1) Lee is ____________ me.

1) 2 3 4
not at all not much somewhat very much
like like like like

2) How do you feel about Lee?

1) 2 3 4
strongly dislike dislike like strongly dislike like
**Daily Life Experiences & Racism Experiences Stress Scale (DLE-R & EXP-STR)**

**Directions:** These questions ask you to think about experiences that some people have as they go about their daily lives. Racism is an experience that some people deal with on a regular basis due to their race or ethnic background. One definition of racism is "any behavior where a person or group is treated unfairly or is not given the same respect or opportunities because they are thought to be inferior or different because of their race." Think about experiences that you have had that you think happened because of your race or racism. Using the scale at the top of each column, please write the number in the box that best indicates **how often you have had each experience** because of your race or racism and **how stressful the experience was for you**.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>How often because of your race?</strong></th>
<th><strong>How stressful?</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0=never</td>
<td>0=no stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1=a little</td>
<td>1=a little stressful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2=sometimes</td>
<td>2=somewhat stressful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3=a lot</td>
<td>3=very stressful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4=all the time</td>
<td>4=extremely stressful</td>
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1. Being ignored, overlooked, or not given service (in a restaurant, store, etc.)
2. Being treated rudely or disrespectfully.
3. Being accused of something or treated suspiciously.
4. Others reacting to you as if they were afraid or intimidated.
5. Being observed or followed while in public places (like the mall or department store).
6. Being treated as if you were "stupid", being talked down to.
7. Being insulted, called a name, or harassed.
8. Others expecting your work to be inferior.
9. Being avoided, others moving away from you physically.
10. Being stared at by strangers.
Self-Report Coping Scale

Directions: Now think about the experiences that you have had because of your race or racism. Read each of the statements below which describes a behavior for coping with racism, racial discrimination, and racial prejudice. Coping is defined as individual or group behavior used to manage difficult life events, situations, or experiences. Decide how often you do each of the described behaviors when you face a situation or experience that you think is due to racism. To the left of each statement, write the number depending on whether you:

1-never  2-hardly ever  3-sometimes  4-most of the time  5-always

When I feel that I have been discriminated against or treated unfairly because of my race,

___ 1. I tell a friend or family member what happened...
___ 2. I try to think of different ways to solve it...
___ 3. I make believe that nothing happened...
___ 4. I take it out on others because I feel sad and angry...
___ 5. I talk to somebody about how it made me feel...
___ 6. I change something so things will work out...
___ 7. I go off by myself...
___ 8. I become so upset that I can't talk to anyone...
___ 9. I get help from a friend...
___ 10. I decide on one way to deal with the problem and I do it...
___ 11. I forget about the whole thing...
___ 12. I worry too much about it...
___ 13. I ask a friend for advice...
___ 14. I do something to make up for it...
___ 15. I tell myself it doesn't matter...
___ 16. I cry or let my feelings out...
___ 17. I ask a family member for advice...
___ 18. I know there are things I can do to make it better...
___ 19. I just feel sorry for myself...
___ 20. I refuse to think about it...
___ 21. I yell to let steam off...
___ 22. I ask someone who has had this problem what he or she would do...
___ 23. I go over in my mind what to do or say...
___ 24. I do something to take my mind off of it...
___ 25. I worry about what others might think...
___ 26. I curse out loud...
___ 27. I try to understand why this happened to me...
___ 28. I say I don't care...
___ 29. I talk to my pastor, minister, or bishop about it...
___ 30. I get mad and throw or hit something...
___ 31. I get help from a family member...
___ 32. I get mad at myself for doing something that I shouldn't have done...
___ 33. I try extra hard to keep this from happening again...
___ 34. When you feel you have been discriminated against or treated unfairly because of your race, how often do you think you can do something to change this situation?
Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI-Racial Centrality Scale)

Directions: Following are some statements about people's feelings about being Black. There are no right or wrong answers. Different people have different feelings. To the left of each statement, write the number depending on whether you:

1-Strongly Disagree  2-Somewhat Disagree  3-Neither agree or disagree  4-Somewhat Agree  5-Strongly Agree

1. Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
2. In general, being Black is an important part of how I view myself.
3. My future is tied to the future of other Black people.
4. Being Black is not important to my sense of what kind of person I am.
5. I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.
6. I have a strong love toward other Black people.
7. Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.
8. Being Black does not play a major part in how I choose my friends.
9. I consider myself different from most Blacks.
10. Being Black is a major part of my identity.

Racism-related Socialization Influences Scale (SOC)

Directions: Following are some statements about the degree to which your parents or guardians have discussed issues about race and racism with you. Under each statement, circle the response that best indicates the extent to which the following issues have been discussed with you.

1. To this point in your life, how often have your parents or guardians talked to you about race and racism? (Circle one)
   Not at all a little sometimes very often all the time

2. To what extent have your parents or guardians prepared you to deal with racism or talked to you about how to cope with racism? (Circle one)
   Not at all a little somewhat a lot extremely so

3. To what extent have your parents or guardians talked to you about the traditions, values, or customs of Blacks/African Americans? (Circle one)
   Not at all a little somewhat a lot extremely so

4. To what extent have your parents or guardians talked to you about racism in the history of Blacks/African Americans? (Circle one)
   Not at all a little somewhat a lot extremely so

5. To what extent have your parents or guardians told you stories about racism experiences of specific people such as family members or ancestors? (Circle one)
   Not at all a little somewhat a lot extremely so
BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1) What is your age? ________ Month/Year of birth: __________________

2) What is your gender? ___Female ___Male

3) What grade are you in? ___9th ___10th ___11th ___12th

4) How do you identify yourself in regard to race/ethnic background?
   ___Black
   ___African-American
   ___Both Black and African American
   ___American
   ___Biracial/multiracial
   ___Other (write in): __________________

5) What is the racial make-up of the neighborhood you live in?
   ___all Blacks
   ___mostly Blacks
   ___about half Black
   ___mostly Whites
   ___almost all Whites

6) What is the racial make-up of the school you attend?
   ___all Blacks
   ___mostly Blacks
   ___about half Black
   ___mostly Whites
   ___almost all Whites

7) Who do you live with? ___Mother and Father
   ___Mother only
   ___Father only
   ___relatives
   ___Other (Write in): __________________

8) Socio-economic status (Please check one):
   ___At least one of my parents has some advanced education (after college) or works in a profession
     (doctor, lawyer, professor, teacher).
   ___At least one of my parents has some college education or works in a skilled job like a nurse,
     salesperson, secretary, technician, or clerk.
   ___My parents have no college education or work as laborers in agriculture, construction, janitorial
     work, nurses aide, and so forth.
   ___My parents do not work.

9) Overall, how much do you think racism affects the lives of people of your same racial/ethnic group?
   (Circle one)
   not at all a little some a lot an extreme amount