The Case for Emotional Emancipation: A Non-Exhaustive List of Evidence
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The Association of Black Psychologists
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"Our community mental health depends on our healing from the emotional legacies of enslavement and racism."
Dr. Daryl Rowe, President, The Association of Black Psychologists

"At the root of so much of what ails our community is the toxic idea that our lives are less valuable than the lives of others. Overcoming and overturning that idea is the key to transforming our lives."
Enola Aird, President, The Community Healing Network

"Why, after all this time, when calculating the achievement of the 'American Dream,' are [Black people] still ranked at the bottom of almost every 'good' list, and at the top of the 'bad' lists? "
Tom Burrell, Retired Marketing Executive; Author of *Brainwashed: Challenging the Myth of Black Inferiority*

"The cumulative effects of four hundred years of historical and continuing trauma must be addressed."
Cheryl Tawede Grills, Immediate Past President, The Association of Black Psychologists

"Whether examining the plight of Solomon Northrop in the movie, 12 Years A Slave, or whether we remember scenes from Roots, or whether we recount consequences of the Fugitive Slave Laws, free Black men have been stopped, questioned, frisked, detained, arrested or worse. As African Americans make progress, systemic bias obstructs forward movement. From slave catchers, to Night Riders, to instances where authority is zealously abused, the images of injustice have been sustained. The quest for freedom continues."
Addie Richburg, President, The National Alliance of Faith and Justice

"And still I Rise"
Maya Angelou

The need for emotional emancipation becomes abundantly clear from a review of the social science literature. Below, uncensored, is a compilation of only a sample of research that documents the presence of racism, the effects of racism, the need for an open and honest appraisal of racism and its effect on people of African ancestry, and the need for a national movement for the psychological liberation from of Black people.

A Brief Purview of the Social Science Literature
Racism
Racism is multidimensional and pervasive (Harrell, 1995; Utsey et al., 2002)
- Jones' (1997) Tripartite Model suggests the following dimensions
  - "*Individual racism*: racial prejudice that occurs in the context of face-to-face interactions. This may include personal acts intended to denigrate or humiliate an individual because of his or her racial

group membership. *Institutional racism*: racial prejudice embedded within social institutions that manifests in social policies, norms, and practices. *Cultural racism:* a patterned way of thinking or a worldview that perpetuates the belief that the cultural values, traditions, and beliefs of one's own cultural/ethnic group (usually the dominant group) are superior to those of other cultures" (Utsey et al., 2002, p. 368).

- "Numerous studies have documented that that racism occurs for African American adults and youth and that it can be harmful to emotional and physical well-being" (see Stevenson & Arrington, 2009, p. 125-126 for an extensive list of studies).
- "Black progress has not eliminated the blaring health, economic, and social disparities that continue to plague Black communities (Farmer & Ferraro, 2005)" (Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009, p. 258).
- "Because African American children will encounter racism at some point in the their lives, they may require both antagonistic coping strategies for protection and cultural-empowering messages for uplift that validate ethnic standards of beauty and cultural norms that lead to healthy functioning (Hill, 2001; Scott, 2003)" (Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009, p. 258).
- Numerous studies have documented the damaging impact that personal experiences of racism can have on African American youths' academic attitudes and performance (Neblett et al, 2006; Neblett et al., 2009; Smalls et al., 2007; Wong et al., 2003; Chavous et al., 2008).
- "Critical race theory posits several assumptions including that racism and discrimination are enduring facets of American life that invest in the persistent economic and social domination by White people and that Whites accept and support equality as long as it does not interfere with the venerable comforts and access to power/wealth/opportunity to which they are accustomed as a result of the legacy of slavery (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Taylor, 1998)" (In Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009, p. 263).
- "Increased awareness of racial barriers may lead one to strengthen ties to one's ethnic group, serving to buffer these oppressive forces" (Utsey et al., 2002, p. 374).
- "In response to racial stressors, African Americans may seek social and psychological support from their ethnic community, extended family, and religious and spiritual resources. This sense of affirmation and belonging to the ethnic group and other support systems may enhance collective self-esteem and overall well-being (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1990)" (Utsey et al., 2002, p. 374).
- "Historical disinvestment in communities of color including poor health care (Burgard & Hawkins, 2014), unequal education (Merjian, 2010), inequitable access to healthy food and recreational space (Gonzalez, Villanueva, & Grills, 2012), and poor services, transportation and housing options (Policy Link, 2007) widens the race gap even further" (Grills et al., Under Review).

Oppression

- "Oppression is about asymmetry—the unequal distribution of coveted resources among politically salient populations" (Watts, Griffith, & Abdul-Adil, 1999, p. 257).
- "Oppression is easiest to sustain when the disenfranchised internalize their oppression and support rather than resist it" (Watts et al., 1999, p. 257).
- "There are historical, racial, social, political, and cultural concomitants of asymmetry. Oppression is both a state and a process." "As a state or outcome it is the circumstances that result from, consistent resource asymmetry" (Watts et al., 1999, p. 257).
- "Oppression is the principle target of critical consciousness" (Watts et al., 1999, p. 257). The Emotional Emancipation Circles operate from a risk and resilience model with an emphasis on critical consciousness as a way to disarm the state and outcome of oppression.

Internalized Racism

- "Acceptance by members of the stigmatized races of negative messages about their own abilities and intrinsic worth. It is characterized by their not believing in others who look like them, and not believing in themselves (Jones, 2000, p. 1214)" (Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009, p. 258).

- AKA: **Racialism**: "a belief in negative stereotypes that may be the result of prolonged marginalization and reflect an acceptance of societal views of Blacks" (Cokley, 2002)" (Cokley, 2005, p. 518).

Race Related Stress
- "Harrell (2000) ..... definition of race-related stress.......**"The race-related transactions between individuals or groups and their environment that emerge from the dynamics of racism, and that tax or exceed existing individual and collective resources or threaten well-being"** (Utsey et al., 2002, p. 368).
- The stress response associated with racism and discrimination, like general stress responses, is inextricably linked to an individual's coping mechanisms (e.g., strategies, resources, cognitive ability, and personality traits). There are both psychological and physiological consequences associated with the stress response (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999)" (Utsey et al 2002, p. 368).
- Sellers et al.'s, 2006, p. 200 findings regarding exposure to racial hassles:

TABLE 1
The Four Least and Four Most Frequently Experienced Racial Hassle

Racial Hassles	Percent of Sample Reported Experiencing Hassle
Being insulted, called a name or harassed	52.2
Others expecting your work to be inferior	54.1
Being ignored, overlooked, not given service	56.4
Being treated rudely or disrespectfully	56.4
Being accused of something or treated suspiciously	71.0
Being treated as if you were "stupid," being "talked down to"	70.7
Others reacting to you as if they were afraid of intimidated	70.1
Being observed or followed while in public places	69.1

Race Related Stress and Quality of Life and Health
- Quality of Life: "an individual's perception of their position in life in the context of the culture and value system in which they live and in relation to their goals, expectations, standards, and concerns" (The World Health Organization (WHO) Group (1994).
- "...[P]erceptions of a stressful situation that taxes or exceeds one's ability to cope may result in feelings of anger, anxiety, paranoia, helplessness-hopelessness, frustration, resentment, and fear" (Utsey et al., 2002, p. 368).
- "Physiological responses to psychological stress occur as a result of unsuccessful coping responses" (Utsey et al., 2002, p. 368).
- "The primary physiological stress response involves immune, neuroendocrine, and cardiovascular system functioning" (Utsey et al., 2002, p. 368).
- "....[E]thnic identity was the best predictor of overall QOL (i.e., physical, psychological, relational, and environmental). This finding is significant because it reveals that ethnic identity development is not only related to purely psychological indexes (e.g., self-concept) but also linked with physical health (physical domain), satisfaction with one's relationships and social networks (relationship domain), and satisfaction with one's lifestyle (environment domain)" (Utsey et al., 2002, p. 374-375).
- "Individuals who indicated they experienced cultural forms of racism also reported a diminished quality of life" (Utsey et al., 2002, p. 375).
- Socioeconomic status may not be a buffer. "Reports of racial discrimination were associated with increased risk of depression among African American men who possessed greater levels of education and income. It is possible that experiences of racial discrimination could, in part, diminish the effects of increased socioeconomic position among African American men" (Hudson et al., 2012, p. 127).
- "Findings reveal that discrimination is a major threat to African American women's mental health. They are vulnerable to discrimination, in part, because discrimination undermines their beliefs in

mastery making them less psychologically resilient. Experiences of discrimination do not differ by complexion. We conclude that complexion does not matter, but mastery does" (Keith et al., 2010, p. 48).

Ethnic Identity

- "…[T]he set of ideals, values, behaviors, and attitudes one holds regarding one's identity as a member of a distinguishable social group" (Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, Garza, & Cota, 1990).
- "Conceptually, ethnic identity serves as a means to understand whether and to what degree a person has explored the meaning of his or her ethnicity (e.g., cultural values) and developed a sense of commitment to his or her ethnic heritage" (Fischer & Moradi, 2001; Phinney, 1992)" (Utsey, et al., 2002, p. 367).
- Phinney (1992) argued it is more important to understand psychological aspects of ethnicity than the group label or race.
- Phinney (1992) identified 3 psychological aspects of ethnicity (the group label)
    1. Culture: adherence to beliefs, values behaviors, norms associated with your cultural group
    2. Ethnic identity: extent to which you identify with your ethnic group
    3. Minority status: extent to which you have the differential experiences and attitudes associated with minority status—attitudes based on being a part of a minority group that is often the target of racist behaviors and prejudicial attitudes (In Cokley, 2005, p. 517).
- "Ethnic identity has been found to be associated with positive psychological outcomes in adolescence—e.g., academic self-efficacy; higher self-esteem, positive self-concept, resiliency and coping; positive parent–child relationships, externalizing and internalizing behavior; physical health, satisfaction with relationships, and quality of life—that buffer racial barriers and stress (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Huang & Stormshak, 2011; Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Utsey, Chae, Brown, & Kelly, 2002). Smith and Silva's (2011) meta-analysis of 184 studies linking ethnic identity to well-being found a stronger relationship for adolescents and young adults than for older adults" (In Grills et al., Under review).
- Akbar, 1989; Cokley, 2002a,b; Hilliard, 1997; Nobles, 1998; Parham, 2002 all argue for a shift to ethnic or cultural identity away from racial identity because an understanding of African American identity must focus on an ethnic and cultural identity rooted in an Afrocentric worldview that critically examines and affirms African cultural values (Afrocentric values) as to what forms the foundation of African American identity and culture (In Cokley, 2005, p. 518).

Racial Identity

- From William Cross and Janet Helm's research…."the development of racial identity emerges out of minority status – and because of the minority status a developmental challenge is to negotiate and develop positive group (racial) identity" (In Cokley, 2005, p 518).
- "How to think of oneself as a person of color" (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009).
- "Racial identity has the potential to provide young people with a framework to identify, evaluate, and buffer the meaning and detriment of racial tension within varied social interactions both in and out of school" (noted by Cross, 1991; Delpit, 1995) found in Stevenson & Arrington, 2009.

Racial Socialization

- Racial socialization: "…messages about preparation for bias; …. includes an emphasis on how others will perceive you and influence your interactions and strategic maneuvering…" Messages that include internalized racism would also be incorporated…" (Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009, p. 256).
- Five categories of adolescent racial socialization identified by Stevenson et al., 2002: coping with antagonism; alertness to discrimination; cultural pride; reinforcement; cultural legacy appreciation; and mainstream fit.
- There are protective and proactive strategies of racial socialization:
    - e.g., protective = coping with antagonism, alertness to discrimination

- o   e.g., proactive = cultural pride and cultural legacy socialization
- The combination of protective and proactive = what literature calls racial/ethnic socialization
- A review by Hughes and Chen (1997) suggested that the most frequent forms of racial socialization were "cultural socialization," preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust (see Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009, p. 257).
- As children grow older, preparation for bias becomes more commonplace (Hughes & Chen, 1997).
- Neblett et al.'s, (2009) findings suggest that "various patterns of racial socialization practices have the potential to improve educational outcomes for African American boys, particularly in the context of their experiences with racial discrimination" (p. 246).
- "… [C]olorblind approaches (an approach prevalent in many schools where race is deemphasized or not talked about at all) may unintentionally send youth messages of personal or group devaluation shown to be detrimental to academic engagement (Ladson-Billings, 1995)" (in Neblett et al., 2009).
- "Racial socialization helps strengthen African American youth's level of resiliency and coping; it is an essential value-added component of the identity development experience (Simpson, Hughes, Kopaska-Merkel, & Ludvigsen, 2005; Spencer, 1999; Stevenson, 1995)" (In Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009, p. 261).
- "African American parents are more likely than parents from other ethnic groups to engage in racial socialization" (Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009, p. 256).
- "Without skills in deciphering racial politics, Black youth may not be able to engage and function fully in social arenas" (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009, p. 2009).
- Racial socialization and racism experiences influence racial identity development and determine coping skills relevant to social threats and influences self-esteem, coping behaviors, and externalizing and internalizing behaviors (Simpson et al., 2005; Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009).
- Context influences the type and extent of racism experienced and racial socialization messages youth receive – e.g., in diverse neighborhoods and schools vs non diverse ones (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009, p. 125).
- "…[D]ifferent types of racial socialization led to differential psychological outcomes and….gender, neighborhood factors, and racism experience mediated these outcomes" (Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009, p. 257).
- Adolescents' experiences of racial socialization have been linked to various forms of social and academic competencies including cognitive competency and academic efficacy (Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Stevenson et al., 2002; Thomas, Townsend, & Belgrave, 2003; Caughy et al., 2002; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Neblett et al., 2006).
- "Studies examining these values find that higher cultural values predict lower mental illness and buffer the extent to which stress leads to depression (Neblett, Seaton, Hammond, & Townsend, 2010). An ethnic identity that reinforces these values may serve as a protective factor for African American youth and may strengthen developmental or gateway assets to adult competency, such as prosocial skills and behavior—e.g., community connectedness and civic mindedness…" (Grills et al., Under Review).

Cultural Socialization

- "…messages that reflect cultural pride and that reinforce the historical knowledge of a specific cultural group" (Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009, p. 256).
- "… [A] transmission of knowledge of and respect for diasporic accomplishments, communalism, and spiritual connections" (Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009, p. 256).
- "Cultural and racial socialization messages transmitted by parents and caring adults can strengthen resiliency, coping, and identity development among African American youth (Hughes et al., 2006; Miller & MacIntosh, 1999). Cultural socialization, in particular, has been associated with identity exploration, more advanced stages of identity development, more positive group attitudes, increased persistence and performance, and more group-oriented ethnic behaviors among African American adolescents (Bentley et al., 2009; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Lesane-Brown, et al., 2005; Neblett, Phillip,

Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006; O'Connor, Brooks-Gunn, & Graber, 2000; Stevenson, 1995)" (Grills et al., Under review).

Ethnic Socialization

- "…[R]einforces the values and strengths of a specific ethnic group and teaches preparation for the biases or stereotypes that may be faced as a result of membership of this group" (Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson, 2009, p. 256).

Stereotype Threat

- "… [E]xperiencing racial discrimination may cause youth to be more vulnerable to stereotype-threat processes (e.g., having concerns over fulfilling racial academic stereotypes that impede academic task performance; Steele & Aronson, 1995)" (In Neblett et al., 2009, p. 247).
- There is considerable research of the psychological, behavioral, and physical effects of stereotype threats on African Americans (e.g., Blascovich et al., 2001; Aronson et al., 2002; Steele, 2003; Jencks & Phillips, 2011).

Research Coming Out of Cultural Neuroscience

Consider what we know in **neuroscience** – the psychology and biology of the brain and what is called **Interpersonal Neurobiology** to reflect on the impact of our repeated exposure (across generations) to racialized messages in the US and globally.

Recent findings from neuroscience suggest that the brain remains plastic, or open to continuing influences from the environment, throughout life (Barbas, 1995; Benes, 1998).... and that the more something is repeated (in terms of what you are told or what you experience) the more it physically alters the very structure and functioning of your brain. (Kitayama & Park, 2010)

Experience something or repeat something often enough and you can create new synaptic connections among neurons (nerve cells) in your brain...that create memories and beliefs and ways of seeing the world and acting in the world that happens in split seconds without your conscious awareness. This happens when you are a child and it happens across the lifespan—it has been happening across generations for our people at least since the early 1600s!

The capacity for the brain to continue to change in response to experiences across our life time is critical since, being Black in America, can mean exposure to ongoing racial stress that affects how we see ourselves, each other, and how the physical structure or architecture of our brain ultimately is continually being impacted in response to racial stress. This adds another critical dimension to what Carter G Woodson, Dr. W. E.B. DuBois and other Black scholars argued in their day about needing to take charge of how we are defined and treated by the world. If you keep repeating or are repeatedly exposed to a particular message – neuroscience is suggesting that eventually your brain physically creates a space for that message; a deep memory for that message that reacts quickly to anything that requires you to assess your self, your value, your worth, your capacity or your life chances.

Memories and mental models you may have had to the contrary (the things your mother, father, grandparents etc. said about you being lovable, gifted, talented and full of possibilities) can get essentially wiped out, eliminated (Siegel, 2001, p. 74). We also know that this can be countered – if we intentionally construct counter-memories to the lie of the myth of Black inferiority, to the less than compromised presentation of our history (pre, during, and post our enslavement), and the constant microaggressions and racial threats that occur on a routine basis.

Why Do We Need Emotional Emancipation?

- "In a large-scale national survey of 25–74 year olds, approximately 49% of Black respondents reported experiencing one **major racist event** (e.g., hassled by police, denied/received inferior service, discouraged by teacher from seeking higher education) in their lifetime (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999)" (Sellers et al., 2006, p. 189).

- "81% of Black adults reported that they have experienced at least one incident of **day-to-day discrimination** ("(e.g., being treated as inferior, called names or harassed, responded to with fear). These findings are consistent with a number of other studies that indicate that racial discrimination is common and pervades many aspects of life for Blacks (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Sanders-Thompson, 1996)" (Sellers et al., 2006, p. 190).

- Sellers et al., (2006) report that "findings suggest that African American adolescents, like their adult counterparts, are not strangers to racial discrimination. The vast majority of African American adolescents in the sample reported experiencing racial hassles in their daily lives at levels that must be considered nontrivial. The frequency of these experiences did not differ by gender. For African American adolescents, the most frequent occurrences of discrimination involved others perceiving them as a threat or incompetent (e.g., being accused of something or treated suspiciously; being treated as if you were "stupid," "being talked down to"). The least frequently reported occurrence of discrimination was being insulted or called a name or harassed. This is consistent with findings in adult investigations of racial discrimination and contemporary theories of racial discrimination, which suggest covert forms of racism are more prevalent than overt racist events (Essed, 1991; Harrell, 2000; Sellers & Shelton 2003). These more subtle forms of discrimination may take a greater cognitive toll on African American adolescents than the more blatant, directed forms of racial hassles. Whereas these more subtle forms of racial hassles require a significant amount of evaluation from the adolescent in order to make sense of the event, the more blatant forms of hassles require less evaluation of whether the hassle is racist. Therefore, African American adolescents are required to expend more cognitive energy on the interpretation of the more subtle hassles than the more blatant hassles. The fact that adolescents in the present study report experiencing more subtle forms of hassles more frequently suggest that they may be at even greater risk from the effects of discrimination" (p.)

- Not only does racial discrimination contribute to negative psychological outcomes, it can also have an adverse impact on positive psychological outcomes (Utsey et al., 2000; Sellers et al., 2006).

- "The findings from the present study combined with findings from previous studies suggests that racial discrimination is an important risk factor for the psychological functioning of African Americans across the life span. Second, the results from the present study indicate that experiencing racial discrimination is not only associated with negative psychological outcomes such as psychological distress, but that it is also associated with fewer positive psychological outcomes such as psychological well-being" (Sellers et al., 2006, p. 207).

- "Because the experience of any event is somewhat subjective and racial hassles require a greater amount of interpretation by adolescents, it is not surprising that adolescents' beliefs about the way in which other groups view their group (public regard) is associated with the frequency of experiencing racial discrimination. As such, individuals who hold low public regard beliefs appear to be at greater risk for experiencing racial discrimination. There are several possible explanations for this finding. Adolescents with low public regard beliefs may have a heightened sensitivity toward racial cues. This heightened sensitivity toward racial cues is likely to be the result of having experienced (both direct and vicarious) racial hassles in the past. Sellers and Shelton (2003) found that individuals' public regard beliefs at a previous time were predictive of later reports of experiencing racial discrimination even after controlling for previous levels of experiencing racial discrimination. This process may be reciprocal such that these new experiences of racial discrimination may serve to maintain this heightened sensitivity (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002)" (Sellers et al., 2006, p. 205-206).

- "We found that boys with low ethnic identity reported less prosocial and more aggressive behavior even when they were similar on other attributes. Programs that strengthen ethnic identity could link youth to positive African American adults, provide a historical and contemporary context for African American accomplishments, and expose youth to African American events and activities" (Belgrave et al., 2011, p. 1020-1021). Belgrave's study found that well-adjusted African American youth were higher in ethnic identity than poorly adjusted African American youth.
- There are adverse effects of racial discrimination on the psychological functioning of adults. "African Americans who experience discrimination report lower levels of subjective well-being (e.g., Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997) and lower levels of mastery and higher levels of psychological distress (Broman, Mavaddat, & Hsu, 2000). Experiencing racial discrimination is also associated with increased non-specific psychological distress (e.g., Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Kessler et al., 1999), specific psychiatric symptoms such as somatization, depression, anxiety, and obsessive-compulsion (Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999), mood disorders (Kessler et al., 1999), and anxiety disorder (Kessler et al., 1999). Recent longitudinal research by Sellers and Shelton (2003) suggests a causal link between the frequency of perceived racial discrimination and subsequent psychological distress" (Sellers et al., 2006. P. 190).
- Components of ethnicity (ethnic identity, Africentric values, beliefs about Africentrism) and racialized identity (anti-white attitudes, beliefs in Black natural ability and deficiencies etc.) study by Cokley (2005) found that
  - Africentric cultural values [including values of **collectivism**—giving priority to the goals of the family and ethnic group; shaping behavior on the basis of family and ethnic group norms and obligations; interdependent within family and ethnic group (Traindis, 2001) and **communalism**—emphasis on human relationships; recognizing every community member's value and uniqueness; emphasis on unity without conformity (Gordon, 2002)] and a positive ethnic identity were negatively related to a racialized identity (Cokley, 2005, p. 523).
  - A non-racialized ethnic identity is characterized by endorsement of Afrocentric values, a strong ethnic identity, negative endorsement of internalized racialism, and an absence of anti-white attitudes.
  - "Adherence to true Afrocentric values avoids cultural separatism and racial chauvinism (Asante, 1999) and is committed to a more humanistic vision of the world (Asante, 1998)" (Cokley, 2005, p. 524).
- African American males with low racial identity centrality were likely to engage in more violent behaviors than Black men with high racial identity centrality (Caldwell et al., 2004).
- Yip, Seaton, and Sellers (2006) using Phinney's (1998) 4 theorized identity statuses (*diffused*—not explored the meaning of or committed to an identity; *foreclosed*—firmly committed to one with no exploration to inform it; *moratorium*—actively exploring and not yet committed to on; and *achieved*—actively explored and committed) found that *diffused* young adults had higher depressive symptoms than *achieved* identity young adults.
- "Issues of colorism and skin tone influence Black identity – for example the Hughes and Hertel (1990) study found that darker skin women, older Black men, and lighter skin young Black males had higher levels of Black identity revealing the complex gender, age and skin tone factors affecting our identity" (in Cokley, 2009, p. 291).
- "Group identity often influenced by family socialization – growing up in a home with messages about being Black leads to stronger feelings of racial and or ethnic identity" (Cokley, 2009, p. 292).
- "Racial socialization and expressions of racial identity can reinforce cultural values and promote self-esteem in ways that are generative, life enhancing, protective, and buffer the deleterious effects and daily politics of daily racial oppression" (Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1991; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003) cited in Stevenson & Arrington, 2009, p. 125.
- "Stevenson and Arrington (2009, p. 132) found that students in higher grades are less optimistic that society holds favorable views of African Americans as a cultural group – may be due to the growing developmental awareness of racial politics; being Black holds more serious consequences in high school than junior high school" (Arrington & Stevenson, 2006, p. 132).

- "The older Black youth are, the less likely they will be to avoid the politics of racial stereotyping and so the development of social skills to manage these politics is crucial for their emotional health (Carter, 2007; Sellers & Shelton, 2003)"... (in Stevenson & Arrington, 2009, p. 132).
- There is safety and support for the expression of Black cultural expression in predominantly Black contexts [like living in Black neighborhoods] that often come under review, criticism, and exotic exploration in mainstream societal settings.
- Sellers et al. (2006) found that "**Racial discrimination** was associated with lower levels of psychological functioning as measured by perceived **stress, depressive symptomatology, and psychological well-being**. Although individuals who believe that other groups hold more negative attitudes toward African Americans (low public regard) were at greater risk for experiencing racial discrimination, low public regard beliefs also buffered the impact of racial discrimination on psychological functioning. More positive attitudes about African Americans were also associated with more positive psychological functioning" (p. 187-188).
- "Clark, Coleman, and Novak (2004) found that perceived discrimination was positively related to externalizing and internalizing symptoms. Fisher et al. (2000) found that distress, as the result of peer and educational discrimination, was associated with lower self-esteem for a sample of ethnic minority adolescents. In one of the few longitudinal studies in the area, Wong et al. (2003) found that perceived discrimination at school (i.e. peers and teachers) was negatively related to adolescents' reports of achievement motivation, self-competency beliefs, psychological resiliency, and self-esteem in their sample of African American junior high school students. Also, they found that reports of discrimination at school were positively related to anger, depressive symptomatology, perceptions of friends' negative characteristics, and adolescents' involvement in problem behaviors. Recently, Scott (2003) explored the relationship between adolescents' experiences of discrimination and their specific coping behaviors. His results revealed that experiencing discrimination was related to externalizing (e.g., "curse out loud") coping strategies" (Sellers et al., 2006, p. 191).
- "Wong et al. (2003) conducted one of the few studies that includes measures of **discrimination, racial identity, and various academic and socio-emotional outcomes** (Wong et al., 2003). The results of their study revealed that having a greater connection to one's ethnic group buffered the negative impact of school discrimination on self-concept of academic ability, school achievement, engagement in problem behaviors, and involvement with friends who had fewer positive qualities. Wong and colleagues focused exclusively on discrimination experienced at school" (Sellers et al., 2006, p. 193).
- "More positive attitudes toward African Americans (positive private regard beliefs) were associated with more positive psychological outcomes regardless of the level of discrimination the adolescents reported. This finding is consistent with other research that has found a link between positive attitudes toward one's racial group and positive psychological functioning and well-being (Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith, 1998; Hughes & Demo, 1989)" (Sellers et al., 2006 p. 208).
- "The internalization of inferiority beliefs has been proposed as one mechanism through which experiencing racial discrimination may influence psychological functioning (Jones, 2000)" (in Sellers, 2006, p. 208).
- "It is possible that more blatant forms of racial discrimination are so virulent that no set of racial identity attitudes or beliefs may effectively protect individuals from their impact" (Sellers et al., 2006, p. 209). Sellers study examined racial hassles experienced by adolescents.
- "Wong and colleagues used a single indicator of ethnic identity that measured the extent to which the individuals felt close to their racial group; neither private regard nor centrality acted in such a manner in the Sellers et al., 2006 study. It is unclear as to how individuals' feelings of racial closeness are related to their centrality and private regard beliefs in the context of racial discrimination. It is possible that they have a synergistic influence on the way in which African Americans experience discrimination. The use of multiple indicators of racial identity in the present study suggests the utility of a multidimensional conceptualization of African American racial identity" (Sellers et al., 2006, p. 210).

- Sellers et al.'s (2006) results suggest that "teaching African American adolescents that other groups may hold negative attitudes toward African Americans should lead to better outcomes for African American adolescents when they encounter racial hassles" (p,).

The Need for Attention to Youth
"As African American adolescents begin to traverse beyond their immediate familial environment, many encounter societal institutions that often covertly and overtly discriminate against them because of phenotypical characteristics such as race" (Sellers et al., 2006, p. 188).

"The risk for experiencing racial discrimination is especially acute for African American adolescents compared with adolescents of other race or ethnicity (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Romero & Roberts, 1998). Although African American adolescents are at greater risk for discrimination, recent research suggests that certain racial identity attitudes and beliefs may influence how individuals experience racial discrimination and serve as protective factors to mitigate the risk" (Sellers, Morgan, & Brown, 2001, p. 188).

"In the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) model, Spencer, Dupree, and Hartmann (1997) take a risk and resilience approach to understanding the normative development of African American adolescents. The PVEST model argues that **experiences with racial discrimination are chronic stressors that occur and must be dealt with as part of the normative developmental process of African American adolescents** (Spencer et al., 1997). These stressors are experienced at a number of different ecological levels. According to the PVEST model, a number of important psychological and behavioral outcomes are de- pendent upon the way in which the adolescent copes with society's racism and other adolescent developmental tasks (Spencer et al., 1997). **One set of positive coping responses by the PVEST model is the adoption of healthy racial identity beliefs. These beliefs include a positive view of one's racial group and an understanding of the role that racism plays in society**" (Sellers et al., 2006, p. 188-189).

<div align="center">

Other Relevant Concepts/Issues/Details

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- **MMRI:** "Multidimensional model of racial identity (MMRI). Recently, Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous (1998) have proposed the MMRI as a framework for studying African American racial identity. The model defines racial identity in terms of the significance and meaning that African Americans place on race in defining themselves. The model proposes **four dimensions** of racial identity attitudes. Two dimensions seem to be particularly relevant to understanding the potential impact of racial discrimination on psychological well-being.
- **Racial centrality** refers to the extent to which a person normatively defines her/himself with regard to race.
- **Racial regard** refers to a person's affective and evaluative judgment of his/her race. The regard dimension consists of both a private and a public component.
    - **Private regard** refers to the extent to which individuals feel positively or negatively toward African Americans and their membership in that group.
    - **Public regard** refers to the extent to which individuals feel that others view African Americans positively or negatively" (Sellers et al., 2006, p. 194).

Risk and Resilience
"Several researchers in the prevention sciences have proposed a risk and resilience framework for understanding social problems (Zimmerman & Arunkumar, 1994). Such a framework focuses on identifying both those factors that are associated with a particular undesirable outcome and those factors that allow individuals to be resilient against the risk. The risk and resilience approach provides a framework for understanding why individuals with the same level of exposure to risk do not necessarily have the same outcomes (Zimmerman & Arunkumar, 1994). Several models have been proposed for

understanding risk and resiliency (Garmezy, 1991; Zimmerman & Arunkumar, 1994). The compensatory model and the pro- tective factor model are two of the most prevalent models used in resilience research. The compensatory model focuses on factors an individual possesses that equalize negative outcomes (Zimmerman, Bingenheimer, & Notaro, 2002). The compensatory model argues that the resilient factor is associated with a positive outcome across all levels of risk. As such, from an analytic perspective, the model is interested in the direct influence of the resilient factor on the outcome after controlling for the effect of the risk factor. On the other hand, the protective factor model suggests that some factors may buffer the relationship between exposure to risks and negative outcomes (Zimmerman et al., 2002). In other words, the association be- tween level of risk and negative outcome is stronger for individuals with lower levels of the resilient factor than for those with higher levels. From an analytic perspective, the protective factor model calls for an analysis of the moderating effects of the resilient factor" (Sellers et al., 2006, p. 194-195).

EEC and Liberation Psychology
"Youth of color participating in political and broader civic engagement activities—youth organizing, participatory action research, etc.—tend to develop a heightened sense of civic mindedness and concern for their community (Kirshner & Ginwright, 2012). Participation in civic activities also produces a sense of agency and capacity with respect to achieving goals (Larson & Hansen, 2005), which may broadly reflect an elevated sense of hope" (Grills et al., Under review).

The EEC reflective process is designed to increase critical consciousness and self-awareness and is similar to Watts et al.'s (1999, p. 264) discussion of the five elements of critical consciousness.
1. What did you *see*? Perception based on stimulus;
2. What does it *mean*? Interpretation and meaning;
3. Why do you *think* that? Defense of interpretations;
4. How do you *feel* (what do you think) about it? Emotional and intuitive responses to the stimulus;
5. What can you *do* about it? Action strategies—what constructive actions could be taken to improve the situation.

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