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The Specter of Discrimination: Fear of Interpersonal Racial Discrimination among Adolescents in Chicago

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Abstract

This analysis examines fear of interpersonal racial discrimination among Black, Hispanic, and White adolescents. The extent and correlates of these concerns are examined using survey data from the Project for Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods. Borrowing from the fear-of-crime literature, the contact hypothesis, and group threat theory, several hypotheses are developed linking discrimination fear to direct personal experience with discrimination, indirect or vicarious experience, and environmental signals of discrimination. Results show that about half of Blacks and Hispanics have feared discrimination in the past year. Multivariate results indicate that fear is most likely if one has experienced victimization first-hand and when one's parent is affected by discrimination. Further, a larger presence neighborhood outgroups produces greater fear. Overall, discrimination fear constitutes an additional obstacle for minority adolescents as they transition to adulthood. The phenomenon warrants increased scholarly attention and represents a fruitful avenue for future research.

Keywords: Racial Discrimination; Fear; Racial Minorities, Adolescents; Chicago

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Abstract

This analysis examines fear of interpersonal racial discrimination among Black, Hispanic, and White adolescents. The extent and correlates of these concerns are examined using survey data from the Project for Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods. Borrowing from the fear-of-crime literature, the contact hypothesis, and group threat theory, several hypotheses are developed linking discrimination fear to direct personal experience with discrimination, indirect or vicarious experience, and environmental signals of discrimination. Results show that about half of Blacks and Hispanics have feared discrimination in the past year. Multivariate results indicate that fear is most likely if one has experienced victimization first-hand and when one's parent is affected by discrimination. Further, a larger presence neighborhood outgroups produces greater fear. Overall, discrimination fear constitutes an additional obstacle for minority adolescents as they transition to adulthood. The phenomenon warrants increased scholarly attention and represents a fruitful avenue for future research.

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Article Highlights:

- Half of Black and Hispanic adolescents feared racial discrimination in the past year
- Adolescents express greater fear of racial discrimination than their parents
- Personal victimization experiences predict greater discrimination fear
- Parents' exposure to discrimination increases adolescent discrimination fear
- Black and Hispanic adolescents' discrimination fear varies with neighborhood racial composition

1. Introduction

Race continues to shape the everyday experiences of many minorities in the U.S. (Feagin 1991; Feagin and Sykes 1999; Kessler et al. 1999; Seaton et al. 2008). Particularly among Black Americans, instances of interpersonal racial discrimination are widely reported and linked to heightened stress and anxiety (Pascoe and Smart 2009; Mays et al. 2007; Landrine and Klonoff 1996; Williams and Williams-Morris 2000; Clark et al. 1999). Even President Obama shared personal discrimination experiences in the wake of George Zimmerman's acquittal for the killing of Trayvon Martin in 2013 (Lewis 2013). But with its commonplace nature and long list of consequences, how much do individuals worry about discrimination as they navigate their social worlds? Are people emotionally burdened by the possibility of falling victim to differential or unfair treatment based on their race? Currently we know little about the extent of such concerns or the conditions that make them more likely. The present study offers a foundation for a new line of inquiry focused on the fear of interpersonal racial discrimination.

To understand discrimination concerns, I follow decades of research on the fear of crime (Hale 1996; Rader 2004; Conklin 1975; Ross 1993; Dolan and Peasgood 2007; Pickett, Chiricos, Golden and Gertz 2012; Drakulich 2012). There is a clear parallel as both crime and discrimination represent forms of victimization perpetrated by others, which may engender fear. However, only the former has received significant scholarly attention. The expansive fear-of-crime literature highlights how such concerns can alter behavior and choices, and interfere with the normal functioning of society. Consequently, fear is a social problem beyond actual instances of crime. Whether discrimination fear produces similar consequences is an important question, but we must first identify the extent and causes of such concerns. Using fear-of-crime hypotheses

and expectations from the contact and group threat theories, the current study provides the first detailed analysis of discrimination fear among adolescents.

The racial experiences of young people are of particular importance. During this vulnerable stage in the life course adolescents are solidifying their identities and worldviews (Harris-Britt et al. 2007; Caldwell et al. 2004). Discrimination fears during the transition to adulthood may influence attitudes regarding neighborhoods, employment, education, romantic partners, friends, and entry into outgroup dominated contexts (Krysan and Farley 2002). Further, with their heightened and rapidly expanding racial diversity, it is crucial to understand how young people experience race today (Frey 2011).

I examine discrimination fear with data from the Project for Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN). The survey includes self-reports of discrimination fear and experience among adolescents and their primary caregivers, allowing for intergenerational comparisons. I consider four research questions: 1) *what is the extent of racial discrimination fear among adolescents?*; 2) *does fear vary across racial groups?*; 3) *do levels differ between adolescents and their parents?*; and 4) *what factors make fear more likely?*

2. Background and literature review

2.1. Interpersonal discrimination experiences

Reports of discrimination experience are widespread among both minority adults and adolescents (Dotterer et al. 2009; DuBois et al. 2002; Harris 2004; Kessler et al. 1999; Sellers and Shelton 2003; Swim et al. 2003; Stainback and Irvin 2012). Generally, Black Americans report the highest levels. For example, in a national sample of 1,170 Black American youth, Seaton et al. (2008) found that nearly 90 percent reported at least one of 13 “everyday” discrimination measures. About two-thirds reported others acting as if they were better than the

respondent and majorities reported being treated with less respect and less courtesy. Substantial proportions of Hispanic adolescents report discrimination as well (Bobo and Suh 1995; Harris 2004; Rumbaut 1994; Telles and Ortiz 2008; Lopez et al. 2010). Using data from an ethnically diverse high school, Fisher and colleagues (2000) found that 65 percent reported being hassled by store clerks, 47 percent were called racially insulting names and 35 percent were discouraged from joining advanced classes. Across national origin, Kasinitz et al.'s (2008) found that in New York City, 42, 38 and 41 percent of Puerto Rican, Dominican and South American origin respondents respectively reported discrimination while shopping in the past year.

Interestingly, some Whites report discrimination experiences as well.¹ Research generally estimates the proportion to be as high as 30 percent (Kessler et al. 1999), but often as low as one-tenth (Williams 2000; Harris 2004; Mayrl and Saperstein 2013). The relative scarcity of their discrimination reports follows the idea that race is less central to White identities and experiences (McIntosh 1988).

For minority victims, interpersonal discrimination produces several mental, physical and behavioral consequences (Mays et al. 2007; Pascoe and Smart 2009; Williams et al. 2003; Williams and Williams-Morris 2000). Reported experiences are associated with increased anxiety and depression (Brown et al. 2000; Kessler et al. 1999; Williams et al. 1997), decreased self-esteem (Seaton et al. 2008), poor perceived physical health (Larson et al. 2007), increased hypertension (Din-Dzietham et al. 2004; Krieger and Sydney 1996), indicators of coronary heart disease (Cardarelli et al. 2010), lower utilization of health care (Burgess et al. 2008), accelerated biological aging (Chae et al. 2014), negative racial attitudes (Tropp 2003), increased cigarette smoking and drug use (Gibbons et al. 2005; Landrine and Klonoff 1996), and delinquency (Burt et al. 2012; Simons et al. 2006). The consequences are so numerous that Smith et al. (2007) used

the phrase “racial battle fatigue” to describe the experiences of many minorities coping with the burden of discrimination.

Given its extent, most minority adolescents will either know the stress of discrimination firsthand or vicariously through the experiences of significant others. Given its consequences, most will prefer to avoid such encounters. Taken together, I expect that discrimination fear will exist at significant levels. Further, given that racial discrimination is more of a reality for minorities, I expect that Blacks and Hispanics will report significantly more fear than Whites.

2.2. Discrimination fear

Despite extensive research on discrimination experiences, we know little about whether individuals worry about such encounters. Krysan and Farley (2002) and Krysan (2002) provide initial evidence suggesting that discrimination fear is not only common, but consequential. In the former, the authors examined Blacks’ residential preferences to understand persistent Black-White segregation in the U.S. Using data from the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality (MCSUI), the authors focused on Blacks’ willingness to move into hypothetical White neighborhoods. Only 35 percent would “pioneer” such neighborhoods compared to nearly 100 percent who would move into racially mixed or majority Black neighborhoods. Interestingly, this reticence was rarely based on preference for co-racial proximity. Rather, most cited concerns about White hostility and the risk of personal victimization, such as waking up with “crosses burning on my lawn” (Krysan and Farley 2002; 961). These findings confirm the existence of discrimination fear and I build on them directly by analyzing the phenomenon in a representative sample of adolescents.

2.3. Understanding discrimination fear

I develop the groundwork for research focused on discrimination fear by borrowing from the extensive literature on the fear of crime. Hundreds of studies have considered the extent and development of crime fears (Hale 1996). Most are motivated by fear's potential to alter perceptions, decisions and behaviors. The fearful are more likely to remain indoors, be suspicious of neighbors and avoid using public transportation, regardless of actual victimization (Doran and Burgess 2012; Hale 1996; Warr 2000). It is conceivable that racial discrimination fear can also produce consequences, even without first-hand victimization. First however, we must determine the extent and development of these concerns. To understand discrimination fear, I adapt fear-of-crime hypotheses regarding direct victimization, indirect victimization, and environmental signals.

2.3.1. Direct victimization hypothesis

Personal victimization experience is often linked to crime fears (Clark 2003; Doran and Burgess 2012). Intuitively, if one is a victim of crime, he or she will be afraid of repeating such a stressful experience. Aside from financial or physical injuries, victimization challenges one's conceptual system regarding the self and the social world. In his research on post-traumatic stress, Janoff-Bulman (1985) theorized that most individuals maintain three implicit assumptions about their realities: 1) a sense of personal invulnerability, 2) a perception that the world is meaningful and comprehensible, and 3) a positive self-image. This conceptual system helps individuals make sense of their world and allows society to function smoothly. Stressful events, like accidents, natural disasters, or crime can shatter these assumptions. Victimization can make the world appear unpredictable and unsafe. Feelings of helplessness may replace invulnerability and lead to reassessments of the self as weak and unworthy.

If discrimination is as stressful as research suggests, then it will also challenge this conceptual system. Victims may feel vulnerable because their race has proven to be a liability. This may damage their self-concept and ability to identify positively with their racial group (Tajfel and Turner 1986). Further, experiencing discrimination may shatter assumptions regarding fairness and equality in society. Similarly, Ogbu's (1990; 1991) research on Black adolescents linked discrimination to disillusionment with the education system and a discouraged view of one's prospects for success. Taken together, my direct victimization hypothesis states:

(H1): Those with discrimination experiences will exhibit greater discrimination fear.

2.3.2. Indirect victimization hypothesis

Although logical, the experience-fear connection has generated mixed results regarding crime. Personal victimization is often unrelated to crime fears (Agnew 1985; Hale 1996; Rader 2004) and those who fear crime outnumber those reporting experience (Doran and Burgess 2012). Another possibility is that crime fear develops vicariously through the victimization of others (Box, Hale and Andrews 1988; Doran and Burgess 2012; Tyler 1980). Stories of family and friends' victimization provide information about the existence and risk of crime that can also alter one's assumptions about reality and increase fear.

For minority adolescents, much of their social network is also susceptible to discrimination. In particular, parents may provide information about the existence, risk, and consequences of discrimination through their experiences. Minority parents often discuss their racial views and experiences with their children in a process known as racial socialization (Fischer and Shaw 1999; Harris-Britt et al. 2007; Hughes 2003; Hughes and Johnson 2001; Hughes and Chen 1997). Most often parents attempt to imbue their children with a sense racial pride and prepare them for bias in the real world. These messages are also sent unintentionally as children internalize their

parents' responses to discrimination and reactions to outgroups. Research suggests that when parents perceive themselves to be discrimination victims they are more likely to engage in intentional racial socializing with their children (Hughes 2003; Hughes and Johnson 2001). Thus, my indirect victimization hypothesis states:

(H2): If parents are affected by discrimination their children will exhibit greater discrimination fear.

The indirect victimization hypothesis suggests that discrimination occurring to someone else can increase an individual's fear. Thus, racial discrimination may have consequences even in the absence of direct experience. Few studies have considered this possibility. One example by Gibbons and colleagues (2005) linked discrimination experience to substance use among Black adolescents in Iowa and Georgia. In their longitudinal structural equation model, parents' discrimination experiences were associated with greater psychological distress in their children. Thus, the consequences of discrimination may reach beyond the immediate victim.

2.3.3. Environmental signals hypotheses

Physical characteristics in one's environment are thought to influence crime fears (Hale 1996; Innes 2004; Wallace 2012; Drakulich 2013). Researchers often focus on signs of incivility and neighborhood disorder, including unkempt lots, abandoned buildings and broken windows (Doran and Burgess 2012; Wilson and Kelling 1982). While posing no immediate threat to personal safety, these environmental cues contain information about an area's level of risk. Drawing from symbolic interactionism, Innes (2004) argued that individuals derive meaning from these disorder signals as they navigate their environments. If the interpretation indicates a threat of crime, fear will increase.

The fear-of-crime literature often demonstrates that neighborhood racial composition acts as an environmental signal that increases fear. Researchers usually assume that because of stereotypes linking Blacks and other minorities to criminality, their presence signals a risk of victimization for White residents (Pickett et al. 2012). Studies confirm that with a larger percentage of minority neighbors, Whites become more likely to fear criminal victimization (Drakulich 2012; Quillian and Pager 2001, 2010).

Researchers have also considered a link between neighborhood racial composition and discrimination experiences. Both Hunt et al. (2007) and Stewart et al. (2009) found that discrimination experiences were reported most often by Blacks in neighborhoods with few coracial residents. The pattern can be understood using the contact hypothesis. Under ideal circumstances, interpersonal exposure between unfamiliar outgroups is thought to increase understanding and reduce racial prejudice (Allport 1954; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). In neighborhoods where the respondent belongs to a small minority population, dominant outgroups collectively have fewer opportunities for prejudice-reducing contact. Without such opportunities, the neighborhood's knowledge about the respondent's group may be informed by negative stereotypes and implicit biases. Stewart and colleagues (2009) argue that a reliance on such inaccurate information explains the push to "defend" against minorities among many White residents of homogeneous White neighborhoods. These environments of interracial unfamiliarity and negativity produce greater perceived discrimination experiences (Hunt et al. 2007; Stewart et al. 2009) and will likely provide more signals for discrimination risk. Thus, I predict that:

(H3a): Discrimination fear will be greater in neighborhoods where one's own group is a small minority.

In such outgroup-dominated neighborhoods contact opportunities are frequent for the respondent, but occur with uncomfortable outgroups. Conversely, in homogenous co-racial

neighborhoods dominated by the respondent's own group, the respondent may lack interpersonal contact opportunities. With few chances for interracial exposure the respondent may become less familiar with outgroup members and rely more heavily on stereotypes. This could increase fear in circumstances that require interracial interactions. Thus, as a second contact-inspired hypothesis, I propose:

(H3b): Discrimination fear will be greater in neighborhoods where one's own group is large majority.

Together H3a and H3b assume a non-linear, U-shaped association in which racially mixed neighborhoods provide the most intergroup contact and the least fear. However, this runs counter to the logic of group threat theory. Under this, racial prejudice arises when a dominant group perceives its social position and control over resources (e.g.: jobs, education, and housing) to be threatened by minority encroachment (Blumer 1958; Bobo 1983). As minority populations grow in size, the dominant group increasingly perceives their presence as threatening (Blalock 1967). Thus, the potential for discrimination is maximized in racially mixed neighborhoods where groups are large enough to compete with one another. Welch et al. (2001) used this logic to explain a non-linear pattern among Blacks in Detroit who reported the most discrimination experience in census tracts that were 50 percent Black and 50 percent White. Discrimination was least likely in mostly Black and mostly White tracts. The 50-50 tipping point is where perceived threat and interracial hostility are thought to be maximized. Thus, it may also be the condition that signals the most discrimination risk and produces the most fear. As a final threat-inspired competing hypothesis, I propose that:

(H4): Discrimination fear will be greater in racially mixed neighborhoods.

2.4. Chicago context

I test these hypotheses with data from Chicago, where high diversity provides a useful context for understanding racial experiences. About one third of residents identify as Black, another third as non-Hispanic White, and more than one quarter as Hispanic (Census 2000). The latter is the fastest growing, constituting most of the area's population growth between 2000 and 2006 (Institute of Latino Studies 2008). Despite its diversity, Chicago is not a racial paradise. The city has a legacy of racial violence, exploitation, and the forced separation of Blacks and Hispanics from Whites (Betancur 1996; Lemann 1991). While my adolescent respondents and most of their parents were born after the worst of these events, residential segregation remains an obstinate vestige of the city's past. White-Black and White-Hispanic dissimilarity rank in the top ten for major cities, despite recent declines (Logan and Stults 2011). Overall, most Chicagoans live in areas where neighbors share their racial background, but the slow erosion of segregation will likely increase contact opportunities.

3. Data, variables, and methods

3.1. Data

PHDCN respondents were selected through multi-stage stratified random sampling between 1994 and 1997. From the city's 865 census tracts, administrators constructed 343 "ecologically meaningful" neighborhood clusters (NCs) based on racial and socio-economic composition and locally accepted boundaries (Earls et al. 2000). Administrators randomly selected NCs and then block groups. Households and individuals were selected for interview from each block group. Respondents were surveyed again in wave 2 between 1997 and 1999, and in wave 3 between 2000 and 2001. In the third wave, the 9 and 12 year old cohorts (aged between 11.75 and 18.61 years by wave 3) and their parents answered several questions regarding their discrimination

fears and experiences. My analytical sample includes 353 Blacks, 508 Hispanics and 149 Whites who completed the final two waves.

3.2. Variables

3.2.1. Racial discrimination fear and experience

Respondents were initially asked if they had been “treated badly or differently because of their race, ethnicity, color, language, or the country they or their family came from” in eight contexts during the past year (Earls, et al. 2000). Adolescents answered yes or no regarding discrimination: 1) inside their neighborhood; 2) outside their neighborhood; 3) at school; 4) by a healthcare provider; 5) by service employees in stores or restaurants; 6) upon first meeting someone; 7) by the police; and 8) anywhere else or by anyone else. Subsequently, respondents reported whether they “[worried] about being discriminated against or treated badly – regardless of whether it has actually happened”, in these same contexts during the past year (Earls et al. 2000). Unfortunately, the PHDCN only measured discrimination fear in the final wave, precluding assessment of temporality. However, these questions provide a unique opportunity to examine discrimination fear in detail for the first time.

From the 8 contexts, I constructed two variables measuring adolescents’ discrimination fear and experience. Both sum the reported contexts and range from 0, indicating none, to 8, indicating all. The fear scale yields Chronbach’s alpha values of .733, .703, and .638 for Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites respectively.² The final variables have count distributions with only whole numbers, right skews, and zero modes. Table 1 presents full sample means and standard deviations for these and all other variables considered.

[Table 1 about here]

3.2.2. Parents’ discrimination fears and experiences

The PHDCN also asked the adolescents' primary caregivers³ about their discrimination fears and experiences during the past year across 10 contexts. The questions and contexts are identical to those posed to adolescents, with the exception of the adolescent's school, rather than their own school, and the two additional contexts of work and government offices. I constructed two variables counting parents' reported fear and experience. Both range from 0, indicating no reports, to 10, indicating reports in all contexts. The parents' fear construct yields Chronbach's alpha values of .775, .804, and .737 for Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites respectively.

3.2.3. Environmental signals.

I consider the presence of racial out-groups in one's neighborhood as potentially signaling discrimination risk. Data from the 2000 U.S. Census are used to measure the percentage of outgroups in each NC. On average, Blacks live in NCs with about 27 percent non-Black residents. Hispanics and Whites are more integrated with over 40 percent outgroup neighbors. To capture potential nonlinear associations, I include a percent outgroup quadratic term in the regression models.

3.2.4. Controls

I include several demographic controls. Gender is coded as 1 for male and 0 for female. Multi-child family⁴ is coded as 1 for siblings, and 0 for single children. Nativity has three-categories: 1) immigrants (foreign-born); 2) second generation (U.S.-born with a foreign-born parent); and 3) native-born (U.S.-born with a U.S.-born parent). Parents' marital status is coded as 1 if the parent is married and 0 otherwise. Parents' education has three categories: 1) less than high school; 2) high school; and 3) more than high school. Yearly household income is measured on an 11-point scale ranging from 1, indicating less than \$5000, to 11, indicating more than

\$90,000. Finally, to account for discrimination fear being an expression of general fearfulness, I control for a Wave 2 scale of anxiety. The construct combines 16 items⁵ from the Youth Self Report, which assesses adolescents' emotional and behavior problems in a standardized format (Earls et al. 2000). Values range from 0 to 24 with higher scores indicating greater anxiety.

At the neighborhood level, I include a measure of aggregated income, which calculates the mean income of households within each NC. I measure neighborhood violence with the NC homicide rate per 1000 residents from the year 1995. This variable was used by Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls (1997) and includes all homicides known to police, regardless of arrest, during the initial PHDCN survey period. Finally, I consider the NC change in the co-racial population. Using Census data, I subtract the coracial percentage in 1990 from 2000, resulting in a variable that ranges from -50.62 to 50.86 . Negative values indicate a coracial decline over time, positive values indicate an increase, and zero indicates no change. Areas where a minority population has recently grown are thought to present a more potent threat to dominant outgroups (King and Wheelock 2007). Further, changes in racial composition predict greater fear of criminal victimization (Pickett et al. 2012) and discrimination experiences (Stewart et al. 2009).⁶

3.3. Methods

I begin by briefly describing the extent of discrimination fear across the sample. I then compare fear levels across race and between parents and their children. Finally, I test my hypotheses using multilevel negative binomial regression. This technique is appropriate for count outcomes and relaxes the Poisson assumption of equidispersion, which is violated in the current analysis (Cameron and Trivedi 1998). Further, the multilevel strategy⁷ addresses the PHDCN's hierarchical structure with individuals nested within NCs. The models relax the independence

assumption by permitting the intercept to vary across level-2 units. All slope coefficients are fixed and missing values are replaced using multiple imputation.⁸

4. Analysis

4.1. *What is the extent of discrimination fear?*

Table 1 includes the mean counts of discrimination fear across race. The typical Black adolescent reports an average of 1.21 fear contexts during the past year, which is significantly greater than zero in a one-sample t-test ($t = 13.72$). In total, about 53 percent report fear in at least one context. The point estimates are smaller for Hispanics who indicate an average of 1.11 fear contexts ($t = 16.12$), with 48 percent reporting at least one. Whites report discrimination fear at non-trivial levels as well with about 32 percent indicating at least one context. The typical White adolescent reports .65 contexts on average ($t = 6.91$). Overall, the results suggest that discrimination fear is a real phenomenon affecting significant percentages of adolescents. However, for all groups, discrimination experiences are reported more often with Blacks identifying 1.41 experiences, Hispanics 1.13, and Whites .83, on average.

I consider specific contexts in Table 2 to determine where fear is most common. Venturing outside one's neighborhood produces the most fear for all groups, with over one quarter of Blacks and Hispanics reporting affirmatively. In segregated Chicago, leaving one's neighborhood often means entering areas dominated by outgroups, which may present greater discrimination risk. Blacks and Hispanics also commonly worry when wanting service and from the police. For Hispanics and Whites, school generates concern among over 14 percent of adolescents.

[Table 2 about here]

4.2. Does discrimination fear vary across race?

Two-sample t-tests across racial categories in Table 1 indicate that both Blacks and Hispanics report significantly more fear than Whites ($t = 3.75$ and 3.35 respectively). While Black and Hispanic fear levels are statistically equivalent ($t = .90$), the former reports significantly more discrimination experience ($t = 2.80$). As with previous research, both Blacks and Hispanics report significantly more discrimination experience than Whites ($t = 4.02$ and 2.43 respectively).

Proportion z-tests in Table 2 indicate that Blacks and Hispanics are similar in their fear reports across contexts. The sole exception is that the former worry significantly more in the service context ($z = 2.85$). For both groups, fear reported outside their neighborhood, when seeking service, and from the police all significantly outpace Whites. Thus, fear varies across race, but mainly between minorities and Whites, and only in the most fear-inducing contexts.

In general, where fear is common, experience follows suit. Blacks report more experience than Hispanics and Whites in the service ($z = 4.47$ & 5.20), police ($z = 4.43$ & 5.19), and medical ($z = 2.28$ & 2.18) contexts. Hispanics' experiences exceed Whites from the police ($z = 2.67$), service⁹ ($z = 2.52$), and outside their neighborhood ($z = 1.98$) contexts.

4.3. Does fear differ between adolescents and their parents?

I return briefly to Table 1 to consider parents' discrimination fear and experience patterns. Parents of Black adolescents report the most fear (.903 contexts on average) and experience (1.63 contexts). The latter significantly outpaces the parents of Hispanic adolescents ($z = 7.34$). Fear and experience are significantly less common among the parents of White adolescents relative to both minority groups.

Across specific contexts on the right side of Table 2, parents generally report the most fear and experience in the same contexts as adolescents. Racial minority parents are more likely to fear than Whites in almost every context. Black parents report the most discrimination experience, significantly outpacing Hispanics and Whites in every context save for school and inside their neighborhood.

I compare adolescent and parent fears in Table 2 using McNemar chi-square tests of paired proportions, which are appropriate for dependent samples.¹⁰ The boldface values indicate a significant difference at the $p < .05$ level. Adolescents from all groups report significantly more discrimination fear than their parents in comparable¹¹ contexts, save for the medical setting. Interestingly, young people appear to think about discrimination differently than their parents.

In terms of experience, Black adolescents and parents are largely comparable. Significant differences exist only in the police context ($\chi^2 = 11.78$; $p = .001$), where adolescents report more, and in the medical context ($\chi^2 = 6.13$; $p = .013$), where parents report more. This gives Black adolescents a consistent source of indirect discrimination through their parents. Conversely, Hispanic parents report significantly fewer discrimination experiences than their children in all comparable contexts. Thus, compared to Blacks, Hispanic adolescents experience and fear discrimination in relative isolation from their parents. White adolescents similarly outpace their parents' experience reports in most contexts.

4.4. *What factors make discrimination fear more likely?*

I predict discrimination fear using multilevel negative binomial regression models for Blacks in Table 3 and Hispanics in Table 4. The initial model includes adolescent and parent discrimination measures as well as individual and neighborhood controls.¹² The second model

adds the percent non-coracial quadratic term to test for non-linear NC racial composition effects. I report slope coefficients, standard errors and incidence-rate ratios (IRR).

4.4.1. *Black adolescents*

For Black adolescents, Model 1 indicates that first-hand discrimination experiences are associated significantly ($p < .001$) with increased fear.¹³ The coefficient suggests that, net of controls, each additional reported experience increases the log count of fear .283 points. One can obtain the more easily IRR through exponentiation of the log count coefficient. For each additional reported experience, the rate of incidence for fear is predicted to increase by about 33 percent. This association provides support for the direct victimization hypothesis (H1).

[Table 3 about here]

Supporting the indirect victimization hypothesis (H2), increased discrimination fear among Black parents is associated with greater fear among adolescents ($p < .05$). Each additional fear reported by a parent is associated with about a 10 percent increase in the adolescent's fear. Conversely, parents' experience is unassociated with the outcome. The pattern suggests that Black parents' concerns about discrimination are more important than their experiences for generating adolescent fears. Intentional racial socialization may be more common among parents who fear, rather than experience discrimination.

Following the first contact-inspired environmental signals hypothesis (H3a), more outgroup neighbors is associated ($p < .05$) with increased discrimination fear among Black adolescents. This suggests that contexts where one is surrounded by outgroups can signal discrimination risk and increase fear. Conversely, a smaller outgroup presence in one's neighborhood generates less fear. In addition, residing in areas where the Black population has grown over the past decade produces greater discrimination fear. This may suggest that a growing co-racial population is

viewed as threatening by outgroups, leading to increased hostility. However, the effect is only marginally significant (one-tailed $p < .05$).

The percent outgroup quadratic term added in Model 2 is not significant. The increased Akaike Information Criteria (AIC) relative to Model 1, suggests that the reduced model is a better fit. Thus, I find no evidence for my second contact-inspired hypothesis (H3b) or the group threat hypothesis (H4). Instead, the environmental signals association is linear for Blacks, following Hypothesis 3a and previous discrimination experience research (Hunt et al. 2007).

4.4.2. *Hispanic adolescents*

I present analogous results for Hispanic adolescents in Table 4. The discrimination experience coefficient is positive, significant ($p < .001$) and nearly identical in magnitude to that of Blacks. Thus, the direct victimization hypothesis (H1) holds for Hispanics as well.

[Table 4 about here]

Reported experiences of parents are associated ($p < .001$) with a greater count of adolescent fears. For each additional experience reported by their parent, Hispanic adolescent fears are predicted to increase by a rate of nearly 19 percent. This supports the indirect victimization hypothesis (H2) and suggests that discrimination experience may be associated with intentional racial socializing among Hispanic parents. Contrary to what was observed among Blacks, Hispanic parents' fears are unassociated with the outcome.

Model 1 provides no evidence for the first contact-inspired environmental signals association (H3a). The NC percent outgroup coefficient is non-significant and negative in direction. However, the addition of the quadratic term in Model 2 suggests a non-linear association. The two coefficients have one-tailed test probabilities of $p < .05$, and together suggest a U-shaped trajectory. I present the pattern graphically in Figure 1. The dotted line represents the trajectory

for Hispanics, while the solid line is the trajectory for Blacks from Model 1 of Table 3. The pattern suggests the Hispanic discrimination fears are maximized both in areas where Hispanics are a small minority and where they are a large majority. Racially mixed contexts produce considerably less fear. This non-linear association supports a combination of the two contact-inspired hypotheses (H3a and H3b).

[Figure 1 about here]

5. Discussion

Researchers frequently acknowledge that discrimination is a fact of life for racial minorities (Feagin 1991; Feagin and Sykes 1999). On a daily basis they must deal with the realities of a disadvantaged position in the racial hierarchy. The recent cases of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Freddie Gray, and others have turned public attention to this reality. The current paper focused on an understudied way that race continues to affect the everyday lives of adolescents through an analysis of discrimination fear. I demonstrated the extent of these fears among young Chicagoans, compared levels across race and between adolescents and parents, and worked to understand how fear develops. My goal was to provide a basis for future work on the topic. The findings and implications are multiple.

5.1. Discrimination fear is common among Chicago adolescents

About half of Blacks and Hispanics feared racial discrimination in at least one of the contexts considered, just in the previous year. Thus, many minority adolescents are burdened by discrimination concerns as they navigate their social worlds. Through these fears, race may affect their lives without discrimination actually taking place. The fact that people worry about their race acting as a liability provides further evidence that race still matters in the U.S. The next step is to determine if discrimination fear presents any direct consequences. For example: does

fear deter individuals from participating in their communities? Does it lead to avoidance of spaces occupied by outgroups? Does fear influence suspicion and trust of outgroups members? Does it hinder the pursuit of employment or social opportunities? Will fear discourage interracial friendship or relationship formation? Connecting discrimination fear to various outcomes represents a fruitful area for future study.

Interestingly, many Whites report discrimination fear. While they did so significantly less than minority respondents, these concerns may loom over their interracial interactions as well. An underlying tentativeness or suspicion may serve to negate any prejudice-reducing effects that can result from interracial contact (Allport 1954; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). Future work should continue examining how White adolescents fear and experience interpersonal discrimination, ideally with a larger and more geographically inclusive sample.

5.2. Discrimination fear is more prevalent among adolescents than their parents.

This finding may represent an artifact of the aging process. If so, these adolescents may eventually become hardened to the realities of discrimination and express less fear as adults. However, the difference may also indicate that young people perceive and experience race differently than their parents. The greater level of interracial uncertainty among the youth is important given that younger age cohorts are the most racially diverse (Frey 2011). A continued focus on the ways that young people experience and perceive race differently from previous generations may provide insight into the future of race relations.

Note however, that the current data do not compare representative samples of adolescents and adults, but rather adolescents and their parents. Parents are a select sample whose risk for racial discrimination may differ from the general population. Thus, more research is needed.

5.3. *Hispanics fear and experience discrimination in relative isolation from their parents*

Hispanic parents report relatively few discrimination experiences compared to their children and to Black parents. Thus, they are less frequently a source of indirect discrimination. This finding may elucidate differences in the racial socialization practices of minority parents. Previous research finds generally that Black parents engage in intentional racial socialization more often (Kasinitz et al. 2008; McLoyd et al. 2004; Phinney and Chavira 1995). Further, Hispanic parents tend to emphasize racial pride over preparation for racial bias (Hughes 2003). Taken together, this may leave Black adolescents better prepared to cope with discrimination as racial socialization can protect from the consequences of discriminatory encounters. For example, Fischer and Shaw (1999) found that the association between mental health problems and discrimination experience was weaker among Blacks who reported racial socialization from their parents.

A lack of racial socialization for Hispanic adolescents is troubling given that their discrimination experiences are often on par with Blacks. The rarity of discrimination reported by Hispanic parents, many of whom are foreign-born, may reflect unfamiliarity with American race relations. In the current sample, foreign-born Hispanic parents reported significantly ($p < .05$) less discrimination experience than U.S.-born Hispanic parents (not shown). This follows Waters' (2001) finding among West Indian immigrants, who are often unaware of the American racial realities. Further, she found that this lack of familiarity led to greater outrage after actually encountering discrimination. This was compared to native-born Black Americans who were more hardened to such experiences. In additional regression models for Hispanics stratified across parents' birthplace (not shown), the parent experience effect was largest among those with

foreign-born parents, potentially reflecting greater outrage. However the coefficient was statistically equivalent to those with U.S.-born parents.

Regardless, Hispanic adolescents on average cope with discrimination in greater relative isolation from their parents. Given that Hispanics are the largest and fastest growing ethnic minority in the U.S., this may have implications for race relations. Will weaker racial socialization coupled with discrimination experiences result in a prolonged marginalization or alter the assimilation process? Future research should focus on Hispanics' discrimination experiences and the consequences of being less prepared for such stressful interactions.

5.4. Direct experience with discrimination is associated with greater fear among adolescents

The data support the direct victimization hypothesis. While evidence for such an association in the crime literature has been mixed (Doran and Burgess 2012; Hale 1996), my results suggest that discrimination fear and experience are related strongly. This highlights the stressful nature of discrimination experiences and points to discrimination fear as a possible consequence.

Given my cross-sectional data, temporality remains uncertain. The multivariate analyses logically assume that experience precedes fear. However, it is also possible that those who fear discrimination are more likely to interpret interactions as discriminatory. Longitudinal analyses are needed to understand the association fully. Further, simultaneously high fear and experience may indicate that respondents are referring to a single incident. The truth is difficult to determine with cross-sectional data. However, correlations between each of the fear and experience contexts are generally low to moderate in magnitude with a mean coefficient of .27. The association is strongest for police ($\rho = .45$) and weakest for medical ($\rho = .15$). These suggest that most are not referring to the same incidents.

5.5. If parents are affected by discrimination, adolescents express greater fear

The data support the indirect victimization hypothesis and suggest that discrimination can produce consequences beyond the immediate victim. Through racial socialization (Hughes 2003; Hughes and Johnson 2001), parents convey messages about their discrimination experiences and fears to their children. This vicarious exposure likely increases adolescents' awareness of their risks, producing fear. The fact that these indirect associations remain significant net of first-hand exposure suggests that one need not experience it personally to be affected by discrimination.

Of course, the current study is only scratching the surface of indirect discrimination sources. Relatives, siblings, neighbors, and friends are also susceptible to discrimination and may serve to increase fear. Future research should consider additional sources of indirect discrimination.

Interestingly, Black adolescents are more affected by parent fears, while Hispanics are more affected by parent experiences. For Black parents, the commonplace nature of discrimination experiences may result in a hardening to such interactions. Thus, true concerns about victimization may be better reflected through reported fears. Those who fear may think about their own risk more often, motivating them to prepare their children for such encounters. Since Hispanic parents experience only about half as much as Blacks, the shock of encountering discrimination first-hand may provide sufficient motivation to racially socialize. To allow future research to elucidate these possibilities, it is necessary to measure discrimination fear and racial socialization simultaneously.

5.6. Exposure to neighborhood outgroups influences the discrimination fear of Black and Hispanic adolescents.

The current study viewed outgroup neighbors as an environmental signal of discrimination risk and offered three hypotheses to understand possible associations. While the data did not

support the prediction based on group threat (H4), both Blacks and Hispanics displayed patterns anticipated by the contact hypothesis. Discrimination fear was maximized in neighborhoods where one's own group is relatively small. The finding follows previous research on discrimination experiences (Hunt et al. 2007; Stewart et al. 2009). Contexts in which one is a member of a small racial minority provide dominant outgroups collectively with fewer opportunities to engage intergroup contact. The rarity of these chances to gain interracial familiarity will produce an outgroup population that relies more heavily on stereotypes and implicit biases. Fear likely results from an abundance of uncomfortable and suspicious interactions that are more likely to transpire in such contexts.

For Hispanic adolescents, fear was also maximized in contexts that were homogeneously coracial. This follows my second contact-inspired hypothesis (H3b). While an individual in a neighborhood dominated by outgroups may experience uncomfortable interracial interactions, someone from a homogeneous coracial neighborhood may lack interracial interactions altogether. In the absence of contacts that would provide greater understanding and nuance, respondents likely rely on stereotypes, potentially regarding outgroup hostility, which could increase fear.

Overall, these findings confirm the importance of one's local context for shaping how individuals experience race. The groups that one encounters on a daily basis and the character of those interactions can affect levels of discrimination fear. As minority populations grow (Frey 2011) and if residential segregation continues its erosion in Chicago (Logan and Stults 2011), daily interracial contact will likely increase. This is potentially beneficial as racially mixed neighborhoods produce lower levels of fear, especially for Hispanics. Over time, integration may reduce fear if contact can resemble the ideal variety needed to eliminate racial prejudice.

However, the persistence of neighborhoods dominated by a single group perceiving a need to defend their space will be an obstacle for the elimination of fear. Interestingly, it is in these contexts where Krysan and Farley (2002) first identified the phenomenon of discrimination fear. Thus, an important task for future researchers is to continue monitoring fear along with changes in residential segregation. Such an endeavor may help the U.S. adapt to an increasingly multi-ethnic future.

I acknowledge that the current data are limited with respect to these hypotheses. In particular, neighborhood propinquity is not the same as contact. Unfortunately the PHDCN lacks measures of face-to-face contact such as the number of different-race friends or interactions with outgroup neighbors. This is one avenue through which future research can improve upon the current study. Further, confirming the mediating role of stereotypes between context and fear is necessary to confirm the patterns speculated above.

6. Conclusion

The current analysis brings the phenomenon of discrimination fear into focus. Its prevalence and potential consequences make it an important variable for those interested in documenting the continuing significance of race. The findings presented suggest that the specter of discrimination affects the lives of racial minorities, even as many view the U.S. as a post-racial society. Discrimination concerns are an additional obstacle that minority adolescents must overcome as they transition to adulthood. Ideally this study will bring increased attention to this issue.

Endnotes

1. In acknowledging that Whites report interpersonal racial discrimination, I am not suggesting that they are affected by structural forms of racism.
2. Principle components analyses for Blacks ($\chi^2 = 1549.47$) and Hispanics ($\chi^2 = 1963.78$) indicate that the fear items load highly onto a single factor. The results for Whites are more complex. Thus, I do not present multivariate models for the White sample. However, the results indicate only a single significant association between discrimination experience and discrimination fear. There was no evidence for the indirect victimization or environmental signals hypotheses.
3. Over 92 percent are biological mothers or fathers. I refer to caregivers as parents throughout.
4. The PHDCN permitted a single household to contribute multiple children to the data. This potentially violates the independence assumption with respondents nested in families. In the current data 86 families contribute more than one respondent, totaling 173 individuals or about 17 percent of respondents. As a sensitivity check, I randomly dropped all but one of the respondents from each multi-child family and re-estimated the models. No major differences emerged relative to the results presented.
5. The components are measured on three-point scales ranging from “not true” to “very true” and ask if the respondent experiences: 1) loneliness; 2) crying a lot; 3) fearing impulses; 4) a need for perfection; 5) feeling unloved; 6) feeling persecuted; 7) feeling worthless; 8) nervousness; 9) anxiousness; 10) guilt; 11) self-consciousness; 12) suspiciousness; 13) unhappiness; 14) worry; 15) harming themselves; and 16) suicidal thoughts (de Groot et al. 1994). The components have a Chronbach’s alpha value of .953 for Blacks and .872 for Hispanics.
6. Stewart et al. (2009) and Pickett et al. (2012) also test for an interaction between neighborhood racial composition and the change in racial composition. I considered a similar interaction, but found no significant effects.
7. Single level negative binomial regression models are nearly identical in significance and magnitude to those presented. I chose to present the multi-level results because of the PHDCN’s hierarchical data collection procedure.
8. Over 80 percent of cases contain full information.
9. I acknowledge that the percentage of Hispanics reporting discrimination experience in the service context is considerably lower than those reported in the research cited above. However, nuances in question wording may account for the difference. Fisher’s et al. (2000) reported experiences measure was not restricted to the previous year like the PHDCN. Kasinitz’s et al. (2008) measure was more expansive, asking about perceived prejudice and discrimination simultaneously.
10. Two-sample proportion z-tests yield identical patterns of significance.
11. School, government, and work are not comparable.
12. I also considered the possibility that discrimination could mediate the effects neighborhood factors. Models omitting the discrimination variables yield NC coefficients that are similar to those presented, suggesting little mediation
13. All adolescent experience associations are similar when using dichotomous and three-category adolescent experience measures. The same is true for the parents’ discrimination and fear variables.

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Table 1: Full Sample Means and Standard Deviations

	Black Adolescents		Hispanic Adolescents		White Adolescents	
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>(SD)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>(SD)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>(SD)</i>
Adolescent Discrimination						
Reported Fear	1.211	(1.669)	1.107	(1.546)	.654*†	(1.155)
Reported Experience	1.410	(1.563)	1.129*	(1.340)	.828*†	(1.218)
Parent Discrimination						
Reported Fear	.903	(1.781)	.738	(1.660)	.204*†	(.749)
Reported Experience	1.634	(1.963)	.698*	(1.349)	.457*	(1.118)
Neighborhood Factors						
% Outgroup	26.661	(31.648)	40.002*	(26.251)	41.265*	(24.287)
Change in % Outgroup (1990-2000)	4.288	(13.603)	7.334	(16.611)	-13.442	(12.659)
Mean Household Income	3.714	(.779)	3.897*	(.732)	5.205*†	(.970)
Homicide Rate (per 1000)	.487	(.306)	.268	(.256)	.089	(1.081)
Controls						
Age	15.180	(1.554)	15.111	(1.597)	15.169	(1.549)
Male	47.592%	(.499)	50.787%	(.500)	57.047%	(.495)
Immigrant Generation						
<i>Immigrant</i>	1.700%	(.129)	18.504%*	(.388)	2.013%†	(.140)
<i>Second Generation</i>	1.700%	(.129)	57.677%*	(.494)	8.054%†	(.272)
<i>Native-Born</i>	96.601%	(.181)	23.819%*	(.426)	89.933%†	(.301)
Multi-Child Family	14.448%	(.352)	19.488%	(.397)	13.423%	(.342)
Anxiety/Depression (Wave 2)	4.871	(4.729)	6.030*	(4.874)	4.318†	(4.262)
Parent Married	38.980%	(.488)	76.969%*	(.421)	80.940%*	(.393)
Household Income	3.975	(2.015)	4.094	(1.667)	5.858*†	(1.789)
Parent Education						
<i>Less than High School</i>	22.351%	(.417)	62.874%	(.483)	14.631%	(.353)
<i>High School Graduate</i>	18.839%	(.391)	14.272%	(.350)	19.262%	(.394)
<i>More than High School</i>	58.810%	(.492)	22.854%	(.420)	66.107%	(.473)
Observations	353		508		149	

* indicates a significant difference relative to Blacks ($p < .05$ two tailed test); † indicates a significant difference relative to Hispanics ($p < .05$ two tailed test)

Table 2: Percentages Reporting Discrimination Fear and Experience in Each Context

	Adolescents			Parents		
	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic	White
Discrimination Fear						
Outside Neighborhood	28.329	25.217	16.175*†	13.683	10.394	2.685*†
Service	22.125	14.311*	5.436*†	16.034	7.736*	1.342*†
Police	20.793	17.756	6.711*†	14.288	9.685*	1.342*†
First Meeting	15.071	13.819	10.134	8.867	3.228*	1.342*
School	12.096	16.496	14.094	4.589	7.520	2.685†
Inside Neighborhood	10.793	12.343	7.450	3.257	6.909*	2.013†
Other	7.564	6.535	3.356	4.079	3.209	0.000*†
Medical	4.363	4.272	2.081	4.901	6.378	1.342†
Government	-----	-----	-----	8.924	8.406	4.899
Work	-----	-----	-----	11.728	10.295	2.752*†
At Least One Fear	51.643	47.795	32.215*†	31.501	25.787	11.477*†
Discrimination Experience						
Outside Neighborhood	25.556	26.665	18.792†	27.309	9.882*	8.792*
Service	33.484	19.586*	10.738*†	36.997	9.075*	9.396*
Police	27.309	15.453*	6.242*†	17.365	4.961*	0.000*†
Meeting	16.176	12.421	11.409	12.493	3.543*	4.698*
School	15.836	18.130	18.121	7.422	5.709	1.342*†
Inside Neighborhood	10.510	11.614	10.067	8.839	6.575	6.040
Other	9.122	8.051	7.383	6.856	4.213^m	2.685
Medical	3.003	0.984*	0.000*	6.714	3.583*	2.013*
Government	-----	-----	-----	13.371	7.815*	3.356*
Work	-----	-----	-----	26.062	14.429*	7.383*†
At Least One Experience	62.691	56.556	41.141*†	58.952	33.504*	19.530*†

* indicates a significant difference relative to Blacks ($p < .05$ two-tailed test) based on proportion z-tests; † indicates a significant difference relative to Hispanics ($p < .05$ two-tailed test) based on proportion z-tests; Boldface indicates that parent reports differed significantly from adolescent reports ($p < .05$ two-tailed test) based on McNemar tests of paired proportions

Table 3: Multi-Level Negative Binomial Regression Models Predicting the Count of Discrimination Fears – Black Adolescents

	Model 1			Model 2		
	Coef.	(SE)	IRR	Coef.	(SE)	IRR
Adolescent Discrimination						
Reported Experience	.283***	(.043)	1.327	.281***	(.043)	1.324
Parent Discrimination						
Reported Fear	.093*	(.039)	1.097	.094*	(.039)	1.099
Reported Experience	-.044	(.039)	.957	-.045	(.039)	.956
Neighborhood Factors						
% Outgroup	.006*	(.003)	1.006	.003	(.011)	1.003
% Outgroup ²				.0000	(.0001)	1.0000
Change in % Outgroup (1990-2000)	.011†	(.006)	1.011	.012†	(.007)	1.012
Mean Household Income	-.129	(.112)	.879	-.135	(.114)	.874
Homicide Rate (per 1000)	.351	(.268)	1.420	.385	(.268)	1.470
Individual Controls						
Age	.011	(.046)	1.011	.012	(.046)	1.012
Male	-.226	(.141)	.798	-.228	(.141)	.796
Immigrant Generation						
<i>Immigrant</i>	-.562	(.635)	.570	-.548	(.636)	.578
<i>Second Generation</i>	-.170	(.545)	.844	-.161	(.545)	.851
Multi-Child Family	-.186	(.215)	.830	-.183	(.215)	.833
Anxiety/Depression (Wave 2)	.008	(.003)	1.008	.008	(.017)	1.008
Parent Married	.244	(.168)	1.276	.242	(.168)	1.274
Household Income	-.004	(.046)	.996	-.004	(.046)	.996
Parent's Education						
<i>Less than High School</i>	-.047	(.226)	.954	-.049	(.226)	.952
<i>More than High School</i>	-.077	(.202)	.926	-.078	(.202)	.925
Constant	-.357	(.903)	.700	-.334	(.905)	.709
Alpha	.680***	(.144)		.679***	(.144)	
Variance Component	.000	(.000)		.000	(.000)	
Log Likelihood			-502.953			-502.890
AIC			1043.905			1045.780
BIC			1117.369			1123.109
Level-1 Observations			353			353
Level-2 Observations			47			47

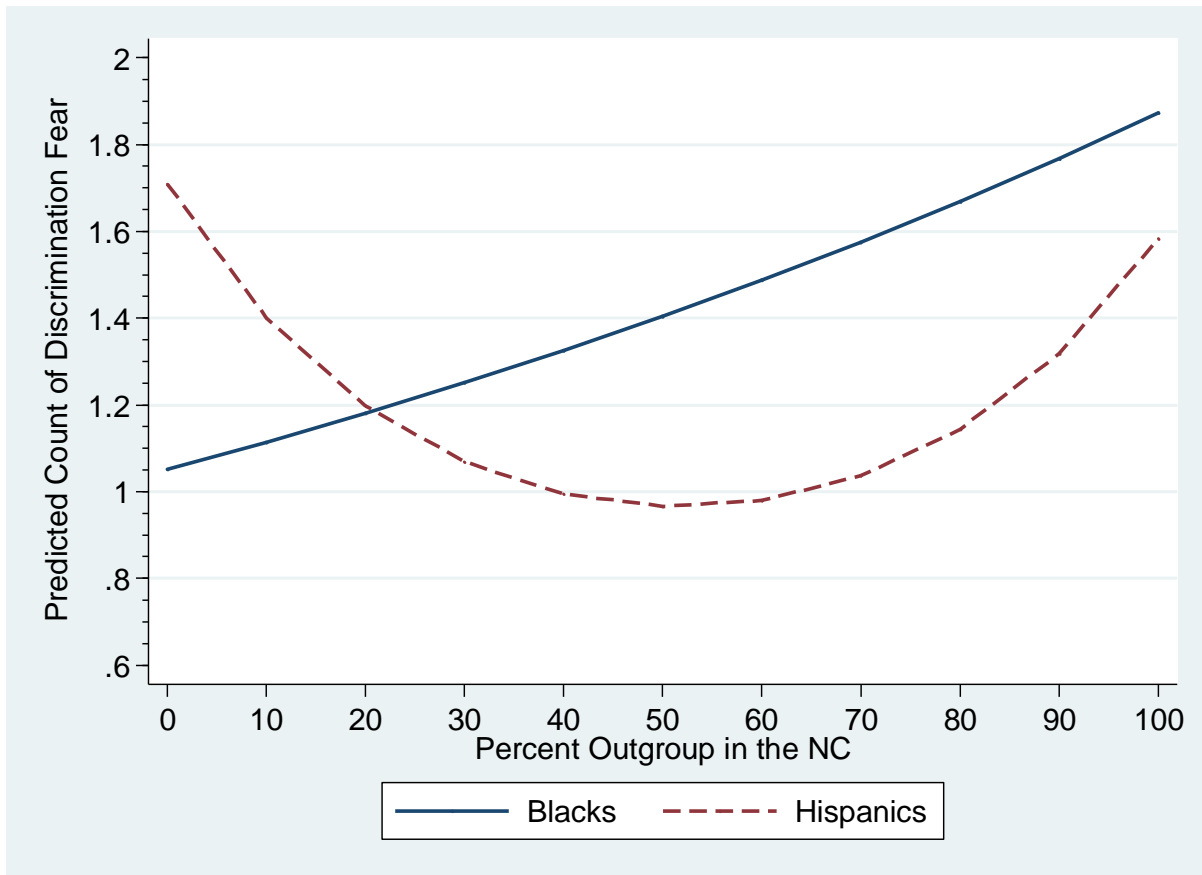
*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two tailed test)† $p < .05$ (one tailed test)

Table 4: Multi-Level Negative Binomial Regression Models Predicting the Count of Discrimination Fears – Hispanic Adolescents

	Model 1			Model 2		
	Coef.	(SE)	IRR	Coef.	(SE)	IRR
Adolescent Discrimination						
Reported Experience	.285***	(.045)	1.330	.289***	(.045)	1.335
Parent Discrimination						
Reported Fear	-.042	(.041)	.959	-.047	(.041)	.954
Reported Experience	.170***	(.049)	1.185	.175***	(.049)	1.191
Neighborhood Factors						
% Outgroup	-.002	(.003)	.998	-.021†	(.011)	.979
% Outgroup ²				.0002†	(.0001)	1.0002
Change in % Outgroup (1990-2000)	.001	(.006)	1.001	.004	(.006)	1.004
Mean Household Income	.130	(.138)	1.139	.110	(.134)	1.116
Homicide Rate (per 1000)	.298	(.381)	1.347	.433	(.372)	1.542
Individual Controls						
Age	-.098*	(.042)	.907	-.102*	(.042)	.903
Male	-.307*	(.132)	.736	-.296*	(.132)	.744
Immigrant Generation						
<i>Immigrant</i>	.089	(.220)	1.093	.126	(.220)	1.134
<i>Second Generation</i>	.082	(.169)	1.085	.111	(.170)	1.117
Multi-Child Family	-.143	(.168)	.867	-.135	(.167)	.874
Anxiety/Depression (Wave 2)	.009	(.013)	1.009	.008	(.013)	1.008
Parent Married	-.082	(.167)	.921	-.090	(.167)	.914
Household Income	.025	(.049)	1.025	.028	(.049)	1.028
Parent's Education						
<i>Less than High School</i>	.240	(.204)	1.271	.254	(.205)	1.289
<i>More than High School</i>	-.036	(.221)	.965	-.031	(.222)	.969
Constant	.396	(.858)	1.486	.739	(.869)	2.094
Alpha	.926***	(.152)		.905***	(.150)	
Variance Component	.071	(.053)		.050	(.049)	
Log Likelihood			-707.731			-706.345
AIC			1455.471			1454.691
BIC			1540.081			1543.535
Level-1 Observations			508			508
Level-2 Observations			60			60

*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two tailed test)† $p < .05$ (one tailed test)

Figure 1: Linear and Non-Linear NC Percent Outgroup Effects – Black and Hispanic Adolescents¹



¹ Both trajectories are estimated net of all of the variables included in Tables 3 and 4. All controls are set to their sample means.

APPENDIX A: Variable Descriptions

Adolescent Discrimination Experience	Sometimes people feel they are discriminated against, or treated badly or differently because of their race, ethnicity, color, language, or the country they or their family came from. Please tell me if you have felt discriminated against for this reason IN THE PAST YEAR at any of the places listed?
Adolescent Discrimination Fear	This next set of questions is about WORRYING about being discriminated against or treated badly – regardless of whether it has actually happened. In the past year, have you worried about being discriminated against in any of the places listed?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Outside Neighborhood Inside Neighborhood Service Police First Meeting School Medical Other 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ...when you are outside your own neighborhood? (0,1) ...in your own neighborhood? (0,1) ...when you wanted service – like when buying something at a store or restaurant? (0,1) ...by the police? (0,1) ...when you met someone for the first time? (0,1) ...when you are at school? (0,1) ...when you saw a doctor, nurse or other health provider? (0,1) ...anywhere else or by anyone else? (0,1)
Parent Discrimination Experience	Sometimes people feel they are discriminated against, or treated badly or differently because of their race, ethnicity, color, language, or the country they or their family came from. Please tell me if you have felt discriminated against for this reason IN THE PAST YEAR at any of the places listed?
Parent Discrimination Fear	This next set of questions is about WORRYING about being discriminated against or treated badly – regardless of whether it has actually happened. In the past year, have you worried about being discriminated against in any of the places listed?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Outside Neighborhood Inside Neighborhood Service Police First Meeting Adolescent's School Medical Other Government Work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ...when you are outside your own neighborhood? ...in your own neighborhood? ...when you wanted service – like when buying something at a store or restaurant? ...by the police? ...when you met someone for the first time? ...when you were at *****'s school? ...when you saw a doctor, nurse or other health provider? ...anywhere else or by anyone else? ...when you were at a government office or agency? ...when you were at work?
Neighborhood Factors	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NC Percent Outgroup Change in NC Percent Outgroup NC Mean Household Income Homicide Rate (per 1000) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Data from the 2000 U.S. Census Data from the 1990 and 2000 U.S. Census Individual household income measure aggregated to the NC level Number of homicides known to the police in each NC for the year 1995 (see Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls 1997)
Individual Controls	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Age Male Immigrant Generation Prior Anxiety Depression Parent Married Household Income Parent Education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Age of respondent Gender of respondent (0,1) Combines birthplace information of the adolescent and the parent respondents Mean scale of 16 items measure anxious/depressive symptoms (asked of adolescents) What is your current marital status? (asked of parents) What was your total household income before taxes or any deductions in the last tax year? (asked of parents) What is the highest degree that you have received? (asked of parents)

The Specter of Discrimination: Fear of Interpersonal Racial Discrimination among Adolescents in Chicago

Article Highlights:

- Half of Black and Hispanic adolescents feared racial discrimination in the past year
- Adolescents express greater fear of racial discrimination than their parents
- Personal victimization experiences predict greater discrimination fear
- Parents' exposure to discrimination increases adolescent discrimination fear
- Black and Hispanic adolescents' discrimination fear varies with neighborhood racial composition