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Black American Millennials Coping with the Myth of a Post-Racist Society

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Abstract

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of the Requirements for the Degree of

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Abstract

For generations, Black Americans depended on religious coping strategies to counter the impact of racism; the idea of giving the problem to God was shown to alleviate powerlessness and racism-related stress among pre-Millennial generations of Black Americans. However, the shift to an allegedly post-racist society has complicated recognition of racism and the coping process for Black American Millennials (BAMs). The purpose of this quantitative study was to determine whether BAMs and pre-Millennials perceive racism as an ongoing problem and whether generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) moderates the effectiveness of religious coping strategies to mitigate racism-related stress. The theory of cognitive appraisal and symbolic racism theory were used to frame the study. Online surveys were administered to 206 Black Americans who were at least 20 years old. Results of an independent sample *t* test indicated no significant generational differences in the perceptions of ongoing racism. Results of a hierarchical moderated regression analysis indicated no significant differences in the mean racism-related stress scores between BAMs and pre-Millennial Blacks. Findings may be used to promote discussion about generational differences in perceptions of racism as an ongoing problem and how those differences impact the use of religious coping strategies to mitigate racism-related stress.

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to anyone who has been told that because of their circumstances, college is not for them. Despite potential obstacles, I have learned that when hard work meets opportunity, anything is possible. I admit that I started rough, but it was worth it to get to the end. Also, I will forever be grateful to those who supported my desire to complete this work. The kind and encouraging words I received were not taken for granted. Lastly, I dedicate this work to first-generation college students. Regardless of our background, with hard work there is a seat for us at the table.

Acknowledgments

I want to give a special acknowledgment to my chair, Dr. Hedy Red Dexter. I remain impressed at your ability to push students to give their very best. I appreciate that you did not only expect high-quality effort, but you gave high-quality effort. I know I did not start the dissertation process with the necessary skills to succeed, but you did not hold this against me. Instead, you molded me into someone capable of completing such a task.

I also want to give a special thanks to my methodologist, Dr. Brandon Cosley. If not for you, I would not have known the best approach to analyze my data. Lastly, I want to give a special thanks to my university research reviewer, Dr. Gary Burkholder, for all the time and effort put into ensuring my dissertation met the quality standards.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Racism and racial discrimination can damage the psyches of those targeted. Blacks have had to rely on many psychological strategies to *cope* with racism when they did not have the social status to *fight* it (Jones & Neblett, 2016). Religious coping strategies are among the most reliable mechanisms Blacks have had at their disposal (Ellison, Music, & Henderson, 2008; Hayward & Krause, 2015). These coping strategies have long been used by Black individuals who were subject to overtly racist laws (e.g., Jim Crow) or inequitably enforced laws (e.g., disproportionate number of Black males vs. White males sentenced to death) and opportunities to improve their social status (Pargament, Smith, Koenig, & Perez, 1998).

Both the election of the first Black president and the eradication or near eradication of explicitly racist Jim Crow legislation have fueled the narrative that the United States has moved to a post-racist phase in its evolution (Dawson & Bobo, 2009). However, for Black American Millennials (BAMs), the United States that they inhabit is not so much post-racist as it is subtler racist. The fact that open racism is no longer socially acceptable (Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores, & Bluemel, 2013) means that racist acts must be hidden or at least disguised as being nonracially motivated (Sears & Henry, 2003).

It was not precisely known how BAMs perceive/experience racism and then cope with it. Research on Blacks' use of religious coping strategies had been conducted among pre-Millennial generations; however, researchers have not examined whether BAMs use religious coping techniques to process and break down the psychological effects of

racism (Chatters, Taylor, Jackson, & Lincoln, 2008; Ellison et al., 2008; Hayward & Krause, 2015; Lewis-Coles & Constantine, 2006). This study addressed BAMs' and pre-Millennials' perceptions of racism as an ongoing problem. I also compared BAMs' and pre-Millennials' use of religious coping strategies to mitigate racism-related stress.

Chapter 1 presents an introduction to the study and a brief summary of the literature related to the study topic. This is followed by the problem statement, purpose of the study, research questions and hypotheses, theoretical framework for the study, nature of the study, definitions of significant terms, assumptions in the study, and the scope and delimitations of the study. I also describe the limitations and significance of the study and conclude with a summary.

Background

BAMs have grown up with a different, more covert brand of racism (e.g., opposition to programs and policies geared toward helping Blacks) from the one that so overtly affected their parents. There have been many attempts to squelch race-related conversation around BAMs (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Neville et al., 2013) despite evidence that racism is as potent as ever and must be addressed to be eliminated (Neville et al., 2013). This context of post-racism informs BAMs' challenges in navigating/negotiating the covert racism they continue to encounter. One example of -post-racism and its challenges is colorblind race ideology (Neville et al., 2013), which posits that individuals claiming not to see race do not make judgments about people based on race and therefore cannot be considered racist. Colorblind race ideology was intended to signify the end of conversations regarding race. Colorblind race ideology suggests race no longer

contributes to Blacks not improving their social and economic positions (Neville et al., 2013), leaving any shortcoming or failure experienced by Blacks to be attributed to a lack of the traditional conservative values the United States was founded on (e.g., individualism, work ethic, punctuality, and delay of gratification; Sears & Henry, 2003). The election of Barack Obama further fueled the narrative that America was post-racist and was used to underscore that Blacks can no longer use race to explain social and economic inequities (Dawson & Bobo, 2009).

Researchers have suggested that it is unlikely an individual can be blind to racial differences (Apfelbaum, Norton, & Sommers, 2012; Apfelbaum, Pauker, Ambady, Sommers, & Norton, 2008); rather, colorblind race ideology is racist because it conceals and preserves racial inequalities (Neville et al., 2013). Furthermore, research has shown that White study participants are able to identify racial discrimination only when the studies posit salient, discrete racial categories (Dovidio & Banfield, 2013). However, for evidence that 21st century U.S. society is not yet post-racist, BAMs can look not to theory but to everyday praxis: continued discrimination in hiring practices (e.g., disproportionate selection of White applicants over equally qualified Black applicants; Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Niemann & Sanchez, 2015; Quillian, Pager, Hexel, & Midtbøen, 2017), continued discrimination when seeking health care (Adegbembo, Tomar, & Logan, 2006; Elder et al., 2015; Hammond, 2010), continued racial disparities in incarceration rates (Hetey & Eberhardt, 2014), and continued victimization via microaggressions on college campuses (Harwood, Hunt, Mendenhall, & Lewis, 2012).

In addition to colorblind race ideology, the myth of a level playing field on which Blacks allegedly have the same opportunities as Whites (Bonilla-Silva, 2015) is emblematic of the covert racism that pervades the supposedly post-racist U.S. society in which BAMs came of age. Proponents of this myth oppose affirmative action policies and programs geared toward closing race-based gaps in employment, health care, and education (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Through lenses colored by this myth, Blacks taking advantage of such programs appear lazy and lacking in the drive and determination necessary to succeed on their own (Sears & Henry, 2003). The phenomena of colorblind race ideology and the myth of a level playing field show that although racism may have burrowed underground during BAMs' formative years, racism is still very much present.

Research concerning BAMs' perceptions of racism is scarce, but Cohen (2011) found that BAMs more than White Millennials perceive racism to be a problem. Although Cohen explored BAMs' perceptions of racism, the study did not address how BAMs cope with racism. The current study contributed to the literature by moving beyond perceptions of racism to assess whether BAMs, like generations of Black Americans before them, use religious strategies to cope with the racism they perceive.

The Black church has played an integral role in the lives of Black Americans for as long as there have been Blacks in America (Chatters et al., 2008). Research indicated that Blacks have long relied on religious coping strategies to moderate the stress caused by perceived racism. Hayward and Krause (2015) found that Blacks rely mostly on prayer to cope with racial discrimination. However, Hayward and Krause's sample was devoid of BAMs and included mostly individuals from Generation X, with the mean age

of participants being 41 years. The current study addressed (a) the coping mechanisms BAMs use to cope with the unique, subtle forms of racism they experience and (b) whether religious coping strategies continue to be used (and continue to be efficacious) among pre-Millennials.

Problem Statement

Generations of Black Americans relied on religious coping strategies to mitigate the psychological stress caused by racism; leveraging God's unconditional support and promise of a postmortem reward assuaged the feelings of powerlessness inflicted by racism's literal and figurative bonds (Pargament et al., 1998; Szymanski & Obiri, 2011). Present-day manifestations of racism are cagier, more likely to blur their provenance and seem attributable to nonracial factors (e.g., support for tougher punitive crime policies when the alleged criminal is Black; Green, Staerkle, & Sears, 2006), and more likely to involve opposition to affirmative action policies when the beneficiary is Black (Rabinowitz, Sears, Sidanius, & Krosnick, 2009). Racist instantiations can be explained through adherence to personal conservative beliefs (e.g., that individuals are responsible for their success or failure) rather than through racism (Sears & Henry, 2003) The emergence of these subtler forms of racism has coincided with BAMs coming of age, which calls into question the BAM generation's preparedness to manage a stressor that a cultural narrative tells them does not exist.

Although researchers have considered how Blacks cope with racism, no study has addressed the impact of covert racism on Blacks, especially BAMs, and how BAMs cope with this modern form of racist expression. I examined the influence of present-day

racism on BAMs. BAMs grew up believing that the fight for their rights (i.e., the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements) had been undertaken and won by preceding generations of Black Americans; it was up to the BAMs, then, to use those rights instead of battling for them. However, when confronted with the reality that those hard-won rights were conditional and that racism had not at all gone away, BAMs' strategies for coping would be unknown. The differing perceptions of racism for Blacks born with their rights and those who fought for their rights had not been studied. Finally, researchers have established that religious coping strategies were efficacious for pre-Millennial Blacks. However, research was needed to determine whether, in the context of covert racism, (a) pre-Millennial Blacks still rely on those methods and whether (b) BAMs acquired those methods to deal with a racism they had been told had ended.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this quantitative study was to determine whether BAMs and pre-Millennials (a) perceive racism as an ongoing problem and whether (b) generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) moderates the effectiveness of religious coping strategies to mitigate racism-related stress.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

RQ1: Is there a relationship between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the perception of racism as an ongoing problem, as measured by the Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire (PEDQ-CV)?

H_o1: There is no relationship between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the perception of racism as an ongoing problem.

H_a1: There is a relationship between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the perception of racism as an ongoing problem.

RQ2: Is there an interaction between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the use of religious coping strategies such that pre-Millennials using religious coping strategies will have lower stress related to perceived racism compared to BAMs, as measured by the Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS-IR) and the positive and negative subscales of the Brief Measure of Religious Coping (Brief RCOPE)?

H_o2: There is no interaction between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the use of religious coping strategies such that those in pre-Millennial generations who use more religious coping strategies will not have lower stress related to perceived covert racism compared to BAMs.

H_a2: There is an interaction between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the use of religious coping strategies such that pre-Millennials using more religious coping strategies will have lower stress related to perceived covert racism compared to BAMs.

Theoretical Framework

The theory of cognitive appraisal (TCA) describes the stress and coping process, or the ways an individual identifies an event as threatening or stressful and the acquisition of resources necessary to minimize or cope with the stressful event (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). In the current study, TCA was used to explain how perceiving racism as an ongoing problem may impact the appraisal of covert racism as a stressor (Jones & Neblett, 2016). Symbolic racism theory (SRT; Sears & Henry, 2003) provided the

context for covert racism, which had been prevalent in the period when BAMs came of age (Neville et al., 2013). SRT explains both the forms in which racism persists today and how it is most likely to occur in ambiguous situations, when racist actions such as discriminatory hiring and selection processes can be attributed to characteristics other than race (e.g., having poor manners, being lazy/unfit) and can make it difficult to recognize/deal with acts rooted in racism (Sears & Henry, 2003).

I hypothesized that there would be generational differences in the use of traditional religious coping strategies to mitigate the unique stressor of covert racism. TCA and SRT were used to help explain the cross-generational differences in strategies for coping with covert racism, and supported the likelihood that there would be generational differences in the use of traditional religious coping strategies to mitigate the effects of covert racism. In addition, emerging perceptions of a post-racist U.S. society and the endorsement of colorblind race ideologies during BAMs' coming-of-age years would be explained as contributing factors to the hypothesized generational differences (i.e., [a] that there is a relationship between generation and coping strategy and [b] that there is an interaction between generation and coping such that pre-Millennials who more often use religious coping strategies will have lower race-related stress compared to BAMs). Older generations came of age when American society's negotiation of racial issues was explicit (i.e., segregation and then integration) and racism was overt. For BAMs, however, race was rarely discussed and was not commonly used as the criterion that determined where they could sit, eat, or attend school. A more in-depth explanation of both TCA and SRT is provided in Chapter 2.

Nature of the Study

A quantitative design was appropriate for examining the relationship among variables. In a quantitative study, a researcher has the ability to determine the impact Variable X will have on Variable Y. This ability is not possible in qualitative research but is necessary in a correlational study like the current study. This quantitative study had multiple variables. The independent variables were religious coping and generation (i.e., BAMs and pre-Millennials) with generation serving as the moderator between religious coping and racism-related stress (dependent variable in RQ2). The use of religious coping techniques to cope with perceived racism (dependent variable in RQ1) had been explored in other studies with a quantitative design (Szymanski & Obiri, 2011). A quantitative design made it easier for other researchers to replicate, compare, and identify what had been done and what had yet to be examined.

A simple independent *t* test was used to test the first hypothesis that there is a relationship between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and that the perception of racism as an ongoing problem. I used a hierarchical moderated regression analysis to test the second hypothesis that there is a significant interaction between generation and coping such that pre-Millennials who use more religious coping skills will have lower stress compared to BAMs. A hierarchical moderated regression analysis is used to determine whether the association between X and Y variables interacts with one or more moderator variables.

For the study, the primary source of data was self-report survey instruments. The target population were BAMs and pre-Millennials from SurveyMonkey's online

participant pool. A random probability-stratified sampling method was used to recruit the participants. Using random probability sampling rather than nonprobability sampling ensures that the sample will be highly representative of the population (Creswell, 2011). The first 206 respondents who consented and met the selection criteria were selected for the study.

Definitions

Anti-Black affect: Feelings of anger, disgust, fear, nervousness, and discomfort when encountering Blacks (Sears & Henry, 2003).

Black American Millennials (BAMs): Blacks born between 1980 and 2000 (Ng, Schweitzer, & Lyons, 2010).

Colorblindness: Denial of racial differences by emphasizing sameness and equal opportunity (Neville et al., 2013).

Conservative values: A disguised form of racism that is a part of the framework of SRT. This framework presents as an adherence to values of equity, fairness, and individualism but hypocritically opposes programs and policies (i.e., affirmative action) geared toward achieving equality (Sears & Henry, 2003).

Covert racism: A disguised form of racism that is more likely to occur in ambiguous situations that can be attributed to a reason other than race (i.e., hiring practices and opposing programs that assist Blacks, such as affirmative action).

Level playing field: The premise that everyone is held to the same rules and that no external interference limits the ability of individuals to compete fairly, which denies the existence of continued structural inequality (Bonilla-Silva, 2015).

Perceived racism: An individual's feeling about/sense of racism/discrimination experienced across their lifetime (Brondolo et al., 2005).

Pre-Millennials: Anyone born before 1980 (Ng et al., 2010).

Racism-related stress: Day-to-day stress experienced by those marginalized/oppressed on the basis of race (e.g., African Americans; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

Religious coping: Dealing with stress as positive or negative based on the 14-item measure of religious coping Brief RCOPE (Pargament, Feuille, & Burdzy, 2011).

Assumptions

I assumed that participants would be able to recall their lived racism-related experiences. I also assumed participants would be honest in their evaluations of their experiences and the ways in which they coped with those experiences. In addition, I assumed the instruments would accurately measure participants' perceptions of racism, their lived experiences with racism, the stress they felt related to their experiences, and how they coped with those experiences. Lastly, I assumed that the confidential nature of the study would promote participant honesty and faith in the research process.

Scope and Delimitations

Because the myth of a post-racist society was pervasive during the time BAMs came of age, they are not likely to have developed defenses against/coping strategies for the covert racism they have encountered or will encounter. Unlike older generations, BAMs did not live through segregation and Jim Crow laws (Jones-Eversley, Adedoyin, Robinson, & Moore, 2017). Instead, BAMs were born into a different reality from that of

their parents, and this created uncertainty as to how BAMs would cope with racial discrimination (Jones-Eversley et al., 2017). The literature did not indicate whether BAMs had followed preceding generations by using religious coping strategies to mitigate the impact of racism.

SRT provided the context for the covert racism BAMs would have grown up experiencing, and explained how covert racism is more likely to occur in situations in which acts can be attributed to reasons other than race (e.g., inherent character flaws) and is difficult to recognize. SRT was chosen over other theories (e.g., social dominance theory and intergroup theories) that attempt to explain racism outside of the context of historical racial tensions. TCA was also integral to the study's theoretical framework in that it was used to examine the stress-and-coping process. TCA describes the manner in which an individual will identify an event as threatening or stressful and the process of acquiring the appropriate resources for minimizing or coping with the stressful event (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). This theory takes into consideration that Blacks may appraise covert racism differently from one another, and that this may account for some of the variability in coping strategies across individuals or generations.

Limitations

The main limitation in the study was its dependency on self-report data. Participants may not have accurately presented their feelings or experiences because the study pertained to social situations, which could have influenced participants to present themselves in a socially desirable manner (see King & Brunner, 2000). To overcome these limitations, I notified participants of response confidentiality at the beginning of the

study. In addition, because this was a correlational study, inferences about causality could not be made.

Significance

The study made an original contribution by being the first to address how or whether, in the context of covert racism, religious coping strategies are now being used by BAMs and/or still being used by pre-Millennial Black Americans. The comparison determined ifI also examined whether there were generational differences in the use of traditionally efficacious religious strategies for coping with the stressor of covert racism. Answering these questions may lead to positive social change by pointing out whether religious coping strategies can prove as effective in dealing with present-day covert racism as they were in dealing with pre-Millennial overt forms of racist expression. If BAMs were not using religious coping strategies to mitigate the psychological harm caused by racism, the study would expose this fact and raise questions about the continued relevance of those religion-based coping techniques.

Summary

Contrary to popular belief, the election of Barack Obama as the first Black American president did not signal the end of racism as a pervasive problem. In addition, this event did not create more opportunities for Black Americans. Racism is still rampant; however, it is subtler and more covert than it had been. Moreover, even suggesting that the United States is post-racist reinforces the inequalities that continue to exist. Blacks still face a great deal of discrimination in every major sector of American life (Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Pre-Millennial Blacks have had an opportunity to see racism evolve from

overt to covert and are likely in a better position than BAMs to call out the inconsistencies in the post-racist society narrative.

Researchers have articulated the Black experience with overt racism and how religious coping styles have been used to mitigate the negative psychological effects of racism (Hayward & Krause, 2015). What is less well understood is whether Blacks continue to use religious coping strategies to mitigate the psychological impact of present-day, covert racism. This study addressed this question for BAMs while also addressing whether religious coping techniques are still being used by pre-Millennial generations. Chapter 2 provides a comprehensive review of the literature, including a more detailed description of the theoretical framework and the variables of interest.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Many have viewed Barack Obama's 2008 election to the U.S. presidency as marking the beginning of a post-racist American era wherein racism no longer obstructs the progress of Black Americans (Dawson & Bobo, 2009). However, reports of the death of racism in America have been exaggerated; demands for political correctness have forced racism underground, making it harder to pinpoint its sources and classify its forms (Neville et al., 2013). Black Americans now must face blame (i.e., from others and themselves) for failing to take advantage of this new "level" playing field (Cohen, 2011). These are the sui generis conditions in which BAMs have come of age. Although Black Americans across many generations had developed techniques for recognizing and defending against more overt forms of racism (Graham, Calloway, & Roemer, 2015), the Obama-driven racial paradigm shift has left BAMs with few defense mechanisms against and/or coping strategies for the unique, unanticipated stressor of covert racism (Luckerson, 2015). In short, BAMs have been destabilized and psychologically disarmed by the illusion of a post-racist society (Luckerson, 2015).

For generations, Black Americans depended on religious coping strategies to counter the impact of racism (Pargament et al., 1998; Szymanski & Obiri, 2011). The idea of giving the problem to God was shown to alleviate powerlessness and psychological stress among pre-Millennial generations of Black Americans when faced with racism (Pargament et al., 1998). However, the shift to post-racism has complicated recognition of racism and complicated also the coping process for BAMs (Luckerson, 2015). Studies have shown that racism generates powerlessness, impotence, and

confusion among its targets, and, in turn, leads to maladaptive coping strategies (e.g., hypervigilance) rather than adaptive coping strategies (e.g., empowered action; Szymanski & Obiri, 2011).

At the time of the current study, no studies had addressed the impact that a covert form of racism has on BAMs (i.e., the most relevant target population because they grew up in the Obama era). Researchers had not asked whether BAMs, like older generations of Black Americans, utilize religious coping strategies to cope with the ongoing but covert threat of racism, and had not asked whether traditionally efficacious religious coping strategies, if used by BAMs, work to mitigate the unique stressor of covert racism. Black Americans exhibit great cross-generation variance in perception of racism, perhaps due to generation-specific cultural conditions. Although religious coping strategies have been used to moderate stress associated with perceived racism for pre-Millennial Blacks, it was not yet known whether those same strategies were still being used by pre-Millennials or whether these individuals perceive racism as an ongoing problem in an allegedly "post-racist" era. In addition, no studies had addressed how BAMs' perception of racism (e.g., as threatening/harmful or as obsolete/impotent) would impact coping strategies (e.g., seeking spiritual support and connection) to mitigate the stress of covert racism.

Chapter 2 presents the literature search strategy and a discussion of the theories that informed this study. An exhaustive review of the current literature related to key variables follows these sections. The chapter concludes with a summary.

Literature Search Strategy

Walden University's library was used to access the journals for the literature review. The databases were Psyc Info, PsyArticles, GoogleScholar, Proquest, and Science Direct. Terms used included *Black Millennials*, *African American Millennials + racism + perception of racism + coping with racism + religious coping*, *post-racial myth*, *colorblind race ideology*, *covert racism*, and *symbolic racism*. Synonyms such as *Black/African American* were used to yield more search results. At times, Millennials were researched independently to narrow the focus to individuals born between 1980 and 2000. After reviewing articles concerning Millennials independently, I used phrases such as *perception of racism* and *coping with racism* to narrow the search. This was followed by a search for *African/Black American religious coping styles*. This was intended to locate the body of research that addressed ways Blacks cope with stressors such as racism. The term *post-racial myth* was used to access studies on covert racism. Searches using this term also yielded studies conducted during the time frame when BAMs came of age. The often-interchangeable terms *covert racism* and *symbolic racism* were used to further explore the context of racism in the 21st century. The dates of publication of full-text articles ranged from 2003 to 2017, with the only exceptions being seminal references that provided the theoretical foundation for this study.

I observed an absence of research on how BAMs cope with racism. It was not clear whether, like older generations, BAMs use religious coping strategies to cope with racism. In addition, it was not clear whether older generations continue to use religious coping strategies to mitigate the deleterious effects of covert racism. Most available

research on BAMs focused on their perceptions of racism. There were no studies that addressed how BAMs' perception of racism as an ongoing threat impacts how they cope with this stressor.

Theoretical Foundation

The theory of cognitive appraisal (TCA) describes the stress and coping process, or the ways in which an individual identifies an event as threatening or stressful and the process of acquiring the resources necessary to minimize or cope with the stressful event (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Perception of racism as an ongoing problem may impact the appraisal of covert racism as a stressor (Jones & Neblett, 2016). Sears and Henry's (2003) symbolic racism theory (SRT) provides the context for covert racism that became prevalent in the period when BAMs came of age (Neville et al., 2013). SRT explains how racism persists and how it is most likely to occur in ambiguous situations, including when racist actions such as discriminatory hiring and selection processes can be attributed to characteristics other than race (e.g., having poor manners, being lazy/unfit), thereby making it difficult to recognize and deal with acts rooted in racism (Sears & Henry, 2003).

Theory of Cognitive Appraisal

TCA includes two central concepts. *Appraisal* is the individual evaluation of what is happening in a given situation, and *coping* refers to the thoughts and actions used to manage situational demands. The theory views stress as a relational concept, or a relationship between an individual and their environment. Psychological stress occurs when the individual has appraised something within the environment as significant, such

as a threat to their well-being. The appraisal may indicate that demands exceed accessible coping resources.

The concept of appraisal is based on the assumption that an individual's processing of emotions in a given situation is influenced by that individual's expectations of a particular outcome; in other words, because emotional reactions are based on individual outcome expectations, individuals will respond differently to seemingly identical stressors (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). TCA further divides appraisal into two types. *Primary appraisal* refers to whether a threat relevant to the well-being of an individual has occurred, and *secondary appraisal* involves assessing coping options. Moreover, primary appraisal has three components: *Goal relevance* describes the degree of importance an individual assigns to an issue, *goal congruence* describes the degree to which an issue threatens personal goals, and *ego involvement* refers to level of personal engagement (i.e., self-esteem, personal values, ego-identity). Secondary appraisal also has three components. These include *blame for or credit to* whomever is responsible for the occurrence; *coping potential*, or an individual's evaluation of the potential to enforce specific behavioral operations that will positively encourage a personally relevant outcome; and *future expectations*, which refers to the appraisal of the likelihood an encounter will coincide or conflict with future goals. Appraisal patterns lead to varying forms of stress. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) identified harm (i.e., psychological damage that has previously occurred), threat (i.e., apprehension of potentially inevitable damage), and challenge (i.e., perception of superable obstacles) as the three pattern types in primary and secondary appraisal. Finally, TCA identifies two forms of coping: *Problem-*

focused coping is an attempt to change the cause or root of a stressful situation, and *emotion-focused coping* refers to an attempt to improve a negative emotional state or alter the appraisal of the unfavorable situation (Lazarus & Folkman 1984).

TCA and its relationship with strategies to cope with racism. Szymanski and Obiri (2011) viewed Black Americans' use of religion to cope with racism through the lens of TCA. In their study, 269 Black Americans aged 18 to 79 completed an online demographic survey and questionnaire appraising experiences with racial discrimination. Participants were asked to share the frequency of specific racist events that had occurred in the preceding year. Szymanski and Obiri found that religious coping strategies can have both positive and negative psychological effects. On the positive side, religious coping strategies (i.e., seeking spiritual support and guidance) empowered individuals to let go of the fear/pain associated with racism and replace it with forgiveness. On the negative side, religious coping strategies added to stress levels as the victim of racism felt targeted not only by perpetrators of racist actions but also by God for letting such actions happen. Szymanski and Obiri also found that religious coping strategies have generally been effective with explicit racism but are less potent when dealing with covert expressions of racism. In TCA terms, covert racism makes appraisal more challenging, and societal attempts to declare racism dead belie a willful obliviousness to covert acts of racism (Neville et al., 2013).

Hoggard, Byrd, and Sellers (2012) examined potential differences between Black American participants' ($N = 35$) appraisal of racial and nonracial stimuli and the differences in strategies for coping with these stressors. Over a 20-day period,

participants were asked daily to complete a brief online survey about whether they had experienced a racially stressful situation in the last 24 hours. Those who had experienced a racially stressful event were asked to provide a narrative report of the event (e.g., being called an "Oreo [i.e., Black on the outside but White on the inside]"). Participants who had not experienced a racially stressful event in the last 24 hours were asked whether they had experienced any stressful event and then were asked to describe the event in their own words (e.g., being overwhelmed by school, waiting for a callback for an internship). Study findings indicated that participants were more visceral in coping with racially stressful events and more deliberate with nonracially stressful events, supporting the notion that appraising a stressor as controllable influences the subsequent coping strategy. Hoggard et al. suggested a need for race-specific coping strategies. The current study addressed the utility of race-specific coping strategies (i.e., religious coping) and added the layer of generation specificity (i.e., whether religious coping strategies have equal utility for pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs).

The Szymanski and Obiri (2011) and Hoggard et al. (2012) studies indicated that racism is a unique stressor that requires unique coping methods to mitigate its psychological impact. Stressful events rooted in racism are often more taxing psychologically to appraise and are more likely to encourage maladaptive coping strategies than adaptive coping strategies. This is specifically true when racism has been internalized. Feelings of helplessness and defeat can cause Black Americans to endorse ideas of hate and blame toward themselves and other Black Americans. Both studies

indicated that additional research is needed to address more specific models for coping with racism.

How research questions relate to existing theory. TCA provided a framework for understanding how Black individuals appraise a stressor such as racism. The appraisal of a stressor is largely context dependent (Lazarus & Folkmans, 1984), and the context of racism has drastically changed during the Obama era (Dawson & Bobo, 2009). As racism has evolved to a subtler expression, it is often disguised and can be more challenging to identify and, therefore, may be more stressful (Sears & Henry, 2003). Hoggard et al. (2012) identified a need for race-specific coping strategies.

The purpose of the study was to determine the following: (a) if there are generational differences (i.e., between pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) in perceptions of racism as ongoing; (b) if stress is associated with potential generational differences in perceived racism; and (c) if there are cross-generational difference in the use of religious coping strategies to mitigate potential racism-related stress. Blacks across all generations now face a more covert expression of racism. Their appraisal of these covert threats may differ greatly, and traditionally effective religious coping strategies may not mitigate the stress caused by covert racism.

Symbolic Racism Theory

Symbolic racism theory (SRT; Sears & Henry, 2003) posits that the root and expression of anti-Black racism have morphed away from Jim Crow-style racism, which was rooted in the concept of Black inferiority and expressed in discrimination/segregation. SRT assumes that contemporary White society is egalitarian

in principle and no longer endorses negative racial stereotypes or racial inequality. Instead, SRT depicts contemporary anti-Black racism as a blend of affect (e.g., fear, disgust, resentment) and adherence to conservative values such as individualism, work ethic, punctuality, and delay of gratification (all of which Blacks are assumed to violate). SRT has been described as a political belief system that contains four specific themes: (a) Blacks no longer encounter much discrimination; (b) Blacks' lack of progress is a reflection of their unwillingness to work hard enough to get ahead; (c) Blacks are asking for too much too fast; and (d) Blacks have received more than their share (Sears & Henry, 2003). A common expression of symbolic racism is Whites' opposition to racially targeted policies (e.g., affirmative action and social programs when the beneficiary is likely to be Black). Again, opposition to such policies will rarely be directly attributed to a dislike of Blacks but rather disguised as support for traditional values. In short, SRT explains how Blacks can be victims of racial offenses and then be blamed for those offenses.

SRT was relevant to the study in that it captures contemporary anti-Black racism: highly political, opportunistic, and easily disguised. SRT advances the concept of an oblique, ambiguous racism that is hard to pin down (Sears & Henry, 2003) and, therefore, difficult to appraise and cope with. Green, Staeklé, and Sears (2006) found a link between (a) symbolic racism and (b) support for tough punitive crime policies/opposition to preventive policies when the alleged criminals are Black. Participants (N=849 White adults from the 1997-1999 Los Angeles County Social Surveys) were asked to express their level of agreement with four crime remedies: (1) the death penalty for convictions of

murder, (2) the "three strikes and you're out" law, (3) poverty-reduction initiatives in underserved communities, and (4) providing inmates with education and job training. Findings show—especially for younger, less-educated males—that symbolic racism was predictive of support for punitive crime policies and opposition to preventive crime policies. Opposition to crime prevention was explained by the belief that the crimes committed by individuals of color are due more to inherent factors than to structural factors such as harsh environments or unfortunate circumstances. To eliminate alternative explanations, the authors controlled for alternative predictors, such as conservatism, egalitarian values, and attitudes toward big government, further supporting the notion that attitudes towards crime prevention are related to race (Green, Stacklé, & Sears, 2006).

The Green, Stacklé, and Sears findings are relevant to the current study in that they exemplify the covert racism respondents are likely to have encountered. Because Blacks are incarcerated at disproportionate rates, crime policies are of particular concern to the Black community (Hetey & Eberhardy, 2014). However, Blacks and Whites often disagree about how to remedy crime in Black communities, with Blacks tending to advocate for prevention, Whites pushing for more punitive measures, and Whites far more likely than Blacks to support the death penalty (Baker, Lambert, & Jenkins, 2005). Such race-driven perspectives can and do result in racial discrimination.

Rabinowitz, Sears, Sidanius, and Krosnick (2009) conducted a two-part study of how symbolic racism can predict opposition to race-related policies. The first part of the study used secondary data from the 1990 (N=1,980, face-to-face in-home interviews) and 2000 (N=1,807, telephone-based or face-to-face in-home interviews) iterations of the

American National Election Study (ANES) to explore what policies were/were not predicted by symbolic racism. Study variables included symbolic racism, egalitarianism, liberal-conservative ideology, desired government size, political party identification, and attitudes toward redistributive policies (e.g., preferential hiring and promotion of Blacks). To measure symbolic racism, ANES prompted respondents to agree or disagree with the following four items: (1) "Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve"; (2) "Irish, Italians, Jews, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors"; (3) "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder, they could be just as well off as Whites"; and (4) "Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class." The results indicated that symbolic racism was strongly predictive of White attitudes toward affirmative action for Blacks but was not predictive of White attitudes towards the homeless. This result indicated that race is an important factor for Whites when they consider their policy positions. Thus, the findings from the first part of the authors' 2009 study inform the current study by further underscoring the implicit, symbolic racism commonly experienced by the study's Black participants.

In the second part of their 2009 study, Rabinowitz, Sears, Sidanius, and Krosnick examined possible connections between (a) White respondents scoring highly on the symbolic racism scale and (b) White respondents being troubled by the idea of the government helping *any* targeted social group, not just Blacks. The authors administered a 13-page questionnaire concerning a number of social and political issues to 210

undergraduate students, and the results of the second part of the study bolstered the findings from the first part. Symbolic racism predicted attitudes against race-targeted affirmative action programs but not attitudes against gender-targeted programs, demonstrating that Whites do not object to all group-targeted policies.

How SRT relates to the study. SRT depicts 21st-century anti-Black racism, helping explain why and how the politics and structures that surround racism survive despite the existence of laws that mandate equality. Black applicants can be denied employment because of their alleged poor performance in the interview process when they actually interviewed well (Neville et al., 2013). This type of example was particularly relevant to the study, which looked at how individuals cope with racism-related stressors.

How research questions relate to existing theory. The goal of the study was to determine if BAMs and older generations of Blacks use religious coping strategies to mitigate the adverse psychological effects of covert racism. The principles of SRT capture the type of racism Black Americans are likely to encounter. More specifically, SRT can identify the ways in which racist acts are likely to go overlooked, unpunished, and justified (Sears & Henry, 2003). One of the challenges of coping with covert racism is the lack of recognition of its occurrence (Neville et al., 2013). This lack of recognition has largely influenced popular beliefs of the US being a post-racist society, or vice-versa (Cohen, 2011).

It was hypothesized that there would be generational differences in the use of traditional religious coping strategies to mitigate the unique stressor of covert racism.

TCA and SRT would be used to (a) help explain the cross-generational differences in strategies for coping with covert racism and (b) support the likelihood that there are generational differences in the use of traditional religious coping strategies to mitigate the effects of covert racism. In addition, emerging perception of a post-racist U.S. society and the growing endorsement of colorblind race ideologies will be explained as contributing factors to the hypothesized generational differences in the use of traditional religious coping strategies.

Literature Review

Evidence of Ongoing Racism

Colorblindness. The election of the nation's first Black President, Barack Obama, ushered in rumors of a post-racial America (Dawson & Bobo, 2009). Many individuals were going so far as to say they did not see color, and some pundits suggested that Blacks should no longer mention race when discussing economic and social position—continually discussing racism would only make Whites less likely to participate in needed remedies ("Obama and a Post-Racial America", 2008).

However, studies emerged demonstrating that it is unlikely not to see race (Apfelbaum, Norton, & Sommers, 2012; Apfelbaum, Pauker, Ambady, Sommers, & Norton, 2008). Apfelbaum et al. (2008) examined whether non-imposition of racial categorization is effective in yielding non-consideration of racial categorization. Children from three public elementary schools in suburbs outside Boston were divided into two groups (i.e., 8-9 years old and 10-11 years old) to perform a categorization task. Participants were assigned to either a race-relevant or race-neutral condition and placed

in front of an array of forty 4" x 6" photographs of various people. In both race-relevant and race-neutral conditions, the photographs had an array of commonalities (e.g., color, gender, height, weight), and in the race-relevant condition, race, too, was a commonality in the photo array. Participants were tasked with asking as few questions as possible to complete the categorization task. Results showed that the older children—having internalized the societal taboo against discussing race—were less likely to ask about race directly, not doing so at the expense of succeeding in the task. It is unlikely that the younger children perceive race more ably than the older children—generally, categorization skills improve for children as they get older (Apfelbaum et al., 2008). Instead, the findings of this study indicated that individuals who claim *not to see* race are more than likely just *not acknowledging* race out of a sense of propriety.

If colorblindness connotes non-awareness of race, *multiculturalism* connotes the awareness of/embracing of racial differences. If studies (e.g., Apfelbaum et al., 2008) obviate the idea of true colorblindness as a remedy for race-related problems, then can advocacy of multiculturalism generate a better result? To answer this question Plaut, Thomas, and Goren (2009) conducted a field study exploring the impact of White employees' attitudes on the level/quality of job engagement among their minority coworkers. Employees completed an anonymous "web-based diversity climate survey." The study sample mirrored organizational demographics. Participants filled out assessments that gauged their endorsement of multiculturalism (e.g., "Employees should recognize and celebrate ethnic differences") or colorblindness (e.g., "Employees should downplay their racial and ethnic differences").

Blacks' psychological job engagement was assessed using a scale that ranked how much the employee valued job success and organizational membership (e.g., "I am proud to tell others that I work at this organization"). Results suggested that White employees' embrace of diversity has positive implications for minority coworkers' psychological engagement; conversely, ignoring racial differences reinforces majority group dominance by making the minority group feel uncomfortable and marginalized. The correlational nature of this study does not indicate causation, but it calls into question the alleged utility of the colorblind approach.

Holoien and Shelton (2012) further demonstrated the negative impact of the colorblind approach. The study built on preceding research that indicated the colorblind approach influences Whites to demonstrate more implicit bias (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). Perception of implicit bias can negatively affect Blacks' cognitive functioning during interactions (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). The authors of the 2012 study instructed individual students on a college campus to walk into a room and read an editorial that promoted (a) colorblindness, (b) multiculturalism, or, as a control, (c) locally grown food. After reading the editorial, two previously unacquainted same-sex participants were paired to participate in an opinion exchange. White participants had read the colorblind or multicultural editorial while the Black participants had been shown the control editorial. Participants were then prompted to select a topic from a rigged "drawing" that tasked them to discuss their opinions on modern racism and ethnic diversity in schools. Each session was filmed and later judged by two ethnic minority judges who were blinded to the colorblind- and multicultural-prime conditions. After the

opinion exchange, participants completed a Stroop task to measure cognitive performance: Whites who had been primed with the colorblindness editorial demonstrated more behavioral prejudice on the Stroop task, further challenging the merit of the colorblind approach.

Level playing field. Whites historically and currently have been and are the predominant contributors to the writing/implementation of the nation's laws, further leading to a continual imbalance of power (McIntosh, 1988). However, the post-racist America narrative coupled with the colorblind racism perspective work to give an illusion that society is now equal and only hard work is needed to get ahead (Bonilla-Silva, 2013). In addition, post-racism and colorblindness undermine programs and policies aimed at truly leveling the playing field (Bonilla-Silva, 2015).

Mazzocco, Cooper, and Flint (2011) demonstrated how the colorblindness construct can turn "low prejudice" Whites against affirmative action policies. The authors provided questionnaires to White undergraduate students (N=176) assessing to what degree they endorsed colorblindness, measuring to what degree they supported or opposed affirmative action, and rating their overall warmth and attitudes towards Black people (i.e., establishing "low prejudice" and "high prejudice" categories). To assess commitment to the colorblindness construct, participants were asked to rate their level of agreement with three items (e.g., "Society's focus on race can hurt minorities by increasing Whites' resentment of them"). Not surprisingly, the results suggested that Whites who scored high on the prejudice scales were strongly resistant to affirmative action, motivated by concern for protecting their in-group interest. More surprisingly, the

results suggested that endorsement of colorblindness—perhaps by expanding the category *in-group* to include everybody—was also linked to lack of support for affirmative action policies.

The findings of this study demonstrated how endorsement of the colorblindness construct counterintuitively functions to negate protections for minority group members. In fact, endorsing a colorblind viewpoint allows individuals high in prejudice to maintain in-group interest by opposing programs such as affirmative action that are geared toward creating a more even playing field; moreover, the colorblind perspective dupes low-in-prejudice individuals naïvely to believe they are contributing to creating a more-level playing field when they are instead maintaining the unequal structures that exist in society (cite).

Banfield and Dovidio (2013a; 2013b) further provided evidence that challenged the position that Blacks and Whites are on a level playing field by questioning Whites' abilities to even recognize discrimination against Blacks from a common identity/colorblind perspective. The authors (2013a) first explored the respective impacts on White sensitivity to racial barriers by emphasizing a common American identity and emphasizing racial identities. Participants (N=118 American Whites) were exposed to two conditions, with one being seen as a threat to the American identity (i.e., "America lags in educational attainment") and the other being perceived as no threat (i.e., "Canada lags in educational attainment"). Each participant then read an excerpt that emphasized common group (American) identity of racial groups or separate racial group memberships. Lastly, participants read an excerpt that stated Blacks pay off their student

loan debts at a slower rate than Whites but that it is unclear if this discrepancy exists because of workplace discrimination or because Blacks are choosing lower-paying jobs.

The authors examined whether White Americans would be more conscious of discrimination encountered by Blacks when primed with a scenario that threatened American identity than by a scenario that did not include a threat to American identity. Results indicated that Whites were more likely to acknowledge discrimination encountered by Blacks when both (a) a threat against all Americans was present and (b) individual racial categories were highlighted. However, Whites were less able to recognize racial discrimination encountered by Blacks when a common identity (i.e., colorblind) perspective was emphasized. This finding is consistent with literature that suggests the colorblind viewpoint contributes to Whites being less likely to perceive discrimination against Blacks and thus less likely to act on behalf of Blacks victimized by discrimination (Dovidio & Banfield, 2013a). These findings are concerning for Blacks seeking redress for easily overlooked racial discrimination.

In a second experiment, Dovidio and Banfield (2013) explored the potential moderating effect of common identity on perceptions of racial bias and collective action (i.e., support by majority group members on behalf of minority group members). Participants (N=159 White Americans) were assigned to one of three experimental conditions - common identity/colorblind, separate racial identities, and control. After being primed with a statement that endorsed common identity, separate identity, or neither (i.e., control), participants reviewed two applicants' resumes and the comments of the human resource worker who assessed the applicants for hire. There were two

conditions of discrimination (i.e., subtle and blatant). In both scenarios, the first applicant (white applicant) was chosen for the job even though the second applicant (Black applicant) was more qualified.

When discrimination was subtle, Whites primed by the "common identity" condition were less likely to recognize and act on behalf of the Black individual than those primed by the separate identities condition. This is of particular concern because most modern-day expressions of racism are subtle. Both of these studies further challenge the notion that the playing field is currently level—if anything, it appears that individuals who endorse a colorblind perspective are not aware enough about the presence of race to make an informed claim regarding the presence of racial discrimination.

Unacknowledged stressors seeking employment. Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) demonstrated how Blacks can be secretly discriminated against in hiring practices. In response to help-wanted ads in Boston and Chicago newspapers, the authors sent fictitious resumes with either *Black-sounding names* (i.e., Lakeisha and Jamal) or *White-sounding names* (i.e., Emily and Greg). The resumes were equal in their qualifications; only the names differed significantly. The study found that *White-sounding names* received 50 percent more callbacks for interviews. The lack of evidence inferring social class on the resumes ruled out social class out as a contributor to differential treatment. These findings indicate that race is still a major, unacknowledged factor when determining whether candidates get callbacks for job interviews.

Niemann and Sanchez (2016) interrogated a foundational US assumption that educational achievement pays off. The authors asked why three Black American program

fellows from a federally funded multi-institution doctoral training program had not found employment like their White peers. Their question was whether this outcome was an indication that the Black students were underprepared or whether some form of bias was present in the technology/engineering field. The authors invited 12 fellows and faculty from the National Technology and Engineering Education Program (NTEEP) to participate in an assessment both about their experiences in the program and about the post-program employment-seeking process. Of the fellows, three were female and nine were male. Eight fellows identified as White, three as African American, and one as non-US-born African. Of the faculty members who participated in the study, five were White males, one was a White female, and one was a foreign-born African male.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with nine of the 12 fellows (plus a one-hour follow-up) to explore the fellows' individual experiences; views of the program structure, faculty members; and the perceptions of how race, class, and gender factored into their experiences. The purpose of the program had been to increase the students' capacities to conduct original research. All faculty were satisfied with the program's ability to achieve this outcome, and while all of the fellows were very grateful for the opportunities received through the program, only the three Black fellows had failed to land full-time faculty positions.

Responses given during the semi-structured interviews revealed that discussions about race and the job acquisition process were made difficult by the racial demographics of both the engineering field and faculty of this particular institution. White male faculty members and White students generally doubted race was a hiring factor or simply stated

they were unsure. But regardless of whether the White males were willing to acknowledge race as a factor in securing employment, the circumstances that prompted the study show that (a) racism is an ongoing problem for Black Americans seeking employment and (b) the schools they go to do not adequately prepare them for future encounters when looking for a job (Niemann & Sanchez, 2016). Niemann and Sanchez concluded that Blacks will likely need to apply for more jobs and go on more interviews to receive full-time faculty positions.

Bertrand and Mullainathan's (2004) and Niemann and Sanchez's (2016) studies are consistent with a meta-analysis conducted by Quillian et al. (2017), which also revealed that racial discrimination in hiring has not changed. The authors looked at hiring trends regarding Blacks and Latinos dating back to the 1980s; they examined callback rates from all available hiring-related field experiments for these two groups. Study results did show a slight decline in callback discrimination for Latinos, but there was no change for Blacks. Although the scope of the study did not extend to discrimination in any post-hiring employment relationship, what can be gained from the meta-analysis is that society's steps towards equality and inclusivity has not diminished racial discrimination in hiring practices as it relates to callbacks. Blacks are still overrepresented in-service occupations but underrepresented in managerial occupations compared to Whites (Quillian et al., 2017).

Logistics of Ongoing Racism

Anti-Black affect and Conservative values. Anti-Black affect (i.e., feelings of anger, disgust, fear, nervousness, and discomfort) is characterized as racial anxiety and

animosity Whites feel when encountering Blacks. These are often unacknowledged, unfavorable feelings towards Blacks (Sears & Henry, 2003; Tarman & Sears, 2005). The feelings are believed to be acquired subconsciously, pre-adulthood (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006); their beliefs may be ingrained or conditioned from all that one may have heard growing up about Black people (Sears & Henry, 2003; Tarman & Sears, 2005). Anti-Black affect can present as dislike/hostility or it may present as fear, evasion, and distrust. The major difference between implicit bias and anti-Black affect is that implicit bias encompasses all biases an individual may have (e.g., against women, children, or even animals [Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998]). Anti-Black affect is directed specifically against Black individuals and is accompanied by characterizations of Blacks as lazy, uneducated, and/or criminal (Sears & Henry, 2003).

Traditional conservative values (sometimes known as principled conservatism) are often used as a disguise or alternative explanation for symbolic racism, justifying White opposition to policies like affirmative action (Reyna, Korfmacher, & Tucker, 2005; Rabinowitz et al., 2009). In two studies, Reyna, Korfmacher, and Tucker (2005) investigated educated White conservative opposition to affirmative action. The authors sought to reconcile two points of view: (1) opposition to affirmative action is rooted in principled conservatism (i.e., values of equity, fairness, and individualism); and (2) opposition to affirmative action is rooted in racism. The authors used a nationwide sample of White men and women to assess levels of White opposition to affirmative action policies designed to help specific groups (i.e., Blacks, White women).

Results indicated that both more educated and less educated White men and women opposed affirmative action more strongly for Blacks than for White women. The findings were attributed not to traditional racism but rather to a *soft* racism of low expectations, a stereotype that implicates Blacks as responsible for their positions in life. If respondents believed that affirmative action violates self-reliance and fairness across the board, the results would reveal no disparity in opposition to affirmative action for Blacks versus women. The results are consistent with the Blacks-are-lazy stereotype and point up the inherent racism in principled conservatism, specifically for educated conservatives. The findings of the study supported the authors' hypothesis that conservative opposition to affirmative action is explicitly rooted in perceptions of deservingness, perceptions themselves that are implicitly rooted in cultural stereotypes and have little to do with fairness in the way proponents claim (Reyna et al., 2005).

The Reyna et al. (2005) findings highlight the insidious nature of covert racism. While the authors hypothesized that deservingness mediated conservative opposition to affirmative action for Blacks, study findings indicated another layer of mediation. Although anti-Black affect (i.e., overt, blatant racism) did not drive conservative rejection of pro-Black affirmative action, conservative notions of deservingness represented a mediated expression of covert racism informed by cultural stereotypes. When study participants are asked explicitly to rate their conscious feelings towards Blacks, anti-Black affect often goes unacknowledged (Filindra & Kaplan, 2016).

Disguised or underlying anti-Black affect has been replicated in other studies. Ramasubramanian and Martinez (2017) hypothesized that White participants enrolled in

two communications classes from a large university would be more likely to express more anti-Black affect and symbolic racist attitudes (e.g., criminal, violent, drug-dealing/using, lazy, poor, welfare-receiving, uneducated) toward Black leaders (i.e., Barack Obama) who have been portrayed more negatively than positively. Specifically, it was assumed that exposing study participants to negative news portrayals of Obama would present an opportunity for prejudicial and stereotypical perceptions to be endorsed without being considered prejudiced.

Results indicated that exposure to negative news stories about Obama increased anti-Black affect, symbolic racist beliefs, and stereotypical perceptions of Black Americans, all of which runs counter to the prevailing US narrative that there has been a sharp decline in the stereotyping of Black Americans. The study demonstrated that even subtle, negative framing of news stories reflexively can activate deep-rooted anti-Black affect, and study findings contradict the assumption that racism is no longer a problem in the US.

While some studies seem to associate anti-Black affect closely with ideological conservatism (Carmines, Sniderman, & Easter, 2011), Wallsten, Nteta, McCarthy, and Tarsi (2017) exposed anti-Black affect in an apolitical context. Aiming to show that anti-Black affect afflicts the whole society rather than being localized and contained, the authors queried study participants about the appropriateness of paying Black college athletes. Previous studies had linked anti-Black affect to federal assistance policies and "redistribution of wealth"; this study was unique in that (a) it did not invoke governmental involvement and (b) it was not simply distributive but instead

compensatory (i.e., the athletes in question were highly skilled and in no way fitting the stereotype of being lazy, undeserving).

Researchers sampled 647 Whites through an online survey. Survey items included, "How often do you watch college sports?" and ultimately, "Do you think college athletes should be paid?" Before answering these questions, participants had been primed to think about these college athletes as Black Americans to see if this connection increased opposition to paying college athletes. Results were consistent with the authors' hypothesis: anti-Black affect was a predictor of White opposition to paying college athletes, indicating that racial bias is not contained to concerns about limited government (i.e., conservative political beliefs; Wallsten et al., 2017).

Generational Perceptions of Ongoing Covert Racism

Smith and Timble (2016) conducted a meta-analysis of research evaluating the association between experienced/perceived racism and well-being (i.e., mental health, self-esteem) among people of color living in the US and Canada. This study is of particular interest to this review in that it explores age (i.e., 12-55 years old) as a covariate in the relationship between experienced/perceived racism and overall well-being. Identifying a cross-generational relationship between the study's target variables can have implications for using age-/generation-level as a variable in the proposed study.

The authors included 81 studies in their meta-analysis, reporting data on a total of 44,158 participants. The purpose of their study was to understand more thoroughly the influence of racism and prejudice on mental health and well-being. The authors found that age, estimated birth year, gender composition, education level, socioeconomic status,

and status of individual as community member or university student had no significant impact on perception of racism. The lack of significant impact of estimated birth year on perception of racism is the closest the study comes to a generational comparison of perception of racism on well-being. The primary contribution of this article is its confirmation that past experiences of racism are negatively associated with individual self-report of their well-being, irrespective of generation (Smith & Timble, 2016).

Absent from the literature are direct comparisons of generational similarities or differences when it comes to Blacks' perceptions of racism as an ongoing problem. What can be found are a few articles linking different Black-led movements (e.g., Civil Rights, Black Power, and Black Lives Matter) and contemporaneous perceptions of racism. The Civil Rights Movement was largely led by the Silent Generation and the early Baby Boomer generation. Generation X led the Black Power Movement, and Millennials have led the Black Lives Matter Movement (Eversley et al., 2017).

To underscore the need to embed current media coverage in historical context, Perry (2016) provided a review of the influence that movements such as Civil Rights (CRM) and Black Power (BPM) have had on the Black Lives Matter Movement (BLM). In so doing, Perry provided a through line from past and present and identified cross-time commonalities (e.g., protest methods employed, media coverage of protest events). Perry's article relates to the proposed study in that it demonstrates that many of the issues currently faced by Black activists such as negative relationships with law enforcement and a continuing distrust between journalists and activists are the same as those faced by older generations of Black activists.

In another article, Jones-Eversley et al. (2017) used the theoretical scaffold of the relative deprivation theory to outline the four stages of social movements (i.e., emergence, coalescence, bureaucratization, and decline). The authors then applied this framework in comparing the social political, ethno-generational leadership, network narratives, and tactics of the CRM and BLM, respectively. This side-by-side comparison provides another cross-generational look at Black-led social movements.

CRM emerged in response to heightened poverty rates and relative deprivation in Black communities in the segregated South, primarily among the Silent Generation (i.e., born 1928-1945) and Baby Boomers (i.e., born 1946-1964). Martin Luther King, Jr. led the movement, with the primary demand that Black people receive equal protection under the law. Profoundly frustrating to CRM activists were the widely accepted violent incidents perpetrated by White supremacy groups, incidents that resulted in injuries and deaths among Blacks (Jones-Eversley et al., 2017).

BLM emerged through the highly publicized killings of Black youths/young adults (e.g., Trayvon Martin, Jordan Davis, Mike Brown, Renisha McBride, John Crawford, Laquan McDonald, and Sandra Bland). BLM was first mobilized using the Twitter handle #BlackLivesMatter: this was a demand for justice, awareness, and accountability for what has been referred to as modern-day lynching of Blacks at the hands of predominantly White law enforcement (Jones-Eversley et al., 2017).

BLM has not yet achieved the systemic changes that resulted from the CRM, and there is evidence of the emotional toll that BLM movement has had on its leaders. There have been two high profile suicides of BLM Millennial leaders. In fact, suicide continues

to be an issue among Black young adults, prompting Blacks from older generations to question the emotional intelligence of the younger generation (Jones-Eversley et al., 2017).

Jones-Eversley et al. (2017) posit that Black America helps Black Millennial activists navigate the bureaucratization and decline stages of a social movement. Emotional intelligence needs to be passed down from older, experienced generations of Black activists to the young generation currently on the frontline. The characterization of Black Millennials as emotionally inadequate to handle a racially charged social movement is highly relevant to the proposed study, one of the main objectives of which is to look at Millennials' use of religious strategies to cope with racism.

Blacks' Perceptions of Ongoing Covert Racism

Health care. Health care is an area where Blacks continually report having experienced racism (Adegbembo, Tomar, & Logan, 2006; Hammond, 2010; Elder et al., 2015), leading many Blacks, especially those who are older not to trust the healthcare system. One of the biggest contributors to Blacks' mistrust is the infamous Tuskegee Experiment, wherein from 1932 to 1972, Black males were intentionally infected with syphilis for purposes of studying the disease progression (Brandon, Isaac, & LaVeist, 2005; Alsan & Wanamaker, 2017).

Black men are less likely than Black women to seek medical care. Hammond (2010) demonstrated how the psychosocial correlates (i.e., background factors, masculine role identity/socialization factors, recent healthcare experiences, recent discrimination, and perceived racism in the healthcare system) contribute to medical mistrust among

Black men. The study author recruited Black male participants primarily from barbershops in the Midwest and Southwest regions of the US. Each participant was assessed for direct and mediated relationships between the potential psychosocial correlates and mistrust of the healthcare system. Results indicated that when controlling for all variables, perceived racism in healthcare was the strongest correlate of medical mistrust among Black men (Hammond, 2010).

Greer, Brondolo, and Brown (2014) conducted a study to examine perceived exposure to systematic racism as a moderator in the relationship between (a) perceived exposure to medical provider bias on treatment adherence and (b) mistrust of healthcare for Black American hypertensive patients. This study built on previous research that suggested the quality of patient-provider interaction can influence both medical outcomes for racial/ethnic minorities and Blacks' continual reporting of low-quality interactions with healthcare providers. In the study, a sample of Black Americans (N=100) diagnosed with hypertension completed assessments gauging their exposure to systemic racism, exposure to racial bias, mistrust of healthcare, and adherence to hypertension treatment.

Results of the study indicated that increased perceptions of systemic racism were associated with increased perceptions of medical provider racial bias and increased medical mistrust. In addition, the increase in perceived provider bias saw a decrease in treatment adherence (Greer, Brondolo, & Brown, 2014). These findings support the conclusion that Blacks perceive racism as an ongoing problem in healthcare, have poor interactions with providers, and are less likely to trust and comply with physician recommendations.

Vina et al. (2015) assessed disparities in the clinical outcomes of Black individuals suffering from systemic lupus erythematosus (SLE), a disease disproportionately afflicting Blacks. The authors sought to determine whether perceived racism in healthcare varies by race among SLE patients and whether these variances contributed to SLE outcomes.

Study authors conducted structured interviews and chart reviews with White and Black SLE patients. Racism was chosen as a predictor because it had not been previously studied and it can adversely affect healthcare experiences. The researchers found that 56% of Black SLE patients and 32.8% of Whites had high perceptions of discrimination. Researchers concluded that improving Blacks' perceptions of discrimination may lead to better patient adherence to physician recommendations.

Law enforcement. Black perception of racism in law enforcement has led Blacks consistently to evaluate police officers more negatively than Whites do (Crutchfield, Fernandez, & Martinez, 2010). Mbuba (2010) investigated connections between completion of higher education and Black perceptions of police. Study participants (i.e., Black students at a four-year public university) were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed or disagreed with statements such as, *Police provide an important service to the community* or *Police unfairly target racial minorities*.

Results indicated that, among highly educated Blacks, race was the most significant predictor of attitude toward law enforcement (other predictors included gender, academic major, and past encounters with police). This finding is consistent with findings from previous studies (Brooks et al., 2016) that center on observable

mistreatment of minorities by law officials (e.g., stop-and-frisk). The authors acknowledge that they did not assess Blacks with lower educational levels directly but had anecdotal evidence that this population would manifest negative perceptions of police (Mbuba, 2010).

More recent studies indicate the relationship between law enforcement and Blacks is not improving. Prompted by numerous high-profile incidents and the rise of the #BlackLivesMatter movement (which subverts the post-racial-US narrative and brings awareness to the ongoing mistreatment of Black people [Husband, 2016]), Brooks et al. (2016) conducted an all-Black focus group interview with counselors, educators, undergraduate students, graduate students and a law enforcement representative. Participants were asked to discuss topics and answer questions centered on Black males' relationships with law enforcement, ways to eliminate racist individuals before and after joining the police force, shoot-to-kill policies, and other issue-relevant topics.

Three themes emerged from the focus group interview. The first theme was that Black people have the right to be angry. Participants were adamant that historical and present-day treatment of Blacks by Whites indicates that the lives of the former have little value to the latter and that concomitant outrage should not be suppressed. Participants explained that police killing of unarmed Black men certainly does nothing to engender trust in law enforcement among Blacks. The second theme was fear of Black males. Participants argued that law enforcement officers' consideration of Black males as a threat leads the former to use force disproportionately against the latter. The perception of threat brought the group to its third theme: revamping training for law enforcement and

educating Black males. All of these themes underscore the fact that Blacks continue to perceive racism in the enforcement of law (Brooks et al., 2016).

Education. Education is considered the foremost level of societal advancement, so it is no surprise that Blacks are increasingly pursing college degrees (Harper, 2012). What is not often discussed is that Black students, especially at predominately white institutions (PWIs), have significantly different experiences from those of White students (Harper et al., 2011). Building on research into racial climate on college campuses Harwood, Huntt, Mendenhall, and Lewis (2012) explored the experiences of students of color who live in a residence hall at a PWI.

At a large higher education institution with students from every US state, the authors sampled 81 students of color (n=36 Black students) and broke them into 11 focus groups. Interview responses were interpreted using the racial microaggression taxonomy developed by Sue et al. (2007). Her taxonomy divides racial microaggressions into three categories: microinsults (e.g., subtle behaviors such as dismissive looks), microassaults (e.g., conscious, traditionally racist behavior [such as using a racial slur] wherein the person performing the behavior attempts to remain anonymous), and microinvalidations (e.g., miminize/deny the perceived-racist experiences of a person of color). The authors coded 400 instances of racial microaggressions of all three types (n=70 occurring in the residence hall itself), including racist jokes/comments, racist slurs expressed in shared spaces, and segregated spaces/unequal treatment. Furthermore, participants indicated that residence hall staff members downplayed race-related problems reported by students of color. These results suggest that Blacks perceive covert racism on college campuses and

that the anticipated benefits of living on campus may not extend to minority groups, including Blacks.

Bimper (2015) investigated the on-campus race-related experiences not of the typical Black student but of the lionized Black student athlete; Blacks are underrepresented everywhere on campus but not in sports (Wallsten, Nteta, McCarthy, & Tarsi, 2017), making inclusion of the Black student athlete significant when evaluating Black perception of ongoing racism in education. The author used an instrumental case study design to better understand the experiences of very high-profile Black athletes (N=7) at a PWI.

Study data were collected through semi-structured interviews by a Black male doctoral student. The results of the study indicated that post-racial discourse had influenced participant experiences and perceptions regarding race and racism. While interview respondents alluded to White sports fandom as evidence of a lack of campus-based racism, the respondents also complained that their majors had been chosen for them and that they are treated as unintelligent. Some respondents indicated they wanted to be taken seriously as college students and not just as athletes. Study findings demonstrate how, even in the area where they are overrepresented and most accommodated, Black university students still perceive themselves to be the victims of racism.

Religious Strategies to Cope with Racism

Historically, the Black American church has been integral to the lives of Black Americans (Chatters et al., 2008), but few studies have examined the role religion plays

in coping with racism. Lewis-Coles and Constantine (2006) explored to what degree three types of racism-related stress (i.e., cultural, institutional, and individual) predict the use of Africultural coping (i.e., drawing on cultural knowledge to assign meaning to a stressor and then deciding on what available resources to cope with that stressor) and religious coping styles (e.g., deference, collaboration). Participants were selected from diverse locations (i.e., a historically Black college, an Ivy League university, a barbershop, a hair salon, a church, and a professional conference). Participants completed inventories measuring exposure to racism and the ways in which they cope.

Results indicated that Black Americans rely on a variety of adaptive and maladaptive religious coping methods to cope with the effects of racism. Participant methods of coping depended on the type of racism-related stress they encountered; cultural racism (e.g., negative portrayals of Blacks on TV), individual racism (e.g., direct personal threats or disrespectful/dismissive treatment), and institutional racism (e.g., being denied equal access to housing or employment) yielded disparate forms of coping**.** Religious coping methods (e.g., seeking connection to a higher power, burning a candle) were more likely to be employed by Black men and women when encountering cultural and institutional racism. Women relied more on "spirit-centered coping (e.g., prayer)" whereas as Black men used more "self-directed religious coping," where instead of giving the problem to a higher power, they look for the higher power to show them how they can solve the problem themselves (Lewis-Coles & Constantine, 2006). Participants in the 2006 study ranged in age from 18 to 70 years, with the mean age being 33.1 years. This would give the impression that most participants in the study are from Generation X,

but this cannot be determined without looking at a breakdown by age of the entire study sample.

Elison, Music, and Henderson (2008) conducted a study to see if various aspects of religious involvement (e.g., church attendance, pursuit of religious guidance, and congregational support) could buffer or offset the psychological distress that comes from experiences with discrimination. The authors collected data from the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA), which recorded measures of psychological distress, experiences with racism, religious involvement (e.g., frequency of attendance, happiness with church and its members), and psychological resources (e.g., self-esteem and personal mastery) The survey also captured sociodemographic variables (i.e., gender, age, marital status).

Results suggested that frequency of attendance at church service and amount of religious guidance moderate the distressful effects of recent racist encounters. Survey respondents ranged in age from 26 to 86, with the mean age being 50.14 years. This means the findings are not generation-specific (i.e., those sampled for the study are likely to come from either the Baby Boomers or Generation X). Also, it is important to note that religious participation is higher among older adults (especially older Black women) and married persons.

More recently, Hayward and Krause (2015) examined the efficacy of religious coping strategies (e.g., religious media consumption, church attendance, religious identity, and church-based social support) in ameliorating the adverse effects of

discrimination among both African Americans and Caribbean Blacks. Results indicated that religious coping was utilized by both groups, but to different extents.

Study findings showed that African Americans relied mostly on prayer to cope with racial discrimination; for Caribbean Blacks, prayer was the second most relied-on strategy after passive acceptance of the situation. Overall, African Americans demonstrated a higher dependence on religious coping strategies. This is partly explained by cultural differences between the two groups: for example, African Americans tend to be more collectivist than Caribbean Blacks; who tend to be more individualistic. The communal tendencies of African Americans place greater emphasis on community support during times of exclusion/persecution. Differences between the two groups extended also to perception of racial discrimination, with Caribbean Blacks tending to perceive racial discrimination less often/intensely than African Americans (Hayward & Krause, 2015). The mean age in the study was approximately 41 years old. An age range was not given, suggesting that the preponderance of the sample represented Generation X.

All of these studies concerning religion and coping assess primarily the religious coping strategies of pre-Millennials. The present study explored the use of these strategies by Millennials while also identifying potential changes in the use of religious coping strategies among members of older generations.

Conclusion

Results of the literature review highlight studies that demonstrate how (a) racism thrives and can be viewed through the lens of symbolic racism theory (SRT) and (b) pre-

Millennial Blacks have effectively used religious strategies to cope with instantiations of racism. The purpose of this study was to determine if, similar to older generations, Black American Millennials (BAMs) employ these traditionally efficacious religious strategies to cope with racism. Expression of racism has morphed from overt to covert, meaning Blacks across all generations are now being faced with a more disguised and insidious form of racism that potentially impacts every major aspect of their lives (Sears & Henry, 2005). Institutionalized racism (e.g., racial disparities in the workforce, healthcare, and education) and symbolic racism (i.e., anti-Black affect and traditional conservative values) all have the potential to provide overwhelming stress for Black Americans. Symbolic racism theory (SRT) provides a framework for understanding the covert nature of modern racism. It explains the convenient hiding places and disguises utilized to keep racism alive. With all the work that had been done, what was missing were studies addressing how individuals, specifically younger generations, cope with a more covert form of racism. Most studies have investigated coping methods suited to times when racism was far more overt (e.g., Jim Crow) than it is today

The passage of race-neutral laws has led to assumptions that society is just, but fairness in the writing of a law does not always translate into fairness in administration. In this context, it remained to be seen if traditionally efficacious religious coping strategies can counter the psychological threat of modern-day oblique, obscure racism. Again, this recent study examined whether Blacks, especially Millennials, find religious coping strategies useful in coping with the unprecedented threat of covert racism.

To examine fully the use of religious coping styles for the Millennial and pre-Millennial generations, Chapter 3 will describe the research design and approach used to answer the research questions. In addition, the chapter will provide information about sampling, instruments, and the statistical methodology used for analyzing the study data.

Chapter 3: Research Method

The election of the nation's first Black president, Barack Obama, gave rise to discussion that America was entering a post-racist stage (Dawson & Bobo, 2009). This was exemplified by individuals claiming not to see color and recommending that a colorblind approach be taken in all dealings with all individuals (Nevile et al., 2013). However, research has indicated that the election of President Obama neither reflected the dissipation of racism nor caused racism to dissipate; instead, racism morphed into a more covert and insidious instantiation. As a result, racism has not only not waned in potency, but due to ambient political-correctness efforts and attempts to push racism underground, this new strain of covert racism has become harder to pinpoint, classify, and target (Sears & Henry, 2003). Much of this process has taken place during the time when BAMs have come of age.

Prior to the post-racism period, Blacks widely employed religion-informed techniques for coping with racism, as religion is well suited to dealing with phenomena perceived to be beyond the control of the religious practitioner (Pargament et al., 1998; Szymanski & Obiri, 2011). However, those religious coping strategies were popularized in response to the psychological harm caused by a more overt and easily identified racist threat. It was not precisely known whether BAMs utilize religious coping styles to mitigate the deleterious effects of modern-day, covert racism or how BAMs register or appraise this covert threat.

The purpose of this quantitative study was to determine if whether BAMs and pre-Millennials (a) perceive racism as an ongoing problem and whether (b) generation

(i.e., BAMs and pre-Millennial Blacks) moderates the effectiveness of religious coping strategies to mitigate racism-related stress. The study provided an original contribution to the literature regarding generational differences in the use of religious coping strategies to cope with racism, especially for BAMs. Examining this gap had the potential to lead to positive social change by informing coping mechanisms relevant to BAMs' unique experience with a unique stressor.

Chapter 3 presents the quantitative research design and statistical approach used to answer the research questions. The chapter also includes pertinent information about sample size/demographics and descriptions of instruments and why they were chosen. The data analysis plan is reviewed and the testing of hypotheses is explained. The chapter also addresses threats to validity and ethical procedures.

Research Design and Rationale

A quantitative design is ideal for examining relationships among variables; a qualitative method does not provide the opportunity to identify significant relationships between predictor and dependent variables. This quantitative study had two dependent variables (i.e., perception of racism as an ongoing problem, and stress related to the perception of racism as an ongoing problem) and two independent variables (i.e., the use of religious coping strategies and generation/age group). The use of religious coping styles to cope with perceived racism had been explored in other studies using a quantitative design. Continuing to use a quantitative approach in examining perceptions of racism and religious coping allowed for easier replication, comparison to what has been studied, and identification of what has yet to be examined.

Methodology

Population and Sampling

SurveyMonkey was used to target individuals who fit the age range for BAMs and who are Black Americans from an older generation such as Generation X (1965-1979) and bBaby Boomers (1946-1964; see Real, Mitnick, & Maloney, 2010). SurveyMonkey's balancing feature was also used to ensure the generations were more adequately balanced for adequate comparison (i.e., BAMs compared to pre-Millennials). Although the target population was BAMs, results for different pre-Millennial generations were measured to assess potential differences in coping strategies among pre-Millennial age groups.

The first 206 individuals (i.e., half Millennials and half pre-Millennials) who responded to SurveyMonkey's recruitment messages, and who consented, served as the participants. Data were collected via a stratified random sampling approach wherever SurveyMonkey's participants had access to the Internet. Using this approach rather than a nonprobability approach ensured the sample was highly representative of the population (see Creswell, 2011). In addition, using SurveyMonkey's database allowed easy access to Blacks from various generations.

Power Analysis

In the study, a priori analysis using G*Power indicated a sample of 128 total participants would be large enough to detect a medium effect size, given an effect size of .5, power at .80, and alpha at .05. The effect size was an estimate that was not calculated until data had been collected. Generally, researchers estimate a large-to-medium effect

size (Green & Salkind, 2014). Cohen's *d* is commonly used to calculate the effect size in the social sciences. The power level of .80 is the probability the null hypothesis will be rejected. Failure to reject the null hypothesis when it should be rejected can produce a type II error (i.e., a false negative). Generally, power levels of .80 are accepted in the social sciences, and that is why this level was chosen for this study (see Lipsey, 1990). The alpha level of .05 indicates there is a 5% chance of a type 1 error (i.e., a false positive). Like the .80 power level, the .05 alpha level is conventionally used in similar studies in the social sciences (Gravetter, 2019).

Recruitment

Participants were recruited from SurveyMonkey's online participant pool. SurveyMonkey is a global leader in survey research and for a fee offers targeted (i.e., stratified and cluster sampling options) for researchers looking to conduct research with diverse populations (SurveyMonkey, n.d.). Individuals must be between 20 and 38 years of age to be considered a Millennial (Real et al., 2010) All BAMs and pre-Millennials who responded to SurveyMonkey's invitation to take part in the study received information about the study and how their participation could help advance what is known about the way Black Americans cope with life stressors. Racism is a sensitive subject; therefore, there was no mention of racism as the primary stressor of interest. Respondents were informed about the confidentiality of the study, and if they were interested, they were directed to the informed consent page. No demographic information other than age, education level, and gender was collected.

Data Collection

Participants first read the informed consent. They then were notified about the assumptions of risk (i.e., that sharing how they have coped with various life stressors could evoke sensitive emotions). To address this potential risk, all participants were referred to http://www.mentalhealthamerica.net/search/node to locate the mental health resources/facilities most easily accessible to them. Participants were notified that their participation in the study would help improve knowledge regarding Black Americans' strategies for coping with life stressors and were reassured that their answers would remain confidential. Participants were told that the survey would take 15-25 minutes, that their participation would be voluntary, and that they could withdraw at any time. Participants were notified that, to participate in the study, they must be at least 20 years of age, able to read in English, and classified as an African American.

The survey was administered online via SurveyMonkey. SurveyMonkey identified participants based on the target criteria selected by me (i.e., African American and 20 years of age or older). Online surveys are used because they are faster and cheaper and provide for more convenient filing/storage than paper surveys ("10 Advantages of Online Surveys," n.d.). Participants were given my contact information if they had any questions and were notified that, by continuing, they were consenting to participate in the study. When participants completed the study, they were directed to a page thanking them for their participation and they a more detailed explanation of the study's purpose. They were given university and researcher contact information if they had further questions or concerns.

Instruments and Operationalization of Constructs

Demographic Questionnaire

Participants indicated their age to ensure they belonged to either the Millennial generation or a pre-Millennial generation (i.e., over the age of 20). In addition to age, participants indicated their highest level of education completed and their gender. Level of education was recorded on a 0-4 scale: 0 = high school dropout, 1 = high school graduate, 2 = some college (e.g., up to associate's degree), 3 = completed undergraduate (e.g., at least a bachelor's degree), and 4 = completed advanced degree (e.g., master's, doctorate). Gender was recorded as male or female.

Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire-Community Version

The PEDQ-CV is used to assess perceived racism and discrimination across ethnic groups (Brondolo et al., 2005). The original PEDQ was developed to assess perceived exposure to ethnic discrimination among college students, but the community version (PEDQ-CV) was adapted to include individuals in the community as well. The PEDQ-CV extends from the Lazarus and Folkman (1984) stress and coping framework, which suggests that the psychological and physiological effects of a stressor (e.g., racism and discrimination) are dependent not only on the event but also on the way an individual perceives the event as stressful (Brondolo et al., 2005).

The PEDQ-CV is used to measure lifetime experiences with discrimination. The PEDQ-CV consists of the following scales: Lifetime Discrimination (the first 34 items of the 70-item PEDQ-CV), Discrimination in the Media, Discrimination against Family Members, Discrimination in Different Settings, and Past Week Discrimination. To reduce

participant burden, the 34-item Lifetime Discrimination Scale was abbreviated to a 17-item Brief PEDQ-CV, which is the questionnaire that was used in the current study. The Brief PEDQ-CV is available for educational purposes only (Brondolo et al., 2005). Like the Full PEDQ-CV, the questions in the Brief PEDQ-CV are written for individuals with basic reading skills.

The Brief PEDQ-CV is divided into four subscales (i.e., Exclusion/Rejection, Stigmatization, Workplace Discrimination, and Threat). Items in each subscale are phrased as responses to the prompt, "Because of my race, a form of mistreatment has or has not happened." Examples from the four subscales include the following: (a) from the Exclusion/Rejection subscale, "Individual(s) said things behind my back"; (b) from the Stigmatization subscale, "(A person) hinted that I am lazy"; (c) from the Workplace Discrimination subscale, "(I was) treated unfairly by boss and or teacher"; and (d) from the Threat subscale, "(A person) threatened to hurt me and or actually hurt me." These questions are answered in a Likert format ranging from 1 (Never) to 5 (Very Often). All of the questions address an aspect of mistreatment that is assumed to be racially motivated if answered "Sometimes (i.e., 3 on the Likert scale)" to "Very Often."

Reliability and validity. To test the reliability of the Brief PEDQ-CV, 340 individuals completed the questionnaire. The college students who participated (n = 128) were from St. John's University, and adult members of the community (n = 212) were recruited from two primary-care facilities. Recruitment efforts were concentrated in areas that were likely to yield adequate samples of at least two races. The student sample was slightly more than half Black (n = 70), and the remaining participants were Latino (n =

58), with six not providing their ethnicity. The community sample was comprised of Blacks (n = 135) and Latinos (n = 77). Despite containing fewer items, the subscales of the Brief PEDQ-CV have only slightly lower internal consistency (i.e., Exclusion/Rejection, .70; Stigmatization, .74; Workplace Discrimination, .69; and Threat, .80) than the full subscales on the 34-item Lifetime Discrimination Scale. The internal consistency of the full questionnaire was .87.

To ascertain construct validity of the Brief PEDQ-CV, Brandolo et al. (2005) compared scores on the Brief PEDQ-CV against those on the Perceived Racism Scale (PRS). The PRS is a 51-item scale that was designed to measure the frequency of exposure to various racist incidents as well as assess emotional and behavioral responses to these incidents (McNeilly et al., 1996). The emotional and behavioral aspects of the PRS were designed to measure responses to rather than exposure to racism; those items were not consistent with the intent of the Brief PEDQ-CV, and they were removed from the study. The Brief PEDQ-CV was correlated with the Black version of the PRS (r = .61, $p < .001$), indicating the scale had good convergent validity with another published and renowned measure. Concurrent validity was demonstrated by scores on the Brief PEDQ-CV being positively associated with threat (r = .43 $p < .0001$) and harm (r = .46, $p < .0001$), and discriminant validity was demonstrated by the scales not being significantly correlated with primary appraisal of challenge (r = .09, $p > .22$) and only weakly correlated with perceptions of benefit (r = .18, $p < .01$).

Instrument suitability for research questions. The PEDQ-CV has the ability to measure multiple dimensions of racism over one's lifetime. This was of particular interest

to the study, which was looking to capture perceptions of racism not only at the moment it is experienced but also cumulatively and overarchingly. Understanding participants' generalized perceptions of their experiences with racism allowed for a more in-depth look at how experiences with racism can predict the potential usage of religious coping strategies to cope with the stressor. Additional reasons for choosing the Brief PEDQ-CV over other instruments that measure racism include high convergent validity ($r = .61$, $p < .001$), good internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha .65 or above), and questions written to be easily understood by both lay and college-educated individuals.

Brief Measure of Religious Coping

The RCOPE (Paragment, Feuille, & Burdzy, 2011) was designed to assess how individuals cope with major life stressors. Two forms of religious coping, positive and negative, resulted from a confirmatory factor analysis of the RCOPE. This analysis was conducted using a sample of people living near the site of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. In the study, Paragment, Feuille, and Burdzy's 14-item Brief RCOPE was used rather than the 105-item full RCOPE to lighten participant burden. The factor analysis of the Brief RCOPE resulted in a two-factor solution. Like the full version, the Brief RCOPE assesses positive and negative forms of religious coping on a 4-point Likert scale. Participants indicated whether or not they employ a coping strategy ranging from 0 (*not at all)* to 3 (*a great deal)*.

The 7-item Positive Religious Coping subscale (PRC) of the Brief RCOPE assesses sense of connectedness to a higher power, a healthy relationship with God, and an optimistic approach to life. An example of a PRC item ranging from 0 (*not at* all) to 3

(*a great* deal) is, "Sought God's love and care." The 7-item Negative Religious Coping subscale (NRC) captures examples of inner turmoil such as tension with God, others, and oneself. An example of an NRC item ranging from 0 (*not at* all) to 3 (*a great* deal) is, "Wondered what I did for God to punish me." Affirmative responses to NRC items can be interpreted as vulnerability to acts of the devil and/or feeling abandoned by God.

Reliability and validity. A review of 30 published studies from January 2005 to June 2010 was conducted to review the psychometric properties of the 14-item subscales of the Brief RCOPE. These 30 studies consisted of a pooled sample of 5,835 participants, with only one sample being counted twice. Across widely differing samples, the median Cronbach's alphas for the PRC and NRC scales were .92 and .81, respectively, both indicating good reliability (Pargament, Feuille, & Burdzy, 2011). The Brief RCOPE has demonstrated good concurrent validity by PRC (a) being most strongly correlated with measures of positive psychological constructs (i.e., happiness, positive affect, and life satisfaction) and (b) mental well-being (i.e., God's support, self-esteem, surrendering control, spiritual support, acceptance, and post-traumatic growth) yielding 16 positive correlations that were all significant at least at the .05 level and 19 positive non-significant correlations (Paragment, Feuille & Burdzy, 2011). NRC has been most strongly negatively correlated with well-being and tied to indicators of poor functioning (i.e., anxiety, depression, negative affect, pain, and PTSD symptoms).

Ai, Seymour, Tice, Kronfol, and Bolling (2009) examined the predictive validity of the Brief RCOPE. They sampled PRC and NRC in 235 adults undergoing cardiac surgery. Their results indicated that prior to surgery NRC was positively correlated with

hostility (r = .33) and IL-6 (i.e., a biomedical indicator of poor post-surgical adjustment; r = .21). Predictive validity was also examined in a study by Tsevat et al. (2009). This study examined associations between the Brief RCOPE and quality of life (i.e., comparing life before and after HIV diagnosis). PRC was positively associated with improvement in quality of life from baseline to follow-up (p = .0008) 12-18 months later and negatively associated with deterioration in quality of life from baseline to follow-up (p = .03) during the same time period.

Instrument suitability for research questions. The Brief RCOPE is the tool most commonly used to measure religious coping in the literature (Pargament, Feuille, & Burdzy, 2011). It has been used with African American populations to measure coping responses to racism (Szymankski & Obiri, 2011). The instrument was appropriate for identifying the religious coping habits of BAMs and pre-BAM generations.

Index of Race Related Stress

The IRRS is a 46-item assessment that was designed to measure the day-to-day racism-related stress experienced by African Americans when encountering racism and discrimination. The assessment utilizes a 5-point Likert scoring method: 0 = This has never happened; 1 = This event has happened but did not bother me; 2 = The event happened, and I was slightly upset; 3 = The event happened, and I was upset; 4 = This has happened to me, and I was extremely upset). A few sample items from the questionnaire are as follows: “You did not get the job you applied for although you were well-qualified, and you suspect you did not get it because you are Black”; and “You have been followed by security or (employees) while shopping in some stores.” The

assessment has 4 subscales (i.e., Individual Racism, Institutional Racism, Cultural Racism, and Collective Racism). The study assessed racism only at the individual level; therefore, only the Individual Racism subscale was used in the study. The Individualized Racism subscale contains 11 items that assess the stress associated with one-to-one racism-related experiences. Higher scores indicate that the respondent experienced more stress from the racially motivated events in question.

Reliability and validity. The construct validity of the IRRS was tested using a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) of the IRRS component structure with a four-component oblique model indicating a goodness of fit, X (98, N = 309) = 268.90, $p < .01$. To establish concurrent validity, Pearson product correlation coefficients were conducted for the IRRS Individual Racism subscale, the Life Experience Scale-Brief (RaLES-B; subscales Self, Group, and Global), another instrument designed and proven to measure multiple dimensions of racism and reactions to racism (Utsey & Ponterroto, 1996). The IRRS Individual Racism subscale positively and significantly correlated with the RaLES-B subscales of Self ($r = .23$, $p < .05$), Group ($r = .31$, $p < .01$), and Global ($r = .31$, $p < .01$). The IRRS Individual Racism subscale also positively and significantly correlated with the Perceived Stress Scale (i.e., the most widely used psychological instrument to measure perceived stress [Utsey & Ponterroto, 1996]; $r = .24$, $p < .05$).

The IRRS was tested with a sample of 302 participants (i.e., African American, 90%; Caribbean-born Blacks, 8%; missing values, 2%) from Greensboro, NC and New York City to assess participant stress associated with experiences of racism and discrimination. The internal consistency for the Individual Racism subscale was

Cronbach'salpha.79, indicating good reliability. The IRRS Individual Racism scale was also utilized in the Paragment et al. (2011) religious coping study and demonstrated Cronbach's alpha level at .92.

Instrument suitability for research questions. Measuring racism-related stress requires a targeted instrument. Many instruments explore individual perceptions of racism-related experiences without measuring the stress associated with those experiences. The IRRS Individual Racism subscale is a good fit for measuring racism-related stress at the individual level and providing a clearer view into what prompted a particular coping response.

Data Analysis Plan

Data was collected through SurveyMonkey and downloaded into IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS V24) for Mac users (SPSS, 2016). Any survey not completely filled out was removed from the study. All data was screened prior to input to ensure accuracy of values. Data cleaning was only necessary to remove responses that were left incomplete.

Descriptive Analysis

Means and standard deviations were computed for continuous data such as age, use of religious coping strategies (i.e., 1 [*Not at All*] to 4 [*A Great Deal*]), exposure to a racist event (i.e., 1 [*Never*] to 5 [*Very Often*], and stress related to the event (i.e., 1 [*This event has happened, and I was slightly upset about it*] to 4 [*This event happened, and I was extremely upset*]).

RQ1: Is there a relationship between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the perception of racism as an ongoing problem, as measured by the Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire (PEDQ-CV)?

H_o1: There is no relationship between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the perception of racism as an ongoing problem.

H_a1: There is a relationship between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the perception of racism as an ongoing problem.

SPSS was used to conduct (a) an independent samples t-test to answer RQ1 and (b) a hierarchical moderated regression to answer RQ2. The independent samples t-test compares the means of two independent groups (Green & Salkind, 2014). In the study, the comparison of means for RQ1 (i.e., comparing BAMs' and older generations' perceptions of racism as an ongoing problem) fits the criteria for analysis using the independent samples t-test technique.

RQ2: Is there an interaction between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the use of religious coping strategies such that pre-Millennials using religious coping strategies will have lower stress related to perceived racism compared to BAMs, as measured by the Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS-IR) and the positive and negative subscales of the Brief Measure of Religious Coping (Brief RCOPE)?

H_o2: There is no interaction between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the use of religious coping strategies such that those in pre-Millennial generations who use more religious coping strategies will not have lower stress related to perceived covert racism compared to BAMs.

H_a2: There is an interaction between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the use of religious coping strategies such that pre-Millennials using more religious coping strategies will have lower stress related to perceived covert racism compared to BAMs.

Hierarchical moderated regression analysis is used to determine whether the association between X and Y interacts with one or more moderator variables. RQ2 explores whether the interaction between independent variables religious coping styles and generation moderates the relationship between religious coping styles and racism-related stress (i.e., dependent variable). More specifically, RQ2 determines if the interaction between independent variables religious coping styles and generation can predict lower racism-related stress for pre-Millennial generations compared to BAMs. All data was screened prior to input to ensure accuracy of values. Data cleaning was only necessary to remove responses that were left incomplete.

Generation and coping were the predictors and were entered as main effects in step one. Next, was entered the main effects to remove the possibility of collinearity followed by the interaction. If the interaction at step two was significant, the analysis would had been followed up with a simple slope analysis. Any significant interactions would have been reported at the 95% confidence interval, and goodness of fit was assessed using *R*-sq.

The model was checked to ensure it meets the assumptions of the analysis (i.e., linear relationship between independent and dependent variables, multicollinearity, no auto-correlation, and no heteroscedasticity. A normality table and normal Q-Q Plots were

conducted to check for normality and a normal curve. Regression diagnostics were conducted to ensure data meet the assumptions of linearity. Durbin-Watson statistical analysis was conducted for no auto-correlation. A standardized residual plot was utilized to test for homoscedasticity.

Threats to Validity

There could had been threats to validity in this study. Participants were asked questions that assessed how they responded to/coped with public situations, which could had led to social desirability bias. In general, participants try to respond to questions in a way that presents themselves in a socially acceptable manner (King & Bruner, 2000). To eliminate these pressures, participants were informed of the anonymity of their responses before consenting to the study. Attrition is a likely threat to any study utilizing human subjects. This concern in the study was addressed by using a sample size that was sufficient in number (i.e., at least 150 participants) not only to detect large and medium effect sizes but also to account for those who did not complete the study.

Ethical Procedures

The study complied with ethical requirements per the Institutional Review Boards of Walden University. Participants were made aware that their involvement is completely voluntary and were given an informed consent before participating in the study. Participants were made aware of their rights to confidentiality and received a description of how the study will be used. There was no request of information that is traceable to participants (e.g., name and phone number). Results from the study are stored in my password-protected SurveyMonkey account and on SPSS software for statistical analysis.

SPSS data is being stored on a password-protected personal computer accessible only by me. Since data analysis, the data has been kept on a flash drive and secure in my safety deposit box. The research data will be kept for five years and then shredded. Participants were thanked for their participation in the study, but no incentives were given.

Summary

This quantitative study aimed to determine whether there are generational differences in (a) the perception of racism as an ongoing problem, and if (b) generation (i.e. BAMs and Pre-Millennial Blacks) moderates the effectiveness of religious coping strategies to mitigate racism-related stress. The study attempted to answer these questions in the context of a modern, covert expression of racism as opposed to the old-fashioned, Jim Crow racism encountered primarily by pre-Millennial generations, among whom the use of religious coping strategies was most popular. A power analysis indicated 128 participants were needed to detect a medium effect size. In this chapter, sampling and recruiting procedures were discussed, and criteria for inclusion in the study were described. Using SurveyMonkey, participants signed an informed consent and complete a demographic questionnaire and three measurement instruments. Data was analyzed utilizing a T test to determine if BAMs and pre-Millennial Blacks perceive racism as ongoing. A hierarchical moderation analysis was utilized to determine whether or not there is a significant relationship between religious coping styles and racism-related stress, and if this hypothesized relationship is moderated by generation (i.e., BAMs and pre-Millennial Blacks). The study adhered to all of Walden University's ethical standards

set by the Institutional Review Board. Chapter 4 will describe the findings from the study.

Chapter 4: Results

The purpose of this study was to determine whether BAMs and pre-Millennials (a) perceive racism as an ongoing problem and whether (b) generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) moderates the effectiveness of religious coping strategies to mitigate racism-related stress. The study's two research questions were answered using an independent sample *t* test for RQ1 and a hierarchical multiple regression for RQ2. This chapter presents the data screening procedures, descriptive statistics, and a summary of the results of the analyses.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

RQ1: Is there a relationship between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the perception of racism as an ongoing problem, as measured by the Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire (PEDQ-CV)?

H_o1: There is no relationship between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the perception of racism as an ongoing problem.

H_a1: There is a relationship between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the perception of racism as an ongoing problem.

RQ2: Is there an interaction between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the use of religious coping strategies such that pre-Millennials using religious coping strategies will have lower stress related to perceived racism compared to BAMs, as measured by the Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS-IR) and the positive and negative subscales of the Brief Measure of Religious Coping (Brief RCOPE)?

H_o2: There is no interaction between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the use of religious coping strategies such that those in pre-Millennial generations who use more religious coping strategies will not have lower stress related to perceived covert racism compared to BAMs.

H_a2: There is an interaction between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the use of religious coping strategies such that pre-Millennials using more religious coping strategies will have lower stress related to perceived covert racism compared to BAMs.

Data Collection

Data collection went precisely as planned. Participants were selected from SurveyMonkey's participant pool, which selects participants from across the United States. Participants were required to be at least 20 years old and a Black American to meet the study's inclusion criteria. Data collection took approximately three weeks in June 2019. SurveyMonkey randomly sent invitations to potential participants from their participant pool who met the inclusion criteria. Eligible participants received the invitation from SurveyMonkey notifying them that there was a survey/study for which they were eligible. Those who elected to participate were directed to the study's informed consent page.

The consent page included the background of the study as well as its procedures, voluntary nature, risk, benefits, privacy, and my contact information for participants who may have had questions concerning the study. Participants' anonymity was protected by not collecting any identifying information. Participants were notified that entering the

study was an indication of their consent to take part. According to the power analysis, the goal was to have at least 200 completed surveys. Of the 239 participants who consented to be a part of the study, 206 surveys were completed. A stratified random sampling method was used to ensure a representative sample of the larger population. The sample size was sufficient to provide power with an alpha level of .05. The study included four variables; generation, religious coping strategies, perception of racism as an ongoing problem, and racism-related stress to test the hypotheses. Table 1 reports the demographic characteristics of the sample.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics Associated with Gender, Birth Year, and Highest Grade Completed

	Silent Generation 1925-1945	Baby Boomers 1946-1964	Generation X 1965-1979	Millennials 1980-2000
Highest level of education completed				
Did not finish school	0	1	2	5
Graduated from high school	2	9	11	17
1 year of college	0	0	4	15
2 years of college up to associate's degree	0	6	10	26
Graduated with bachelor's degree	1	15	13	25
Completed graduate school with master's and or PhD	4	6	12	13
Total N	7	46	52	101
Birth year				
Total N	7	46	52	101
Gender				
Male	2	22	25	48
Female	5	24	27	53
Total N	7	46	52	101

Independent Samples *T*-Test Assumptions

The independent samples *t* test is used to compare the means of two independent groups; the *t* test can help test for cause and effect but does not determine causation (Green & Salkind, 2014). An independent samples *t* test was used to determine whether the assumptions of normal distribution and homogeneity of variance were met. Table 2 shows the BAM and Pre-Millennial distributions were sufficiently normal (skew < [2.0] and kurtois < [9.0]; see Schmider, Ziegler, Danay, Beyer, & Bühner, 2010).

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics Associated With Generational Perceptions of Racism

	N	Mean	Std. deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis
Exclusion	206	2.7573	0.99539	0.28	-0.356
Workplace Discrimination	206	2.5862	1.06389	0.302	-0.408
Stigmatization	206	1.9961	0.90094	1.24	1.596
Threat & Harassment	206	1.6456	0.86251	1.674	2.732
Generation	206	0.4903	0.50112	0.039	-2.018
Brief PEDQCV	206	37.9369	13.40444	0.888	1.342

The sample included 206 Black participants who were at least 20 years old. The sample was almost evenly split between BAMs (n =101) and pre-Millennials (n =105). Table 3 displays the frequency of mean and standard deviation scores for BAMs and pre-Millennials across the independent variable religious coping and dependent variable racism-related stress. Table 4 shows homogeneity of variance for the Brief PEDQ-CV was examined and satisfied Levene's F test, $F(204) = .78$, $p = .380$.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics Associated with Religious Coping and Racism-Related Stress

Generation	Positive coping	Negative coping	Racism-related stress
Pre-Millennial			
N	105	105	105
Mean	17.99	10.70	15.01
Std. deviation	6.41	3.57	9.75
Millennial			
N	101	101	101
Mean	18.56	12.28	15
Std. deviation	6.73	5.20	12.03
Total			
N	206	206	206
Mean	18.27	11.48	15.00
Std. deviation	6.56	4.50	10.90

Table 4

Levene's Test for Equality of Variances

		F	Sig.	*T*	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Brief PEDQ-CV	Equal variances assumed	.78	.38	-1.14	204	.26
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.13	190.92	.26
Exclusion	Equal variances assumed	4.11	.04	-.70	204	.48
	Equal variances not assumed			-.70	192.98	.49
Workplace discrimination	Equal variances assumed	.50	.48	.22	204	.82
	Equal variances not assumed			.22	200.84	.82
Stigmatization	Equal variances assumed	.08	.78	-1.99	204	.05
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.00	198.10	.05
Threat & harassment	Equal variances assumed	2.16	.14	-1.30	204	.20
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.30	194.03	.20

Independent Samples *T*-Test Results

According to results for the Brief PEDQ, the mean perception of racism score for the BAM group ($n = 101$) was greater ($M = 39.02$, $SD = 14.85$) than the pre-Millennial group ($n = 105$, $M = 36.90$, $SD = 11.83$). Although the BAM perception of racism mean score was greater than the pre-Millennial score, the independent samples t test $t(204) = -1.14$, $p = .380$ did not demonstrate a statistically significant generational difference; the results indicated the null hypothesis should not be rejected. However, the Brief PEDQ is composed of four subscales (i.e., exclusion, workplace discrimination, stigmatization,

and threat/harassment), each measuring a distinct aspect of the perception of racism that, if analyzed separately, might yield more discriminating results. When assessing the subscales separately, I observed a significant effect $t(204) = -1.99$, $p = .048$ for the stigmatization subscale, BAMs ($M = 2.12$, $SD = .95$) compared to pre-Millennials ($M = 1.87$, $SD = .83$). This indicated that BAMs perceive being stigmatized because of their race significantly more than pre-Millennials. To examine the effect size, I computed Cohen's d estimation, which yielded a relatively small effect size at .14. The differences among the other three subscales, exclusion $t(192.982) = -.701$, $p = .486$; workplace discrimination $t(204) = .223$, $p = .824$; and threat & harassment $t(204) = -1.302$, $p = .195$ did not produce statistically significant results.

Hierarchical Moderated Regression Assumptions

Hierarchical moderated regression is used to determine whether the association between X and Y interacts with one or more moderator variables. Similar to the independent samples *t* test, the analytical technique does not permit the inference of causation. The data were checked to ensure they met all assumptions of hierarchical moderated regression (i.e., linear relationship between independent and dependent variables, multicollinearity, no autocorrelation and no heteroscedasticity).

Scatterplots in Figures 1 and 2 show a linear relationship between the dependent variable (racism-related stress) and the independent variables (generation and religious coping) confirming the model's linearity. Q-Q plots in Figures 3, 4, and 5 show the variables were normally distributed. All points are either on the line or fairly close to the line.

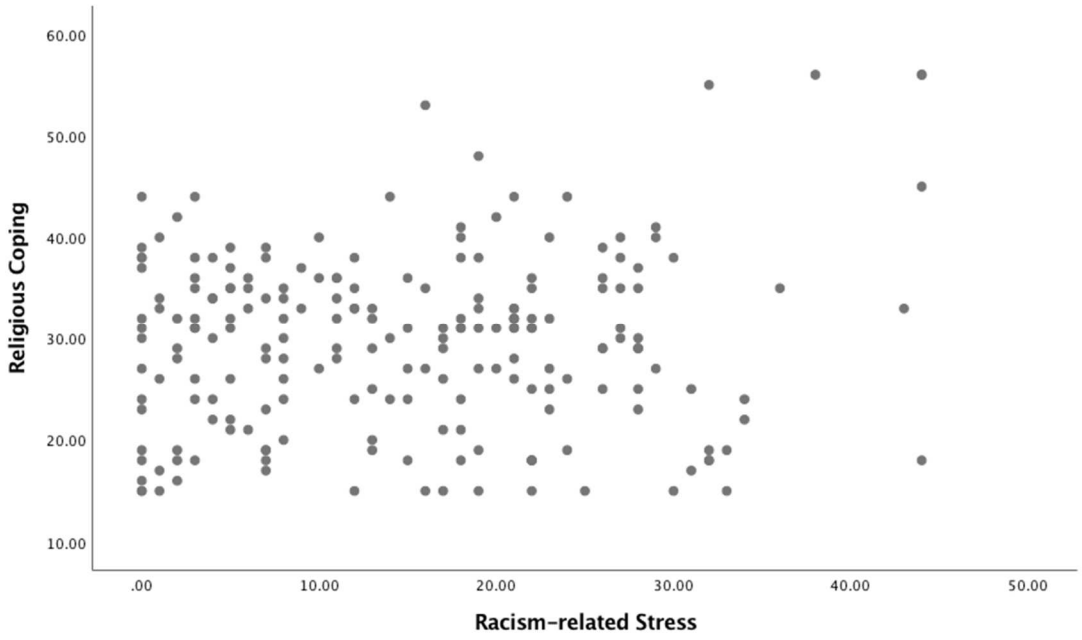

Figure 1. Scatterplot of religious coping and racism-related stress.

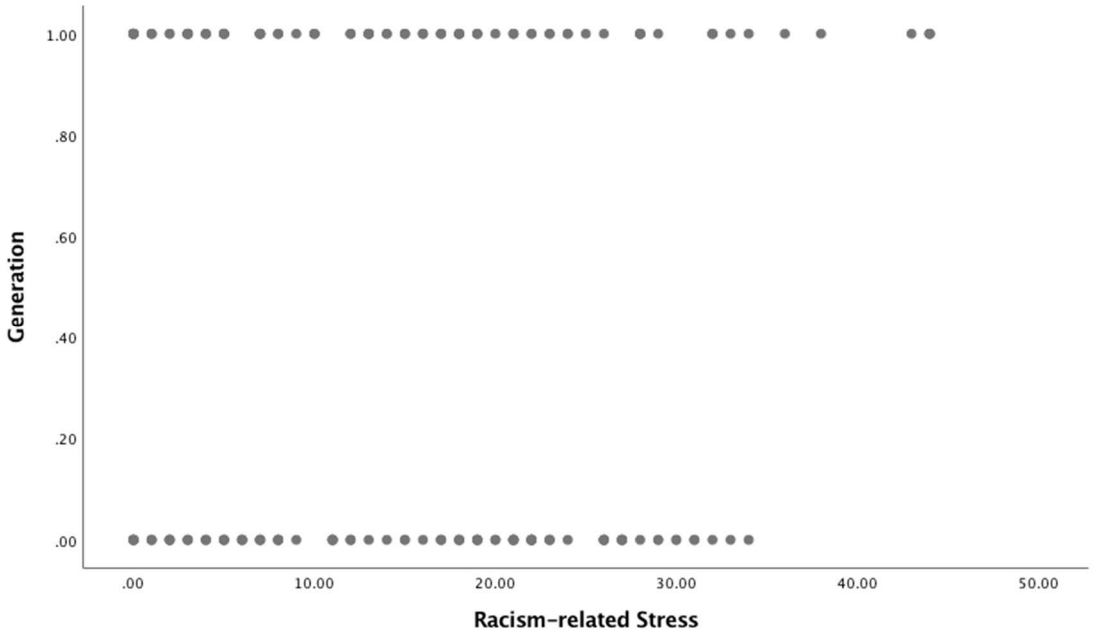

Figure 2. Generation and racism-related stress.

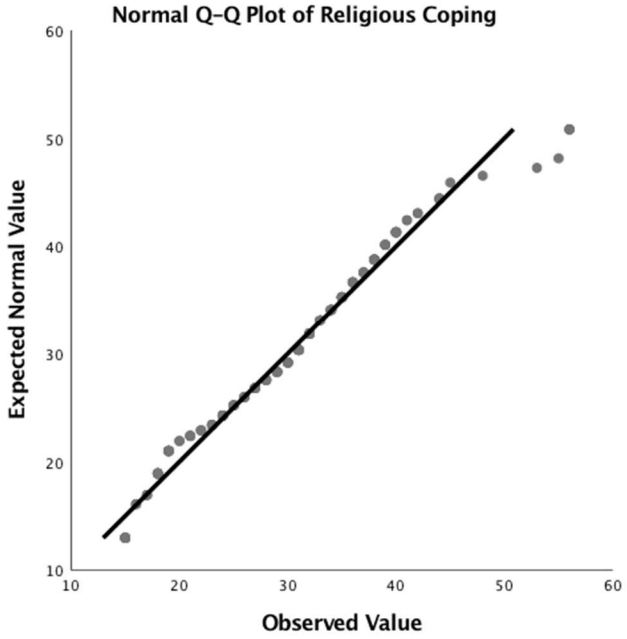

Figure 3. Q-Q plot of religious coping.

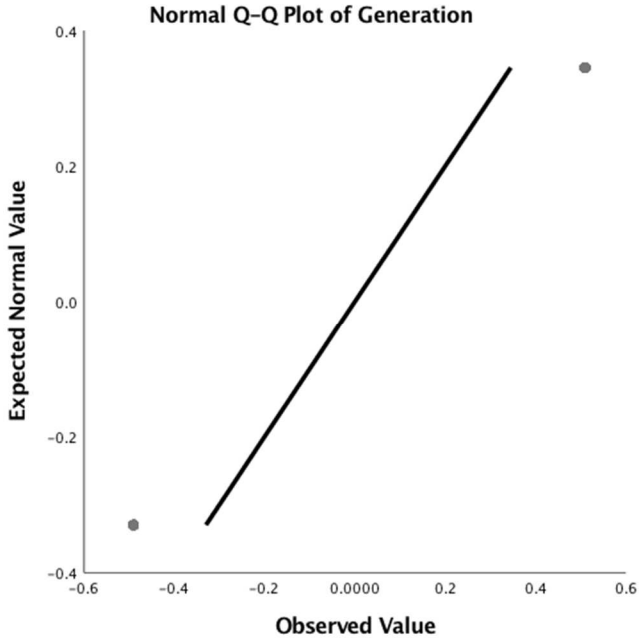

Figure 4. Q-Q plot of generation.

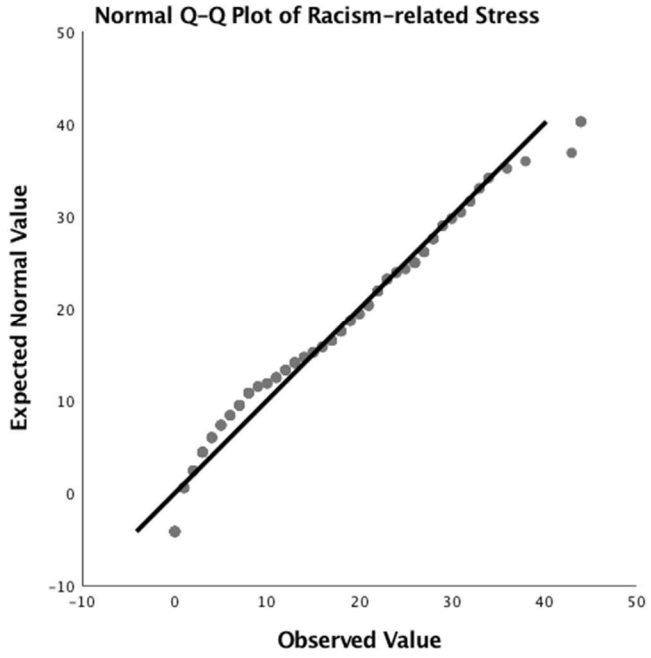

Figure 5. Q-Q plot of racism-related stress.

Table 5 depicts the variance inflation factor (VIF) for each of the predictor variables. Tolerance for all predictor variables was > .01 and all VIF's were < 10. Table 6 depicts the correlations for main variables religious coping, racism-related stress, and generation.

Table 5

Collinearity Diagnostics

Model	Tolerance	VIF
(Constant)		
Religious Coping	0.985	1.015
Generation	0.985	1.015

Table 6

Table of Correlations for Main Variables

		1	2	3
1. Racism-Related Stress	Pearson Correlation	1	0.123	0
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.078	0.995
2. Religious Coping Mean Centered	Pearson Correlation	0.123	1	0.123
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.078		0.078
3. Generation Mean Centered	Pearson Correlation	0	0.123	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.995	0.078	

Note. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The Durbin Watson test was used to ensure there was no serial correlation among the residual values. A value of 2 indicates no autocorrelation, but values between 1.5 to 2.5 are relatively normal (Warner, 2013). The study had a Durbin Watson d = 1.75, indicating little to no autocorrelation in the model. Homoscedasticity was tested to ensure the error terms were similar across the independent variables. Figure 6 shows the assumption of homogeneity of variances was not violated.

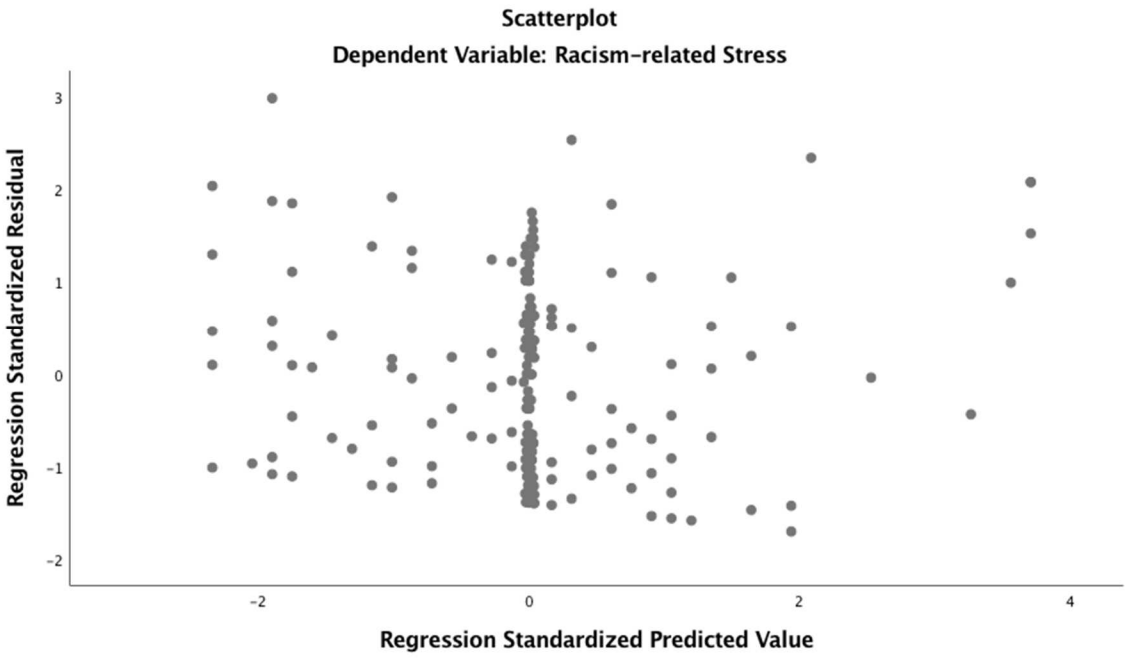

Figure 6. Scatterplot of standardized residual and standardized predicted value.

Hierarchical Moderated Regression Results

Hierarchical moderated regression analysis was utilized to assess the strength of independent variables generation and religious coping strategies to predict racism-related stress (DV). Specifically, the model was used to test if there was an interaction between generation and religious coping strategies such that it would predict lower racism-related stress for pre-Millennials. Generation was utilized as the moderator variable. Each independent variable including generation were mean centered to lessen the correlation between the interaction term.

Table 7 presents the model summary, which includes the adjusted R square change for models 1a and 2b. Model 1a $R^2 = (.015)$, Adjusted $R^{2 =} (.006)$, $F(2,203) = 1.584$, $p = .208$. Model 2b $R^2 = (.026)$, Adjusted $R^2 = (.011)$, $F(3, 202) = 1.773$, $p = .296$.

Table 8 presents the ANOVA results of the hierarchical moderated regression for the dependent variable racism-related stress.

Table 7

Model Summary of Racism-Related Stress on Religious Coping, Generation, and the Interaction

	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.124[a]	0.015	0.006	10.86841
2	.160[b]	0.026	0.011	10.83816

Note. Models: 1/a. Generation, and Religious Coping 2/b. Interaction between Generation, and Religious Coping

Table 8

ANOVA Results of Hierarchical Moderated Regression

Model		*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P*
A	Regression	374.181	2	187.091	1.584	0.208
	Residual	23978.814	203	118.122		
	Total	24352.995	205			
B	Regression	624.923	3	208.308	1.773	0.153
	Residual	23728.072	202	117.446		
	Total	24352.995	205			

Note. Models: a. Generation and Religious Coping, b. Interaction between Generation, and Religious Coping

Figures 7 and 8 indicate the points of the regression standardized residual were not curved and did not have strong deviations, suggesting the residuals were normally distributed; there was no homogeneity of variance. Table 9 presents the coefficients for

each variable for RQ2. The outcomes show if the predictor variables were significant predictors of the dependent variable racism-related stress.

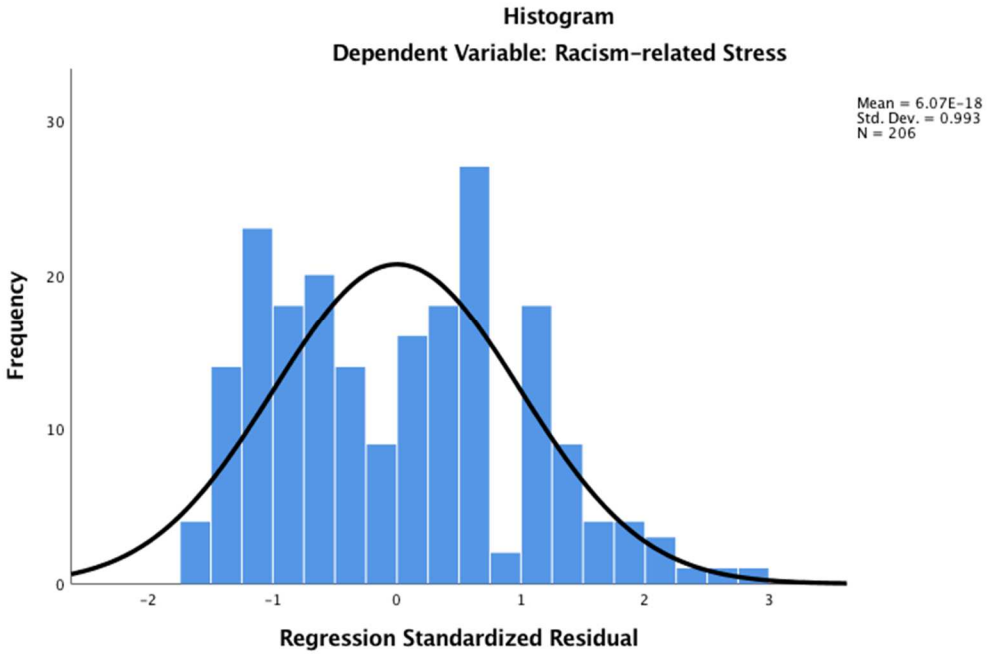

Figure 7. Histogram of residual.

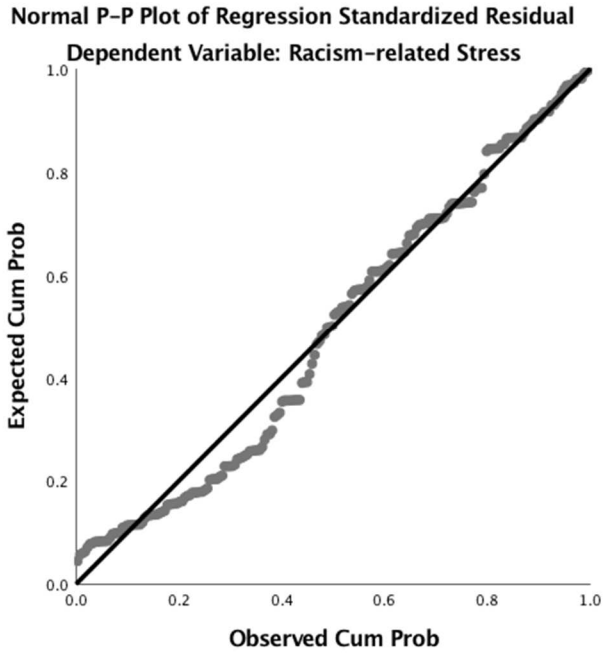

Figure 8. Normal P-P plot of residuals.

RQ2 asked if there is an interaction between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the use of religious coping strategies such that pre-Millennials using religious coping strategies will have lower stress related to perceived racism compared to BAMs, as measured by the Individual subscale of the Index of Racism-related Stress (IRRS-IR) and the positive and negative subscales of the Brief Measure of Religious Coping (Brief RCOPE). The null hypothesis predicted that there is no interaction between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the use of religious coping strategies such that pre-Millennials who using religious coping strategies will not have lower racism-related stress compared to BAMs.

The alternative hypothesis predicted there is an interaction between generation (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs) and the use of religious coping strategies such that pre-Millennials using religious coping strategies will have lower racism-related stress compared to BAMs. The hypothesized relationship between generation, religious coping, and racism-related stress was assessed using a hierarchical moderated regression; results showed that religious coping ß = 0.125, p = .077 and generation ß = -0.016, p =.822 were not significant predictors of racism-related stress. In addition, the interaction between generation and religious coping ß = 0.105, p =.146 was not significant. The results failed to reject the null hypothesis.

Table 9

Coefficients

	B	*SE*	*Beta*	*t*	*p*	Tolerance
Model 1 (Constant)	15.005	0.757		19.815	0.000	
Religious Coping	0.156	0.088	0.125	1.780	0.077	0.985
Generation	-0.344	1.526	-.016	-.225	.822	0.985
Model 2 (Constant)	14.972	0.757		19.767	0.000	
Religious Coping	0.124	0.090	0.099	1.375	0.171	0.926
Generation	-0.286	1.523	-0.13	-0.188	0.851	0.984
Religious Coping*Generation (Interaction)	0.262	0.179	0.105	1.461	0.146	0.941

Summary

The chapter began with the description of data collection, screening and cleaning procedures, a demographic breakdown, and description of the sample. An independent samples *t*-test and a hierarchical moderated regression were utilized to test for significant relationships among generation, perceptions of racism as ongoing, the use of religious coping strategies, and racism-related stress. The results showed that there were no significant generational differences between BAMs and pre-Millennials when perceiving racism as ongoing as measured by the Brief-PEDQ-CV. However, there are generational differences between BAMs and pre-Millennials when perceiving racially motivated stigmatization. BAMs on average perceived more racially motivated stigmatization due to their race than pre-Millennials.

The hierarchical moderated regression results suggest that the interaction between generation and religious coping to mitigate racism-related stress was not significant.

Chapter 5 will interpret the findings, discuss limitations of the study, offer recommendations for future research, and describe possible implications for social change.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

The purpose of this quantitative, nonexperimental study was to determine whether BAMs and pre-Millennials (a) perceive racism as an ongoing problem and whether (b) pre-Millennials who use religious coping strategies have lower racism-related stress levels than BAMs who use those same strategies. The study contributed to the literature by being the first to address potential generational differences (i.e., pre-Millennial Blacks v. BAMs) in employing religious coping strategies against racism. Examining this gap has the potential for positive social change by revealing generation-specific (i.e., BAMs) methods for coping with a unique stressor (i.e., covert, unacknowledged racism). Quantitative surveys were used to gather responses from SurveyMonkey's online participant pool. Results from an independent samples *t* test showed generational differences among Blacks in the perception of ongoing racially motivated stigmatization (i.e., BAMs perceive this phenomenon more strongly than pre-Millennials). Results from a hierarchical moderated regression model showed that the interaction between generation and religious coping was not a significant predictor of lowered racism-related stress.

Generation and Perceptions of Racism

RQ1 asked whether there was a significant difference between generational (BAMs' and pre-Millennials') perceptions of racism as an ongoing problem, as measured by the Brief PEDQ-CV. The global score for the Brief PEDQ-CV did not indicate a statistically significant generational difference in the perception of racism as an ongoing problem; therefore, the null hypothesis was not rejected. However, the results from the

stigmatization subscale of the Brief PEDQ-CV indicated significant generational difference in perceived racially motivated stigmatization such that BAMs perceived more race-based stigmatization than did pre-Millennials. The stigmatization subscale includes perceptions of unfair treatment from law enforcement and the perception that, from the non-Black point of view, Blacks are untrustworthy, unclean, and lazy.

Religious Coping and Racism-Related Stress

RQ2 asked if whether there was a significant interaction between generation and use of religious coping strategies (i.e., that pre-Millennials would be more successful in leveraging religious coping strategies to mitigate racism-related stress than would BAMs) as measured by the Brief RCOPE and the ISSR-IR. The results indicated no statistically significant interaction between religious coping and generation. Both groups demonstrated relatively equal mean racism-related stress scores; therefore, the null hypothesis was not rejected.

Interpretation of the Findings

Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) theory of cognitive appraisal (TCA) describes the stress and coping process (i.e., [a] the ways an individual identifies an event as threatening or stressful and [b] the acquisition of resources necessary to minimize or cope with the stressful event). The results of the study suggested that BAMs and pre-Millennials view racism as ongoing, appraise it as a threat, and use religious coping strategies to deal with racism-related stress. These results support those from Szymanski and Obiri (2011) indicating Black Americans' tendencies to rely on religious coping strategies to reduce racism-related stress. In Szymanski and Obiri's study, 269 Black

participants were asked to appraise their experiences with racial discrimination (i.e., specific racist events that had occurred the preceding year). Results indicated that Blacks use religious coping strategies to reduce racism-related stress.

Cross-generational reliance on religious coping strategies can be partially explained by the distinction Black Americans make between racism-related and other stressors (Hoggard et al., 2012). Hoggard et al. (2012) requested that Black Americans complete a brief online survey about whether they had experienced a situation that caused racism-related stress; those who had experienced a racially stressful event were asked to provide a narrative report of the experience; those who had not were asked to describe any stressful event. Findings suggested that coping with racially stressful events was more emotion based and coping with non-racism-related stressors was more logic based. Because religion is grounded in faith/feeling/tradition more than in logic, the Hoggard et al. study provides an explanation regarding why both pre-Millennial Blacks and BAMs are likely to rely on religious coping strategies when confronting the visceral stress of perceived racism.

Symbolic racism theory (SRT) describes continuing racism as a product of both anti-Black affect (a blend of fear, disgust, resentment) and failure to adhere to conservative values that Whites endorse but Blacks supposedly violate, such as individualism, work ethic, punctuality, and delay of gratification (Sears & Henry, 2003). SRT frames contemporary White society as wanting to believe that it is predominantly egalitarian and that any instantiations of negative racial stereotypes and racial inequality are merely vestigial (Sears & Henry, 2003); SRT postulates that extant racism is still

manifest, though less overtly (e.g., in hiring, college admissions, and resistance to affirmative action policies geared toward helping Blacks), and that BAMs have come of age during a challenging era of symbolic racism (Neville et al., 2013).

The SRT framework suggests that BAMs have grown up in a different racist environment from the one that pervaded preceding generations. Older generations grew up in times when unequal treatment and lack of opportunities for Blacks were not necessarily hidden. Discrimination against Blacks was overt, embraced by hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, evinced in segregationist political/legal codes, and permeated throughout American society (Bullard, 1998). In contrast with these older generations of Blacks, BAMs have come of age in a supposedly post-racial, color-blind society with the ambient notion that there is equal opportunity for all (Dawson & Bobo, 2009; Neville et al., 2013). SRT posits that racism has morphed from a tangible, blatant form to a less tangible, subtle one. Although both forms are stressors, the former is a form of racism to which generations of Blacks had developed antibodies through exposure (Jones-Eversly et al., 2017). Exposure to the new form of racism will engender resistance over time, but Millennials have not had that time.

The assault from a new strain of virulent yet unacknowledged racism, and the process of having to mobilize ad hoc in battling a new and invisible enemy, could account for BAMs' feelings of increased stigmatization in comparison to older generations. *Mobilization* means recruiting compatriots to battle by spotlighting the locus of conflict (i.e., ongoing, if less visible, racism). BAMs like Colin Kaepernick (and subsequently, other prominent BAM athletes) started kneeling during the national anthem

(Abad-Santos, 2018), and #BlackLivesMatter (predominantly BAM-led) started taking to the streets to maximize visibility and raise awareness of police brutality against young Black males (Jones-Eversley et al., 2017). The discrepancy between (a) what BAMs had grown up believing (e.g., racist practices are never socially acceptable) and (b) what they frequently encountered (e.g., wildly disproportionate police brutality targeting Blacks) could give rise to a greater sense of stigmatization among BAMs than among pre-Millennial Blacks (Luckerson, 2015). Older generations had come to expect—had been raised to expect—the discrimination and abject treatment that came their way. Development through early childhood and adolescence has an impact on adulthood and contributes to individuals' perceptions of how the world works (Rutter, 1980; Vernon, 1961). This explanation may support the current study's finding of increased perceived stigmatization among BAMs as compared to pre-Millennials.

Why Hypotheses Were Not Supported

The change from overt Jim Crow racism to a covert more-disguised expression of racism suggests that BAMs grew up experiencing racism differently from pre-Millennials (Sears & Henry, 2003). Because older generations have lived longer, they have experienced racism be transformed from overt to covert. However, closer scrutiny of my study sample may partially explain the failure to find generational differences in perceived racism as an ongoing problem. Most participants (82%) had completed at least 1 year of college, suggesting that the sample—both BAMs and pre-Millennials—was predominantly college educated. In the last few decades, most universities have included a diversity requirement in the general education curriculum, which includes discussions

of race-related issues (Clayton-Pederson & Musil, n.d.). Therefore, college-educated pre-Millennials and BAMs (i.e., those overrepresented in my sample) would be better informed about contemporary race relations than individuals who (a) never attended college, (b) graduated before racism became more covert, and/or (c) were not exposed to diversity requirements (e.g., the Silent Generation [ages 74-94] and Baby Boomers [ages 55-75]; Cole, Case, Rios, & Curtin, 2011).

The interaction between generation and religious coping did not predict reduced racism-related stress for pre-Millennials compared to BAMs as hypothesized; the two groups had identical mean racism-related stress scores. Closeness in age between BAMs (20-39) and Generation X (ages 40-54, included in the pre-Millennial group) is one possible explanation for why there were no generational differences in racism-related stress scores; because the youngest Generation Xer (40) was virtually the same age as the oldest BAM (39), they would likely have had similar social experiences, including coping with covert racism. Because of the age overlap between Xers and BAMs, including Generation X in the pre-Millennial, group may explain why study findings failed to support the hypothesized interaction between religious coping strategies and racism-related stress.

An additional explanation for failing to find generational differences between pre-Millennials' and BAMs' use of religious coping strategies and its impact on racism-related stress may be that Blacks' use of coping strategies breaks along contextual lines more than generational ones (Lewis-Coles & Constantine, 2006). Study questions focused on individual struggles with stereotyping and prejudice rather than on cultural

(e.g., negative media portrayals of Blacks) and *institutional* (e.g., intentional or unintentional manipulation of policies that disadvantage Black Americans) situations. Lewis-Coles and Constantine (2006) found that *perceived controllability* of a stressor is inversely proportional to employment of religious coping strategies (i.e., religious coping is relied on more heavily when circumstances are perceived to be beyond one's control). In other words, because Blacks appraise cultural and institutional racism as more threatening, they may rely more heavily on religious coping strategies to mitigate stress than when dealing with individual racism-related stressors.

The questionnaire used to measure racism-related stress in RQ2 did not assess the impact of experiences with institutional racism, such as the denial of Blacks' fair treatment and equal access when seeking employment (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). For example, Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) demonstrated institutional racism in a study that showed how Blacks face unacknowledged discrimination through hiring practices. In response to help-wanted ads in Boston and Chicago newspapers, Bertrand and Mullainathan sent fictitious resumes with either *Black-sounding names* (i.e., Lakeisha and Jamal) or *White-sounding names* (i.e., Emily and Greg). The resumes were equal in their qualifications; only the names were different. Bertrand and Mullainathan found that *White-sounding names* received 50% more callbacks for interviews than *Black-sounding names*. Because the resumes did not include information about socioeconomic status, social class was ruled out as a contributor to differential treatment.

Racism-related stress in the cultural context includes pervasive negative media portrayals (e.g., news, TV, radio). Ramasubramanian and Martinez (2017) hypothesized

that White participants enrolled in two communications classes from a large university would be more likely to express anti-Black affect and symbolic racist attitudes (e.g., criminal, violent, drug-dealing/using, lazy, poor, welfare-receiving, uneducated) toward Black leaders (i.e., Barack Obama) who have been portrayed more negatively than positively. Ramasubramanian and Martinez assumed that exposing study participants to negative news portrayals of Obama would present an opportunity for prejudicial and stereotypical perceptions to be endorsed without being considered racist. Results indicated that exposure to negative news stories about Obama increased anti-Black affect, symbolic racist beliefs, and stereotypical opinions of Black Americans, demonstrating that even subtle negative framing of news stories reflexively can activate culturally influenced, deep-rooted anti-Black affect. In the current study, had RQ2 included questions about participants' experiences with cultural and institutional racism, results may have been different. It appears that the appraisal and subsequent coping process for the individual impacted by racism is contingent on the context of racism-related stressors, be they individual, institutional, or cultural (Lewis-Coles & Constantine, 2006).

Post Hoc Considerations

Szymanski and Obiri (2011) used the positive and negative subscales of the Brief RCOPE separately to assess the differential effects of each coping strategy on racism-related stress. The current study used a global score for the Brief RCOPE (i.e., instead of assessing separately the instrument's positive and negative coping subscales) to measure overall dependence on religious coping strategies to mitigate racism-related stress, obviating the possibility of obtaining more detailed information. Nevertheless,

descriptive statistics for each subscale were still captured and reported in Chapter 4. Descriptive statistics showed that Baby Boomers (55-73) and the Silent Generation (74-94)—both included in the pre-Millennial group—had a lower mean score for negative religious coping strategies than BAMs, suggesting that BAMs (whose mean scores were higher) used more negative religious coping than the two oldest generations. Excluding Generation X from the pre-Millennial group as well as assessing the impact of positive and negative religious coping on racism-related stress independently may have produced different findings.

Limitations of the Study

Reliance on self-report measures limits the study by raising issues of reporting accuracy and recall bias. The study included questions that asked participants how they responded to/coped with public situations, which could lead to social desirability bias, wherein respondents tend to present themselves in a socially desirable manner (King & Bruner, 2000). Informing participants of their anonymity was an attempt to neutralize social desirability bias.

Individuals who chose to participate in this study may have offered different responses than those who did not (Bankhead, Aronson, & Nunan, 2018). The completion rate of 77% was high, but there was an abandonment rate of 33%. Also, the target audience was Black Americans at least 20 years of age, meaning the results are generalizable neither to Generation Z (i.e., ages 19 and below) nor to non-American Blacks. Non-American Blacks were omitted because they would have had entirely different cross-generational lived experiences from those of Black Americans. Lastly, the

results could have been different if more participants had completed the study; a bigger sample would have increased statistical power, increasing the potential of finding a significant effect if it existed.

Recommendations

The primary purpose of this study, the first to do so, was to determine if there were generational differences in the perceptions of racism as an ongoing problem for Black Americans at least 20 years of age. The study also aimed to see if generation affiliation impacted Black Americans' historical dependence on religious coping strategies to mitigate the psychological harm of racism. To increase generalizability of the study's findings, it would be best to obtain a larger sample size, thereby potentially capturing a greater number of non-college-educated Blacks (Szymanski & Obiri, 2011). Also, more participants would increase the study's power, maximizing the chances of detecting an effect if it exists.

Although the results pursuant to RQ2 did not allow me to reject the null hypothesis, a look at the use of religious coping strategies by generation reveals that BAMs used more negative religious coping than did Baby Boomers and the Silent Generation. If BAMs and pre-Millennials have encountered similar experiences with racism, future research should investigate why BAMs perceived greater racially motivated stigmatization. Also, it is essential to note that Baby Boomers are generally the parents of BAMs. Future research should further investigate why BAMs' would differ in their use of religious coping habits compared to their parents' generation when, typically, children learn these practices from their parents (Cohen, 2011). Specifically, future

research should also look at what other variables contribute to why BAMs are more likely than their parents' generation (e.g., Baby Boomers) to use negative religious coping.

The study assessed religious coping habits when confronting individual racism. Future research should broaden the investigation to include racism-related stress caused by cultural racism (e.g., negative media portrayals) and institutionalized racism (e.g., policies that disadvantage people of color). An individual may experience more significant racism-related stress from institutional and cultural racism than from racism experienced individually (Lewis-Coles & Constantine, 2006).

Implications

The suicides of two high profile #BlackLivesMatter (BLM) leaders and the increasing suicide rates among young Black adults have made older generations question BAMs' racism-related mental resolve and coping strategies (Jones-Eversly, Adedoyin, Robinson, & Moore, 2017). Like older generations, BAMs do utilize religious coping strategies to mitigate racism-related stress, at least among the primarily college-educated participants that comprised BAMs in my study sample. However, my findings suggest there may be cause for concern, or at least further exploration, given that BAMs perceive more racially motivated stigmatization than pre-Millennial generations; this may lead BAMs to use more negative religious coping than all subgroups that comprise the pre-Millennials (i.e., Xers, Boomers, and the Silent Generation). This concern is raised by Szymanski and Obiri (2011), who found that Blacks who use negative religious coping are at increased risk of experiencing racism-related stress.

Conclusion

This study attempted to determine if there are generational differences in the perception of racism as an ongoing problem and if generational differences in the use of religious coping strategies impact racism-related stress. The hypotheses of the study assumed that BAMs growing up in an environment of more covert/underground racism than pre-Millennials (i.e., who were exposed more to overt, Jim-Crow racism) would experience more racism-related stress than pre-Millennials. BAMs were the first generation to be born with all their civil rights, coming-of-age in an era where society was purportedly post-racist, which makes their developmental experience far different from that of previous generations (Bonilla-Silva, 2015).

Although unacknowledged, racism still exists and still continues to impede progress among its targets (Bonilla-Silva, 2015) Alternative explanations for the non-progress of marginalized populations, such as blaming Blacks for their own shortcomings, make racism harder to pin down and classify its forms (Sears & Henry, 2003). This study is just the beginning of the exploration of (a) generational differences in perceptions of racism and (b) how those generational differences impact the use of religious coping strategies to mitigate racism-related stress. One intent of the present study is to inspire more researchers to add to this body of literature.

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Appendix A: Brief PEDQ - Community Version

Think about your **ethnicity/race**. What **group** do you belong to? **Do you think of yourself as**: Asian? Black? Latino? White? Native American? American? Caribbean? Irish? Italian? Korean? Another group?

YOUR ETHNICITY/RACE: _____

How often have any of the things listed below happened to you**, because of your ethnicity**?

BECAUSE OF YOUR ETHNICITY/RACE …

A. How often…	Never	Sometimes	Very Often	
1. Have you been treated unfairly by teachers, principals, or other staff at school?	1	2	3	4 5
2. Have others thought you couldn't do things or handle a job?	1	2	3	4 5
3. Have others **threatened** to hurt you (ex: said they would hit you)?	1	2	3	4 5
4. Have others **actually** hurt you or tried to hurt you (ex: kicked or hit you)?	1	2	3	4 5
5. Have policemen or security officers been unfair to you?	1	2	3	4 5

6. Have others **threatened** to damage your property?	1 5	2	3	4
7. Have others **actually** damaged your property?	1 5	2	3	4
8. Have others made you feel like an outsider who doesn't fit in because of your dress, speech, or other characteristics related to your ethnicity?	1 5	2	3	4
9. Have you been treated unfairly by co-workers or classmates?	1 5	2	3	4
10. Have others hinted that you are dishonest or can't be trusted?	1 5	2	3	4
11. Have people been nice to you to your face, but said bad things about you behind your back?	1 5	2	3	4
12. Have people who speak a different language made you feel like an outsider?	1 5	2	3	4

13. Have others ignored you or not paid attention to you?	1	2	3	4
	5			
14. Has your boss or supervisor been unfair to you?	1	2	3	4
	5			
15. Have others hinted that you must not be clean?	1	2	3	4
	5			
16. Have people not trusted you?	1	2	3	4
	5			
17. Has it been hinted that you must be lazy?	1	2	3	4
	5			

Appendix B: Brief RCOPE

Brief RCOPE

The following items deal with ways you coped with the negative event in your life. There are many ways to try to deal with problems. These items ask what you did to cope with this negative event. Obviously different people deal with things in different ways, but we are interested in how you tried to deal with it. Each item says something about a particular way of coping. We want to know to what extent you did what the item says. *How much or how frequently.* Don't answer on the basis of what worked or not – just whether or not you did it. Use these response choices. Try to rate each item separately in your mind from the others. Make your answers as true FOR YOU as you can. Circle the answer that best applies to you.

1 – not at all
2 – somewhat
3 – quite a bit
4 – a great deal

(+) l. Looked for a stronger connection with God.		1	2	3	4
(+) 2. Sought God's love and care.		1	2	3	4
(+) 3. Sought help from God in letting go of my anger.		1	2	3	4
(+) 4. Tried to put my plans into action together with God.		1	2	3	4
(+) 5. Tried to see how God might be trying to strengthen me in this situation.		1	2	3	4
(+) 6. Asked forgiveness for my sins.	1	2	3	4	
(+) 7. Focused on religion to stop worrying about my problems.	1	2	3	4	
(-) 8. Wondered whether God had abandoned me.		1	2	3	4
(-) 9. Felt punished by God for my lack of devotion.		1	2	3	4
(-) 10. Wondered what I did for God to punish me.		1	2	3	4
(-) 11. Questioned God's love for me.		1	2	3	4
(-) 12. Wondered whether my church had abandoned me.		1	2	3	4
(-) 13. Decided the devil made this happen.		1	2	3	4
(-) 14. Questioned the power of God.	1	2	3	4	

Appendix C: Individual Racism Subscale

Index of Racism-related Stress: Individual Racism Subscale

1. You have been in a restaurant or other White/non-Black establishment where everyone was waited on before you.

2. You have been followed by security (or employees) while shopping in some stores.

3. Sales people/clerks did not say thank you or show other forms of courtesy and respect (i.e. put your things in a bag) when you shopped at some White/non-Black owned businesses.

4. White people or other non-Blacks have treated you as if you were unintelligent and needed things explained to you slowly or numerous times.

5. Whites/non-Blacks have failed to apologize for stepping on your foot or bumping into you.

6. Although waiting in line first, you were assisted after the White/ non-Black person behind you.

7. While shopping at a store the sales clerk assumed that you couldn't afford certain items (i.e. you were directed toward the items on sale).

8. You were treated with less respect and courtesy than Whites and other non-Blacks while in a store, restaurant, or other business establishment.

9. Whites/non-Blacks have stared at you as if you didn't belong in same place with them; where it was a restaurant, theater or other place of business

10. White/non-Black people have mistaken you for a sales

person, waiter, or other service help when you were actually a customer.

11. While shopping at a store, or when attempting to make a purchase you were ignored as if you were not a serious customer or didn't have any money.

Appendix D: Instrument Permissions

From: Kenneth I Pargament
Sent: Monday, April 15, 2019 8:56 AM
To: Edward Hinton
Subject: RE: Permission to utilize Brief RCOPE

Dear Mr. Hinton:

You have my permission to use the Brief RCOPE. Please keep me posted on your findings.

Sincerely,

Kenneth I. Pargament, Ph. D.
Professor Emeritus
Department of Psychology
Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, Ohio 43403

Author, *Spiritually Integrated Psychotherapy: Understanding and Addressing the Sacred*. New York: Guilford Press.

Editor-in-Chief*, APA Handbook of Psychology, Religion, and Spirituality* (Vols. 1 and 2). Washington, DC: APA Press.

Edward,

Yes, you have my permission to use the IRRS-B. I have attached the measure and scoring protocol.

Shawn

On Tue, Apr 16, 2019 at 3:20 PM Edward Hinton wrote:
From: Edward Hinton
Sent: Monday, April 15, 2019 2:14 AM
Subject: Permission to use Index of Race Related Stress

Good evening,

My name is E. Charles Hinton and I am a doctoral student at Walden University. I am conducting a study to determine how Blacks across generations perceive and experience

the psychological threat of racism. I would greatly appreciate it if you would allow me to utilize your Index of Race Related Stress in my study.

Thank you,
E. Charles Hinton

--
Shawn O. Utsey, Ph.D.
Professor and Chair,
Department of African American Studies
and Professor, Department of Psychology
Virginia Commonwealth University

"Your silence will not protect you."
- Audre Lorde

Elizabeth Brondolo
Mon 4/15/2019 4:38 PM

You are welcome to use it. Good luck with your research. I will be interested to hear what you learn. - Liz

---

From: Edward Hinton
Sent: Monday, April 15, 2019 3:09 AM
To: Elizabeth Brondolo
Subject: Permission to use the Brief Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire-Community Version

* External Email *
Good evening,

My name is E. Charles Hinton and I am a doctoral student at Walden University. I am conducting a study to determine how Blacks across generations perceive the

psychological threat of racism. I would greatly appreciate it if you would allow me to utilize your Brief Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire in my study

Thank you,
E. Charles Hinton