Black Lives Matter!: Systems of Oppression Affecting Black Youth

Special Series: Dismantling Systems of Racism and Oppression during Adolescence

Black Lives and Black Research Matter: How our Collective Emotions Continue to Drive a Movement

Angel S. Dunbar
University of Maryland College Park

The author discusses (1) how the collective emotional experience of the Black community has propelled two parallel movements, Black Lives Matter and Black Research Matters, (2) the state of developmental science as it pertains to Black youth, and (3) suggestions for future research to integrate across fields and to evolve beyond Black pain to incorporate Black joy. The author suggests that the palpable anger collectively felt and expressed as a community has propelled a host of social-political actions to dismantle anti-Black systems of oppression, including within academia. She highlights that the scholarship on Black youth development has driven innovations in theory and methodology that have influenced the field of developmental science broadly and recommends future research areas for consideration.
Key words: Black Research Matters – collective emotion regulation – Black youth development – racism

Developmental research on Black adolescence has bourgeoned following the publication of pioneering conceptual frameworks that captured the lived experiences of Black youth and the systemic structures and promotive factors that impact their adjustment (Boykin & Toms, 1985; García Coll et al., 1996; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998; Spencer, Dupree, & Hartmann, 1997). Frameworks like Cynthia García Coll's ecological model for minority youth development and Margaret Beale Spencer's phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory continue to provide an organizing structure by which researchers analyze models to understand the interrelations of fundamental phenomena, including multidimensional and multilevel systems of oppression, Black youth adjustment, and individual, family, peer, and school-level promotive and inhibitive factors.

Building from these foundational models, we now have a slew of innovative and rich theories that attend to Black youths' family, cognitive, and emotional processes (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019; Dunbar, Leerkes, Coard, Supple, & Calkins, 2016; Jones, Anderson, & Stevenson, 2021; Lozada, Riley, Catherine, & Brown, 2021; Smith-Bynum, Anderson, Davis, Franco, & English, 2016), and that have social-political and clinical application (Berger & Sarnyai, 2015; Carter, 2007; Hope, Hoggard, & Thomas, 2015; Saleem, Anderson, & Williams, 2020); for example, the conceptualization of discrimination as a social determinant of health (Paradies et al., 2015). The active engagement of scholarship in movements like Black Lives Matter (BLM) and the social-political applicability of research is important to the relevance of developmental science to impact public health policy that betters the lives of Black youth and their families.

As a researcher positioned in the fields of Black youth development and emotion research, in this commentary, I will discuss (1) how the collective

emotional experience of the Black community has propelled the current social-political moment, (2) the state of developmental science as it pertains to Black youth, and (3) suggestions for future research to integrate across fields and to evolve beyond Black pain to incorporate Black joy.

BLACK LIVES AND BLACK RESEARCH MATTER

Black Lives Matter: The Outcome of Collective Pain

As we navigate day-to-day activities on the micro-level or cultural periods on the macro level, emotions help motivate and direct our behavior in the pursuit of our goals. Emotions are affective states in response to external (an event) or internal (thoughts) stimuli that we perceive as relevant to our goals and reflect our individual or collective stream of experience (Bericat, 2015; Cicchetti et al., 1995; von Scheve & Ismer, 2013). Emotions can be short-lived discrete states that last seconds to minutes or moods that reflect an ongoing experience, such as witnessing the back-to-back murders and mistreatment of unarmed Black children. The "collective stream of experience" aspect of emotions is often neglected. However, if you have ever attended a sports event or the viewing of a high-profile criminal trial, you know firsthand that groups of individuals with shared goals often share and collectively express emotional states (Scheve & Salmella, 2014).

Emotions are at the center of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, which arguably arose out of the mounting collective frustration of the Black community in response to repeated institutional apathy toward Black suffering. An abundance of empirical research finds that experiences of racism and discrimination adversely impact the emotional wellbeing of Black youth, including increases in trait anger and externalizing behaviors such as aggression and conduct problems (Benner et al., 2018; Nyborg & Curry, 2003; Pachter, Caldwell, Jackson, & Bernstein, 2018; Vines, Ward, Cordoba, & Black, 2017). However, most of this work does not distinguish the *feeling* and constructive expression of anger—a normal and healthy response to acts of injustice—from the behavioral or mental health consequences if emotions go unregulated. Recent work from my colleagues and I found that while Black adolescents who reported experiencing discrimination said they felt anger, frustration, and disrespected, these emotions were not associated with depressive symptoms or the fighting and rule-breaking behaviors that are typically attributed to an underlying anger problem (Dunbar, HaRim Ahn, Coates, & Smith-Bynum, 2021). Instead, sadness, shame, and embarrassment—which may reflect youths' internalization of denigrating racist messages and self-blame—were associated with depression/anxiety *and* externalizing problems (Dunbar et al., 2021).

According to emotion theory (Russell and Mehrabian, 2018; Turner, 2007), anger and frustration motivate individuals to regain control when threatened or violated. Thus, these assertive emotions may be a healthy response when being discriminated against by facilitating active coping such as social-political activism (Hope, Gugwor, Riddick, & Pender, 2019; Hope & Spencer, 2017). As such, the palpable anger we felt as a community has propelled a host of social-political actions to dismantle anti-Black systems of oppression through movements like BLM, which has had the active participation of Black youth.

We have emerging research, including work from this special issue, demonstrating that vicarious experiences of anti-Black racism through the viral sharing of pictures and video have a significant impact on the emotional well-being of Black youth (Maxie-Moreman & Tynes, 2022). The seemingly ubiquitous and inescapable presence of traumatic social media content in the lives of youth may greatly amplify the pain of racism. Youth not only must contend with their own painful racism experiences but also now bear the burden of the collective pain of the Black community, a vicarious pain that may be equally detrimental as individual-level experiences, with effects on youths' distress, intrusive thoughts about racist events, and fears for their safety (Mason et al., 2017; Zimmerman & Miller-Smith, 2022). However, we know less empirically about how social media platforms like Twitter provide a mechanism for real-time mass expression of thoughts and emotions in response to current events and facilitate other collective emotion regulation behaviors such as support seeking, humor, and organized political action.

Black Research Matters: Our Progress

Concurrent with the BLM social-political uprising, academia has faced its own unrest. In recent decades, Black and Brown scholars have confronted and continue to hold accountable the institutional racism of funding agencies such as the National Institute of Health that underfund Black scholars

and scholarship (Ginther et al., 2011; Hoppe et al., 2019). We have pushed back against peer-review editorial boards that insist on between-racial group comparative designs that reinforce White supremacy and deficit framing of Black experiences (Iruka, Lewis, Lozada, Bocknek, & Brophy-Herb, 2021). We are demanding greater equity in the tenure and promotion of the Black and Brown scholars who do this work. Despite many barriers faced by scholars who study Black youth development, the science has made significant strides.

The replication and reproducibility of research findings—across research labs, time, space, and methodology—is a hallmark of the rigor of a field. The impact of racism on Black youth adjustment and the moderating roles of individual (e.g., gender and identity) and contextual factors (e.g., family, schools, and peers) is perhaps the most studied model in Black youth development (Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012; Perkins, Durkee, Banks, & Ribero-Brown, 2021). Although there are numerous variations to the model, this is a basic moderation that says (1) racial discrimination negatively impacts Black youth adjustment and (2) the strength of this association is weakened under certain conditions. The first part of this model alone has been replicated across various levels and dimensions of racial discrimination, including interpersonal and institutional, peer and teacher, using a range of methodology including survey, daily diary, experimental designs, and public records (Cooper, Burnett, Golden, Butler-Barnes, & Innis-Thompson, 2022; English et al., 2021; Giordano et al., 2021; Ortega-Williams et al., 2022), and with multi-informant reports of youth social-emotional, psychological, and academic adjustment (Benner et al., 2018). Certain moderators have also demonstrated consistent results, such as the benefit of parental cultural socialization (Gibson, Bouldin, Stokes, Lozada, & Hope, 2021).

Furthermore, the scholarship on Black youth development has engaged traditional phenomena in adolescent development, including pubertal timing (Carter & Flewellen, 2022), identity development (Durkee, Perkins, & Smith, 2021), and family conflict and autonomy seeking (Smetana & Rote, 2019) while simultaneously engaging contemporary challenges faced by Black youth such as online racism (Stewart, Schuschke, & Tynes, 2019) and the public health crisis of Black youth suicidality (Assari, Lankarani, & Caldwell, 2017). The scholarship on Black youth development, often conducted by Black and Brown scholars, has not only evolved internally, but we have also driven innovations in theory and

methodology that have influenced the field of developmental science broadly to be more rigorous and nuanced in our asking and analysis of questions.

For example, rather than making inferences about "culture" underlying differences found using between-group comparative designs, developmental science is now recognizing the need to directly measure constructs like racial-ethnic identity as more proximal indicators of cultural salience and measuring systemic oppression rather than assuming individual and cultural deficits (Williams & Deutsch, 2016). Similarly, there seems to be greater acknowledgment that youth have intersectional identities that shape their experiences in ways that are holistic rather than additive (Clauss-Ehlers, Chiriboga, Hunter, Roysircar, & Tummala-Narra, 2019; Rosenthal, 2016). For example, although not uncommon, designs that compare the adjustment of Black youth vs. LGBTQ youth ignore the existence of Black LGBTQ youth who have an entirely different experience than what can be extrapolated from synthesizing work on Black youth and [White] LGBTQ youth separately. Finally, there is much greater acceptance of the benefit of within-racial group designs to capture the heterogeneity of youth experiences (Gaylord-Harden, Barbarin, Tolan, & Murry, 2018).

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

My suggestions for future research include (1) continuing to integrate the scholarship on Black youth development with foundational constructs from developmental science and other areas such as public health and (2) conducting research that moves beyond Black pain.

Integrating Subfields

Several scholars have called for Black youth development work—which focuses heavily on core constructs such as racial discrimination, racial-ethnic identity, coping, and racial socialization—to integrate relevant constructs from other areas of developmental science. Simultaneously, areas of developmental science whose theoretical and empirical work primarily rely on White populations must draw from the rich scholarship on Black youth development to better represent the lived experiences of Black youth more accurately (Coard, 2021; Dunbar et al., 2016; Murry et al., 2021; Stern, Barbarin, & Cassidy, 2021).

We have an emerging body of work that situates constructs studied in Black youth development

work within public health, attachment research, emotion research, cognitive science, and more. For example, in public health, Bernard and colleagues proposed a more culturally informed model of adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) to include racial discrimination as a distinct ACE category (Bernard et al., 2021). This work is pivotal because typically accepted ACE categories have been restricted to "universal" phenomena such as abuse, neglect, and homelessness. Along with work conceptualizing racism as a social determinant of health (Paradies et al., 2015), this work makes a bold statement that racism is a potentially traumatic event with equal potential for long-term adverse health outcomes as other forms of adversity and abuse. It effectively transitions the study of racism from a "niche" or "specialty" category of research to a core phenomenon to be studied broadly in human development.

As such, continuing the work of integrating subfields does not only benefit the expansion and rigor of Black youth development, but it also benefits developmental science broadly. Integrative models may help address some of our most pressing public health crises, such as the disproportionate and rising rates of suicide attempts and death among Black youth (Sheftall et al., 2021). Such work challenges the validity of widely studied and widely accepted constructs and tests the boundaries of these constructs by asking, "what is and is not included in the pie?" For example, does racism as an ACE contribute unique variance in public health outcomes such as suicidal thoughts and attempts? Does the inclusion of racism as an ACE account for the growing disparity between Black and White youth suicidal behavior to an extent that other variables have not?

Black Lives Matter Beyond Our Oppression

My final suggestion is for Black youth development research to extend beyond the study of the impact of systems of oppression on the well-being of Black youth and even beyond the study of Black youth resilience and resistance. Black youth continue to live, laugh, and love in tandem with the ubiquitous presence of oppression. Thus, our scholarship can examine the presence of Black joy in tandem with our study of Black pain. What I am suggesting is not simply a matter of studying positive adjustment as an outcome or moderator of adversity, but rather to have complete studies on non-oppressive everyday aspects of Black youth culture and development. For example, what is the cultural impact

of online social movements such as #blackgirlmagic and #blackboyjoy that have risen alongside BLM?

Boykin and Toms (1985) Triple quandary theory proposed that Black families simultaneously navigate three different but overlapping contexts in the United States: the mainstream context, life as a racial-ethnic minority within a White majority culture, and the Black cultural experience. Black culture, although shaped in some ways in reaction to systems of oppression, exists beyond oppression and has been shaped by a mix of African cultural traditions and the dynamic give and take of Black and non-Black cultures.

We have a growing and rigorous body of work that examines how systems of oppression impact minoritized youth's lives. However, little research focuses on areas such as the normative development of Black youth friendships and romantic relationships. Keeping with the example of peer relations, a prominent area of research focuses on the formation and intricacies of friendship and peer interactions that rely on predominantly White samples (Graham & Echols, 2018). Peer relation studies that include Black youth often focus on peer discrimination and racial bullying or the role of bias in the development and maintenance of interracial relations (Graham & Echols, 2018). Although this work is very much needed, work on normative, positive peer and family relations among Black youth is also needed. The study of Black joy, friendship, love, and hope is of equal value as the study of Black oppression.

CONCLUSION

The collective anger, frustration, and pain of the Black community in response to anti-Black oppression has propelled parallel BLM movements in the public realm and within social science. A powerful transition currently happening in Black youth development work is a move from studying resilience— the study of the ability to adapt or thrive in the face of adversity—to studying Black youth resistance (Glover et al., 2022; Smith et al., 2021). Distinct from resilience, resistance captures Black youth and families' exercise of agency to confront and dismantle anti-Black systems of oppression. The parallel BLM movements are at their foundation a representation of this paradigm shift that says, "we will not simply navigate, we will dismantle."

REFERENCES

Anderson, R. E., & Stevenson, H. C. (2019). RECASTing racial stress and trauma: Theorizing the healing potential

of racial socialization in families. *American Psychologist*, *74*(1), 63–75. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000392

Assari, S., Lankarani, M. M., & Caldwell, C. H. (2017). Discrimination increases suicidal ideation in Black adolescents regardless of ethnicity and gender. *Behavioral Sciences*, *7*(4), 75. https://doi.org/10.3390/bs7040075

Benner, A. D., Wang, Y., Shen, Y., Boyle, A. E., Polk, R., & Cheng, Y. P. (2018). Racial/ethnic discrimination and well-being during adolescence: A meta-analytic review. *American Psychologist*, *73*(7), 855–883. https://doi.org/10.1037/AMP0000204

Berger, M., & Sarnyai, Z. (2015). "More than skin deep": Stress neurobiology and mental health consequences of racial discrimination. *The International Journal on the Biology of Stress*, *18*(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.3109/10253890.2014.989204

Bericat, E. (2015). The sociology of emotions: Four decades of progress. *Current Sociology*, *64*(3), 491–513. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392115588355

Bernard, D. L., Calhoun, C. D., Banks, D. E., Halliday, C. A., Hughes-Halbert, C., & Danielson, C. K. (2021). Making the "C-ACE" for a culturally-informed adverse childhood experiences framework to understand the pervasive mental health impact of racism on Black youth. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma*, *14*(2), 233–247. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40653-020-00319-9

Boykin, A. W., & Toms, F. D. (1985). Black child socialization: A conceptual framework. In H. P. McAdoo, & J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments* (Sage focus, pp. 33–51). Sage Publications, Inc..

Carter, R. T. (2007). Racism and psychological and emotional injury: Recognizing and assessing race-based traumatic stress. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *35*(1), 13–105. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000006292033

Carter, R., & Flewellen, A. O. (2022). Ethnic-racial socialization among mothers of Black and Black-White biracial daughters during the pubertal transition. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *32*(1), 99–114. https://doi.org/10.1111/JORA.12724

Cicchetti, D., Ackerman, B. P., Izard, C. E., Blumberg, S. H., Izard, C. E., Blumberg, S. H., … Alvarez-Royo, P. (1995). Emotions and emotion regulation in developmental psychopathology. *Development and Psychopathology*, *7*(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579400006301

Clauss-Ehlers, C. S., Chiriboga, D. A., Hunter, S. J., Roysircar, G., & Tummala-Narra, P. (2019). APA multicultural guidelines executive summary: Ecological approach to context, identity, and intersectionality. *American Psychologist*, *74*(2), 232–244. https://doi.org/10.1037/AMP0000382

Coard, S. I. (2021). Race, discrimination, and racism as "growing points" for consideration: attachment theory and research with African American families. *Attachment and Human Development*, 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616734.2021.1976931

Cooper, S. M., Burnett, M., Golden, A., Butler-Barnes, S., & Innis-Thompson, M. (2022). School discrimination, discipline inequities, and adjustment among Black adolescent girls and boys: An intersectionality-informed approach. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *32*(1), 170–190. https://doi.org/10.1111/JORA.12716

Dunbar, A. S., HaRim Ahn, L., Coates, E. E., & Smith-Bynum, M. A. (2021). Observed dyadic racial socialization disrupts the association between frequent discriminatory experiences and emotional reactivity among Black adolescents. *Child Development*, *93*(1), 39–57. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13680

Dunbar, A. S., Leerkes, E. M., Coard, S. I., Supple, A. J., & Calkins, S. (2016). An integrative conceptual model of parental racial/ethnic and emotion socialization and links to children's social-emotional development among African American families. *Child Development Perspectives*, *11*(1), 16–22. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12218

Durkee, M. I., Perkins, T. R., & Smith, R. E. (2021). Longitudinal effects of the "acting white" accusation and racial identity development among Black college students. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *32*(1), 191–207. https://doi.org/10.1111/JORA.12708

English, D., Carter, J. A., Boone, C. A., Forbes, N., Bowleg, L., Malebranche, D. J., … Rendina, H. J. (2021). Intersecting structural oppression and Black sexual minority men's health. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, *60*(6), 781–791. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.AMEPRE.2020.12.022

García Coll, C., Lamberty, G., Jenkins, R., McAdoo, H. P., Crnic, K., Wasik, B. H., & Garcia, H. V. (1996). An integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children. *Child Development*, *67*(5), 1891–1914. https://doi.org/10.2307/1131600

Gaylord-Harden, N. K., Barbarin, O., Tolan, P. H., & Murry, V. M. (2018). Understanding development of African American boys and young men: Moving from risks to positive youth development. *American Psychologist*, *73*(6), 753–767. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000300

Gibson, S. M., Bouldin, B. M., Stokes, M. N., Lozada, F. T., & Hope, E. C. (2021). Cultural racism and depression in Black adolescents: Examining racial socialization and racial identity as moderators. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *32*(1), 41–48. https://doi.org/10.1111/JORA.12698

Ginther, D. K., Schaffer, W. T., Schnell, J., Masimore, B., Liu, F., Haak, L. L., & Kington, R. (2011). Race, ethnicity, and NIH research awards. *Science (New York, N.Y.)*, *333*(6045), 1015. https://doi.org/10.1126/SCIENCE.1196783

Giordano, A. L., Prosek, E. A., Henson, R. K., Silveus, S., Beijan, L., Reyes, A., … Agarwal, S. M. (2021). Effects of vicarious racism exposure via the media on college students of color: Exploring affect and substance use. *Journal of College Counseling*, *24*(1), 4–17. https://doi.org/10.1002/JOCC.12173

Glover, C. S., Walker, A., & Bañales, J. (2022). Engagement Coping Responses to Adolescents' Negative Racialized

Experiences. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 32(1), 134–150. https://doi.org/10.1111/JORA.12727

Graham, S., & Echols, L. (2018). Race and ethnicity in peer relations research. In W. M. Bukowski, B. Laursen, & K. H. Rubin (eds.), *Handbook of peer interactions, relationships, and groups* (pp. 590–614). The Guilford Press.

Hope, E. C., Gugwor, R., Riddick, K. N., & Pender, K. N. (2019). Engaged against the machine: Institutional and cultural racial discrimination and racial identity as predictors of activism orientation among Black youth. *Wiley Online Library*, 63(1–2), 61–72. https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12303

Hope, E. C., Hoggard, L. S., & Thomas, A. (2015). Emerging into adulthood in the face of racial discrimination: Physiological, psychological, and sociopolitical consequences for African American youth. *Translational Issues in Psychological Science*, 1(4), 342–351. https://doi.org/10.1037/TPS0000041

Hope, E. C., & Spencer, M. B. (2017). Civic engagement as an adaptive coping response to conditions of inequality: An application of Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST). In N. Cabrera, & B. Leyendecker (eds.), *Handbook on Positive Development of Minority Children and Youth* (pp. 421–435). Cham: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-43645-6_25

Hoppe, T. A., Litovitz, A., Willis, K. A., Meseroll, R. A., Perkins, M. J., Hutchins, B. I., ... Santangelo, G. M. (2019). Topic choice contributes to the lower rate of NIH awards to African-American/black. *Science Advances*, 5(10). https://doi.org/10.1126/SCIADV.AAW7238/SUPPL_FILE/REGRESSION_ANALYSIS_RESULTS_FOR_ALL_VARIABLES.XLSX

Iruka, I. U., Lewis, M. L., Lozada, F. T., Bocknek, E. L., & Brophy-Herb, H. E. (2021). Call to action: Centering blackness and disrupting systemic racism in infant mental health research and academic publishing. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, 42(6), 745–748. https://doi.org/10.1002/IMHJ.21950

Jones, S. C. T., Anderson, R. E., & Stevenson, H. C. (2021). Not the same old song and dance: Viewing racial socialization through a family systems lens to resist racial trauma. *Adversity and Resilience Science*, 2(4), 225–233. https://doi.org/10.1007/s42844-021-00044-8

Lozada, F. T., Riley, T. N., Catherine, E., & Brown, D. W. (2021). Black emotions matter: understanding the impact of racial oppression on Black youth's emotional development. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 32(1), 13–33. https://doi.org/10.1111/JORA.12699

Mason, T. B., Maduro, R. S., Derlega, V. J., Hacker, D. S., Winstead, B. A., & Haywood, J. E. (2017). Individual differences in the impact of vicarious racism: African American students react to the George Zimmerman trial. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 23(2), 174–184. https://doi.org/10.1037/CDP0000099

Maxie-Moreman, A. D., & Tynes, B. M. (2022). Exposure to online racial discrimination and traumatic events online in Black adolescents and emerging adults. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 32(1), 254–269. https://doi.org/10.1111/JORA.12732

Murry, V. M. B., Gonzalez, C. M., Hanebutt, R. A., Bulgin, D., Coates, E. E., Inniss-Thompson, M. N., ... Cortez, M. B. (2021). Longitudinal study of the cascading effects of racial discrimination on parenting and adjustment among African American youth. *Attachment & Human Development*, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616734.2021.1976926

Neblett, E. W., Rivas-Drake, D., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2012). The promise of racial and ethnic protective factors in promoting ethnic minority youth development. *Child Development Perspectives*, 6(3), 295–303. https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1750-8606.2012.00239.X

Nyborg, V. M., & Curry, J. F. (2003). The impact of perceived racism: Psychological symptoms among African American boys. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology*, 32(2), 258–266. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15374424JCCP3202_11

Ortega-Williams, A., Booth, J. M., Fussell-Ware, D. J., Lawrence, Y. J., Pearl, D., Chapman, N., ... Overby, Z. (2022). Using ecological momentary assessments to understand Black youths' experiences of racism, stress, and safety. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 32(1), 270–289. https://doi.org/10.1111/JORA.12733

Pachter, L. M., Caldwell, C. H., Jackson, J. S., & Bernstein, B. A. (2018). Discrimination and mental health in a representative sample of African-American and Afro-Caribbean youth. *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities*, 5(4), 831–837. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40615-017-0428-z

Paradies, Y., Ben, J., Denson, N., Elias, A., Priest, N., Pieterse, A., ... Gee, G. (2015). Racism as a determinant of health: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *PLoS One*, 10(9), e0138511. https://doi.org/10.1371/JOURNAL.PONE.0138511

Perkins, T., Durkee, M., Banks, J., & Ribero-Brown, B. (2021). Gender and racial identity moderate the effects of online and offline discrimination on mental health. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 32(1), 244–253. https://doi.org/10.1111/JORA.12717

Rosenthal, L. (2016). Incorporating intersectionality into psychology: An opportunity to promote social justice and equity. *American Psychologist*, 71(6), 474–485. https://doi.org/10.1037/A0040323

Russell, J., & Mehrabian, A. (2018). Evidence for a three-factor theory of emotions. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 11(3), 273–294. https://doi.org/10.1016/0092-6566(77)90037-X

Saleem, F. T., Anderson, R. E., & Williams, M. (2020). Addressing the "Myth" of racial trauma: Developmental and ecological considerations for youth of color. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, 23(1), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10567-019-00304-1

Sellers, R. M., Smith, M. A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A. J., & Chavous, T. M. (1998). Multidimensional model of racial identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *2*(1), 18–39. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0201_2

Sheftall, A. H., Vakil, F., Ruch, D. A., Boyd, R. C., Lindsey, M. A., & Bridge, J. A. (2021). Black youth suicide: Investigation of current trends and precipitating circumstances. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.JAAC.2021.08.021

Smetana, J. G., & Rote, W. M. (2019). Adolescent–parent relationships: Progress, processes, and prospects. *Annual Review of Developmental Psychology*, *1*(1), 41–68. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-devpsych-121318-084903

Smith-Bynum, M. A., Anderson, R. E., Davis, B. A. L., Franco, M. G., & English, D. (2016). Observed racial socialization and maternal positive emotions in African American mother–adolescent discussions about racial discrimination. *Child Development*, *87*(6), 1926–1939. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12562

Smith, N. A., McDonald, A., Wei, W., Johnson, S. A., Adeji, D., & Witherspoon, D. P. (2021). Embracing race, resisting oppression: African american parents as experienced guides for navigating racial oppression. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *32*(1), 115–133. https://doi.org/10.1111/JORA.12712

Spencer, M. B., Dupree, D., & Hartmann, T. (1997). A Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST): A self-organization perspective in context. *Development and Psychopathology*, *9*(4), 817–833. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579497001454

Stern, J. A., Barbarin, O., & Cassidy, J. (2021). Attachment perspectives on race, prejudice, and anti-racism. *Attachment and Human Development*, 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616734.2021.1976920

Stewart, A., Schuschke, J., Tynes, B., & Fitzgerald, H. B. (2019). Online racism: Adjustment and protective factors among adolescents of color. In *Handbook of children and prejudice: integrating research, practice, and policy* (pp. 501–513). Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-12228-7_28

Turner, M. M. (2007). Using emotion in risk communication: The Anger Activism Model. *Public Relations Review*, *33*(2), 114–119. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.PUBREV.2006.11.013

Vines, A. I., Ward, J. B., Cordoba, E., & Black, K. Z. (2017). Perceived racial/ethnic discrimination and mental health: A review and future directions for social epidemiology. *Current Epidemiology Reports*, *4*(2), 156–165. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40471-017-0106-z

von Scheve, C., & Ismer, S. (2013). Towards a theory of collective emotions. *Emotion Review*, *5*(4), 406–413. https://doi.org/10.1177/1754073913484170

von Scheve, C. & Salmella, M. (Eds), (2014). *Collective emotions: Perspectives from psychology, philosophy, and sociology*. OUP Oxford.

Williams, J. L., & Deutsch, N. L. (2016). Beyond between-group differences: Considering race, ethnicity, and culture in research on positive youth development programs. *Applied Developmental Science*, *20*(3), 203–213. https://doi.org/10.1080/10888691.2015.1113880

Zimmerman, G. M., & Miller-Smith, A. (2022). The impact of anticipated, vicarious, and experienced racial and ethnic discrimination on depression and suicidal behavior among Chicago youth. *Social Science Research*, *101*, 102623. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.SSRESEARCH.2021.102623