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Peers over Parents? The Role of Racial Socialization on Ethnic-Racial  
Identity Development

By

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### **Abstract**

The principal question of this study is the following: does peer-level ethnic-racial socialization have the same effect as from parents on Black adolescents ERI development? By effect, we mean whether ethnic-racial socialization can mitigate the adverse effects of discrimination and boost identity development? Linear growth modeling was used to estimate the changes of ethnic-racial identity across time. To detect how various sources of ethnic-racial socialization may mitigate discrimination and boost the ethnic-racial identity development of Black adolescents, our study incorporated moderation analyses between socialization and discrimination. The results indicated that discrimination is associated with increased ethnic-racial identity development and that some forms of ethnic-racial socialization mitigate the effects of discrimination. Both peers and parents were able to mitigate discrimination through preparation for bias and boost ethnic-racial identity development. Thus, both peers and parents adequately socialize Black adolescents and prepare them for instances of discrimination.

**Keywords:** Racial Identity, Socialization, Discrimination, Black, Peers, Parents

## **Peers over Parents? Peer and Parental Racial Socialization on Ethnic-Racial Identity**

### **Development**

Over the past decade, the U.S. population has become increasingly diverse regarding ethnicity-race, making it critical for researchers to invest effort into understanding the challenges and triumphs that help Black youth contend with issues surrounding ethnic-racial identity and discrimination (Huguley et al., 2019). Recent meta-analytic studies have also indicated that across the academic literature, parental ERS positively benefits minoritized youth's ethnic-racial identity [ERI] development (Huguley et al., 2019; Wang, Smith, et al., 2020). ERI has been conceptualized as the meaning and one attributes to their ethnic-racial background as socialized through lived experiences and the centrality of this identity within one's self-concept (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2023; Santos et al., 2017; Sellers, 1993). There are several known challenges to healthy ERI development, including interpersonal discrimination (Buckner et al., 2004; Brady & Donenberg, 2006; Borofsky et al., 2013; Ceballo et al., 2022; Center for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2006a). Fortunately, parental ERS has been identified as a protective factor against the negative effects of discrimination on adolescents' ERI (Bentley-Edwards & Stevenson, 2015; Boykin & Toms, 1985; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Priest et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2020).

Though there have been great strides in the literature about ERI, most researchers have studied the construct through cross-sectional and singular time-point studies. This greatly contrasts the dynamic nature of ERI, as it is fluid and susceptible to socialized experiences (Umaña Taylor et al., 2008). There are also gaps in terms of how peers and parents may work independently or in tandem to shape ERI for Black adolescents. The role of parents in molding racially minoritized adolescents' ERI has been well-documented, but few studies have

considered how peers might similarly influence the identity development process. Researchers have noted the salience of peers on shaping racially minoritized youths' ERI development. Despite preliminary findings highlighting the crucial role of peers in shaping ERI, studies focused on peer ERS among Black adolescents are sparse (Nelson et al., 2017; Ruck et al., 2021). The current study addresses these needs by investigating how socialized experiences shape identity and track how identity changes through time. Specifically, this study used a longitudinal dataset to investigate (a) the role of discrimination on ERI development; (b) the specified elements of ERS (i.e., cultural socialization, preparation for bias, code switching) that influence ERI; (c) the role of peer versus parent ERS on ERI development; and (d) the extent to which the various forms of ERS can protect against the pernicious effects of discrimination on ERI development for Black adolescents.

## **Literature Review**

### **Ethnic-Racial Identity Development**

To better understand the roles of ethnic-racial socialization [ERS] and discrimination on identity development, we must first understand the nuances of identity theory. Erikson's (1968) theory on psychosocial identity development marked adolescence as a period of identity exploration and internalization of future goals, values, and beliefs. According to Erikson (1968), identity can be described as a sense of completeness involving solving the conflict of "who am I" and a deep enthrallment into exploring one's sense of self. His model posited that developing a sense of identity is crucial for healthy life course development, whereas failure to solidify an identity result in identity confusion (Erikson, 1968). Expanding on Erikson's work, theorists like Sellers (1998), Marcia (1994), and Phinney (1990) have specifically applied these concepts to ERI development.

Marcia's (1994) model expanded upon the Eriksonian psychosocial crisis of identity development by identifying four identity statuses at the nexus of identity commitment and identity exploration: identity diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achievement. *Diffusion* refers to a lack of exploration and commitment to one's racialized identity; *foreclosure* entails committing to one's identity without prior and present identity exploration; *moratorium* refers to active ethnic-racial identity exploration without commitment; and *achievement* refers to being committed to racial-ethnic identity after exploration (Marcia, 1994; see Figure 1. Marcia's model was then expanded upon by Phinney (1989, 1990), who further contextualized the interplay between exploration and centrality/commitment within the specific confines of ERI development. Like Marcia (1996), Phinney (1989, 1990, 1993) theorized a linear, but flexible development of identity from diffused to achieved. For example, once one reaches 'achievement' one may regress to 'moratorium', exemplifying this flexibility.

		Has the individual committed to their identity?	
		Yes	No
Has the individual explored their identity?	Yes	Identity Achievement	Moratorium
	No	Foreclosure	Identity Diffusion

Figure 1. Marcia's Identity Statuses (Marcia, 1994).

Contemporary research attempting to contextualize these theoretical findings has presented promising results. Studies such as Hughes and colleagues (2016), found that 42% of adolescents were in moratorium [active exploration] while 25% of emerging adults existed in this stage. Similarly, less than one-third of adolescents reported being in the achieved status while 50% of adults reported an achieved status. Of the few studies that has examined identity changes longitudinally found that about 27% of Black adolescents transitioned from the *exploration stage* to *achievement stage* by the time they reached adulthood (Yip et al., 2006). It is vital that

scholars continue to examine the social experiences (e.g., discrimination) that affect youth's developing ERI, as it can allot a myriad of rich protective factors against discrimination (Fuligni et al., 2005; Lee & Yoo, 2004, Rivas-Drake et al., 2008; Umaña Taylor et al., 2008).

Up to this point, we have reviewed models focusing on ERI exploration and commitment, but another body of research has examined the values associated with ERI. Sellers and colleagues' (1998) original Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) focuses on the *evaluation* and *values* associated with ERI, also known as ERI centrality. While ERI exploration consists of thinking about one's ethnic-racial group, discussing it with others, and participating in cultural activities (Syed et al., 2013). ERI centrality is defined as the extent to which an individual's ERI is integral to their self-concept (Sellers et al., 1998). Understanding the dual aspects of ERI offers insights into the mechanism through which Black adolescents cultivate private regard—that is, how an individual views their own racial group—for their ERI.

Researchers have found that while most adolescents report high private regard, there is variation amongst various ethnic-racial groups regarding centrality. For instance, Latinx youth report high private regard but less centrality than Black youth (Rivas-Drake et al., 2008). Longitudinal studies that have tracked racially minoritized students from early adolescence to emerging adulthood have offered interesting evidence that Black and Latinx youth gain increasing awareness of racially prejudice views (public regard) as they shift from middle to high school (Altschul et al., 2006; Hughes et al., 2011; Hughes et al., 2011). Unsurprisingly, low public regard tends to be common in the presence of heightened discrimination (Seaton et al., 2009).

Moreover, studies have evidenced that adolescents with high ERI centrality tend to have more positive self-esteem (Umaña Taylor et al., 2008) and better academic trajectories

(Oyserman et al., 2003). Similarly, private regard has been linked to high self-esteem (Lee & Yoo, 2004), well-being (Sellers et al., 2003), and academic motivation (Fuligni et al., 2005) as well as low perceived stress (Sellers et al., 2006). Although there is rich literature addressing the benefits of healthy ethnic-racial identity development, most of these studies have been cross-sectional (Fuligni et al., 2005; Lee & Yoo, 2004, Rivas-Drake et al., 2008). Thus, the goal of the current study is to provide a rigorous examination of the role of discrimination on ERI development and the timelines and experiences that can account for shifts in centrality and exploration from a longitudinal standpoint.

### **Discrimination on Ethnic-Racial Identity Development**

Adolescents are more likely than those in other developmental periods to negatively internalize racial discrimination (Benner et al., 2018). Research has found that instances of race-based discrimination share and association with suboptimal mental health, poor academic outcomes, and low ERI centrality (Benner et al., 2018; Polanco-Roman et al., 2021). The frequency to which these instances occur for racially minoritized youth is staggering. For example, Seaton and Douglass (2014) found that 97% of racially minoritized youth reported at minimum one discriminatory experience in a 2-week span, with Black adolescents experiencing at least five instances of racial discrimination per day, on average (English et al., 2020).

The existing research on the relations between racial discrimination and ERI development has been mixed. For example, Cross's (1991) Nigresence model argues that encounters with discrimination triggers racially minoritized youth's ERI exploration. Contemporary research has supported this model: Pahl and Way (2006) found that longitudinally Black adolescents that experienced interpersonal discrimination were more likely to experience increased levels of ERI exploration. While some have found that racial discrimination is

associated with lower ERI centrality through time. Spencers' (2006) PVEST model theorizes that experiences with racial discrimination will dampen the ERI development of Black youth and that effect of racial discrimination is largely negative. Likewise, Parham (1989) speculated that if Black adolescents already have high ERI centrality when they experience racial discrimination – they may regress to having lower ERI centrality and exploration. Though, some longitudinal studies have also found no relationship between discrimination and ERI development (Seaton et al., 2011).

### *Current Limitations within Scholarly Literature*

Across the aforementioned studies, racial discrimination was conceptualized under the narrow category of 'interpersonal discrimination' instead of investigating discriminatory experiences within specific domains (e.g., legal, online, etc.), thus representing a prominent shortcoming within the existing literature. As such, there is a need for more developmentally relevant studies that examine various types of discrimination that Black adolescents face (Seaton et al., 2018), such as online, legal, institutional, and vicarious discrimination. By examining these more nuanced categories of discrimination, we can more comprehensively capture the lived, realistic experiences of Black adolescents.

A secondary issue in the racial discrimination literature is that discrimination has been largely studied cross-sectionally. In the few existing longitudinal studies, some scholars have found that race-based discrimination does not influence ERI development (Seaton et al., 2012), while others have found the opposite (Cross, 1991, Masuoka, 2006). A probable cause for these discrepancies in reactions to discrimination may be that youth differ in the coping strategies when encountering discrimination. Hence discriminatory experiences – whether negative or positive – are not interpreted identically across individuals.



The hope of the current study is to strengthen and bring clarity to the available literature by investigating how instances in discrimination affect ERI over time using a multi-dimensional conceptualization of discrimination. Based on PVEST and social identity theory, we speculate that discrimination will be significantly related with ERI development, such that Black adolescents will be negatively affected by discrimination as evidenced by decreases in ERI centrality as discrimination increases through time (Spencer, 2006, PVEST). In line with social identity theories (Cross, 1997; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), we further hypothesize that these discriminatory experiences will heighten ERI exploration through time.

### **Parent and Peer Socialization Experiences in Adolescence**

*Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization.* As previously detailed, parental ERS refers to the process through which parents from historically marginalized ethnic-racial groups help their children (a) understand, internalize, and identify with their ethnic-racial group (Huguley et al., 2019) and (b) cope with discrimination experiences. (Hughes et al., 2021). Three of the most prominently studied parental ERS practices include cultural socialization/racial pride, preparation for bias, and code-switching. *Racial pride/cultural socialization* describes messages that inform youth about their ethnic-racial heritage; *preparation for bias* attempts to inoculate youth against racialized social systems which can be discriminatory and prejudiced through proactive or reactive coping; and *code-switching* involves direct instruction on how youth should adjust their behavior depending on the racialized social context (Hughes et al., 2006).

Previous longitudinal and meta-analytic studies have found that ERS and positive social experiences with peers and families tend to be associated with high self-esteem, psychological well-being, and healthy identity development in adolescence (Allen et al., 1994; Dahl et al., 2018; Diamond & Gomez, 2004; Hauser et al., 1991; Huguley et al., 2019; Priest et al., 2014;

Wang et al., 2020). For instance, cultural socialization informs youth's developing ERI, thus highlighting the link between ERS and healthy child development (Huguley et al., 2019).

Parental preparation for bias has been positively associated with academic performance, healthy physical development, and racial centrality (Diamond & Gomez, 2004; Huguley et al., 2019; Priest et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2020). Regarding code switching, some have found that Black adolescents utilize code switching to adapt to discriminatory spaces (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). These code-switching behaviors may buffer the adverse experiences of discrimination, but this topic has been underexplored in the existing literature.

The available empirical studies (e.g., Huguley et al., 2019) have indicated that parental ERS acts as a mitigator against racial discrimination on ERI development. Moreover, the absence of parental ERS has been linked to adverse effects on healthy ERI development for Black adolescents, especially in the context of ethnic-racial discrimination (Riina & McHale, 2010). Based on the literature thus far supporting the beneficial roles of parental ERS, we expect that parental ERS will serve as a moderator between the relationship of discrimination and ERI development, such that parent ERS will dampen the adverse effects of discrimination on ERI development by increasing centrality and exploration.

***Peer Ethnic-Racial Socialization.*** As children grow into adolescents, they forgo spending time interacting with parents at home in favor of engaging with peers in predominately educational settings (Albert et al., 2021). Indeed, there is evidence that ERS processes traditionally studied in the context of parent-child relationships also occur within peer relationships (Nasir et al., 2009). For example, past studies have found that adolescents converse about racial pride (Wang et al., 2015), engage in race-related traditions and events (Wang et al., 2015), and prepare to cope with interpersonal ethnic-racial discrimination (Butler-Barnes et al.,

2018). However, peer ERS has been understudied in the literature. In the context of a rapidly diversifying ethnic-racial landscape in the U.S., there is a present need to (a) understand whether and how peer ERS may contribute to adolescents' ERI in the context of racial discrimination and (b) delineate how peer and parent ERS may work individually and in tandem to support youth's developing ERI.

As the study of peer ERS is in its nascent stages, researchers have yet to reach scholarly consensus as to the role of peer ERS as it pertains to ERI exploration and centrality within racially minoritized adolescents. Some have found that peers are salient ethnic-racial socializers toward Black adolescents (Butler-Barnes et al., 2018; Hughes et al., 2016; Hugley et al., 2019; Ruck et al., 2021; Wang & Benner, 2016), whereas others have found that peer ERS was not predictive of exploration or commitment (Nelson et al., 2018). Although it is unequivocal that youth of color engage in these peer ethnic-racial socialization processes (Hughes et al., 2016; Hugley et al., 2019; Ruck et al., 2021), there is a lack of evidence as to whether peer ERS confers a similar protective effect as ERS from parents.

Overall, it is unclear as to how often peers engage in certain socialization processes surrounding ethnic-racial pride/cultural pride and preparation for bias. It is also largely unexamined as to whether peer ERS may buffer the deleterious effects of racial discrimination. To advance the academic literature, this study examined the roles of both parental and peer racial-ethnic socialization to see if (a) there is alignment between salience and frequency of socialization processes and (b) if one, both, or neither are salient to ERI development. We predict that peer ERS will act as a moderator in the relationship between discrimination and ERI identity development, such that higher amounts of socialization will dampen the negative effects of discrimination on identity development by increasing centrality and exploration. Likewise, we

expect that peer ERS will exert a stronger influence than parental ERS among adolescents due to the saliency of peer relationships during this developmental period.

### Current Study

The present study has three primary objectives that fill existing gaps within the ethnic-racial identity literature. The first goal is to ascertain whether discrimination has long-term effects on the ERI development of Black adolescents. According to social identity theory (Cross, 1991) and PVEST (Spencer, 2006), racially minoritized youth who experience discriminatory experiences are more likely to have high ERI exploration, but low centrality. Secondly, we hope to discover whether parental ERS has a moderating effect on the relationship between discrimination and ERI development throughout time. Lastly, our final goal is to discover whether peers have a similar moderating effect as parents – and if they are even more positive than parents.

<b>Research Questions:</b>	Does discrimination influence the ERI centrality and exploration of racially minoritized youth through time?	Does parent RES have a moderating effect on discrimination and ERI development over time?	Does peer RES have a moderating effect on discrimination and ERI identity development over time?
<b>Corresponding Hypotheses:</b>	Black students will be negatively affected by discrimination, such that there are decreases in ERI centrality as discrimination increases through time. Though, I further speculate that these discriminatory experiences will heighten ERI exploration through time (as supported by social identity theory).	Parental ERS will serve as a moderator between the relationship between discrimination and ERI identity development, such that higher amounts of socialization will dampen the negative effects of discrimination on identity development by increasing centrality and exploration.	Peer ERS will serve as a moderator between the relationship between discrimination and ERI identity development, such that higher amounts of socialization will dampen the negative effects of discrimination on identity development by increasing centrality and exploration.

Figure 2. Research Questions and Hypotheses

## Methods

### Participants

The current study utilized data from the “Parenting Engagement Project,” which longitudinally examines the interplay of parents and peers on adolescents’ collective engagement, academic motivation and performance, and identity development. The participants were tracked from 7<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> grade. The data was collected from families and students within four districts within the Pittsburgh area, and a broader U.S. sample. Initially, our pilot study in spring 2017 consisted of 612 participants. One advantage of this study is that 52% of the sample were Black students, allowing more exploration of the effects of discrimination and ERS on ERI. Gender was equitable, with a 50% split between males and females. Data collection spanned ten waves from 2017 to 2023 with over 50% of the participants engaging in each wave.

The analytic sample included 231 students from Wave 2 (Spring 2021) ( $n = 177$  for Black students), 177 students in Wave 3 (Spring 2022) ( $n = 99$  for Black students), 162 students in Wave 4 (Fall 2022) ( $n = 94$  for Black students), and 169 students in Wave 5 (Spring 2023) ( $n = 100$  for Black students). The racial composition was diverse (39% Black, 21% White, 13% Biracial, 1.3% Latinx) with a final sample was 52% boys and 48% girls. This study did not collect those outside of these gendered binaries. While the data consists of various ethnic-racial identities, this study will solely focus on Black adolescents and how racialized social experiences affect their identities. Capturing the effects of these experiences from a longitudinal standpoint will more compellingly describe the ways in which negative (i.e., discrimination) and positive (i.e., ERS) experiences affect development through time. Cross-sectional designed studies can certainly observe these relationships at one time point, whereas in longitudinal design there is opportunity to detect minute changes as a function of changing social experiences and environments.

## **Procedures**

The data collection process occurred over three phases over a five-year period, including both qualitative and quantitative surveys (see outline below). A summary of the data collection timeline is present in the figure below – note that data collection continued after Wave 2 until Wave 5 in 2022.

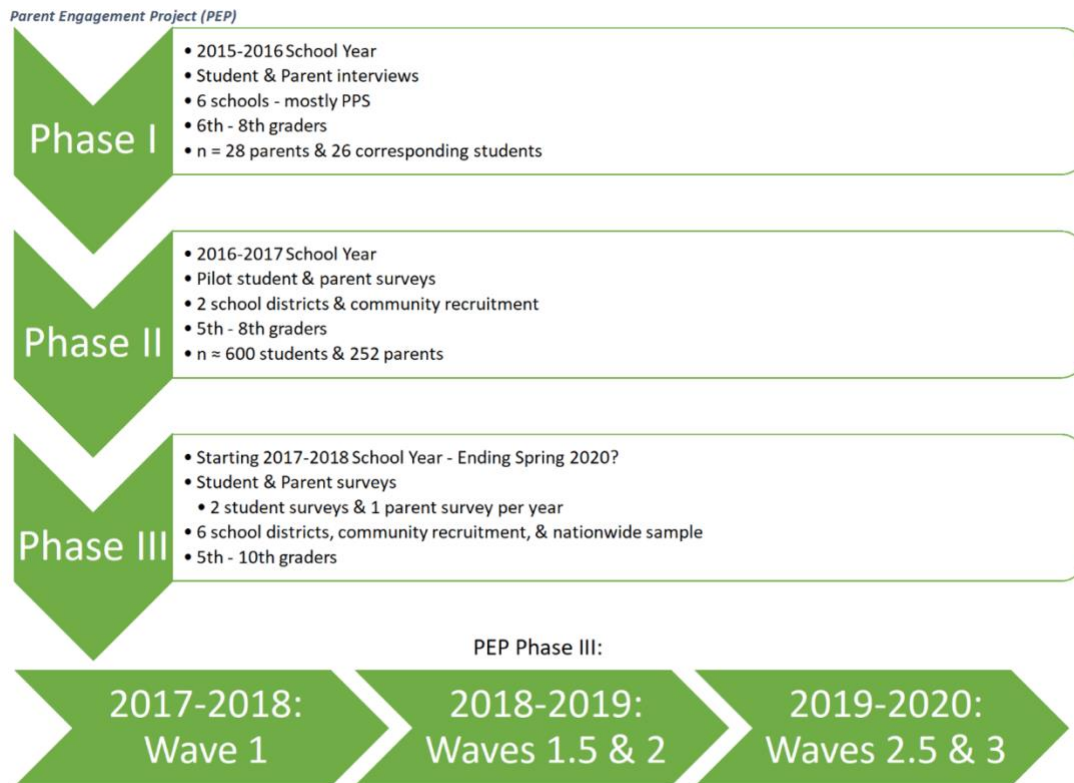


Figure 3. Parent Engagement Project Timeline

As seen in Figure 3, Phase 1 was a qualitative study to design the measures to be used in Phase 2. Phase II (or pilot phase) is a quantitative study of parental involvement in education via student report and parent report. The purpose of this phase of the study was to validate the parental involvement survey measure developed in Phase I. The team administered this survey of parental involvement and related constructs to 612 students. Surveys were administered to all student participants at a single time point during one school year. The 612 caregivers completed a separate, but similar survey of parental involvement and related constructs. Data collectors also

obtained pertinent demographic information from the participants and the schools. Study activities lasted approximately 60 minutes for both students and caregivers. Students received a similar thank you gift for their completion of the survey. Caregivers received a University of Pittsburgh debit MasterCard for their completion of the survey. Each of the six participating schools received payment for collecting school record data in Year 2 of the pilot study.

Phase III (or longitudinal phase) is a quantitative study of parental involvement in education via student, caregiver, and teaching staff report. The purpose of Phase III of the study was to examine how patterns of parental involvement among African American families develop over the course of middle school as well as to understand the relationship between family involvement and academic outcomes over time. Researchers administered the survey of family involvement and related constructs to 315 sixth grade African American students and their primary caregivers. Surveys were administered to all student and caregiver participants at one time point each year across three school years. Survey activities lasted approximately 60 minutes for students and caregivers. All participants will receive incremental payments over the three years. Each of the six participating schools will receive a payment for collecting school record data during Years 2-4 of the longitudinal study.

### **Measures**

**Race.** Race was assessed with by asking “Are you: (American Indian, Asian, Black, White, Hispanic, Other and Other-text).” Multiple sections were offered.

**Gender.** Gender was assessed utilizing a binary of 1 = Male and 2 = Female.

**Peer Ethnic-Racial Socialization.** Adolescents ethnic-racial socialization from their peers was based on two indicators: racial pride/cultural socialization and preparation for bias. *Peer cultural socialization* was assessed using the Cultural Socialization across Contexts Scale

(Wang et al., [2015](#)). The participants rated four items capturing both explicit (e.g., talked about the values and beliefs of one's ethnic/racial background) and implicit messages (e.g., listened to music or watched tv and movies by artists from one's ethnic-cultural background) which centered on racial pride and heritage. The scale ranged from 1 (*never*), 2 (*once or twice*), 3 (*some of the time*), 4 (*many times*) and 5 (*all the time*). *Peer preparation for bias* was similarly structured with four items that inquired about explicit behaviors from peers (e.g., peers gave strategies to respond to discrimination; supported when treated differently because of their race). Participants responded to each item on the same scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*all the time*).

**Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization.** Adolescents parental ethnic-racial socialization is measured on three indicators: racial pride and heritage, code switching, and preparation for bias. *Racial Pride and Heritage* was assessed with 15 items for racially minoritized students and 10 items for White students. All items were collected from the Parental ethnic-racial socialization Scale (“My parent(s)/guardian(s) talk with me about things people of my race have overcome; “We watch movies that have good or inspiring messages or stories of my race.” The scale ranged from 1 (*never*), 2 (*once or twice*), 3 (*some of the time*), 4 (*many times*) and 5 (*all the time*). *Parental preparation for bias* was similarly administered with 13 items for racially minoritized students that inquired about explicit messages from parents (“Talk about how they themselves had been treated unfairly because of their race”; Tell you racism is something you will have to face in life”). Participants responded to each item on the same scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*all the time*).

**Ethnic-Racial Identity.** Ethnic-racial identity was assessed by items from the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1997) and Phinney’s (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure but was adapted for various racial-ethnic diverse groups.



Both Phinney's (1992) and Seller's (1997) measures are reliable and valid in terms of measuring Black ethnic-racial identity (Altschul et al., 2006; Hughes et al., 2011). Racial-ethnic identification was asked on one item (In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be:"). Following this was three items for *belonging or centrality* ("I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group"; I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me." Similarly, three items on *public regard* ("Overall people in my ethnic group are respected by others"; "People in this country view people in my ethnic group as an asset") and three items on *exploration* ("I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better.") Participants rated each item using a scale ranging from 1(Strongly Disagree) to 4(Strong Agree).

**Racial Discrimination.** Racial discrimination was assessed utilizing the Adolescent Discrimination Distress Index (ADDI). It is a 16-item measure that assess adolescent distress in responses to perceived race-based discrimination from institutional (e.g., stores), educational (e.g., teachers), legal (e.g., law enforcement), online [interpersonal and vicarious] and peer contexts. Students indicated whether they have experienced each type of discrimination because of their race or ethnicity and, if so, they rate how much it upset them, on a 5-point scale ranging from 1(Never) to 5(More than 10 times).

### **Data Analysis Plan**

Descriptive statistics will be run to detect differences in discrimination by race, as well as the frequencies of parental and peer ethnic-racial socialization. The main method of data analysis in this study will be a no growth (Model 1) and two growth models (Model 2 and 3) from Waves 1 through Wave 4 in R and Mplus. The no growth model only tracks the changes of ERI identity across time without considering other covariates. The next set of analyses will be mixed-

modeling techniques to detect the longitudinal changes of ERI as a function of racialized experiences (i.e., ethnic-racial socialization and discrimination).

The no growth model equations are as follows:

*Within-subject models – level 1*

$$C_{ij} = b_{0i} + b_{1i}Time_{ij} + e_{ij}$$

$$E_{ij} = b_{0i} + b_{1i}Time_{ij} + e_{ij}$$

*Between-subject models – level 2*

$$b_{0i} = B_0 + v_{0i}$$

$$b_{1i} = B_1 + v_{1i}$$

Within this equation  $C_{ij}$  represents the outcome variable of ERI centrality, while  $E_{ij}$  represents the outcome variable for ERI exploration as time “j” for individual “i”. The  $b_{0i}$  is the baseline level of ERI centrality and exploration for participant “i”. The  $b_{1i}$  term specifies the average Wave change for ERI centrality and exploration.  $\beta_0$  is the average baseline level for ERI centrality and belonging.  $\beta_1$  is the average ERI centrality and belonging Wave change.  $v_{0i}$  and  $v_{1i}$  represent the individual-specific random effects from the population-level intercept; more specifically how person “i” may vary from the population-level average. By utilizing individual-specific deviations (i.e.,  $v_1$ ,  $v_2$ ) and random error terms in these models I can account for both within and between persons variation through time. Finally,  $e_{ij}$  signifies the error term or the random variability. In these equations we assume:  $u_{it} \sim N(0, \sigma_u^2)$  and  $d_{1t} \sim N(0, \sigma_{d1}^2)$ .  $u_{it} \sim N(0, \sigma_u^2)$  states that the error term is normally distributed with a mean on zero, similarly  $d_{1t} \sim N(0, \sigma_{d1}^2)$  assumes the individual-specific deviations are normally distributed with a mean of zero or accounts for variability among individuals ERI that is not

accounted by the population-level intercept. This acts as a null model to which Models 2 and 3 can be compared: calculations will be made using the `nlme::nlme()` function in R.

Model 2 will allow detection in changes in racial-ethnic identity through time as a function of parental ERS, and how discrimination impact these changes. There are three different moderators that will be tested separately within model 2 that represent some aspect of parent ERS (i.e., preparation for bias, racial pride, code switching, cultural socialization). The equations for this model will be:

*Within-subject models – level 1*

$$C_{ij} = b_{0i} + b_{1i}Time_{ij} \\ + b_{2i}ParentRES_{ij} + b_{3i}Gender_{ij} + b_{4i}SES_{ij} + b_{5i}Grade_{ij} + b_{6i}Discrim_{ij} \\ + b_{7i}ParentRES_{ij} * b_{7i}Discrim_{ij} + b_{8i}Time_{ij} * b_{8i}ParentRES_{ij} + e_{ij}$$

$$E_{ij} = b_{0i} + b_{1i}Time_{ij} \\ + b_{2i}ParentRES_{ij} + b_{3i}Gender_{ij} + b_{4i}SES_{ij} + b_{5i}Grade_{ij} + b_{6i}Discrim_{ij} \\ + b_{7i}Prep4Bias_{ij} * b_{7i}Discrim_{ij} + b_{8i}Time_{ij} * b_{8i}ParentRES_{ij} + e_{ij}$$

*Between-subject models – level 2*

$$b_{0i} = B_0 + v_{0i}$$

$$b_{1i} = B_1 + v_{1i}$$

$$b_{2i} = B_2 + v_{2i}$$

$$b_{3i} = B_3 + v_{3i}$$

$$b_{4i} = B_4 + v_{4i}$$

$$b_{5i} = B_5 + v_{5i}$$

$$b_{6i} = B_6 + v_{6i}$$

$$b_{7i} = B_7 + v_{7i}$$

$$b_{8i} = B_8 + v_{8i}$$

$$\text{Where: } u_{it} \sim N(0, \sigma_u^2)$$

$$\text{And: } \begin{bmatrix} d_{1i} \\ d_{2i} \end{bmatrix} \sim N \begin{bmatrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \sigma_{d1}^2 & \sigma_{d1d2} \\ \sigma_{d1d2} & \sigma_{d2}^2 \end{bmatrix}$$

As shown above, the linear growth model includes two different models one that detects discrimination and parent ERS on ERI centrality  $C_{ij}$  and one with exploration  $E_{ij}$ . For the third model, I am detecting the role of peer RES n on the relationship between discrimination and racial-ethnic identity:

*Within-subject models – level 1*

$$\begin{aligned} C_{ij} = & b_{0i} + b_{1i}Time_{ij} \\ & + b_{2i}PeerRES_{ij} + b_{3i}Gender_{ij} + b_{4i}SES_{ij} + b_{5i}Grade_{ij} + b_{6i}Discrim_{ij} \\ & + b_{7i}ParentRES_{ij} * b_{7i}Discrim_{ij} + b_{8i}Time_{ij} * b_{8i}PeerRES_{ij} + e_{ij} \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} E_{ij} = & b_{0i} + b_{1i}Time_{ij} \\ & + b_{2i}PeerRES_{ij} + b_{3i}Gender_{ij} + b_{4i}SES_{ij} + b_{5i}Grade_{ij} + b_{6i}Discrim_{ij} \\ & + b_{7i}Prep4Bias_{ij} * b_{7i}Discrim_{ij} + b_{8i}Time_{ij} * b_{8i}PeerRES_{ij} + e_{ij} \end{aligned}$$

*Between-subject models – level 2*

$$b_{0i} = B_0 + v_{0i}$$

$$b_{1i} = B_1 + v_{1i}$$

$$b_{2i} = B_2 + v_{2i}$$

$$b_{3i} = B_3 + v_{3i}$$

$$b_{4i} = B_4 + v_{4i}$$

$$b_{5i} = B_5 + v_{5i}$$

$$b_{6i} = B_6 + v_{6i}$$

$$b_{7i} = B_7 + v_{7i}$$

$$b_{8i} = B_8 + v_{8i}$$

Where:  $u_{it} \sim N(0, \sigma_u^2)$

$$\text{And: } \begin{bmatrix} d_{1i} \\ d_{2i} \end{bmatrix} \sim N \begin{bmatrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \sigma_{d1}^2 & \sigma_{d1d2} \\ \sigma_{d1d2} & \sigma_{d2}^2 \end{bmatrix}$$

## Results

### Descriptives

**Table 1. ERI Exploration and Centrality Means Across Waves**

Wave	ERI Exploration Mean	ERI Centrality Mean
1	2.67	2.94
2	2.72	3.01
3	2.73	2.97
4	2.91	3.08

Table 1 indicates that ERI exploration is gradually increasing through time on average. This suggests that there may be a linear relationship between ERI exploration and time, whereas for ERI centrality there are increases and decreases across time; indicative of possible quadratic development of ERI centrality. The effect size from Wave 1-2 was 0.084, Wave 2-3 was 0, and Wave 3-4 was .264. Thus, the shifts throughout the last waves were the most salient with a marginal effect size.

**Table 2. Unconditional growth models of ERI**

ERI Type	B (SE)	P-value
Centrality	-.049 (.13)	.711
Exploration	.061 (.02)*	.013

Note. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ , † $p < .1$

I first tested two linear mixed unconditional models: the first was for ERI centrality and second was for ERI exploration. The first model tested only the slope of change of centrality (i.e., Wave). Simultaneously, I tested whether a quadratic or linear form of time better fits the

model. Results indicated that both the quadratic and linear term for Wave (time) were insignificant. Suggesting no detectable relationship between ERI (identity) centrality and time. Thus, there is a lack of evidence that ERI centrality changes through time for Black adolescents in this developmental period.

For the second model, I tested whether ERI exploration changes linear or quadratically through time. Unlike the ERI centrality model, the linear term for time was significant ( $b = 0.0614$ ,  $SE = 0.024$ ,  $p = 0.0136$ ). The linear model similarly had higher model fit parameters ( $AIC = 847.5$ ,  $BIC = 863.7$ ) compared to the quadratic model ( $AIC = 848.4$ ,  $BIC = 868.7$ ). Suggesting that ERI exploration positively changes through time linearly for Black adolescents in the study.

Table 3. Parents ERS Moderator Models on ERI Centrality for Black Adolescents

Preparation for Bias			Racial Pride			Code Switching		
Variable	B (SE)	95% CI	Variable	B (SE)	95% CI	Variable	B (SE)	95% CI
Discrimination	-.57* (.23)	[-1.04,-.11]	Discrimination	.06 (.13)	[-.20, .32]	Discrimination	.13 (.12)	[-.10,.37]
Preparation for Bias	-.018 (.20)	[-.51, .15]	Racial Pride	.11 (.10)	[-.09, .32]	Code Switching	.08 (.08)	[-.08,.24]
Linear Time	-.31 (.20)	[-.72, .09]	Linear Time	-.30* (.15)	[-.61, -.00]	Linear Time	-.24 (.15)	[-.54,.04]
Quadratic Time	.06 (.04)	[-.03, .15]	Quadratic Time	.03 (.03)	[-.02, .10]	Quadratic Time	.04 (.03)	[-.01,.10]
Gender	-.31 (.20)	[-.30, .12]	Gender	-.07 (.09)	[-.26, .10]	Gender	-.08 (.09)	[-.27,.11]
Socioeconomic Status	-.04 (.04)	[-.12, .03]	Socioeconomic Status	.00 (.03)	[-.06, .07]	Socioeconomic Status	-.00 (.03)	[-.07,.06]
Grade Level	-.08 (.15)	[-.40, .23]	Grade Level	.02 (.11)	[-.19, .25]	Grade Level	-.00 (.11)	[-.23,.21]
Moderator (Prep for Bias)	.14* (.06)	[.02, .26]	Moderator (Racial Pride)	-.01 (.04)	[-.00, .06]	Moderator (Code Switch)	-.01 (.03)	[-.08,.05]
Preparation for Bias x Wave	.00 (.01)	[-.01, .01]	Racial Pride x Wave	.00 (.01)	[-.00, .16]	Code Switch x Wave	-.00 (.00)	[-.01,.00]

Note. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ , † $p < .1$

Table 4. Parents ERS Moderator Models on ERI Exploration for Black Adolescents

Preparation for Bias			Racial Pride			Code Switching		
Variable	B (SE)	95% CI	Variable	B (SE)	95% CI	Variable	B (SE)	95% CI
Discrimination	-.36 <sup>†</sup> (.21)	[-.78, .05]	Discrimination	.03 (.12)	[-.21, .26]	Discrimination	.02 (.11)	[-.19, .25]
Preparation for Bias	-.01 (.15)	[-.31, .28]	Racial Pride	.28** (.09)	[.09, .43]	Code Switching	.04 (.07)	[-.11, .20]
Linear Time	-.26 (.19)	[-.65, .12]	Linear Time	-.36* (.15)	[-.66, -.07]	Linear Time	-.40** (.15)	[-.70, -.10]
Quadratic Time	.06 (.04)	[-.02, .16]	Quadratic Time	.06* (.03)	[.00, .12]	Quadratic Time	.07* (.03)	[.01, .14]
Gender	-.20* (.09)	[-.38, -.01]	Gender	-.28*** (.07)	[-.43, -.13]	Gender	-.33*** (.08)	[-.49, -.17]
Socioeconomic Status	.00 (.03)	[-.06, .07]	Socioeconomic Status	.07* (.03)	[.01, .12]	Socioeconomic Status	-.07* (.03)	[-.007, .13]
Grade Level	-.02 (.15)	[-.32, .26]	Grade Level	-.02 (.10)	[-.24, .18]	Grade Level	.017 (.11)	[-.20, .23]
Moderator (Prep for Bias)	.11* (.05)	[.005, .22]	Moderator (Racial Pride)	-.00 (.03)	[-.07, .07]	Moderator (Code Switch)	.02 (.03)	[-.03, .09]
Preparation for Bias x Wave	-.00 (.01)	[-.01, .01]	Racial Pride x Wave	.00 (.005)	[-.07, .07]	Code Switch x Wave	.00 (.00)	[-.00, .01]

Note. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ , <sup>†</sup> $p < .1$



Table 5 Peer ERS Moderator Models on ERI Centrality for Black Adolescents

Preparation for Bias			Racial Pride		
Variable	B (SE)	95% CI	Variable	B (SE)	95% CI
Discrimination	-.01* (.11)	[-.22, .24]	Discrimination	.05 (.13)	[-.21, .31]
Preparation for Bias	.12 (.07)	[-.03, .27]	Racial Pride	.12 <sup>t</sup> (.08)	[-.04, .29]
Linear Time	-.19 (.15)	[-.50, .11]	Linear Time	-.17 (.15)	[-.48, .12]
Quadratic Time	.05 <sup>t</sup> (.03)	[-.00, .11]	Quadratic Time	.04 (.03)	[-.01, .11]
Gender	-.02 (.09)	[-.20, .15]	Gender	-.02 (.09)	[-.20, .15]
Socioeconomic Status	-.03 (.03)	[-.10, .03]	Socioeconomic Status	-.04 (.03)	[-.10, .02]
Grade Level	-.05 (.11)	[-.17, .29]	Grade Level	.07 (.11)	[-.15, .30]
Moderator (Prep for Bias)	.01 (.03)	[-.05, .08]	Moderator (Racial Pride)	.00 (.03)	[-.07, .08]
Preparation for Bias x Wave	-.01* (.004)	[-.01, .00]	Racial Pride x Wave	-.00 (.01)	[-.01, .00]

Note. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ , <sup>t</sup> $p < .1$

Table 6. Peer ERS Moderator Models on ERI Centrality for Black Adolescents

Preparation for Bias			Racial Pride		
Variable	B (SEB)	95% CI	Variable	B (SEB)	95% CI
Discrimination	-.57* (.23)	[-1.04,-.11]	Discrimination	.08 (.11)	[-.14,.32]
Preparation for Bias	-.02 (.20)	[-.51, .15]	Racial Pride	.31*** (.07)	[.16,.46]
Linear Time	-.31 (.20)	[-.72, .09]	Linear Time	-.25 <sup>†</sup> (.15)	[-.54,.04]
Quadratic Time	.06 (.04)	[-.03, .15]	Quadratic Time	.08**(.03)	[.02,.14]
Gender	-.31 (.20)	[-.30, .12]	Gender	-.18** (.07)	[-.09,.32]
Socioeconomic Status	-.04 (.04)	[-.12, .03]	Socioeconomic Status	.00 (.02)	[-.05,.06]
Grade Level	-.08 (.15)	[-.40, .23]	Grade Level	-.01 (.11)	[-.23,.19]
Moderator (Prep for Bias)	.14* (.06)	[.02, .26]	Moderator (Racial Pride)	.00 (.03)	[-.06,.07]
Preparation for Bias x Wave	.00 (.01)	[-.01, .01]	Code Switch x Wave	-.00 <sup>†</sup> (.00)	[-.01,.00]

Note. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ , <sup>†</sup> $p < .1$

**Model 2: Discrimination and Peer ERS Models on ERI Centrality and Belonging.**

Following the unconditional growth models, I tested all the covariates (i.e., discrimination, gender, SES, Grade) and moderations between various types of ERI socialization (i.e., preparation for bias, racial pride, code switching, peer preparation for bias, peer cultural socialization) on the relationship between discrimination and identity development across time. As with Model 1, I also tested linear and quadratic terms for time.

**Peer Cultural Socialization**

The set of models tested whether ERI centrality and exploration was associated with peer cultural socialization. Both the linear and quadratic model had insignificant outcomes for the ERI centrality model, such that no covariates or moderation were significant. Consequently, the analyses proceeded to the ERI exploration model. Here, the quadratic model displayed higher fit parameters (AIC = 624.3, BIC = 666.8) compared to the linear model (AIC = 626.3, BIC = 664.9). The model found that peer cultural socialization ( $b = 0.263$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ,  $p < 0.000$ ), quadratic time ( $b = 0.056$ ,  $SE = 0.028$ ,  $p = 0.046$ ), and gender ( $b = -0.191$ ,  $SE = 0.075$ ,  $p = 0.012$ ) were significant and associated with ERI exploration, but racial discrimination, linear time, SES, and the moderation were insignificant. Thus, peer cultural socialization is associated with increasing ERI exploration through time. Similarly, being a Black male is associated with lower ERI exploration through time.

**Peer Preparation for Bias**

The next set of models, we examined whether ERI centrality and exploration was associated with peer preparation for bias. Similar to the previous model, both the linear and quadratic model had highly insignificant outcomes for the ERI centrality model, such that no covariates or moderation were significant. Therefore, analyses proceeded to the ERI exploration

model. The quadratic model had higher fit parameters (AIC = 635.4, BIC = 677.9) compared to the linear model (AIC = 636.6, BIC = 675.2). The model found that peer preparation for bias ( $b = 0.116$ ,  $SE = 0.06$ ,  $p = 0.089$ ), quadratic time ( $b = 0.051$ ,  $SE = 0.028$ ,  $p = 0.073$ ), and gender ( $b = -0.182$ ,  $SE = 0.077$ ,  $p = 0.020$ ) were significant and associated with ERI exploration, but racial discrimination, linear time, SES, and the moderation were insignificant. Thus, peer preparation for bias is associated with increasing ERI exploration through time. Similarly, being a Black male is associated with lower ERI exploration through time.

### **Model 3: Discrimination and Parental ERS Models on ERI Centrality and Belonging.**

#### **Parental Preparation for Bias Models**

These models assayed whether preparation for bias was a moderator on the relationship between racial discrimination and ERI centrality and exploration. The linear model for this relationship evidenced that time, preparation for bias, and all the covariates were insignificant. However, racial discrimination ( $b = -.5712$ ,  $SE = 0.236$ ,  $p = 0.0164$ ) and the moderation of preparation for bias ( $b = 0.142$ ,  $SE = 0.06$ ,  $p = 0.019$ ) was significant. Suggesting that racial discrimination is negatively associated with ERI centrality and exploration – such that as discrimination increases ERI decreases. Likewise, the moderation suggests that preparation for bias buffers the negative effects of discrimination on ERI development. However, the model fit for the linear model (AIC = 401.3, BIC = 434.5) was less robust compared to the quadratic model (AIC = 400.5, BIC = 437). Thus, analyses proceeded by considering the fixed effects of the quadratic model. The intercept term for ERI centrality ( $b = 4.56$ ,  $SE = 1.58$ ) suggested that Black adolescents have an ERI centrality average of about 4.56 [the highest possible score is 5]. The quadratic model found that racial discrimination ( $b = -0.57$ ,  $SE = 0.234$ ,  $p = 0.015$ ), quadratic time ( $b = 0.066$ ,  $SE = 0.039$ ,  $p = 0.096$ ), and the moderation term ( $b = .144$ ,  $SE =$

0.060,  $p = 0.017$ ) were all significant. Thus, the quadratic model suggests that racial discrimination has a negative effect on the ERI centrality of Black adolescents through time. However, the term of quadratic time was positive and marginally significant indicating that ERI centrality does increase through time but in a non-linear function. This implies that instances of racial of discrimination can have temporal negative effects on ERI centrality but does not overall associate with a negative decrease of ERI centrality throughout time. Importantly, there is evidence that preparation for bias from parents act as a mitigator of racial discrimination on ERI centrality, such that higher amounts of preparation of bias can dampen the negative effects of racial discrimination on ERI centrality.

The same procedures were conducted for ERI exploration. Similar to the ERI centrality model, the quadratic model fit the data better (AIC = 367.6, 404.1) compared to the linear model (AIC = 368.1, BIC = 401.3). The model found that the average intercept of ERI exploration ( $b = 3.05$ ,  $SE = 1.48$ ) was approximately 3.05 [highest possible value is 5]. The significant predictors in the model were racial discrimination ( $b = -0.377$ ,  $SE = 0.213$ ,  $p = 0.0786$ ), gender ( $b = -0.202$ ,  $SE = 0.093$ ,  $p = 0.032$ ), and the moderation of preparation for bias ( $b = 0.115$ ,  $SE = 0.054$ ,  $p = 0.0365$ ). However, time, SES, and grade were insignificant predictors of ERI exploration. Racial discrimination has a marginal, negative effect on ERI exploration indicating that discrimination negatively effects ERI exploration. The negative, significant gender term indicates that females have higher ERI exploration. Importantly, the preparation for bias moderation remains positive and significant indicating that preparation for bias serves as a buffer against the negative effects of racial discrimination on ERI exploration. However, these significant outcomes cannot be interpreted as being significant through time.

### Parental Racial Pride Models

These models tested whether racial pride was a moderator on the relationship between racial discrimination and ERI centrality and exploration. Similar to before, the quadratic model had better fit parameters (AIC = 651.3, BIC = 693.4) compared to the linear model (AIC = 654.4, BIC = 695.5). The model found that linear time ( $b = -.308$ ,  $SE = 0.1539$ ,  $p = 0.046$ ) and quadratic time ( $b = 0.051$ ,  $SE = 0.028$ ,  $p = 0.0741$ ) were significant, while all other covariates and moderations were insignificant, including racial discrimination, racial pride, gender, SES, grade level, and pride as a moderator. The linear term was significant, while the quadratic term has marginal significance indicating that ERI centrality decreases through time in this model – which is in opposition to the preparation for bias model. The varying effects across models can be conceptually puzzling, but the difference in significance is largely a function of the moderators and other variates in the models. For example, time may be significant in a model where ERI changes are detected to occur as a function of the covariates: meaning that if preparation for bias is significant then time may be more likely to have a detectable, significant effect.

Though, the model for ERI exploration had entirely varying results. The quadratic model (AIC = 582.4, BIC = 624.5) fit the data better compared to the linear model (AIC = 589.9, BIC = 632.1). The significant covariates in the model included racial pride ( $b = 0.0330$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), linear time ( $b = -0.375$ ,  $SE = 0.147$ ,  $p = 0.0118$ ), quadratic time ( $b = 0.08$ ,  $SE = -.027$ ,  $p = -.0037$ ), gender ( $b = -0.284$ ,  $SE = 0.075$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and SES ( $b = 0.069$ ,  $SE = 0.030$ ,  $P = 0.021$ ). A positive racial pride coefficient suggests that racial pride is associated with increased ERI exploration. Linear and quadratic terms are both significant, however the quadratic term has higher significance: thus, we conclude that the relationship between ERI centrality and time in

this model is quadratic (see Tables 3-5 above). Also, being a Black male was associated with lower ERI exploration in comparison to females – as seen in the previous model. Lastly, having a higher SES was associated with more ERI exploration for Black youth.

### **Parental Code Switch Models**

The next set of models tested whether ERI centrality and exploration was associated with code switching. Both the linear and quadratic model had highly insignificant outcomes for the ERI centrality model, such that no covariates or moderation were significant. Thus, analyses proceeded to the ERI exploration model. The quadratic model had better model fit statistics (AIC = 648.3, BIC = 690.7) compared to the linear model (AIC = 655.9, BIC = 698.4). The quadratic model evidenced that linear time, quadratic time, gender, and SES were significant predictors of ERI exploration. As before, both linear ( $b = -0.412$ ,  $SE = 0.151$ ,  $p = 0.0069$ ) and quadratic time ( $b = 0.084$ ,  $SE = 0.028$ ,  $p = 0.0033$ ) are significant. Hence, an examination of a graph of the changes through time can provide further clarity as to the true nature of time in the model (see below). Furthermore, being a Black male was associated with lower ERI exploration in comparison to females – as seen in the previous model. Lastly, having a higher SES was associated with more ERI exploration for Black youth.

### **Discussion**

To date, research on ethnic-racial socialization has predominantly centered on the roles of parents; hence, we know little about the impact of other developmental agents, such as peers. The current study aimed to illuminate (a) the impact of discrimination on ethnic-racial identity (ERI) development and (b) whether and to what extent peer and parental ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) moderate the relationship between discrimination and ERI development over a two-year period. Findings indicated that racial discrimination catalyzes ERI exploration and

centrality among Black adolescents through time. Furthermore, ERS from both peers and parents moderated the association between discrimination and ERI development. More specifically, preparation for bias from peers and parents both moderated the relationship between discrimination and ERI development. Thus, there is evidence that discrimination affects ERI through time and that both peers and parents are effective socializers to Black adolescents that can protect against the negative effects of discrimination.

### **Racial Discrimination**

The current study leveraged longitudinal analyses to provide unique insights into the effects of discrimination. Discrimination shared a negative association with Black adolescents' ERI development; however, when looking at ERI centrality and exploration, our findings were mixed. Increases in discrimination over time were associated with increases in ERI exploration, but models examining the link between discrimination and ERI centrality over time were not significant.

These findings are partially in line theories such as Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST; Spencer, 2006) and social identity theory (Cross, 1991). According to these theories, racially minoritized youth who experience racial discrimination are more prone to explore their ERI, but these adverse social experiences can dampen ERI centrality (e.g., Cross, 1971, 1991; Phinney, 1990). Empirical literature has also indicated that racial discrimination may catalyze ERI exploration among Black adolescents (Cross, 1991; Pahl & Way, 2006; Tajfel & Turner, 2004) while having a negative effect on ERI centrality (Benner et al., 2018; Polanco-Roman et al., 2021). As such, our findings regarding ERI exploration align with the general consensus in existing literature, while our findings regarding ERI centrality are at odds with published research.



There is a constellation of potential reasons why our hypotheses regarding ERI centrality was not supported. For example, participants may have had previously high ERI centrality and developed effective coping strategies for racial discrimination as they entered the longitudinal study. As suggested by Yip and colleagues (2006), Black youth tend to already have an achieved or highly central ERI by the time they reach adolescence. It may be the case that discrimination experiences prior to this data collection period had already significantly affected youth's ERI centrality; thus, participants may have entered the study with more fully centralized ERI. There is some evidence for this claim in our data, as ERI centrality hovered near a value of 3 on a 4-point Likert scale throughout the 2-year span, indicating that most participants had relatively stable ERI. Furthermore, no models in our analyses found an association between age and ERI centrality further evidencing that ERI centrality did not significantly change with age in our study. If participants' ERI is stable, then the coping mechanisms for reacting to discrimination may be effective, consequently discrimination is not as detrimental toward ERI centrality (Tynes et al., 2012).

### **Peer and Parental Preparation for Bias**

Based on past research (Nelson et al., 2018), we hypothesized that both parental and peer preparation for bias would protect against the negative effect of discrimination and ERI identity development such that higher amounts of parent ERS would dampen the adverse effects of discrimination. Our hypothesis regarding preparation for bias from parents was supported by our data, and these findings add to the large body of research evidencing parents are salient at cultivating their children's racialized identities through ERS (Benner et al., 2018; Polanco-Roman et al., 2021). Practically, our findings align with literature indicating that Black parents understand the developmental and social needs of their youth as they enter a highly racialized

society (Diamond & Gomez, 2004; Huguley et al., 2019; Priest et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2020). These findings underscore the critical function of parental preparation for bias in buffering the effects of discrimination and boosting ERI development. Consequently, there is evidence that emphasized the critical importance of family in positively shaping Black youth.

This study contributes uniquely to the available literature by examining the role of ERS from peers. We found that preparation for bias from peers moderated the relationship between discrimination and ERI exploration, but not centrality. These findings directly align with those presented within extant research (Juang & Syed, 2014; Nelson et al., 2018; Syed, 2012). To our knowledge, there are few documented on the differences between the effects of parent versus peer preparation for bias (Nelson et al., 2018). However, there is a possibility that while the content of peer and parental preparation for bias may vary in terms of reasoning behind the messages, their positive effects are similar. For example, parents hope to prepare for a stigmatized society based on experience, while peers are providing social support (Nelson et al., 2018). Moreover, it is possible that both entities are salient in positively molding ERI exploration development for Black adolescents experiencing high amounts of discrimination.

### **Peer and Parental Racial Pride/Cultural Socialization**

We predicted that cultural socialization—regardless of whether from parents or peers—would have a protective moderating effect in the relationship between racial discrimination and ERI development; however, this hypothesis was not supported. Racial pride from parents as a singular variable (not a moderator) was a positive predictor of healthy ERI exploration. Though previous studies have found that racial pride is an asset to healthy ERI development and mitigator of discrimination (Peck et al., 2014; White & Wanless, 2019), it is surprising that our study did not detect moderating effects for ERI centrality. Similar studies have found that parents

assist in developing their children's sense of self by enthralling them in their ancestor's identities (Fivush et al., 2008). These contradicting findings may suggest that while racial pride has positive effects on ERI exploration – it may not mitigate the adverse effects of discrimination.

As mentioned, our analysis offered unexpected findings that do not align with extant findings that positive racial messages about heritage have a positive moderating impact on ERI (Merrill & Fivush, 2016). It is possible that racial pride serves as a mechanism to foster ERI exploration – which may lead to higher ERI centrality at future time points. Arnett (2000) argues that major ERI exploration does not occur until emerging adulthood – rather than adolescents. This may explain the reasons for no detectable associations between racial pride and ERI exploration. Furthermore, there may be other sources of racial pride that boost ERI centrality outside of parents. Researchers have noted the salience of peers on shaping racially minoritized youths' overall health and well-being (Matlin et al., 2011; Thomas & Brausch, 2020), hence it may be possible that racial pride positively effects well-being rather than ERI development. Lam and Crouter (2014) similarly note the salience of peers on other peers' developmental well-being and mental health. Other possible explanations include the role of parents: Brown and colleagues (2010) found that Black mothers are the primary source of racial pride, but there may be alternative sources of pride-based messages. For example, there may be cultural-events or organizations that Black youth participate in that serve these functions. Unfortunately, our current data does not allow us to confirm these hypotheses.

In terms of peer racial pride, we found a positive association between pride and ERI exploration that partially supported our hypothesis. The influence of peer racial pride – and racial pride more broadly – is complex. A significant quadratic relationship of time (see Table 2) suggests that racial pride messages may not have been immediately internalized by the Black

adolescents in our sample. The initial delays can be attributed to the adverse effects of discrimination. However, it is largely unclear as to the reasoning for the quadratic time. We recommend future scholars continue to explore the intricacies of racial pride messages on ERI development.

### **Code Switching**

The last parental ERS model centered on the role of code-switching messages from parents on ERI development. The code-switching model for ERI centrality and exploration had no significant indicators, including covariates and moderators. The data suggests that code switching has no detectable effect on the ERI centrality of Black youth. Several reasons can explain this lack of significance. Perhaps, the code-switching messages served as protection from future or anticipated discrimination. It is also possible that code-switching does not detectably affect ERI development, but rather mental health and well-being (Spencer et al., 2022). We did not focus on code switching too carefully as there was no code-switching variable for peers, thus it does not substantively add to the purposes of the current study.

### **Limitations, Future Directions, and Conclusion**

The current study adds to our understanding of ERI development by examining the interplay of racial discrimination and ERS from the parents and peers over time. While this work offers substantial insights into the unexplored roles of peers on racially socializing, results must be interpreted considering several limitations. Firstly, the data was correlational and longitudinal, rather than causal. Hence, we cannot make conclusive claims as to the role of these socialized experiences. However, we have provided descriptive, correlational, and longitudinal analyses that are conducive for future causal frameworks. Other studies have similarly produced compelling longitudinal tests of these relationships (e.g., Nelson et al., 2018; Umaña-Taylor et

al., 2023), indicating that the data and inferences on the longitudinal paths of these relationships closely match the work found in similar studies.

Secondly, some of the scales used to measure ethnic-racial socialization were adapted and self-created, thus we cannot be certain of the replicability of our findings. Using survey data may not accurately represent the degree or frequency of ethnic-racial socialization messages. Those who have more centralized ERI's are perhaps more adept at remembering and reporting instances of positive ethnic-racial cultural experiences. However, by collecting multiple tropes of ERS it is our hope that the data provides a more accurate representation of the ERS experiences of Black adolescents. Due to time constraints, further parsing within and between subjects' effects could not be done; these analyses will be completed in future research upon the submission of this study.

There is fruitful opportunity for future researchers to examine more ecologically salient buffers of racial discrimination on ERI development. There is also more room for nuance in understanding the lenses through which parents and peers differently socialize youth. For example, parents who prepare youth for bias may be offering more cautionary tales, while peers center on previous experiences and means for supporting one another. These varying messages ought to have differing effects on ERI development and psychological well-being. The times in which youth receive these messages likely matter as well. If racially minoritized youth have a previously high ERI centrality, then preparation for bias may not be as salient – due to already developed ERI.

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## Appendices

## A. Scales and Measures

Construct	Notes	Label	Item Question
<b>Demographics</b>			
Gender		Ngndr_14	What is your gender?
Race/Ethnicity		Nrc1_14	Are you: American Indian or Alaska
		Nrc2_14	Are you: Asian or Asian American
		Nrc3_14	Are you: Black or African American
		Nrc4_14	Are you: Hawaiian Native or Pacific
		Nrc5_14	Are you: White or European Americ
		Nrc6_14	Are you: Hispanic or Latino/Latina
		Nrc7_14	Are you: Other
		Nrc7_TEXT_14	Are you: Other-Text
English as first language		Nlang_14	Is English your first language? <i>Which parent(s) or guardian(s) do y</i>
All in-home parents/guardians		Ninhm1_14	Mother
		Ninhm2_14	Father
		Ninhm3_14	Step-mother
		Ninhm4_14	Step-father
		Ninhm5_14	Grandfather
		Ninhm6_14	Grandmother
		Ninhm7_14	Aunt
		Ninhm8_14	Uncle
		Ninhm9_14	Brother
		Ninhm10_14	Sister
		Ninhm11_14	Father's girlfriend/partner
		Ninhm12_14	Mother's boyfriend/partner
		Ninhm13_14	Other
		Ninhm13_14_TEX T	Other-Text
Primary Parent/Guardian		Ncgr12_14	Who is your primary parent or guar
		Ncgr12_14_TEXT	Who is your primary parent or guar
School District & School		Nsch_14	Please select your school.
		Nsch_14_TEXT	Please select your school. - TEXT
Grade		Ngrad_14	What grade are you in?

<b>GPA 21-22 grades</b>	Ngpa_14 Egrd_14 Mgrd_14	For the current school year (2022-23) (GPA)? On your most recent report card, what was your GPA? On your most recent report card, what was your GPA?
<b>SES Family structure</b>	Nbook_14 Nsib_14	About how many books are there in your home? How many brothers and sisters do you have?
<b>COVID-19 Vaccine</b> Asked only if "Yes" to Nvac1	Nvac1_14 Nvac3_14	Have you received the COVID-19 vaccine? If yes, how many shots 1, 2, or 3?
<b>Daily Emotions</b>		How often did you feel the following emotions during the school year?
	Nde22_14 Nde18_14 Nde30_14 Nde28_14 Nde19_14 Nde20_14 Nde21_14	Happy Nervous Energetic Stressful Anxious Lonely Depressed or Sad
<b>General Parenting Practices Scale</b>		<i>How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?</i>
<b>Open Communication</b>	Noc1_14 Noc2_14 Noc4_14 Noc5_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) are good listeners. I can discuss my beliefs with my parent(s)/guardian(s). It is very easy for me to express my feelings to my parent(s)/guardian(s). If I were in trouble, I could tell my parent(s)/guardian(s) about it.
<b>Emotional Responsiveness</b>	Ner1_14 Ner2_14 Ner3_14	<i>How often do your parent(s)/guardian(s) do the following?</i> They give me comfort when I am upset. They show sympathy when I am hurt. They are responsive to my feelings.
<b>Democratic parenting - Behavior</b>	Ndp1_14 Ndp3_14 Ndp4_14 Ndp5_14 Ndp7_14	When your parent(s)/guardian(s) talk to you, they explain the reasons for their decisions. My parent(s)/guardian(s) emphasize my independence. My parent(s)/guardian(s) have me make choices. My parent(s)/guardian(s) explain how to solve problems. My parent(s)/guardian(s) tell me the consequences of my actions. My parent(s)/guardian(s) encourage my independence in my school activity.
<b>Educational Engagement</b>		
<b>Educational Expectations</b>	Nee1_14	What grades do your parent(s)/guardian(s) expect you to get in school?

	Nea1_14	If everything went right, what grade period?
	Nep1_14	Things often don't go right, so what the next marking period?
	Nea2_14	If everything went right, how far would you go? <i>When you get homework, how often do you check it?</i>
<b>Home Structures</b>	Nhome1_14	Set a schedule for me to complete my homework.
	Nhome2_14	Check to make sure I am doing my homework.
	Nhome3_14	Make sure I have a quiet place to complete my homework. <i>Please respond to the following statements.</i>
<b>Academic Socialization</b>	Nas3_14	Show me how the things I learn in school apply to my life.
	Nas4_14	Tell me that it is normal to find school boring.
	Nas6_14	Talk to me about having a good outside life.
	Nas8_14	Talk to me about how to talk with teachers.
<b>Social Monitoring</b>		<i>In the past 4 months, how often have you...</i>
<b>Social Monitoring</b>	Npmon1_14	Asked to meet your friends
	Npmon2_14	Told you not to hang out with certain friends
	Npmon3_14	Talked to your friends' parents about your behavior
	Npmon4_14	Asked to meet the parent(s)/guardian(s) of your friends
	Npmon7_14	Asked your friends about things they do at home
	Npmon8_14	Made sure another adult was with you when you were out
	Npmon9_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) expect me to be home at a certain time
	Npmon10_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) limit areas I can go to
	Npmon11_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) put limits on who I can talk to (e.g., strangers, etc.).
		<i>In the past 4 months, how often have you...</i>
<b>Technology Monitoring</b>	Ntmon2_14	Put time limits on video games (computer or console)
	Ntmon3_14	Put time limits on the internet
	Ntmon8_14	Checked my social media profiles
	Ntmon4_14	Put time limits on using a cell phone
<b>Parent Racial Socialization</b>		<i>How often have you done the following...</i>
<b>Mainstreaming</b>	Nmst1_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) taught me that I am not different from other people
	Nmst2_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) told me that I am different from other people
	Nmst3_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) told me that I am different from other people in my group.
		<i>How much do you agree with the following...</i>
Skipped for White students	Nmst4_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) want me to be like other people

	Nmst5_14	Race does not determine how succe
		<i>How often have you done the follow</i>
<b>Humanitarian</b>	Nhum1_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) tell me it'
	Nhum2_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) tell me th
	Nhum3_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) tell me th
<b>Ethnic Identity Scale</b>		
		In terms of ethnic group, I consider
		For example, Native, Black America
		Korean, Chinese, Portuguese, etc. C
<b>Ethnic Identity</b>	Neth1_14	(write your answer in the box below
		<i>How much do you agree or disagree</i>
<b>Belonging</b>	Neth3_14	I have a strong sense of belonging t
	Neth4_14	I understand pretty well what my et
	Neth7_14	I feel a strong attachment towards
<b>Public Regard</b>	Neth8_14	Overall people in my ethnic group a
	Neth9_14	People in this country view people i
	Neth10_14	People in this country value the live
<b>Exploration</b>	Neth2_14	I have spent time trying to find out
	Neth5_14	customs.
	Neth6_14	I have often done things that will he
		I have often talked to other people
<b>Racial Experience Scale</b>		
<b>Educational</b>	Ndsc2_14	<i>How often have the following things</i>
	Ndsc3_14	I got in trouble with a teacher unfai
	Ndsc1_14	I was discouraged from joining an a
		I was given a lower grade than I des
<b>Institutional</b>	Nidsc2_14	People acted as if they were afraid
	Nidsc3_14	People acted as if they thought I wa
	Nidsc5_14	People expected less of me than oth
<b>Peer</b>	Npdsc2_14	Others my age did not include me in
	Npdsc3_14	I got into a fight because of my race
	Npdsc1_14	I was called a racially insulting name
<b>Law-Enforcement</b>	Nlpdsc1_14	I was treated unfairly by the police

<b>Interpersonal Online</b>	Nipo1_14	People have said mean or rude things to me online.
	Nipo2_14	People have excluded me from a site.
	Nipo3_14	People have threatened me online.

<b>Vicarious Online</b>	Nvo1_14	People have cracked jokes about people.
	Nvo2_14	People have said things that were unkind.
	Nvo3_14	I have witnessed people saying mean things.

<b>Critical Consciousness</b>		<i>How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?</i>
Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality	Ncc6_14	Certain racial or ethnic groups have more power than others.
	Ncc7_14	Women have fewer chances to get ahead than men.
	Ncc8_14	Poor people have fewer chances to get ahead than rich people.
		<i>How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?</i>
Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism	Ncc10_14	It would be good if groups could be equal.
	Ncc12_14	All groups should be given an equal chance to succeed.
	Ncc13_14	We would have fewer problems if we were more equal.
		<i>How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?</i>
Critical Motivation	Ncc25_14	It is important to correct social and economic inequalities.
	Ncc26_14	It is important to confront someone who is prejudiced.
	Ncc27_14	It is my responsibility to get involved in social and economic issues.
		<i>In the last year, how often have you done the following?</i>
Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation	Ncc14_14	Participated in a civil rights group or organization.
	Ncc15_14	Participated in a political party, club, or organization.

		Ncc17_14	Contacted a public official by phone on social or political issue
		Ncc18_14	Joined in a protest march, political rally

**Racial Socialization**

<b>Preparation for Bias</b>	Skipped for White students	Npbs1_14	How often do you talk with your parent(s) about race? <i>When your parent(s)/guardian(s) talk to you about race, they tell you:</i>
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	Skipped if Never was selected for sNpb1_13	Npbs2_14	Talk about how they themselves have been discriminated against
	Skipped if Never was selected for sNpb1_13	Npbs3_14	Tell you that you need to work hard to succeed
	Skipped if Never was selected for sNpb1_13	Npbs4_14	Tell you to have faith in God.
	Skipped if Never was selected for sNpb1_13	Npbs5_14	Encourage you to do your best and to be proud of your race
	Skipped if Never was selected for sNpb1_13	Npbs6_14	Encourage you to stand up for your rights
	Skipped if Never was selected for sNpb1_13	Npbs7_14	Encourage you to try hard to get along with people of different races
	Skipped if Never was selected for sNpb1_13	Npbs8_14	Told you it's not your fault when you are discriminated against
	Skipped if Never was selected for sNpb1_13	Npbs9_14	Tell you that not everyone is racist.
	Skipped if Never was selected for sNpb1_13	Npbs10_14	Tell you that your race will not hold you back
	Skipped if Never was selected for sNpb1_13	Npbs11_14	Talk about the history of your race.
	Skipped if Never was selected for sNpb1_13	Npbs12_14	Tell you that people of your race have made contributions to society
	Skipped if Never was selected for sNpb1_13	Npbs15_14	Tell you racism is something you will have to deal with
	Skipped if Never was selected for sNpb1_13	Npbs16_14	Tell you different ways in which racism affects people

<b>Code-Switching</b>	Skipped for White students	Ncs1_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) teach me how to act around me.
	Skipped for White students	Ncs2_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) teach me how to act around people of different races.
	Skipped for White students	Ncs3_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) teach me how to act around people of my race.

			<i>How often do you and/or your parent(s) talk with people of different races?</i>
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<b>Racial Pride and Heritage</b>		Nprsoc6_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) talk with me about my race and heritage
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		Nprsoc7_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) talk with me about how to overcome.
Skipped for White students		Nprsoc8_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) take me to cultural events of my race.
Skipped for White students		Nprsoc9_14	We watch movies that have good cultural messages.
		Nprsoc10_14	We listen to music from members of our racial/ethnic group.
		Nprsoc11_14	We attend a church/place of worship of our racial/ethnic group.
Skipped for White students		Nprsoc12_14	We attend cultural groups or programs of our racial/ethnic group.
		Nprsoc1_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) tell me about the history of my racial/ethnic group.
		Nprsoc2_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) tell me the history of my racial/ethnic group.
		Nprsoc16_14	My parents have me participate in cultural activities of my racial/ethnic group.
			<i>How much do you agree with the following statement?</i>
		Nrsoc5_14	My parent(s)/guardian(s) teach me about my racial/ethnic group in school.
		Nprsoc13_14	We observe holidays that are important to our racial/ethnic group.
		Nprsoc17_14	We attend family reunions where people from our racial/ethnic group are present.
Skipped for White students		Nprsoc14_14	How many books or e-books do you read that are about your racial group?
Skipped for White students		Nprsoc15_14	How much professional art do you see that is about your racial group?

**Student Engagement**

**Cognitive Engagement**

		Ncog2_14	I look over my schoolwork and make corrections.
		Ncog3_14	I keep trying when I get stuck on my schoolwork.
		Ncog6_14	I figure out what I did wrong when I get a bad grade.
		Ncog5_14	I give up right away when I don't understand.

**Behavioral Engagement**

		Nbeh2_14	I always try my best in school.
		Nbeh3_14	I contribute to what we are doing in class.
		Nbeh4_14	I ask questions when I don't understand.
		Nbeh14_14	I get involved in school activities (e.g., sports, clubs, etc.).
		Nbeh6_14	I goof off during work time in class.

**Affective Engagement**

		Naf1_14	Doing well in school is important to me.
		Naf4_14	I am happy at school.
		Naf5_14	I am proud of my school.
		Naf6_14	I am interested in what we are learning in school.

**Peer Racial Socialization**

How often do you and your FRIENDS/PEERS talk to you about your racial/ethnic group?

**Peer Cultural Socialization**

12/12- Added prompt "How often do you and your

Npcs1\_14

Your FRIENDS/PEERS talk to you about your racial/ethnic group?



	FRIENDS/PEERS do the following things?"	Npcs2_14	Your FRIENDS/PEERS talk about how
		Npcs4_14	Your FRIENDS/PEERS listen to music
		Npcs5_14	Your FRIENDS/PEERS participate in background Your FRIENDS/PEERS participate in How often do you and your FRIEND
Peer Preparation for Bias	12/12- Added prompt "How often do you and your FRIENDS/PEERS do the following things?"	Nppbs3_14	Your FRIENDS/PEERS give you strate unfairly because of your race/ethni
		Nppbs4_14	Your FRIENDS/PEERS have supporte because of your race/ethnicity?
		Nppbs5_14	Your FRIENDS/PEERS have stood up your race/ethnicity?
		Nppbs2_14	How often do your FRIENDS/PEERS your race/ethnicity?
<b>Emotion Socialization</b>			<i>Think about the past year, and for e</i>
Minimizing Reactions		Nesmr1_14	If I ever became angry because I wa parent(s)/guardian(s) would have: T
		Nesmr2_14	If I lost some prized possession (jew my parent(s)/guardian(s) would hav
		Nesmr3_14	If I worked hard on a test or assignm disappointed and upset about it, my deal out of the grade
		Nesmr4_14	If I was about to have a performanc watching me, my parent(s)/guardia performance
		Nesmr5_14	If I had received a birthday gift I did presence of that friend, my parent( deal of it
		Nesmr6_14	If I had ever become upset because have: Told me not to make a big de
Problem-focused Reactions		Nespr1_14	If I ever became angry because I wa parent(s)/guardian(s) would have: H
		Nespr2_14	If I lost some prized possession (jew my parent(s)/guardian(s) would hav
		Nespr3_14	If I worked hard on a test or assignm disappointed and upset about it, my me with studying so that I can do be

	Nespr4_14	If I was about to have a performance watching me, my parent(s)/guardian(s) would get ready for my turn (e.g., to do so
	Nespr5_14	If I had received a birthday gift I did not want in the presence of that friend, my parent(s)/guardian(s) would have exchanged for something I want
	Nespr6_14	If I had ever become upset because of something I did, my parent(s)/guardian(s) would have: Helped me think of ways to re

### Motivational Beliefs

<b>Intelligence Mindset</b>	Nimd1_14	You have a certain amount of intelligence and you can't change it.
	Nimd2_14	No matter who you are, you can signifi
	Nimd3_14	level.
	Nimd4_14	No matter how much intelligence (s
	Nimd5_14	To be honest, you can't really change your intelligence. You can learn new things, but you can't change your (smartness).

<b>Delayed Gratification</b>	Ndg1_14	I finish my homework before I do the
	Ndg2_14	I don't answer my phone when I'm
	Ndg3_14	I stay home if I need to study, instead
	Ndg4_14	I keep doing my homework, even if

<b>Big 5 Personality Factors Related to Learning - Conscientiousness</b>	Nbig3_14	I am organized and neat.
	Nbig7_14	I take my time to get things right.
	Nbig11_14	I plan things ahead. I think before I
	Nbig15_14	I show up on time.

<b>Emotion Socialization</b>		<i>Think about the past year, and for e</i>
<b>Emotion-focused Reactions</b>	Neser1_14	If I ever became angry because I was late to an event, my parent(s)/guardian(s) would have: Done something to help me avoid missing the event
	Neser2_14	If I lost some prized possession (jewelry, etc.), my parent(s)/guardian(s) would have: Done something to help me get it back
	Neser3_14	If I worked hard on a test or assignment and I did poorly, my parent(s)/guardian(s) would have: Done something to help me feel less disappointed and upset about it, my parent(s)/guardian(s) would have: Done something to help me make me feel better
	Neser4_14	If I was about to have a performance watching me, my parent(s)/guardian(s) would have: Done something to help me relax so that my nervousness wo

	Neser5_14	If I had received a birthday gift I did not want in the presence of that friend, my parent(s)/guardian(s) would have: Comforted me and tried to get me to stop thinking of something fun to do
	Neser6_14	If I had ever become upset because I did not have: Comforted me and tried to get me to stop thinking of something fun to do
<b>Expressive Encouragement</b>	Nesee1_14	If I ever became angry because I was not allowed to have: Encouraged me to talk about my feelings
	Nesee2_14	If I lost some prized possession (jewelry, etc.) my parent(s)/guardian(s) would have: Encouraged me to talk about my feelings
	Nesee3_14	If I worked hard on a test or assignment and was disappointed and upset about it, my parent(s)/guardian(s) would have: Encouraged me to talk about my feelings of disappointment
	Nesee4_14	If I was about to have a performance and my parent(s)/guardian(s) were watching me, my parent(s)/guardian(s) would have: Encouraged me to talk about my feelings
	Nesee5_14	If I had received a birthday gift I did not want in the presence of that friend, my parent(s)/guardian(s) would have: Encouraged me to talk about my disappointed feelings
	Nesee6_14	If I had ever become upset because I did not have: Encouraged me to talk about my feelings
<b>School Climate</b>		<i>When answering the following questions, please select how often the following happens at your school.</i>
<b>Interracial Climate</b>	Nirc1_14	Teachers encourage students to make friends with students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds
	Nirc2_14	Teachers here like students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds
	Nirc3_14	My school recognizes holidays of different racial/ethnic backgrounds
	Nirc4_14	I talk to students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds
<b>Support for Cultural Pluralism</b>	Ncult3_14	At my school, I get to do things that celebrate different cultures <i>How often does the following happen at your school?</i>
<b>Consistency and Clarity of Rules</b>	Ncons1_14	If some students are acting up in class, the teacher always makes a rule to stop them
	Ncons2_14	When teachers make a rule, they make sure all students understand it
	Ncons3_14	Students are given clear instructions on how to behave in class
	Ncons4_14	Students understand what will happen if they break a rule <i>How often does the following happen at your school?</i>
<b>Fairness</b>	Nfair1_14	When students break rules, they are treated fairly
	Nfair2_14	The rules at my school are fair to everyone
	Nfair3_14	Students get kicked out of class for breaking rules
	Nfair4_14	Teachers treat students of certain groups differently <i>Please select how often the following happens at your school.</i>

<b>School Belonging</b>	Nschb2_14	I feel like a real part of this school.
	Nschb3_14	I feel like an outsider in this school.
	Nschb4_14	People in my school accept me.
<i>For the questions below, decide how often you agree or disagree with the statement.</i>		
<b>Safety (Subscale 3)</b>	Nsaf10_14	How often do you feel safe while in school?
	Nsaf11_14	How often are you afraid that someone will harm you?
	Nsaf12_14	How often are you afraid that someone will harm you?
<i>Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statement.</i>		
<b>Caring Relationships with Adults</b>	Ncra1_14	At my school, there is an adult who cares about me.
	Ncra2_14	At my school, there is an adult who cares about me.
	Ncra3_14	At my school, there is an adult who cares about me.
	Ncra4_14	At my school, there is an adult who cares about me.
	Ncra5_14	At my school, there is an adult who cares about me.
<i>In the past 12 months, have you...</i>		
<b>Bullying and Discrimination</b>	Nbd1_14	...Had mean rumors or lies spread about me?
	Nbd2_14	...Been harassed or bullied by other students?
	Nbd7_14	...Been harassed or bullied by other students?
	Nbd8_14	...Been harassed or bullied by other students?
	Nbd8_14	family has?
<i>In the past 12 months, have you been discriminated against because of...</i>		
	Nbd10_14	...your weight
	Nbd11_14	...how much money your family has?
<i>In the past 12 months, have you been discriminated against because of...</i>		
	Nbd13_14	...your weight
	Nbd14_14	...how much money your family has?
<i>Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statement.</i>		
<b>Institutional Trust</b>	Ntrs1_14	I am treated fairly by teachers and staff.
	Ntrs2_14	My teachers at my school have a fair attitude toward students of all racial/ethnic groups.
	Ntrs3_14	Students in my racial group are treated fairly at school.