

Examining the Risk and Protective Factors of School Behavior Problems and the Consequences for Black Girls

**Victoria Francois, McNair Scholar
The Pennsylvania State University**

**McNair Faculty Research Adviser:
Dawn P. Witherspoon, Ph.D.
McCourtney Early Career Professor in Psychology
Associate Professor, Developmental Area
Department of Psychology
College of the Liberal Arts
The Pennsylvania State University**

Abstract

Black girls are disproportionately affected by harsh school disciplinary action and the school-to-prison-pipeline. While previous studies have focused on Black boys, Black girls are a fast-growing, yet overlooked population in the juvenile justice system whose voices and experiences are often muted (Morris, 2012). The purpose of the current study is to investigate if perceived discrimination, parenting, and ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) act as protective or risk factors for school behavior problems and the consequences of suspension/expulsion in Black girls. The Maryland Adolescent Development in Context Study ($N_{girls}=410$) was used to test the following research question: How do perceived discrimination, parenting, and ERS act as risk or protective factors for school behavioral issues and the consequences in Black girls? More specifically, the study focused on understanding (1) the associations that discriminative experiences, ERS, and parental warmth, monitoring and school-based involvement have with school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion, and (2) whether ERS and other parenting practices moderate the association between discrimination and Black girls' school behavior problems and disciplinary action. Linear and logistic regressions were conducted to investigate the relationship between the variables of interest. Results showed that there was a significant relationship between racial discrimination, parental warmth, and the interaction between both of those variables on school behavior problems. Parental warmth was also significantly associated with suspension/expulsion. Findings additionally revealed that socioeconomic status was significantly associated with both school outcomes.

Black girls are approximately 8% of the K-12 enrollment, yet they make up 13% of all suspended students (Epstein et al., 2017). Previous studies have primarily focused on the racial disparity in disciplinary action for Black boys and relatively, in this domain, more research exists on Black boys than Black girls (Ispa-Landa, 2013; Morris, 2012; Morris and Perry, 2017). This focus is expected, as negative stereotypes of Black boys can contribute to the disproportionate rates of harsh school discipline—which is associated with their overrepresentation in the juvenile justice system (Morris, 2012). Yet, Black girls are the fastest-growing population in juvenile detention centers and still overlooked in the pipeline discussion (Morris, 2012). Between 2002 and 2006, the suspension rate of Black girls increased 5.3%, compared to a 1.7% increase for Black boys (Morris, 2012). Furthermore, research has shown that there is a greater disparity in office referrals between Black girls and White girls than between Black boys and White boys (Morris and Perry, 2017). Black boys are 1.5 times more likely to be disciplined for disobedience and disruptive behavior than White boys (Epstein et al., 2017). In contrast, Black girls are 2.5 times more likely to be disciplined for disobedience and 3 times more likely to be disciplined for disruptive behavior than White girls (Epstein et al., 2017) suggesting that school behavior problems are perceived and handled differently by teachers based on race and gender.

Black girls are not more deviant than other girls, but they still get in trouble at school and are punitively disciplined at higher rates than other girls (Epstein et al., 2017). This disparity could be due to the fact that parents of Black girls are socializing their children to be more aware of racially discriminatory experiences in school, and the girls respond to these experiences out of frustration or anger (Morris and Perry, 2017). Teachers may perceive this behavior to be disobedient or defiant and punish girls instead of acknowledging the discrimination—contributing to their school pushout (Morris and Perry, 2017; Morris, 2012). The concept of parents teaching their children about ethnic and racial identities is called ethnic-racial socialization (Hughes et al., 2003). When parents have conversations regarding race and ethnicity with their children, those discussions could potentially include ways to combat discriminatory experiences. Black youth who have a positive relationship (including parental warmth) with their parent are more likely to experience ethnic-racial socialization in the form of preparation for bias and cultural socialization (McHale et al., 2006). Preparation for bias is how parents make their child aware of discriminatory experiences and identify strategies to cope with it, while cultural socialization is the way that parents discuss cultural values and beliefs with their children. Ultimately, when youth—specifically Black adolescents—experience more ethnic-racial socialization, they perceive more racial discrimination (Cheeks et al., 2020).

However, Black boys and girls have distinguishable school experiences, as Black girls also face gender discrimination. In Western culture, female gender norms include being submissive, fragile, and soft-spoken (Arnull, 2019). Yet, these normative feminine behaviors may not capture the cultural nuance nor the experiences of Black girls. Black girls are often socialized to be independent and strong in order to survive the White and male dominated society that they must navigate (Skinner et al., 2018). Nevertheless, this disposition can also be misinterpreted as “inadequately feminine” by teachers and school administrators (Archer-Banks and Behar-Horenstein, 2012).

Common racial stereotypes like being “loud” and “aggressive” could negatively influence a teacher’s perception of a Black girl in the classroom (Archer-Banks and Behar-Horenstein, 2012). When Black girls exhibit defiant or disobedient behavior by their teachers or school administrators, they are also challenging normative feminine roles (Epstein et al., 2017). Studies have shown that Black girls tend to respond to perceived mistreatment by their teacher—either racial or gender discrimination—in the form of “talking with an attitude” and other subjective behaviors (Morris and Perry, 2017). This response can be inaccurately (or inappropriately) perceived as misbehavior by teachers and may result in an office referral followed by other forms of discipline like suspension or expulsion (Morris, 2012).

According to the theory of social reproduction, the design, structure, and practice of educational institutions are intentionally created to reproduce social hierarchies (Morris, 2012). This means that Black youth are more likely to experience (un)intentional discrimination in the classroom by teachers, because schools teach and reinforce the ideas of race, class, and gender (Morris, 2007). The current study will examine how perceived discrimination in the classroom may act as a risk factor for school behavior problems and the consequences of suspension and expulsion in Black girls. In addition, the current study will investigate if parenting and the practice of ethnic-racial socialization could act as protective factors against these outcomes.

Theoretical Frameworks

The current study is guided by several conceptual frameworks and theories which propose that there are both protective and risk factors that can contribute to school behavior problems and the consequences (i.e., suspension/expulsion) among Black girls. Garcia-Coll and colleagues (1996) theorized that incorporating “essential factors” into research for marginalized children will permit a better understanding of their growth and development. The Integrative Model is relevant, as this study will focus on four of the eight constructs from the framework: social position variables, promoting and inhibiting environments, family, and developmental competencies (Garcia-Coll et al., 1996). The Integrative Model (Garcia-Coll et al., 1996) demonstrates how the experience of being a Black girl often includes experiences of discrimination and situates these youth in contexts (i.e., classrooms) that may either promote or constrain their development. Experiences in school may impact how families engage and communicate with each other, particularly impacting socialization, involvement, and parenting style. Overall, the Integrative Model is critical for the framing of this study, as it identifies the necessary factors in understanding the development of Black girls during adolescence. This knowledge, in turn, will aid in evaluating the risk and protective factors of school behavior problems and the consequences for Black girls.

Although the Integrative Model is necessary in understanding the development of Black girls, it does not completely encompass the experiences that Black girls have while in the promoting or inhibiting environment of school. Critical Race Theory (Delgado and Stefancic, 1998) and Critical Race Feminism (Evan-Winters and Esposito, 2010) articulate why Black girls could view school as a promoting or inhibiting environment. Although both Critical Race Theory and Critical Race Feminism include five main components, the most important aspects of the theories are the focus on how race and racism impact the functioning of US society and particularly how the experiences of Black women are inherently different from White men and women (Evan-Winters and Esposito, 2010). United States laws and policies reinforce Whiteness as the norm, and when people of color defy the “normalcy” of Whiteness, they are inherently

punished (Christian et al., 2019), which is reflected in how schools protect Whiteness, more specifically in their codes of conduct.

Many White teachers assert that race is not a contributing factor when they are disciplining their students, but they systemically punish subjective school behavior problems that they associate with African American youth (Serpell, 2020). This colorblind ideology is dangerous, because it disregards the potential, repetitive discrimination that occurs in classrooms when teachers discipline their Black students. Ultimately, Critical Race Theory and Critical Race Feminism are essential to the framework of this study, as they describe why the racial disparity in disciplinary action may exist for Black girls and how discrimination is a risk factor for school behavior problems and suspensions/expulsions.

Given disciplinary action disparities, Black girls may not be as attached to school settings. Weak bonds with prosocial systems, like schools, could create room for deviance to emerge (Hirschi, 1969). Poor relationships, potentially due to perceived discrimination and unintentional bias, between teachers and students could also be linked to school behavioral problems through decrements in teacher-student relationships (Morris and Perry, 2017). Understanding the factors that contribute to school behavior problems and the consequences of suspension and/expulsion in Black girls is imperative to understanding how the school context is either promoting or inhibiting to their development.

Historical Stereotypes of Black Women

The implicit bias that teachers and school administrators have of their Black girls could be rooted in the depictions of Black women through the historical stereotypes of Jezebel, Sapphire, and the Welfare Queen (Epstein et al., 2017; Annamma et al., 2019). **Jezebel** is the hypersexualized and seductive Black woman—which could be a potential reason why many Black girls are frequently punished for violating a school dress code (Epstein et al., 2017). **Sapphire** is the loud and angry Black woman—which could explain why many Black girls are punished for being loud or disruptive in the classroom (Epstein et al., 2017). **The Welfare Queen** is loud and defies authoritative figures (Annamma et al., 2019). This stereotype could explain why Black girls are systematically punished for “talking with an attitude”. In a phenomenological study evaluating Black girls “talking with an attitude”, it appeared that teachers ultimately responded to Black girls’ attitudes with office referrals for being defiant and disobedient (Morris, 2007). It is important to consider this construct, because historically, Black women have been stripped of their femininity in society and upheld a different standard of what it means to be a woman (Morris, 2007; Ricks, 2014). So, when Black girls emulate any of these negative, anti-feminine behaviors in the classroom from the teacher’s perspective, they could be viewed as problematic and therefore punished harshly in the form of suspension or expulsion for these subjective offenses.

Adultification in Black Girls

These stereotypes could also contribute to Black girls being perceived as older and less innocent than they truly are (i.e., adultification) (Epstein et al., 2017). Research shows that White women perceive Black girls, especially during early adolescence, as needing less protection and nurturing from adults and taking on adult roles and responsibilities (Epstein et al., 2017). This perception may be related to the fact that Black girls tend to start puberty earlier than other girls, (Carter et al., 2017). More recent studies suggest that earlier onset of puberty is not directly related to deviancy, yet teachers and school administrators still may excessively punish Black

girls because they view them as less innocent and more accountable for their actions than other racial groups (Carter et al., 2017).

Using the Integrative Model, Critical Race Theory/Critical Race Feminism, historical stereotypes and adultification as guiding frameworks and constructs for the current study, it can be implied that there are various factors that inhibit or promote the development of Black girls in the school context. More specifically, there should be a closer examination as to why school behavior problems in Black girls exist. Parents who are aware of potential (un)intentional bias and unfair treatment by teachers and school administrators may proactively engage in practices such as monitoring, school involvement and ethnic-racial socialization to protect their girls from entering the school-to-prison pipeline. With a better understanding of the various contributors to the perceived school misbehavior of Black girls, there may be a decreased likelihood of Black girls entering the school-to-prison pipeline through suspension and expulsion. Below, the extant literature related to the association of Black families and girls' school discrimination experiences, parent-child relationship quality and ethnic-racial socialization on school behavior problems and the consequences of suspension/expulsion is reviewed.

Perceived Racial and Gender Discrimination in School

Discriminatory experiences in school are associated with school behavior problems in Black girls. Research suggests that Black girls may be treated unfairly by their educators, and instead of succumbing to an unsupportive or hostile environment, they respond by speaking up for themselves, which could be perceived as noncompliance (Murphy et al., 2013). Teachers may identify this frustration as misbehavior and punish the girl for acting out. Feelings of unfairness also contribute to Black girls' feelings of alienation in the classroom, where they are likely to perceive discrimination (Gibson et al., 2019).

As previously suggested, this misinterpretation of behavior could be related to the cultural difference between teachers and students (Morris and Perry, 2017). If teachers are unable to connect with their Black female students, they could unintentionally act on harmful biases that make Black girls feel mistreated and unsupported. Therefore, when Black girls perceive discrimination, they may feel the need to defend themselves, which could be interpreted by teachers as disrespect. Studies revealed that Black girls may be disciplined if their teacher feels disrespected by their attitude (Koonce, 2012). Moreover, teachers have been observed to demonstrate less interest in Black girls who are "loud" or "argumentative" further perpetuating the cycle of discrimination and misbehavior (Archer-Banks and Behar-Horenstein, 2012).

In contrast, research has shown that Black girls report fewer disciplinary problems when they have positive relationships with their teachers (Murphy et al., 2013). Studies have also shown that students who perceive their school to be a positive place were less likely to engage in deviant behavior (Griffin et al., 2020). This suggests that while Black students may not be more deviant than their peers, they may not feel as connected or engaged with their school. Discrimination could be a factor in why Black youth could view school as a negative environment (Griffin et al., 2020).

Perceived school discrimination is also associated with higher rates of suspension and expulsion. In a comparative study between African American girls and Caribbean Black girls, it was found that African American girls were more likely to perceive discriminatory acts in school and be suspended/expelled more frequently (Butler-Barnes and Inniss-Thompson, 2020). If a Black girl perceives discrimination from her teacher, she might adopt an "attitude" as a defense mechanism, which may result in her teacher referring her to the office to be disciplined (Koonce, 2012).

Research is limited on how perceived discrimination and school behavior problems, including the consequences of suspension/expulsion, are associated in Black girls, however this study aims to add to this topic of growing interest.

Undeniably, school behavior problems and the consequences of suspension/expulsion appear to be related to discrimination. While Black girls do not necessarily exude higher rates of delinquent behavior, they may be more likely to be perceived as “troublemakers” in the classroom by their teachers if they are perceived to be acting out. Therefore, they experience higher rates of office referrals (Rocque, 2010). Higher rates of office referrals are associated with higher rates of suspension/expulsion (Rocque, 2010; Epstein et al, 2017).

Parenting: Warmth, Monitoring, and School Involvement

While perceived school discrimination could potentially be a risk factor for Black girls’ school behavior problems and their consequences, the relationship that parents have with their children could be protective factor. Out of the six dimensions of parenting, parental warmth and control were found to be negatively related to delinquent behavior and school behavior problems (Bean et al., 2006). Researchers have additionally found that positive parent-child relationships are associated with fewer delinquent behaviors; while a lack of parental monitoring is associated with higher rates of delinquency (Hair et al., 2008; Steinberg et al., 2004). Even though these studies were not exclusively with Black girls nor did it discuss suspensions/expulsions, it suggests that adolescents who have positive relationships with their parents are less likely to get in trouble at school and exhibit delinquent behavior.

Parental school involvement may also be related to a child’s behavior at school, and the outcomes that follow. In one study with African American parents and students, parental school-based involvement seemed to be an important point of intervention for disciplinary action. (Serpell, et al., 2020). The findings from this study showed that increased parent involvement was positively associated with more academic achievement and less problem behavior (Serpell et al., 2020). Research has also shown that parental school involvement is a significant predictor of suspension (Marcucci, 2020) In one study, school-based involvement was positively associated with discipline referrals (Hayes, 2012). These findings may suggest that parents who are more involved in school may be doing so to combat or respond to their youth’s perceived problem behaviors or academic problems. Out of the different forms of parental involvement, school-based involvement seems to have the strongest impact on the discipline gap, which could imply that parents become more involved in their child’s school once school behavior problems are identified or after suspension occurs for those infractions (Marcucci, 2020). From these studies, it is unclear if Black girls are more impacted by parental school involvement than Black boys; however, the current study additionally aims to add to this body of literature.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Another way that parents may protect their children from discriminative experiences could be through ethnic-racial socialization. There are various ways that parents can have conversations to socialize their children, and this current study will examine preparation for bias and cultural socialization. Research has shown that cultural socialization was positively associated with academic and behavioral outcomes, while prep for bias was negatively associated with academic outcomes (Hughes et al., 2009). This study focused on White and African American children but was not specific to Black girls. Despite Black girls being victims of racism and sexism, a study showed that they are most resilient when they have been taught about their identities (gender, race, class), the oppression that they may face due to those identities, and how to combat it (Archer-Banks et al., 2012). There have been limited studies that critically examine the impact of

ethnic-racial socialization on school behavioral problems and the consequences of suspension/expulsion on Black girls; but academic outcomes and school behavior problems have been found to be negatively associated (Palcic et al., 2009). Studies have shown that academic outcomes and suspension/expulsion are also negatively associated (Martirano et al., 2014).

Demographic variables

Findings from the studies previously discussed additionally found that age and socioeconomic status are related to school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion rates in Black girls. Higher SES was negatively associated with the suspension/expulsion of Black youth, but not significantly related to school behavior problems (Marcucci, 2020). In addition, older girls were more likely to be suspended/expelled (Butler-Barnes and Inniss Thompson, 2020). Literature also suggests that older youth are more likely to engage in riskier, and potentially deviant behavior (Steinberg and Morris, 2001). Therefore, these demographic variables will be included as covariates in the study.

Current Study

The current study examines the relationship of perceived discrimination, parenting, and ethnic-racial socialization with Black girls' school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion. This study is important because it places an emphasis on Black girls' experiences and may reveal if these factors impact Black girls' school behavior and explain their disproportionate rates of suspension/expulsion. Furthermore, this study may have implications for how teachers can better understand their Black female students and create more positive environments centered around collaboration between parents and schools—which could reduce the racial and gender disparity in disciplinary action. Based on the previous literature, the goal of the current study is to evaluate the following research question: How do perceived racial and gender discrimination, parenting (i.e., parental warmth, parental monitoring, and parental school involvement), and ethnic-racial socialization (i.e., preparation for bias and cultural socialization) act as risk or protective factors for school behavioral issues and consequences of Black girls? More specifically, the current study (1) explores the associations that discrimination experiences, ethnic-racial socialization, and parental warmth, monitoring, and school involvement have with school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion, and (2) determines whether ethnic-racial socialization and other parenting practices moderate the association between discrimination and Black girls' school behavior problems and disciplinary actions.

Study hypotheses are as follows:

1. There will be a positive correlation between perceived discrimination (i.e., racial and gender discrimination) and school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion.
2. There will be a negative correlation between parenting (i.e., parental warmth, parental monitoring, and school-based involvement) and school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion.
3. Parenting (i.e., warmth, monitoring and school-based involvement) will reduce the negative impact of racial discrimination on school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion.
4. Ethnic-racial socialization (i.e., preparation for bias and cultural socialization) will reduce the negative impact of discrimination on school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion.
5. Gender discrimination will increase the negative impact that racial discrimination has on school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion.

6. All of these associations will account for age and socioeconomic status, suggesting that SES will be negatively associated with outcomes, whereas age will be positively associated with outcomes.

Methods

The current study will use data from the Maryland Adolescent Development in Context Study (MADICS), conducted between Fall 1991 and 2012 (Eccles, 1997). This longitudinal study included six waves of data and had two primary goals 1) to focus on the influence of social context on adolescent behavior and 2) to illustrate the developmental trajectories from middle school through high school and young adulthood (Eccles, 1997). The sample was drawn from Prince George's County, Maryland, and had IRB approval (Eccles, 1997). According to the 2000 U.S. Census Bureau, 63% of Prince George's County is Black or African American and 27% White (Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 2004). At Wave 1, participants included 1482 families, (61%) being African American.

Participants

The sample for the current study only focuses on the African American families with a Black or African American girl ($N_{\text{girls}}=410$; 46% of the total sample). The family socioeconomic status was a standardized composite of the highest level of education completed by the caregiver, highest occupational status of the caregiver and family income. The median family income was between \$40,000-\$49,000, and the majority of caregivers were mothers (93.5%). On average, adolescent girls were 12 years old ($SD=0.55$). Of the parent population, 87.6% had a high school diploma or GED equivalent.

Procedure

After receiving IRB approval, four waves of data were collected from the youth, parents (both primary and secondary caregiver), older siblings, school records, and 1990 census data banks through middle school and high school (Eccles, 1997). Two additional waves of data were collected after the child finished high school, one and three years out, with self-administered questionnaires (Eccles, 1997). In home and telephone interviews were conducted and distributed while adolescents were in middle and high school (Eccles, 1997). For data collection, children and caregivers completed self-questionnaires and face to face interviews. The current study only uses the baseline Wave 1 sample from 7th grade.

Measures

Perceived Racial Discrimination. Perceived racial discrimination by Black girls was assessed with the Wave 1 youth scale (Eccles, 1997). Youth responded to one item from the youth self-administered questionnaire (e.g., "Do you think it will be harder for you to get ahead in life because you are Black/African American?") on a 2-point scale: 1=yes; 2=no. This scale was recoded: 1=yes; 0=no.

Perceived Gender Discrimination. Perceived gender discrimination by Black girls was assessed with the Wave 1 youth scale (Eccles, 1997). Youth responded to one item from the youth self-administered questionnaire (e.g., "Do you think it will be harder for you to get ahead in life because you are a boy/girl?") on a 2-point scale: 1=yes; 2=no. This scale was recoded: 1=yes; 0=no.

Parenting.

Parental Warmth. Parental warmth was assessed with the Wave 1 youth scale (Eccles, 1997). Youth responded to four items from the youth self-administered questionnaire (e.g., "My parents encourage me to do my best at everything I do") on a 5-point scale: 1=almost never;

2=once in a while; 3=sometimes; 4=often; 5=almost always. The reliability for this scale was good ($\alpha = 0.67$).

Parental Monitoring. Parental monitoring was assessed with the Wave 1 parent scale (Eccles, 1997). Parents responded to 2 items (e.g., “How often do you know where child is in the course of the day?”) on a 5-point scale: 1=almost never; 2=occasionally; 3=about ½ of the time; 4=sometimes; 5=almost always. This scale showed moderate reliability ($\alpha = 0.56$).

School-based involvement. School based involvement was assessed with the Wave 1 parent scale (Eccles, 1997). Parents responded to 6 items (e.g., “Last year did you act as...paid school staff—working in the school as an aide, parent educator, assistant teacher, assistant librarian, or other such jobs”) on a 2-point scale: 1=yes, 2=no. This scale has been recoded: 1=yes; 0=no and shows good reliability ($\alpha = 0.61$).

Ethnic Racial Socialization.

Preparation for Bias. Preparation for Bias was assessed with the Wave 1 parent socialization scale created by Banerjee (n.d.). Parents responded to 7 open-ended items from Wave 1 (e.g., “How often do you suggest to your child that good ways of dealing with discrimination he/she might face are to do better than everyone else in school?”) on a 4-point scale: 1=none; 2=a little; 3=somewhat; 4=a lot ($\alpha = 0.82$).

Cultural Socialization. Cultural socialization was assessed with the parent socialization Wave 1 scale created by Banerjee (n.d.). Parents responded to 4 open-ended items from Wave 1 (e.g., “How often do you talk in the family about your racial background?”) on a 4-point scale: 1=none; 2=a little; 3=somewhat; 4=a lot ($\alpha = 0.77$).

Outcome Variables.

School behavior problems. School behavior problems was assessed with the Wave 1 parent scale (Eccles, 1997). Parents responded to 1 item (e.g., “In comparison to other 7th graders, how much trouble does your 7th grader get into?”) on a 7-point scale: 1=much less trouble; 7=much more trouble.

Suspension/Expulsion. Suspension/expulsion was assessed with the Wave 1 parent scale (Eccles, 1997). Parents responded to 1 item in the interview (e.g., “Has child been suspended, excluded, or expelled from school or has child cut class in the past two years?”) on a 2-point scale: 1=yes; 2=no. This scale was recoded: 1=yes, 0=no.

Covariates. Demographic information was reported by parents and youth. This information includes youth reported age and SES (i.e., parent education and family income). Parent education was determined if they received their high school diploma or GED with 1=yes; 2=no. Parents also reported if they had a post high school education with 1=yes; 2=no. Annual family income was coded on a 21-point scale ranging from 1=less than \$5,000 to 21=more than \$100,000.

Analytical Plan

After the variables were finalized, descriptive statistics were examined, reliability tests were conducted to determine internal consistency reliability, and then scales were created. Bivariate correlations were then used to determine associations between the variables of interest. Descriptive statistics were examined for all substantive variables. Two hierarchical regression models (a linear regression for school behavior problems and a logistic regression for suspension/expulsion) were conducted with SPSS 26.0 to test the study hypotheses. Age and SES were entered at step 1 as covariates. Parental warmth, parental monitoring, and parental school-based involvement were included in step 2 to explore their association with school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion. Racial discrimination and gender discrimination were entered at step 3 and cultural socialization and prep for bias were entered at step 4. Two-

way interactions were entered at steps 5-8: 5) interaction between racial discrimination and parental warmth, 6) racial discrimination and prep for bias 7) racial discrimination and cultural socialization, and 8) racial discrimination and gender discrimination. Hierarchical regressions analyses were conducted in SPSS.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations for study variables are presented in Table 1. Results showed significant relationships between racial discrimination, parental warmth and parental monitoring and school behavior problems. Additionally, results showed a significant relationship between parental warmth and suspension/expulsion. There were no significant relationships between gender discrimination, ethnic-racial socialization variables, and school involvement on either outcome variable. Furthermore, results showed significant relationships between SES and school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion. Age was significantly associated with suspension/expulsion.

Substantive Results

Regressions are presented in Tables 2 and 3. Overall, results showed a significant relationship between SES, perceived parental warmth, perceived racial discrimination and the moderation of parental warmth on racial discrimination and school behavior problems. Similarly, results showed a significant relationship between SES and perceived parental warmth for suspension/expulsion of Black girls. Specific findings are reported below.

School Behavior Problems. SES was negatively associated with school behavior problems ($B = -0.207, p < 0.05$), suggesting that Black girls in lower SES groups were getting in trouble at school more often, or that Black girls in higher SES groups were not getting in trouble as frequently. Age was not significantly associated with this outcome. Racial discrimination was positively associated with school misbehavior ($B = 0.430, p < 0.05$), suggesting that Black girls who perceived more racial discrimination were more likely to get in trouble at school. Parental warmth was negatively associated with school behavior problems ($B = -0.250, p < 0.05$), suggesting that Black girls who received more parental warmth exhibited fewer school behavior problems. Parental monitoring, school-based involvement and gender discrimination were not significantly associated with school behavior problems. Parental warmth moderated the effect of racial discrimination on school behavior problems ($B = -0.352, p < 0.05$). Simple slope analyses were conducted to plot this interaction (displayed in Figure 1). Analyses showed that Black girls who perceived high levels of racial discrimination also experienced more school behavior problems. However, parental warmth appears to alleviate the negative effect that racial discrimination has on school behavior problems. Preparation for bias, cultural socialization and gender discrimination did not moderate the effect of racial discrimination on school behavior problems.

Suspension/Expulsion. Results showed that SES was associated with suspension/expulsion ($B = -0.546, p < 0.05$), suggesting that Black girls in lower SES groups were getting suspended or expelled more often than Black girls in higher SES groups. Age was not significantly associated with this outcome. Parental warmth was negatively associated with suspension/expulsion ($B = -0.471, p < 0.05$), suggesting that Black girls who received more parental warmth were not as likely to be suspended or expelled from school. Parental monitoring, school-based involvement, racial discrimination, and gender discrimination were not significantly associated with suspension/expulsion. Parental warmth and prep for bias did not moderate the association between racial discrimination and suspension/expulsion. We were not

able to investigate the effects of cultural socialization and gender discrimination on racial discrimination and suspension/expulsion in this model, because our models would not converge. The final model only included parental warmth and prep for bias as moderators for racial discrimination.

Discussion

This current study was primarily conducted with an intersectional focus on Black girls to obtain a stronger understanding of the factors that contribute to the racial and gender disparity in disciplinary action. Previous literature revealed that Black girls are more likely to get in trouble than other girls in school, especially for subjective behaviors (Epstein et al., 2017). To contribute to this limited body of literature, we examined parenting practices including ethnic-racial socialization and perceived racial and gender discrimination to determine how those variables impact the school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion of Black girls. The overall findings from this study demonstrate that there could be some protective and risk factors for the perceived school behavior problems of Black girls and the consequences.

School behavior problems. Research revealed that there is an association between perceived discrimination and school behavior problems (i.e., “talking with an attitude”) for Black girls (Koonce, 2012; Morris and Perry, 2017). It was hypothesized that there would be a positive correlation between perceived racial and gender discrimination on school behavior problems, and the current study partially supported this hypothesis. Results showed that racial discrimination was positively associated with school behavior problems. This finding aligns with the Integrative Model, which asserts that Black girls may find certain contexts (i.e., classrooms) to be promoting or inhibiting to their development (Garcia-Coll et al., 1996). Perceived racial discrimination can be a factor that could inhibit a Black girl’s development, and “talking with an attitude” could be a byproduct of discrimination that teachers may perceive as problematic or defiant (Morris and Perry, 2017). There was no significant relationship found between gender discrimination and school behavior problems. This lack of finding could suggest that race, instead of gender plays a larger role in the discriminatory experiences of Black girls. Critical Race Theory asserts that Black girls experience society differently from Black boys and White girls due to the intersections of race, gender, and class (Evan-Winters and Esposito, 2010). Additionally, Blackness challenges the normalcy of Whiteness, which could potentially explain the racial disparity in disciplinary action for Black youth (Delgado and Stefancic, 1998).

It was also hypothesized that there would be a negative correlation between the parenting variables (i.e., parental warmth, parental monitoring, and school-based involvement) and school behavior problems. Results showed that parental warmth was significant, and negatively associated with school behavior problems. Parental monitoring and school-based involvement were not significantly associated with the outcome. Research has shown that parental warmth is associated with less problem behavior in adolescents (Bean et al., 2006). Since the findings did not support a relationship between parental monitoring and school involvement with school behavior problems, this could imply that parents are monitoring their children more and getting involved with the school after they get in trouble (Marcucci, 2020).

Furthermore, it was hypothesized that the parenting variables (i.e., parental warmth, monitoring and school-based involvement) would reduce the negative impact of discrimination on school behavior problems. Results showed that parental warmth moderated the effect of racial discrimination on school behavior problems. Specifically, for Black girls who perceived high amounts of racial discrimination, they also were more likely to experience school behavior problems. Yet, parental warmth appeared to serve as a buffer for this association. Therefore, it is

plausible to assume that the parent-child relationship has some impact on how Black youth internalize discrimination and the behavioral response they have to discrimination.

This partially supports hypothesis 3 and is consistent with the Integrative Model revealing that families may socialize their children based on promoting or inhibiting experiences that they could have (Garcia-Coll et al., 1996).

While it was also hypothesized that ethnic-racial socialization variables (i.e., prep for bias and cultural socialization) would reduce the negative impact of discrimination on school behavior problems, results were not significant, and therefore hypothesis 4 was not supported. This could be because the way that Black girls are socialized is not as important as the way that they interact with their parents. There was not a lot of literature which examined the relationship between ethnic-racial socialization and school behavior problems, so this lack of finding reflects the uncertainty shown in limited research studies (Bean et al., 2006).

Additionally, results showed that there was no significant interaction between racial and gender discrimination on school behavior problems. This finding did not align with hypothesis 5, which predicted that gender discrimination would increase the negative impact that racial discrimination had on school behavior problems. Despite Critical Race Theory (Delgado and Stefancic, 1998) and Critical Race Feminism (Evan-Winters and Esposito, 2010) suggesting that Black girls challenge both racial and gender norms and therefore have a different discriminatory experience than Black boys, it is likely that there were not enough measures for racial and gender discrimination in this study.

Finally, it was hypothesized that SES would be negatively associated with school behavior problems, while age would be positively associated with the outcome. Results showed that SES was significant and negatively associated with school behavior problems. Age was not significantly associated with school behavior problems. The relationship between SES and school behavior problems was expected, as literature shows that children from low SES are more likely to display problem behavior in schools as perceived by teachers (Jensen, 2009). This lack of finding between age and school behavior problems was surprising, considering research revealed that adultification was a contributing factor to Black girls being held accountable for their behavior more than other girls in the form of punitive punishment (Epstein et al., 2017). Since age was unrelated to school behavior problems, it is possible that future studies need to look at a wider range of ages, as most girls in this study were on average 12 years old. Overall, these findings revealed the importance of parenting on the development of Black girls, specifically indicating that warmth could be a protective factor against the negative affect that racial discrimination has on school behavior problems.

Suspension/Expulsion. Literature also suggested that perceived discrimination would be related to suspension/expulsion in Black girls (Butler-Barnes and Inniss-Thompson, 2020). It was hypothesized that there would be a positive association between perceived racial and gender discrimination on suspension/expulsion, but the current study did not support this hypothesis. Despite Critical Race Theory (Delgado and Stefancic, 1998) and the historical stereotypes indicating that there would be an association between perceived discrimination and suspension/expulsion, it could be that the lack of variability in discrimination and suspension/expulsion variables influenced this lack of finding. Future studies should examine several items for racial and gender discrimination, as the current study only used one item per measure.

It was also hypothesized that there would be a negative correlation between the parenting variables (i.e., parental warmth, parental monitoring, and school-based involvement) and

suspension/expulsion. Results showed that parental warmth was negatively associated with suspension/expulsion, which supports the Integrative Model (Garcia-Coll et al., 1996) in that certain contexts like a school environment could impact how families engage and interact with their Black girls. Research also shows that children with a positive parent relationship were also found to have better academic outcomes and were less likely to be suspended (Moore et al., 2004). However, parental monitoring and school-based involvement were not significantly associated with the outcome, which was inconsistent with the literature (Marcucci, 2020). As suggested with school behavior problems, this lack of finding could suggest that parents monitor their children and get more involved in school after their child is suspended or expelled. It is also important to note that the suspension/expulsion variable included children who cut class or were excluded, so the measure was limiting in this study.

While it was also predicted that the parenting variables (i.e., parental warmth, monitoring, and school-based involvement) and ethnic-racial socialization (i.e., prep for bias and cultural socialization) would reduce the negative impact of racial discrimination on suspension/expulsion, results showed that neither interaction was significant. This might be because there are other protective factors besides parenting and the way that parents socialize their Black girls which could reduce the disparity in suspension/expulsion. It was difficult to explore other interactions in the current study because our models did not converge. Therefore, conclusions could not be drawn for all of our interactions.

Lastly, it was hypothesized that SES would be negatively associated with suspension/expulsion, while age would be positively associated with the outcome. Similar to school behavior problems, results showed that SES was negatively associated with suspension/expulsion and age was not statistically significant. The current study findings were consistent with previous literature that found a negative correlation between SES and suspension/expulsion (Marcucci, 2020). Since age was not significant with this outcome either, future studies could examine another age range of girls, as adultification indicates that Black girls receive harsher discipline because they are perceived to be more mature (Epstein et al., 2017). Ultimately, these findings suggest that the relationship Black girls have with their parents could be important to explore in future studies, especially in terms of suspension/expulsion.

Limitations and Future Directions

There were a few limitations for this study. First, there was only one item each to measure perceived racial discrimination, perceived gender discrimination, school behavior problems, and suspension/expulsion. As a result, there was a lack of variability for what this study considered to be discrimination, school behavior problems or suspension/expulsion. Future studies should include more questions per measure. The suspension/expulsion variable also did not indicate which outcome (i.e., suspension, expulsion, cutting class or exclusion) happened to the child. In the future, studies should use a variable that clearly assesses the suspension/expulsion of the child.

Another limitation was that the number of Black girls in this sample who had school behavioral problems or were suspended/expelled from school was extremely low. With low base rates, there is likely a floor effect due to limited variability in the sample. Future studies should investigate a larger sample size of Black girls who reported school behavior problems or who were suspended/expelled from school.

Moreover, this study did not use parent and youth scales together, which created mono-reporter bias. Perceived discrimination and parental warmth were only measured using the youth scales, while parental monitoring, parent school involvement, ethnic-racial socialization (prep for

bias and cultural socialization), school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion were measured using the parent scales. It is important to note that some of the scales used in the current study had acceptable reliability but still were considerably low. Future studies should use multiple reporters on variables of interest. Furthermore, teacher/school reports of youth behaviors should be included in order to examine the relationship between Black girls and teachers and identify where the discriminatory experiences are rooted.

This study also used cross-sectional data, and therefore only focused on these girls at one point in time (Wave 1 only looked at 7th graders). It would be valuable to look at these associations over time to see if and how these correlations vary in a longitudinal study. There might be some merit in examining older adolescents, as they could be more likely to engage in risky behaviors, which could potentially be associated with school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion from school (Steinberg & Morris, 2001).

Lastly, MADICS only studied adolescents in Prince George's County, Maryland, creating a limitation to external validity. These associations could vary based on geographic location. The socioeconomic diversity is a strength to the dataset; however, these families are different from the national average African American/Black family during this time period. Work should be conducted in different regions of the United States, perhaps in areas with different school practices and family structures.

Conclusion

The voices of Black girls need to be centered more in our discourse about Black youth. This is especially critical when it comes to their school experiences, which seem to be overwhelmingly characterized as a constraining environment—considering how racism, sexism, discrimination, and oppression are all influential factors on school behavior and the consequences of suspension and expulsion. This research fills some of the gaps existing in literature mentioned earlier. The interaction between parental warmth on the association between racial discrimination and school behavior problems has an impact on the development of Black girls, and further research should continue to investigate this relationship. This study has implications for how teachers can work to better understand Black girls and create more positive environments focused on family-school collaboration, which may help reduce racial disparities in school disciplinary actions. Hopefully, more research can be done to identify protective and risk factors of school behavior problems and suspension/expulsion, so that Black girls can be better understood and supported in their academic settings.

References

- Annamma, S. A., Anyon, Y., Joseph, N. M., Farrar, J., Greer, E., Downing, B., & Simmons, J. (2019). Black Girls and School Discipline: The Complexities of Being Overrepresented and Understudied. *Urban Education, 54*(2), 211–242. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085916646610>
- Archer-Banks, D. A. M., & Behar-Horenstein, L. S. (2012). Ogbu revisited: Unpacking high-achieving African American girls' high school experiences. *Urban Education, 47*(1), 198–223. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085911427739>
- Arnall, E. (2019). Being a Girl Who Gets into Trouble: Narratives of Girlhood. *Girlhood Studies, 12*(2), 82–97. <https://doi.org/10.3167/ghs.2019.120207>
- Bean, R. A., Barber, B. K., & Crane, D. R. (2006). Parental Support, Behavioral Control, and Psychological Control Among African American Youth: The Relationships to Academic Grades, Delinquency, and Depression. *Journal of Family Issues, 27*(10), 1335–1355.
- Butler-Barnes, S. T., & Inniss-Thompson, M. N. (2020). “ My Teacher Doesn’ t Like Me”: Perceptions of Teacher Discrimination and School Discipline among African-American and Caribbean Black Adolescent Girls. *Education Sciences, 1*–14.
- Carter, R., Leath, S., Butler-Barnes, S. T., Bryd, C. M., Chavous, T. M., Caldwell, C. H., & Jackson, J. S. (2017). Comparing Associations Between Perceived Puberty, Same-Race Friends and Same-Race Peers, and Psychosocial Outcomes Among African American and Caribbean Black Girls. *Journal of Black Psychology, 43*(8), 836–862. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798417711024>
- Cheeks, B.L., Chavous, T.M., & Sellers, R.M. (2020). A Daily Examination of African American Adolescents' Racial Discrimination, Parental Racial Socialization, and Psychological Affect. *Society for Research in Child Development, 91*(6), 2123-2140. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13416>
- Christian, M., Seamster, L., & Ray, V. (2019). New Directions in Critical Race Theory and Sociology: Racism, White Supremacy, and Resistance. *American Behavioral Scientist, 63*(13), 1731–1740. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764219842623>
- Christle, Christine A.; Jolivet, Kristine; Nelson, C. M. (2005). Breaking the School to Prison Pipeline: Identifying School Risk and Protective Factors for Youth Delinquency. *Exceptionality, 13*(2), 125–139. <https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327035ex1302>
- Coll, C. G., Lamberty, G., Jenkins, R., McAdoo, H. P., Crnic, K., Wasik, B. H., & García, H. V. (1996). An Integrative Model for the Study of Developmental Competencies in Minority Children. *Child Development, 67*(5), 1891–1914. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1996.tb01834.x>

- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (1998). Critical Race Theory: Past, Present, and Future. *Current Legal Problems*, 51(1), 467–491. <https://doi.org/10.1093/clp/51.1.467>
- Epstein, R., Blake, J. J., & Gonzalez, T. (2017). *Girlhood Interrupted: The Erasure of Black Girls' Childhood*.
- Evans-winters, V. E., & Esposito, J. (2010). Other people's daughters: Critical race feminism and black girls' education. *Educational Foundations*, 24(1–2), 11–25. <http://ezproxy.twu.edu:2048/login?url=http://ezproxy.twu.edu:2060/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eric&AN=EJ885912&site=ehost-live&scope=site>
- Gibson, P., Haight, W., Cho, M., Nashandi, N. J. C., & Yoon, Y. J. (2019). A mixed methods study of Black Girls' vulnerability to out-of-school suspensions: The intersection of race and gender. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 102(May), 169–176. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2019.05.011>
- Griffin, C. B., Metzger, I. W., Halliday-Boykins, C. A., & Salazar, C. A. (2020). Racial Fairness, School Engagement, and Discipline Outcomes in African American High School Students: The Important Role of Gender. *School Psychology Review*, 0(0), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2020.1726810>
- Hair, E. C., Moore, K. A., Garrett, S. B., Ling, T., & Cleveland, K. (2008). The continued importance of quality parent-adolescent relationships during late adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 18(1), 187–200. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2008.00556.x>
- Hirschi, T. (1969). *The causes of delinquency*. Berkeley: The University of California Press.
- Hughes, D. (2003). Correlates of African American and Latino parents' messages to children about ethnicity and race: A comparative study of racial socialization. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 31(1/2), pp. 15-33.
- Hughes, D., Witherspoon, D., Rivas-Drake, D., & West-Bey, N. (2009). Received ethnic-racial socialization messages and youths' academic and behavioral outcomes: Examining the mediating role of ethnic identity and self-esteem. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 15(2), 112–124. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015509>
- Ispa-Landa, S. (2013). Gender, Race, and Justifications for Group Exclusion: Urban Black Students Bussed to Affluent Suburban Schools. *Sociology of Education*, 86(3), 218–233. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040712472912>
- Jensen, E. (2009). How Poverty Affects Behavior and Academic Performance. In *Teaching with Poverty in Mind*. <http://www.ascd.org/publications/books/109074/chapters/How-Poverty-Affects-Behavior-and-Academic-Performance.aspx>

- Koonce, J. B. (2012). "Oh, Those Loud Black Girls!": A Phenomenological Study of Black Girls Talking with an Attitude. *8*(2), 26–46.
- Marcucci, O. (2020). Parental Involvement and the Black–White Discipline Gap: The Role of Parental Social and Cultural Capital in American Schools. *Education and Urban Society*, *52*(1), 143–168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124519846283>
- Martirano, M.J., Burch, W.C., White, L.L. (2014). The Association Between School Discipline and Academic Performance: A Case for Positive Discipline Approaches. *West Virginia Department of Education*. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED569903.pdf>
- Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission (2004). *Emerging Trends: The Many Faces of Prince George’s County*. <http://mncppcapps.org/planning/publications/PDFs/96/Emerging%20Trends.pdf>
- McHale, S., Crouter, A., Kim, J., Burton, L., Davis, K., Dotterer, A., & Swanson, D. (2006). Mothers' and Fathers' Racial Socialization in African American Families: Implications for Youth. *Child Development*, *77*(5), 1387-1402. Retrieved December 4, 2020, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3878440>
- Moore, K.A., Guzman, L., Hair, E., Lippman, L., & Garrett, S. (2004). Parent-Teen Relationships and Interactions: Far More Positive Than Not. *Child Trends Research Brief*. https://www.childtrends.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/Child_Trends-2004_12_01_RB_ParentTeen.pdf
- Morris, E. W. (2007). "Ladies" or "loudies?": Perceptions and experiences of black girls in classrooms. *Youth and Society*, *38*(4), 490–515. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X06296778>
- Morris, E. W., & Perry, B. L. (2017). Girls Behaving Badly? Race, Gender, and Subjective Evaluation in the Discipline of African American Girls. *Sociology of Education*, *90*(2), 127–148. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040717694876>
- Morris, M. W., Bush-baskette, S., Harris, L., Thomlinson, B., Starks, A., Paxton, D., Rooks, R., & Muhammad, D. (2012). *RACE, GENDER AND THE SCHOOL -TO- PRISON PIPELINE : EXPANDING OUR DISCUSSION TO INCLUDE BLACK GIRLS*.
- Murphy, A. S., Acosta, M. A., & Kennedy-Lewis, B. L. (2013). "I'm not running around with my pants sagging, so how am I not acting like a lady?": Intersections of Race and Gender in the Experiences of Female Middle School Troublemakers. *Urban Review*, *45*(5), 586–610. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-013-0236-7>
- Palcic, J., Jurbergs, N., & Kelley, M. (2009). A comparison of teacher and parent delivered consequences: Improving classroom behavior in low-income children with ADHD. *Child & Family Behavior Therapy*, *31*(2), 117–133.

- Rocque, M. (2010). Office discipline and student behavior: Does race matter? *American Journal of Education*, 116(4), 557–581. <https://doi.org/10.1086/653629>
- Serpell, Z. N., Wilkerson, T., Evans, S. W., Nortey-Washington, M., Johnson-White, R., & Paternite, C. E. (2020). Developing a Framework for Curtailing Exclusionary Discipline for African-American Students with Disruptive Behavior Problems: A Mixed-Methods Approach. *School Mental Health*, 0123456789. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12310-020-09380-z>
- Skinner, O. D., Kurtz-Costes, B., Wood, D., & Rowley, S. J. (2018). Gender Typicality, Felt Pressure for Gender Conformity, Racial Centrality, and Self-Esteem in African American Adolescents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 44(3), 195–218. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798418764244>
- Steinberg, L., Darling, N. E., & Fletcher, A. C. (2004). Authoritative parenting and adolescent adjustment: An ecological journey. *Examining Lives in Context: Perspectives on the Ecology of Human Development*, 423–466. <https://doi.org/10.1037/10176-012>
- Steinberg, L., & Morris, A. S. (2001). Adolescent Development. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, 52, 83–110.
- Varner, F., Hou, Y., Ross, L., Hurd, N. M., & Mattis, J. (2019). Dealing With Discrimination: Parents' and Adolescents' Racial Discrimination Experiences and Parenting in African American Families. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 26(2), 215–220. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000281>

Table 1 Correlations and Means

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Mean (SD)
1. Racial Discrimination	1	0.399**	-0.041	0.131**	0.084	0.038	0.037	0.102*	0.016	-0.081	0.100*	0.24 (0.43)
2. Gender Discrimination	0.399**	1	-0.039	0.070	-0.001	0.023	0.055	0.004	0.006	-0.098*	-0.007	0.17 (0.38)
3. Cultural Socialization	-0.041	-0.039	1	0.036	-0.024	0.045	0.126*	-0.053	-0.052	-0.020	0.170**	0.14 (0.45)
4. Prep for Bias	0.131**	0.070	0.036	1	0.070	0.048	0.048	0.013	-0.011	-0.142**	0.139**	0.59 (0.93)
5. Parental Warmth	0.084	-0.001	-0.024	0.070	1	0.160**	0.174**	-0.217**	-0.170**	-0.017	0.276**	4.00 (0.83)
6. Parental Monitoring	0.038	0.023	0.045	0.048	0.160**	1	0.112*	-0.107*	-0.080	-0.091	0.134**	4.85 (0.43)
7. Parental School Involvement	0.037	0.055	0.126*	0.048	0.174**	0.112*	1	-0.033	-0.084	-0.088	0.265**	0.21 (0.20)
8. School Behavior Problems	0.102*	0.004	-0.053	0.013	-0.217**	-0.107*	-0.033	1	0.350**	0.017	-0.129**	1.68 (1.24)
9. Suspension/Ex pulsion	0.016	0.006	-0.052	-0.011	-0.170**	-0.080	-0.084	0.350**	1	0.123*	-0.129**	0.10 (0.30)
10. Youth Age	-0.081	-0.098*	-0.020	-0.142**	-0.017	-0.091	-0.088	0.017	0.123*	1	-0.144**	12.34 (0.55)
11. SES	0.100*	-0.007	0.170**	0.139**	0.276**	0.134**	0.265**	-0.129**	-0.129**	-0.144**	1	-0.16 (0.84)

Correlations between variables of interest

*p<0.05, **p<0.01

Table 2 Results of hierarchical regressions for Black girls' school behavior problems

Variable	<i>School Behavior Problems</i>	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Step 1. Covariates		
SES	-0.207**	0.076
Age	-0.090	0.122
Step 2. Parent-Child Relationship		
SES	-0.137	0.080
Age	-0.085	0.122
Parental Warmth	-0.250*	0.080
Parental Monitoring	-0.140	0.149
Parental School Involvement	0.215	0.328
Step 3. Perceived Discrimination		
SES	-0.152*	0.080
Age	-0.070	0.122
Parental Warmth	-0.264**	0.079
Parental Monitoring	-0.145	0.148
Parental School Involvement	0.228	0.326
Racial Discrimination	0.430**	0.157
Gender Discrimination	-0.149	0.179
Step 4. Ethnic-Racial Socialization		
SES	-0.145	0.081
Age	-0.063	0.123
Parental Warmth	-0.270**	0.080
Parental Monitoring	-0.142	0.149
Parental School Involvement	0.251	0.328
Racial Discrimination	0.417**	0.158
Gender Discrimination	-0.154	0.179
Cultural Socialization	-0.102	0.136
Prep for Bias	0.030	0.069
Step 5. Racial Discrimination x Parental Warmth		
SES	-0.122	0.082
Age	-0.063	0.122

Parental Warmth	-0.194*	0.088
Parental Monitoring	-0.149	0.148
Parental School Involvement	0.273	0.327
Racial Discrimination	0.449**	0.159
Gender Discrimination	-0.190	0.179
Cultural Socialization	-0.112	0.136
Prep for Bias	0.036	0.068
Racial Discrimination x Parental Warmth	-0.352*	0.177
<hr/>		
Step 6. Racial Discrimination x Prep for Bias		
<hr/>		
SES	-0.113	0.082
Age	-0.062	0.122
Parental Warmth	-0.198*	0.088
Parental Monitoring	-0.149	0.148
Parental School Involvement	0.282	0.327
Racial Discrimination	0.459**	0.159
Gender Discrimination	-0.177	0.180
Cultural Socialization	-0.114	0.136
Prep for Bias	0.072	0.080
Racial Discrimination x Parental Warmth	-0.337	0.178
Racial Discrimination x Prep for Bias	-0.129	0.151
<hr/>		
Step 7. Racial Discrimination x Cultural Socialization		
<hr/>		
SES	-0.113	0.082
Age	-0.056	0.122
Parental Warmth	-0.199*	0.088
Parental Monitoring	-0.146	0.148
Parental School Involvement	0.281	0.327
Racial Discrimination	0.472**	0.159
Gender Discrimination	-0.160	0.180
Cultural Socialization	-0.184	0.145

Prep for Bias	0.074	0.080
Racial Discrimination x Parental Warmth	-0.328	0.178
Racial Discrimination x Prep for Bias	-0.147	0.152
Racial Discrimination x Cultural Socialization	0.533	0.393
<hr/>		
Step 8. Racial Discrimination x Gender Discrimination		
<hr/>		
SES	-0.116	0.082
Age	-0.051	0.122
Parental Warmth	-0.201*	0.088
Parental Monitoring	-0.126	0.149
Parental School Involvement	0.285	0.327
Racial Discrimination	0.573**	0.185
Gender Discrimination	0.030	0.253
Cultural Socialization	-0.184	0.145
Prep for Bias	0.075	0.080
Racial Discrimination x Parental Warmth	-0.346*	0.179
Racial Discrimination x Prep for Bias	-0.134	0.152
Racial Discrimination x Cultural Socialization	0.505	0.394
Racial Discrimination x Gender Discrimination	-0.387	0.362

*Note: * = $p \leq 0.05$; ** = $p \leq 0.01$*

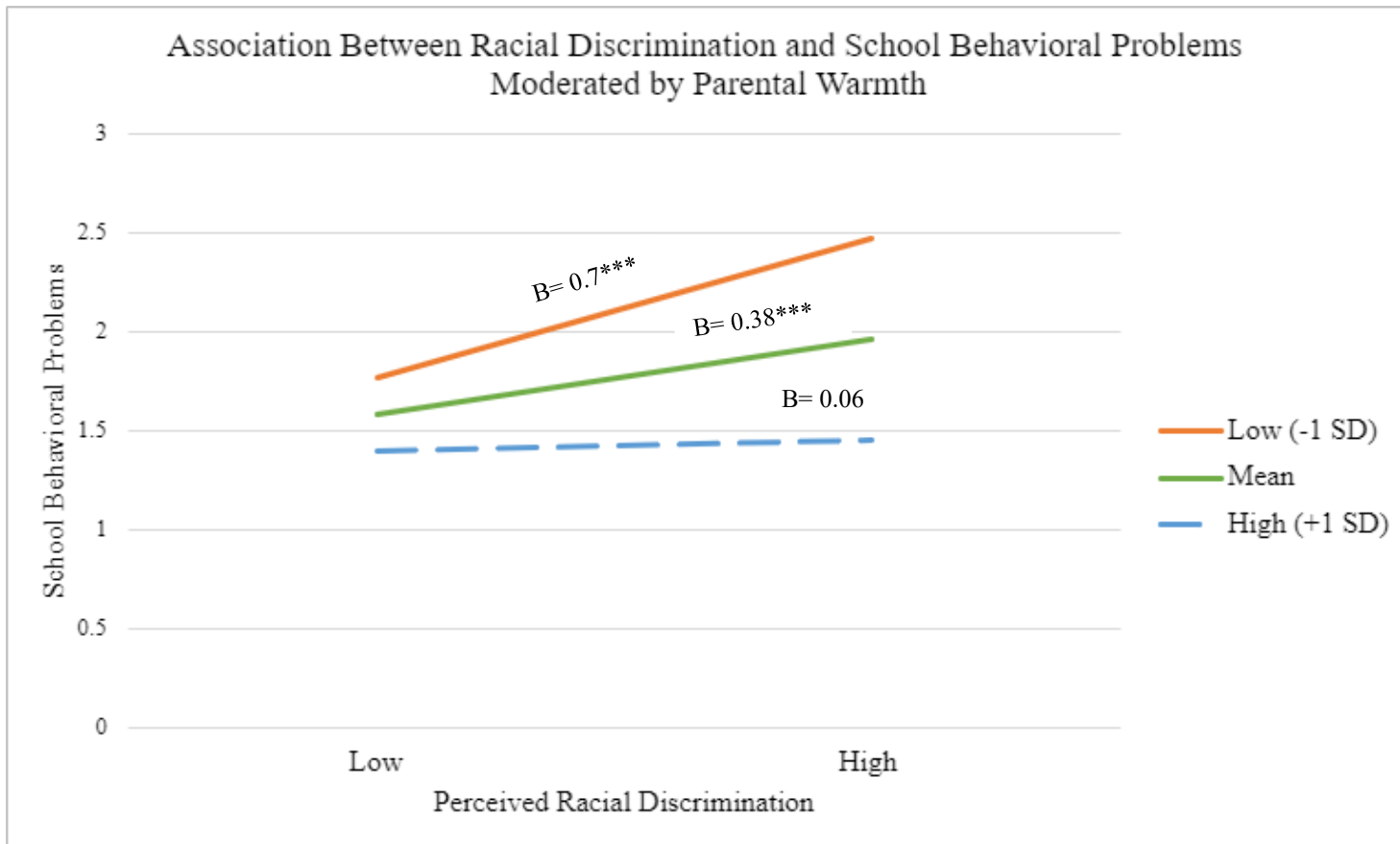
Table 3 Results of hierarchical logistic regression for Black girls' suspension/expulsion

Variable	Suspension/Expulsion		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Exp(B)</i>
Block 1. Covariates			
SES	-0.546*	0.216	0.579
Age	0.192	0.328	1.211
Block 2. Parent-Child Relationship			
SES	-0.350	0.233	0.705
Age	0.170	0.339	1.185
Parental Warmth	-0.471*	0.216	0.624
Parental Monitoring	-0.140	0.363	0.869
Parental School Involvement	-0.762	1.103	0.467
Block 3. Perceived Discrimination			
SES	-0.342	0.233	0.710
Age	0.185	0.339	1.203
Parental Warmth	-0.472*	0.217	0.624
Parental Monitoring	-0.149	0.364	0.862
Parental School Involvement	-0.790	1.111	0.454
Racial Discrimination	0.092	0.465	1.096
Gender Discrimination	-2.061	4.640	1.194
Block 4. Ethnic-Racial Socialization			
SES	-0.323	0.235	0.727
Age	0.197	0.346	1.218
Parental Warmth	-0.501*	0.219	0.606
Parental Monitoring	-0.130	0.365	0.878
Parental School Involvement	-0.767	1.134	0.464
Racial Discrimination	0.054	0.469	1.056
Gender Discrimination	0.165	0.516	1.180
Cultural Socialization	-0.680	0.683	0.506
Prep for Bias	0.164	0.194	1.179

Block 5. Racial Discrimination x Parental Warmth			
SES	-0.345	0.241	0.708
Age	0.195	0.347	1.215
Parental Warmth	-0.556*	0.249	0.574
Parental Monitoring	-0.125	0.365	0.882
Parental School Involvement	-0.774	1.129	0.461
Racial Discrimination	0.109	0.479	1.116
Gender Discrimination	0.192	0.516	1.211
Cultural Socialization	-0.674	0.683	0.510
Prep for Bias	0.158	0.195	1.171
Racial Discrimination x Parental Warmth	0.225	0.474	1.252
Block 6. Racial Discrimination x Prep for Bias			
SES	-0.338	0.244	0.713
Age	0.196	0.347	1.216
Parental Warmth	-0.559*	0.249	0.572
Parental Monitoring	-0.126	0.365	0.882
Parental School Involvement	-0.768	1.129	0.464
Racial Discrimination	0.117	0.479	1.124
Gender Discrimination	0.200	0.517	1.222
Cultural Socialization	-0.672	0.681	0.511
Prep for Bias	0.179	0.223	1.196
Racial Discrimination x Parental Warmth	0.241	0.480	1.273
Racial Discrimination x Prep for Bias	-0.084	0.446	0.919

Note: * = $p < 0.05$

Figure 1: Association between Racial Discrimination and School Behavioral Problems Moderated by Parental Warmth



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