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A Preliminary Analysis of Associations Among Ethnic–Racial Socialization, Ethnic Discrimination, and Ethnic Identity Among Urban Sixth Graders

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Drawing from cultural ecological models of adolescent development, the present research investigates how early adolescents received ethnic–racial socialization from parents as well as how experiences of ethnic and racial discrimination are associated with their ethnic identity (i.e., centrality, private regard, and public regard). Data for this study were drawn from a multimethod study of ethnically and socioeconomically diverse early adolescents in three mid- to high-achieving schools in New York City. After accounting for the influences of race/ethnicity, social class, gender, immigrant status, and self-esteem, parental ethnic–racial socialization was associated with higher levels of ethnic centrality (i.e., the extent to which youth identify themselves in terms of their group), more positive private regard (i.e., feelings about one's own ethnic group), and public regard (i.e., perceptions of other people's perceptions of their ethnic group). Ethnic discrimination from adults at school and from peers was associated with more negative perceptions of one's ethnic group (i.e., public regard). In addition, the association of ethnic–racial parent socialization and ethnic identity beliefs was stronger for those who reported higher levels of adult discrimination. Results highlight key ways in which ethnic identity may be shaped by the social ecologies in which adolescents are embedded.

Ethnic identity—its formation, content, and importance—is increasingly at the fore of scholarship regarding educational attainment, life experiences, and psychological health in the second decade of life (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Downey, Eccles, & Chatman, 2005; Pahl & Way, 2006; Phinney, 1990; Quintana, 2007; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990).

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Conceptually, most ethnic identity frameworks agree that adolescents' understandings of where they "fit" into the racial/ethnic group and the social status of their ethnic group relative to others is likely shaped by the kinds of race- and ethnicity-related interactions and messages they both perceive and actually experience. Yet few researchers have empirically assessed how perceptions of race or ethnicity-related interactions in different contexts shape the development of ethnic identity, especially during the critical developmental period of early adolescence. For example, parents' positive messages about one's ethnic or racial group are commonly expressed through ethnic–racial socialization, whereby parents transmit different cultural components of groups identified by race or ethnicity (see Hughes et al., 2006). Such messages may attenuate the potentially negative consequences of ethnic or racial discrimination for ethnic identity, or alternatively, may exacerbate such negative consequences by leaving youth unprepared for it. A more complete understanding of the ways in which early adolescents' experiences of racially and ethnically related interactions across different contexts (e.g., families and schools) operate in concert, and how together they are associated with ethnic identity, is needed to advance our knowledge of the development of youth from diverse ethnic communities (Allen, Bat-Chava, Aber, & Seidman, 2005; Cooper, García Coll, Thorne, & Orellana, 2005; García Coll et al., 1996).

The present study aims to understand how early adolescents' perceived ethnicity and race-related experiences across multiple contexts (i.e., families and schools) might inform youths' ethnic identity, with a specific focus on the extent to which youth identify themselves in terms of their group (ethnic centrality), personal ethnic group affect (private regard), and perceptions of others' affect toward their ethnic group (public regard). We examine the independent and joint associations among youths' received messages from parents about race and ethnicity (i.e., ethnic–racial socialization) and perceptions of being discriminated against based on their ethnicity or race in school with youths' identity beliefs. By examining multiple contexts (families and schools), we are also able to examine how messages youth receive that support positive ethnic identity beliefs (e.g., parental cultural socialization) interact with those messages that might undermine or threaten such beliefs (e.g., discrimination by peers or adults in school) in youths' identity development.

CORRELATES OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

Ethnic identity constructs are important to examine because they have been associated with positive psychological outcomes in adolescence (e.g., Kiang, Yip, Gonzales-Backen, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006; Lee, 2003, 2005; Lee & Yoo, 2004; Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Romero & Roberts, 2003; Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006; Whitesell et al., 2006; Yip & Fuligni, 2002), and have also demonstrated protective properties for adolescents' well-being (e.g., Chavous et al., 2003; Greene,

Way, & Pahl, 2006; Sellers et al., 2006; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Yet we know little about contextual correlates of ethnic identity during early adolescence. Such examination, however, is important for several reasons. First, much prior research on ethnic identity focuses on mid- and late adolescence. Early adolescence presents a unique developmental opportunity for understanding the ways in which ethnic–racial socialization and discrimination are associated with ethnic identity beliefs because youth at this period have less experience with various ethnic and racial cues than do older adolescents (Brown & Bigler, 2005; Hughes et al., 2006). Specifically, they are just beginning to integrate the numerous racial and ethnic cues they are exposed to across proximal contexts (Phinney, 1989). At the same time, the influence of experiences of family socialization on adolescents' interpretations of their social worlds begins to compete with experiences in extrafamilial contexts, such as schools and peers (Eccles et al., 1993; Phelan, Davidson, & Yu, 1998). Second, youth in middle school tend to self-segregate along racial and ethnic lines more than they did in elementary schools (Seidman, Aber, & French, 2003; Tatum, 1997). Thus, early adolescents are likely to encounter more intense ethnicity-relevant actions, such as inter-ethnic verbal hostility or social exclusion, than before, and the intensity and frequency of these interactions may affect their self-concepts in new ways (Tatum, 1997). A recent study by French et al. (2006) found that mean levels of ethnic affirmation increased over the transition into middle school for all youth (although it was particularly marked among the African American and Latino youth). Finally, self-identity becomes increasingly salient as youth begin to experience biological, hormonal, and emotional changes that bring to the fore perceptions of the similarities and differences in their experiences relative to those of their peers (Swanson, Spencer, & Petersen, 1998). Thus, due to the potential salience of ethnicity during early adolescence as well as shifts in the nature of their experiences across contexts, it seems especially important for researchers to begin to explore the messages and experiences that are associated with early adolescents' ethnic identities.

Conceptual Framework

Several extant theoretical frameworks highlight the central role of race-related experiences in shaping developmental trajectories among ethnic minority youth (e.g., García Coll et al., 1996; Spencer, Dupree, & Hartmann, 1997). In the present study, we draw from Spencer's Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) that emphasizes the development and consequences of youths' beliefs about race and ethnicity. PVEST theorists argue that during adolescence youth are continually making meaning of their social worlds, including interpreting and integrating messages about their group membership and place in society, in ways that are reflected

in their self-beliefs, or identities (Spencer et al., 1997). Accordingly, adolescence is a key period in which to examine the associations of ethnic–racial messages—such as those transmitted in family socialization and in experiences of ethnic discrimination in schools and among peers—and self-identity beliefs. Consistent with the theoretical importance placed on youths' *perceptions* of racial/ethnic messages in their social contexts in PVEST as well as in models of ethnic identity (Ashmore et al., 2004; Phinney, 1989; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998), the present study empirically investigates how early adolescents' perceived experiences with ethnic–racial socialization and discrimination are associated with ethnic identity. To further conceptually delineate our research goals, we provide a brief review of relevant ethnic identity concepts and discussion of ways in which family ethnic–racial socialization and school-based discrimination experiences are contexts for early adolescent ethnic identity formation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ethnic Identity in Early Adolescence

Multiple dimensions of ethnic identity. In the present research, ethnic identity was framed using the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997; Sellers et al., 1998). Although Sellers and his colleagues designed the model based on the historical and contemporary experiences of African American adults, two components—centrality and private regard—have been applied successfully and usefully to gauge ethnic identity among adolescents of multiple ethnic groups (e.g., Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005; Kiang et al., 2006; Sellers et al., 2006). Centrality refers to the extent to which adolescents define themselves in terms of their ethnicity, whereas private regard refers to adolescents' personal affect toward or feelings about their ethnic group. The strength of positive affect associated with group membership has been linked consistently to positive processes and outcomes among diverse groups (e.g., Ashmore et al., 2004; Chavous et al., 2003; Fuligni et al., 2005; Kiang et al., 2006; Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Phinney et al., 1997; Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith, 1998; Sellers et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002; Yip & Fuligni, 2002).

Public regard encompasses adolescents' perceptions of others' affect toward their ethnic group. Adolescents' perceived public regard is one of the most understudied dimensions of ethnic identity, yet it is potentially useful for understanding a host of youth outcomes because it is essentially a measure of how socially valued adolescents perceive their group to be in the eyes of others. High public regard has been associated with positive academic motivation (Chavous et al., 2003), and when youths reveal that they have

been prepared for discrimination, they show even more favorable outcomes (Sellers et al., 2006). Yet, in comparison with what is known about ethnic centrality and private regard, little is known regarding the influences that shape the development of the formation of youths' public regard, particularly among ethnically diverse adolescents.

Family Ethnic–Racial Socialization

The studies that have investigated the influences that shape the development of ethnic identity, including public regard, have found that parents' ethnic–racial socialization plays an important role (e.g. Brega & Coleman, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006). For example, among African American early adolescents, parental preparation for bias is positively associated with ethnic exploration (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Furthermore, although most previous research has focused on the consequences of racial socialization on Black youths' racial self-concepts (e.g., Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes & Johnson, 2001), more studies are demonstrating relationships between ethnic–racial socialization and ethnic identity among youth of other ethnic–racial backgrounds (see e.g., Quintana & Vera, 1999; Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt, Plunkett, & Sands, 2006; Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006; see Hughes et al., 2006 for a review). Recently, Umaña-Taylor et al. (2006) found statistically equivalent structural models as well as significant individual path coefficients for the positive association between family ethnic socialization and ethnic identity achievement across Asian Indian, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Salvadorean adolescents. Using Umaña-Taylor's measure, Supple et al. (2006) found that family ethnic socialization was associated with ethnic exploration and resolution among Latino adolescents. Similarly, identical structural models were found for the mediating role of ethnic identity and self-esteem in the relationship of ethnic–racial socialization and psychological well-being among Black and White early adolescents; specifically, parental socialization predicted ethnic identity among both groups (Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009). Thus, families are a primary social context in which youth receive implicit, explicit, intended, and unintended messages about ethnicity and race, and such family ethnic–racial socialization plays an important role in the formation of adolescents' ethnic identities across multiple groups (Hughes et al., 2006).

In order to better explicate how parental ethnic–racial socialization relates to youths' ethnic identities, it is critical to simultaneously consider the multidimensionality of parental ethnic–racial socialization and the multidimensionality of ethnic identity (Hughes et al., 2006). Although multiple studies have documented significant associations between parents' ethnic–racial socialization strategies and youths' ethnic identity, each broadly defined, studies to date have not yet examined the more nuanced patterns of relationships between these broader domains that seems warranted. For

instance, it seems likely that parents' cultural socialization practices, which encompass efforts to promote children's ethnic pride and their knowledge about group history and traditions, may be more strongly associated with youths' private regard and centrality than with their views of others' positive or negative perceptions of their group (public regard). More preparation for bias, which entails discussions with youth about discrimination and efforts to prepare them for it, may be particularly important in predicting youths' perceptions of others' views of their group (i.e., more negative public regard) as compared with their own feelings and beliefs about their group (private regard). Thus, for researchers' understanding of how messages from parents are associated with youths' identity development, more precise information about how different sorts of messages relate to particular aspects of ethnic identity development is needed.

Ethnic and Racial Discrimination

During early adolescence, youth begin to develop a more nuanced awareness of negative ethnic and race-related messages and interactions with adults and peers outside the family in the form of discrimination and unfair treatment (Brown & Bigler, 2005; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000; Verkuyten, Kinket, & van der Weilen, 1997). Studies increasingly suggest deleterious consequences of ethnic and racial discrimination for psychological well-being among early adolescents (Brody et al., 2006; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008; Romero & Roberts, 1998, 2003; Wong et al., 2003) as well as among older adolescents (Chavous, Rivas-Drake, Smalls, Griffin, & Cogburn, 2008; Greene et al., 2006; Qin, Way, & Pandy, 2008; Sellers et al., 2006). Although few studies have examined relationships between discrimination experiences and adolescents' developing self-beliefs and perceptions about ethnicity, those that exist typically find significant relationships (Pahl & Way, 2006; Romero & Roberts, 1998, 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Sellers et al., 2006). In addition, there is strong evidence that discrimination experiences may be useful predictors of ethnic identity beliefs in adolescence. For example, Pahl and Way (2006) found in their longitudinal study of urban adolescents that an increase in reported levels of peer discrimination over a 4-year period significantly predicted an increase in ethnic identity exploration (i.e., the extent to which one is exploring the meaning of one's ethnic identity), but ethnic identity exploration did not predict changes in perceived discrimination over time. Other social psychological studies suggest that discrimination experiences prompt individuals to identify more strongly with their ethnic group. For instance, in Branscombe and colleagues' work, experiences of discrimination precede group identification. In one experimental study, these researchers found that individuals with body piercings who were exposed to information that others devalued their group

reported more identification with the group than did the controls (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001).

Discrimination from adults. Adults are one important source of discrimination (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Romero & Roberts, 1998, 2003; Sellers et al., 2006; Szalacha et al., 2003; Wong et al., 2003), and a high number of youth report experiences of discrimination by adults in the context of schooling (Fisher et al., 2000; Greene et al., 2006; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). For example, Fisher et al. (2000) found that 46% of African Americans and 50% of Hispanic youth reported that they were given a lower grade than they deserved because of their race or ethnicity. In another study, Szalacha et al. (2003) reported that 16% and 7% of Puerto Rican adolescents perceived discrimination by teachers and school administrators, respectively. Although there is less information about perceived adult discrimination among youth of Asian descent, ethnographic research suggests that they are subject to the pressures and stereotypes of the model minority myth (Lee, 1996; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004), and Way and colleagues (Greene et al., 2006) found that they reported higher discrimination by adults in school at the start of high school than did Puerto Rican adolescents.

Discrimination from peers. Discrimination based on ethnic group membership also occurs among peers, although studies that examine differences in adult and peer sources of ethnic discrimination have only recently emerged (e.g., Fisher et al., 2000; Greene et al., 2006; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Pahl & Way, 2006; Rivas-Drake et al., 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Szalacha et al., 2003; Wong et al., 2003). Peer ethnic and racial discrimination manifests in multiple ways, including intentional or overt social exclusion, teasing, hitting, and unfair treatment based on ethnic group membership (Brown & Bigler, 2005; Chavous et al., 2008; Greene et al., 2006; Qin et al., 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Verkuyten & Steenhuis, 2005; Wong et al., 2003). For example, 18% of Puerto Rican adolescents report discrimination by classmates (Szalacha et al., 2003) and 84% of East Asian and 73% of South Asian youth report being called racially derogatory names (Fisher et al., 2000). The ethnic and racial hierarchies that emerge in classroom-based sociometric research (Graham, Taylor, & Hudley, 1998; Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000), in which ethnic minorities tend to have lower status and are ascribed less favorable characteristics when rated by peers, also suggests that implicit negative group stereotypes operate within same age-peer groups. As with adult discrimination, rejection and harassment from peers based on ethnic group membership may be associated with negative ethnic identity beliefs (e.g., Romero & Roberts, 1998, 2003; Wong et al., 2003).

In summary, the processes through which young people begin to make meaning of their ethnic group membership may be associated with the messages they receive from others across multiple contexts. These messages

include ethnic–racial socialization received within the family and messages in the form of discrimination experiences that convey their ethnic group is devalued. Yet there are few studies on the interrelationships among such experiences and ethnic identity among children in middle school compared with those with older adolescents and adults. As with older adolescents, such encounters have potentially important and distinct relationships with the initial formation of youths' ethnic identities. Moreover, very few studies have simultaneously examined the synergistic roles of parental ethnic–racial socialization and discrimination experiences in the development of adolescents' self-concepts (see Fischer & Shaw, 1999), or have explicitly considered multiple ethnic identity beliefs as outcomes (Branscombe et al., 1999; Brega & Coleman, 1999; Pahl & Way, 2006; Smith, Atkins, & Connell, 2003). Thus, we know very little about the relative associations of ethnic messages received in the family context compared with those received in experiences of ethnic discrimination by adults and peers outside the family, as well as how these two sets of experiences function in concert.

The Present Study

The overarching objective of the present study was to examine how parental messages about ethnicity and race (i.e., parental ethnic–racial socialization) as well as perceived ethnic and race-based discrimination from peers and adults in school, both separately and in concert, are associated with early adolescents' ethnic identities. In doing so, we sought to contribute to existing knowledge in three ways. First, we sought to examine associations between multiple dimensions of ethnic–racial socialization (cultural socialization and preparation for bias) and multiple components of ethnic identity (centrality, private regard, and public regard). We hypothesized that both cultural socialization and preparation for bias would be associated with ethnic centrality. We also hypothesized that cultural socialization would demonstrate a particularly strong association with private regard. Finally, we expected that youth who receive more messages about the possibility of future group discrimination (preparation for bias) would also report more negative public regard.

A second goal of the study was to examine the extent to which youths' experiences of ethnic and race-based discrimination with peers and adults in school were related to multiple dimensions of ethnic identity. Consistent with the literature, we posited that youth who have experienced discrimination, regardless of the source, would report stronger ethnic centrality (Branscombe et al., 1999; Pahl & Way, 2006) but also less positive private and public regard than those who have not experienced discrimination (e.g., Romero & Roberts, 1998, 2003).

A final goal of the study was to examine the extent to which discrimination experiences moderate the relationship between ethnic–racial socialization and ethnic identity (see Figure 1). The relationship of parents'

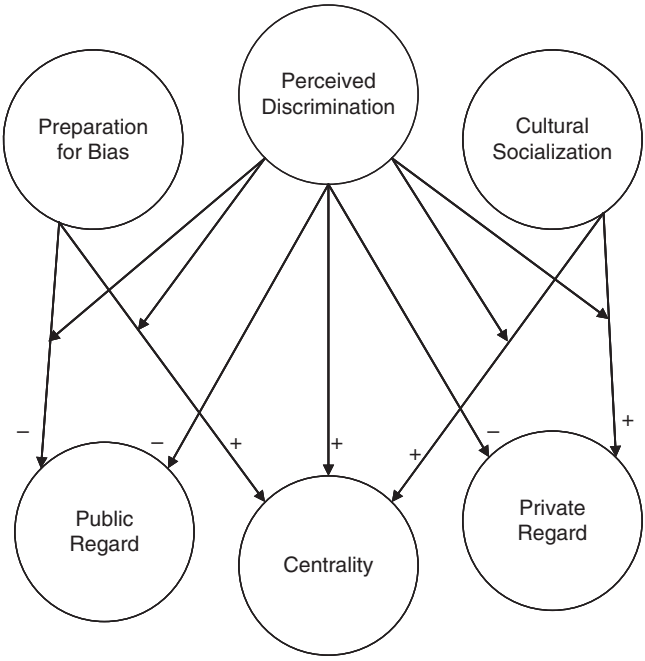

FIGURE 1 Predicted relationships among study constructs.

ethnic–racial socialization efforts may vary according to the other kinds of ethnic or race-based experiences youth have, such as discrimination, in contexts outside the home. For example, youth who perceive receiving more preparation for bias messages from their parents and also perceive more discrimination may feel that ethnicity is more central to their identity and perceive more negative public regard for their group than their counterparts who do not. We also expected that among youth who perceived that their parents rarely prepared them for future discrimination, those who encountered discrimination from proximal sources (i.e., peers and adults in school) would report stronger ethnic centrality and more negative public regard than those who did not. Finally, we predicted that there would be a weaker association of preparation for bias messages with centrality and public regard for youth who do not also encounter discrimination in everyday settings, because messages about future discrimination may have less meaning for youth who do not consistently perceive that they encounter bias from the individuals around them.

It seems important to note that we had no theoretically derived group-specific predictions for interactions. However, to attend to possible group differences in the relationships between socialization or discrimination and ethnic identity, we examined whether the slope of each reported significant association differed between groups, using the equation: $(B_1B_2)/(SE_1{}^2 +$

$SE_2^2)^{1/2}$ with the z-test criterion; $z_{crit} = 1.96$, $p < .05$. Out of 60 possible group differences, only 9 were significant, and they did not change the interpretation of results. Thus, we pursued analyses that account for ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and immigrant status as control variables in all primary analyses in an effort to identify identity development processes that could apply to diverse early adolescents above and beyond what we might expect given their demographic characteristics.

METHOD

Design and Selection

During the 2003–2004 academic year, middle schools serving sixth through eighth grades were identified for recruitment of youth to participate in the pilot study of a planned longitudinal study of Dominican, Chinese, Black/African American, Puerto Rican, and White/European American students in New York City. Ultimately, three schools were selected, all of which agreed to participate in the study. The schools are ethnically diverse (i.e., populations comprised of 20% or more of at least three of the five ethnic groups of interest) and can be considered ''middle-achieving'' in that they are neither in the bottom 10% nor in the top 10% of schools in the city in terms of aggregate reading and math standardized test scores.

Sample

Of 483 students approached to participate in the study, 78% volunteered to participate. The initial sample consisted of 379 sixth graders (age $M = 11.5$, $SD = 0.61$) in 17 classrooms. Of this original sample, the ethnicity for about 15% of the students was either uncodeable or represented a group with a sample size too small to permit statistical analysis. It should be noted that when students selected more than one ethnic–racial category, they were asked to identify the one they identified with the most and were classified in that group. Of the students in the five primary ethnic categories under consideration, the parent occupation information needed to code socioeconomic status was missing for 16 students. The analyses presented (i.e., hierarchical regressions) therefore focus on a sample of 308 youth (45% boys, 55% girls), with 19% self-identifying as Black, African American, or of African descent, 12% as Puerto Rican, 9% as Dominican, 28% as Chinese American, and 32% as White, Caucasian, or of European descent. Approximately 50% of the sample were children from immigrant families; however, it should be noted that there was an association of ethnicity with generation in the United States such that the overwhelming majority of children of immigrants were of Dominican or Chinese origins, $\chi^2 = 114.31$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$; this is not surprising given their status as two of the fastest-growing immigrant groups in New York City.

Consistent with recent research that suggests parents' occupational prestige provides useful information about their social status relative to others (Conley & Yeung, 2005), parents' occupations were coded using the Nakao-Treas socioeconomic index (SEI; Nakao & Treas, 1994) occupational prestige scores (range = 17–97; $M = 53.78$, $SD = 19.61$). There were significant mean differences in SEI scores by ethnicity as well, $F(4, 303) = 29.99$, $p < .001$; post hoc univariate analyses revealed that White youths' parents were employed in occupations with higher prestige and income than those of all other groups ($p < .001$).

Procedure

Youth were recruited in all sixth grade classrooms in each of the three schools, with the exception of self-contained and English as a second language classrooms. Parents were provided recruitment letters, flyers, materials, and informed consent forms in English, Spanish, or Chinese. They were collected from the students in their classrooms approximately 1 month before survey administration. All survey administration was done in participating school classrooms in the spring of 2004, during periods determined by the principal and the teachers. The children were reminded that the questionnaire was voluntary and confidential and then asked to sign informed assent forms. An individual from the research team subsequently read each survey question aloud to ensure clarity and accuracy. The team also encouraged participants to ask for assistance at any point during the survey and checked each questionnaire to ensure the quality of the data. Youth were given US$5 in appreciation of their time.

Measures

Parental ethnic–racial socialization. The two measures used to capture adolescents' perceived parental ethnic–racial socialization are based on Hughes' and Chen's (e.g., Hughes & Chen, 1997) concepts and parent-report measures of parental ethnic–racial socialization. The first construct, cultural socialization, was assessed with three items that ask students to indicate how often parents talk to them or engage in activities with them that promote feelings of ethnic knowledge, pride, and connection (e.g., "How often have your parents said you should be proud to be the race or ethnicity you are?" 1 = *never*; 2 = *a few times*; 3 = *a lot of times*; $\alpha = .82$). On average, youth reported they received such messages somewhat often ($M = 2.18$, $SD = 0.71$). Preparation for bias was assessed with five items. Youth were asked how often their parents communicated preparation for bias with items such as "How often have your parents said some people may treat you badly or unfairly because of your race or ethnicity?" On average, youth reported they

received preparation for bias less often than cultural socialization (response range = 1–3; $M = 1.39$, $SD = 0.52$). This scale was also reliable ($\alpha = .87$).

Adult discrimination. The present study uses a measure of discrimination by adults in school developed by Way and colleagues (Greene et al., 2006; Pahl & Way, 2006; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) that is based, in part, on Williams' (e.g., Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997) measure of everyday discrimination and on extensive qualitative interviews that Way and her research team previously conducted with adolescents in Boston and New York. The present measure distinguishes between different sources of discrimination (e.g., adults, peers) and explicitly assesses the extent to which youth attribute instances of unfair treatment to ethnicity and race. Students were initially asked to indicate how often they had experienced unfair, biased, or prejudiced treatment by adults in their school across nine items using a response range of 0 (*never*) to 4 (*all the time*). A sample item is ''How often do you feel that adults in school treat you with less respect because of your race and ethnicity?'' Although this scale demonstrated adequate reliability ($\alpha = .91$), as with other research on ethnic discrimination in adolescence (e.g., Szalacha et al., 2003), there was restricted range and low variability in the mean. Specifically, 59% of the sample reported never experiencing discrimination by adults in school (across all nine items). Therefore, each item was recoded into a binary item that indicated whether the youth had ever experienced the type of discrimination described. The resulting summary indicator consisted of the number of different types of discrimination youth had ever experienced (range = 0–9; $M = 1.66$, $SD = 2.69$).

Peer discrimination. Peer discrimination in school was assessed using the same nine items used to assess discrimination from adults in school (Greene et al., 2006; Pahl & Way, 2006). Youth were asked how often they felt as though peers dislike them, do not trust them, pick on them, and treat them unfairly (e.g., ''How often do you feel that other students in school make fun of you because of your race or ethnicity?'' 0 = *never*; 4 = *all the time*). This scale was also highly reliable ($\alpha = .93$). To maintain comparability with the adult discrimination measure, items were recoded into binary items and then summed to capture the breadth of peer discrimination youth encountered (range = 0–9; $M = 2.98$, $SD = 3.20$).

Ethnic identity. Ethnic identity was assessed with three measures based on the original Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1997) as well as the MIBI-Teen (Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyen, 2008). These measures assess constructs that are, in turn, conceptually akin to social identity concepts—including identity importance, private collective self-esteem, and public collective self-esteem—that have been established with multiple groups (e.g., Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Thus, the MIBI variants of

these constructs are useful and appropriate for examining ethnic identity in the present research. In addition, the MIBI centrality and private regard scales have recently been modified and used reliably with diverse samples (e.g., Fuligni et al., 2005; Kiang et al., 2006). All MIBI-based items were modified for use with multiple groups by replacing "Black" with references to "my ethnicity" or "my ethnic group." A four-item scale of ethnic centrality ($\alpha = .80$) asked students to indicate their agreement with statements such as, "Being my ethnicity is important to me." On average, youth reported high centrality ($M = 3.95$, $SD = 0.90$). Next, private regard was assessed with five items tapping ethnic group pride and affect, such as "I am proud to be part of my ethnic group" ($\alpha = .76$). Youth reported very positive private regard ($M = 4.21$, $SD = 0.71$). Finally, four items tapped into youths' perceptions of ethnic group devaluation. For example, youth were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with statements such as, "In general, others respect people of my ethnic group" ($\alpha = .77$). On average, youth felt others' public regard was slightly more positive than negative ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 0.97$). All ethnic identity scales provided a response range of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) and were scored such that higher values indicate greater centrality, more positive private regard, and more favorable public regard, respectively.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptives. Means and standard deviations for all major study variables are provided in Table 1 for the full sample and for each ethnic group. We began our preliminary analyses by examining mean differences in primary study variables by racial/ethnic group. The MANOVAs for racial/ethnic group differences in cultural socialization and preparation for bias were significant ($F = 8.45$ and 14.35, respectively; both $df = 4$ and $ps < .001$). Tukey's post hoc comparisons are denoted in Table 1. Black and Puerto Rican adolescents reported significantly more parental cultural socialization than White and Chinese American adolescents ($\eta^2 = .08$ and .06, respectively). Black youth reported receiving significantly more preparation for bias from their parents than all other groups ($\eta^2 = .13$) and Chinese American youth reported more preparation for bias than White youths ($\eta^2 = .06$).

Both MANOVAs examining ethnic–racial group differences in reported adult and peer discrimination were significant as well ($F = 8.85$ and 11.03, respectively; both $df = 4$ and $ps < .001$). Black youth reported significantly more instances of adult discrimination in school than Puerto Rican, Chinese American, and White youth ($\eta^2 = .08$) and of peer discrimination than Dominican and Puerto Rican youth ($\eta^2 = .13$). In addition, Dominican youth reported significantly more encounters with adult discrimination in school than White youth ($\eta^2 = .12$). Chinese American youth reported significantly

TABLE 1
Overall and Group-Specific Study Variable Means and Standard Deviations

	Black	*PR*	*Dom.*	*Chinese*	*White*	*Overall*
1. Parent cultural socialization	2.50_{a}	2.47_{a}	$2.19_{a,b}$	2.10_{b}	1.94_{b}	2.18
	(0.68)	(0.54)	(0.72)	(0.68)	(0.71)	(0.71)
2. Parent preparation for bias	1.78_{a}	$1.31_{b,c,d}$	$1.20_{b,c,d}$	1.45_{c}	1.20_{d}	1.39
	(0.63)	(0.42)	(0.32)	(0.51)	(0.40)	(0.52)
3. Adult discrimination	3.07_{a}	$1.47_{b,d}$	$2.41_{a,b,c}$	1.72_{b}	0.61_{d}	1.66
	(3.40)	(2.26)	(3.15)	(2.63)	(1.67)	(2.69)
4. Peer discrimination	$3.56_{a,d}$	$1.71_{b,c}$	$0.93_{b,c}$	4.40_{a}	$2.48_{b,c,d}$	2.98
	(3.40)	(2.50)	(2.03)	(3.18)	(3.02)	(3.20)
5. Ethnic centrality	4.16_{a}	4.20_{a}	4.24_{a}	4.05_{a}	3.56_{b}	3.95
	(0.85)	(0.82)	(0.78)	(0.75)	(0.98)	(0.90)
6. Private regard	$4.22_{a,b}$	4.49_{a}	$4.39_{a,b}$	$4.14_{a,b}$	4.12_{b}	4.21
	(0.79)	(0.57)	(0.65)	(0.79)	(0.62)	(0.71)
7. Public regard	3.14_{a}	4.09_{b}	4.21_{b}	3.56_{c}	4.25_{b}	3.83
	(1.19)	(0.73)	(0.62)	(0.97)	(0.65)	(0.97)

Note. Dom. = Dominican; PR = Puerto Rican.

Standard deviations are provided in parentheses. Means that do not share subscripts are significantly different from each other in Tukey's honestly significant difference post hoc comparisons, all $ps < .05$.

more instances of adult discrimination in school than White youth ($\eta^2 = .06$) and of peer discrimination than all other groups ($\eta^2 = .13$) except for Black students.

We also examined the ways in which ethnic identity levels varied by ethnic/racial background. White youth reported lower ethnic centrality than all other groups ($\eta^2 = .09$). Puerto Rican youth reported higher private regard than White youth ($\eta^2 = .07$). Interestingly, Black, Dominican, Chinese, and White youth reported similar levels of private regard. Black youth reported lower public regard than all other groups ($\eta^2 = .11$). Chinese American youth perceived lower public regard than Puerto Rican, Dominican, and White youths ($\eta^2 = .13$).

In preparation for OLS regression analyses, we examined intercorrelations among variables (see Table 2). At the bivariate level, cultural socialization from parents was associated with all ethnic identity variables, but it was not associated with reported adult or peer discrimination. Parental preparation for bias was positively correlated with reported adult and peer discrimination as well as with ethnic centrality and public regard, but it was not associated with private regard. Adult discrimination in school was significantly and negatively correlated with public regard. Peer discrimination was associated with more negative private and public regard. Ethnic identity variables were also intercorrelated. Youth who reported higher

TABLE 2
Primary Study Variable Correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Parent cultural socialization	—	.40***	.09	.01	.42***	.32***	−.15**
2. Parent preparation for bias		—	.32***	.37***	.21***	.07	−.51***
3. Adult discrimination			—	.41***	.10^{+}	−.09	−.43***
4. Peer discrimination				—	−.02	−.23***	−.47***
5. Ethnic centrality					—	.63***	−.05
6. Private regard						—	.16**
7. Public regard							—

$^{+}p < .10$; $^{**}p \leq .01$; $^{***}p \leq .001$.

ethnic centrality also reported higher private regard, but the correlation between ethnic centrality and public regard was not significant. Finally, private and public regard were significantly and positively correlated.

Primary Analyses

For each outcome of interest, we examined two hierarchical regression models. At Step 1, we entered demographic background, self-esteem, ethnic–racial socialization, and ethnic discrimination variables. We then entered Adult Discrimination × Ethnic–Racial Socialization and Peer Discrimination × Ethnic–Racial Socialization multiplicative interactions. We centered all variables involved in the interaction terms and used methods outlined by Aiken and West (1991) to estimate predicted means when the interaction terms were significant.

Ethnic centrality. Results for each indicator of ethnic identity (centrality, private regard, and public regard) are presented in Tables 3–5. Consistent with our expectation that more ethnic–racial socialization is related to greater ethnic self-identification, cultural socialization from parents was positively associated with ethnic centrality after accounting for the influences of background variables, $F(12, 294) = 8.305$, $p < .001$. No significant interactions were found among ethnic–racial socialization and discrimination in subsequent analyses. Thus, the relationship of cultural socialization on ethnic centrality did not vary significantly according to whether youth had experienced discrimination by their peers or adults in school.

Private regard. As shown in Table 4, a significant relationship between ethnic–racial socialization, discrimination, and youths' feelings of private ethnic regard was found. In the initial model, parental cultural socialization and peer discrimination were positively associated with private ethnic

TABLE 3
Hierarchical Regressions of Ethnic–Racial Socialization and Discrimination on Ethnic Centrality

	B (SE)		*B*
Step 1			
Intercept	3.55 (.37)		
SES	0.00 (.00)		− .10
Puerto Rican	0.15 (.18)		.05
Dominican	0.14 (.19)		.05
Chinese	0.12 (.18)		.06
White	− 0.17 (.16)		− .09
Male	0.06 (.09)		.04
Immigrant	0.15 (.12)		.08
Self-esteem	0.16 (.09)		.10^{+}
Peer discrimination (PD)	− 0.02 (.02)		− .08
Adult discrimination (AD)	0.01 (.02)		.02
Preparation for bias (PFB)	0.15 (.12)		.08
Cultural socialization (CS)	0.42 (.08)		.33***
		$R^2 = 0.25$	
Step 2			
AD × PFB	− 0.02 (.04)		.03
AD × CS	0.01 (.03)		.01
PD × PFB	0.03 (.03)		.06
PD × CS	− 0.03 (.03)		− .08
		$\Delta R^2 = 0.01$	

$^{+}p < .10$; ***$p \leq .001$.

regard after accounting for the influences of background variables, $F(12, 294) = 7.09$, $p < .001$; this step accounted for 22% of the variance in private regard. No significant interactions were found among ethnic–racial socialization and ethnic discrimination in subsequent analyses, and the addition of these terms did not contribute significantly to the variance explained. Thus, the relationship of cultural socialization on private regard did not vary according to whether youth had experienced discrimination by their peers or adults in school.

Public regard. As shown in Table 5, significant relationships between ethnic–racial socialization, ethnic discrimination, and youths' perceptions of public regard were found. In the initial model, Puerto Rican, Dominican, and White youth reported significantly more positive public regard than Black youth, who served as the reference group. In addition, preparation for bias and discrimination from peers and from adults in school were significantly associated with more negative public regard, $F(12, 294) = 17.99$, $p < .001$; together, these variables accounted for 42% of the variance in this indicator of

TABLE 4
Hierarchical Regressions of Ethnic Discrimination and Ethnic–Racial Socialization on Private Ethnic Regard

	B (SE)		*B*
Step 1			
Intercept	3.10 (.29)		
SES	0.00 (.00)		−.07
Puerto Rican	0.26 (.14)		.12^{+}
Dominican	0.11 (.15)		.05
Chinese	0.16 (.14)		.10
White	0.05 (.13)		.03
Male	0.04 (.08)		.03
Immigrant	0.10 (.10)		.07
Self-esteem	0.32 (.08)		.25***
Peer discrimination (PD)	−0.04 (.01)		−.19**
Adult discrimination (AD)	−0.01 (.02)		−.03
Preparation for bias (PFB)	0.11 (.11)		.06
Cultural socialization (CS)	0.29 (.06)		.29***
		$R^2 = 0.22$	
Step 2			
AD × PFB	−0.04 (.03)		−.08
AD × CS	0.02 (.02)		.07
PD × PFB	0.04 (.03)		.09
PD × CS	0.03 (.02)		.09
		$\Delta R^2 = 0.02$	

$^{+}p < .10$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

ethnic identity. The addition of Discrimination × Ethnic Socialization interaction terms accounted for an additional 2% of the variance in public regard, $F_{\text{change}}(2, 301) = 4.69$, $p = .10$. In this model, there was a significant interaction of school adult discrimination and preparation for bias such that youth who received more messages about preparation for bias at home and encountered more instances of ethnic discrimination by adults in school reported less favorable public regard than youth who had fewer such encounters (see Figure 2). Thus, the relationship of preparation for bias on public regard varied according to whether youth had experienced discrimination by adults in school.

DISCUSSION

The primary goal of the present research was to explore ethnic–racial socialization and discrimination as they independently and jointly influence perceptions of ethnic identity among early adolescents. We viewed these as

TABLE 5
Hierarchical Regressions of Ethnic Discrimination and Ethnic–Racial Socialization on Public Ethnic Regard

	B (SE)		*B*
Step 1			
Intercept	3.26 (.34)		
SES	0.00 (.00)		−.10^{+}
Puerto Rican	0.49 (.17)		.16**
Dominican	0.37 (.18)		.13*
Chinese	0.16 (.16)		.07
White	0.64 (.15)		.31***
Male	−0.11 (.09)		−.06
Immigrant	0.11 (.11)		.06
Self-esteem	0.15 (.09)		.09^{+}
Peer discrimination	−0.06 (.02)		−.19***
Adult discrimination (AD)	−0.05 (.02)		−.15**
Preparation for bias (PFB)	−0.60 (.11)		−.31***
Cultural socialization (CS)	0.05 (.07)		.04
		$R^2 = 0.42$	
Step 2			
AD × PFB	−0.07 (.04)		−.13*
AD × CS	0.03 (.03)		.06
PD × PFB	−0.01 (.03)		−.02
PD × CS	0.04 (.03)		.08
		$\Delta R^2 = 0.02$	

$^{+}p < .10$; *$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

important sources of information about ethnicity that adolescents are likely to use in formulating aspects of their identity. Surprisingly, studies have not yet examined the relative importance of these sources of information, or how they interact, vis-à-vis varying components of adolescents' ethnic identity. Our results show that messages about race and ethnicity from parents, adults in school, and peers in school are differentially linked to what youth believe about their ethnicity.

We begin by noting that many youth reported high levels of ethnic centrality as well as private regard. In fact, while ethnic minority youth reported higher ethnic centrality than their White counterparts, Black, Chinese, Puerto Rican, and Dominican youth reported similar levels of ethnic centrality. Ethnic minority youths' private regard was also high and, with the exception of Puerto Ricans who reported higher private regard than Whites, similar to that of Whites. Interestingly, there was only one significant group difference in centrality or private regard after accounting for other background factors (e.g., generational status, gender) in the full models, with Puerto Rican youth

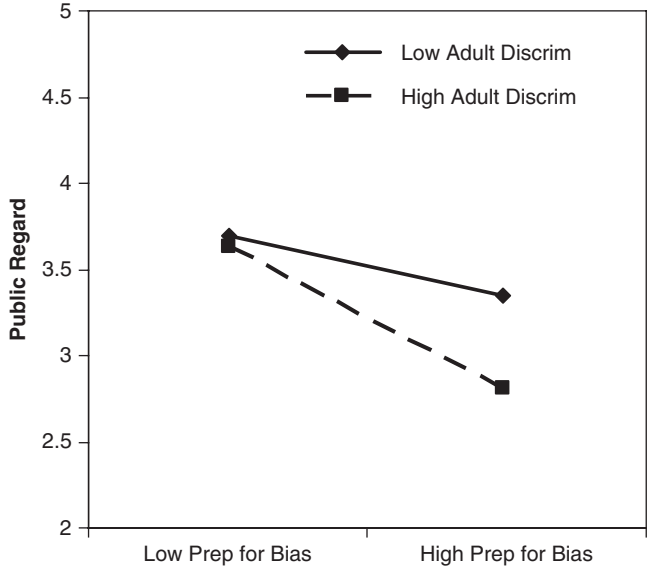

FIGURE 2 Interaction of Preparation for Bias × Ethnic Discrimination by adults in school on public regard perceptions.

reporting more private regard. These findings echo other studies that have found particularly high levels of ethnic affirmation among Puerto Ricans in particular (see Pahl & Way, 2006; Way, Santos, Niwa, & Kim, 2008). In their ethnographic research focused on the experience of ethnic identity among Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, African Americans, and Chinese American students from New York City public high schools, Way et al. (2008) found that the Puerto Rican students experienced an extremely positive peer climate in which Dominican and Chinese American students often indicated that they wanted to be Puerto Rican due to factors such as their skin color, hair, and the perceived ''coolness'' of the Puerto Rican students. This positive peer climate may be associated with the high rates of ethnic affirmation found among the Puerto Rican students in their study as well as in the present analysis.

In contrast to centrality and private regard, there were several marked distinctions in youths' public regard. Black youth reported lower public regard than all other groups, even after accounting for other demographic variables such as socioeconomic status, immigrant status, and gender, and Chinese Americans reported lower public regard than Dominican and White youths. This echoes previous research with older adolescents in which Chinese youth report feeling that they are not equally accepted by their peers because of their race and ethnicity (Louie, 2004; Qin et al., 2008; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004) and Black youth report feeling others' racial hostility toward them (Chavous et al., 2008; Fisher et al., 2000; Greene et al., 2006; Sellers et al.,

2006). Indeed, our findings show that even young adolescents are aware of status differentials among diverse ethnic and racial groups, and the differences in public regard among the groups generally reflect their social status in the United States (e.g., Way et al., 2008).

Our first set of hypotheses centered on the relative importance of cultural socialization and preparation for bias in predicting aspects of youths' ethnic identity beliefs. Although numerous studies have examined relationships between ethnic–racial socialization and ethnic identity development, none to date have examined whether different components of socialization predict different components of identity. Findings were largely, but not uniformly, consistent with our a priori expectations.

More specifically, although we expected that more ethnic–racial socialization (both preparation for bias and cultural socialization) would be associated with higher ethnic centrality, only the coefficient for cultural socialization was significant in the model. These findings suggest that parents' focus on positive aspects of group membership (pride, history, and traditions) may render ethnicity more central to youths' identity whereas their focus on negative aspects of group membership (the potential for discrimination) may not. In addition, as expected, cultural socialization (but not preparation for bias) predicted youths' private regard. The more youth received messages about ethnic group pride, the more they reported that they felt a personal affinity toward other group members. And finally, youth who received more messages about the likelihood of encountering future group discrimination (preparation for bias) reported more negative public regard, but this type of socialization was unrelated to their own feelings about their group. It is not surprising that youth who report discussions with their parents about ethnic discrimination also reported lower public regard, because such public regard in part reflects knowledge about the social status of one's group in the eyes of others, which likely surfaces in discussions with parents about this issue. The fact that these kinds of discussions were associated with youths' perceived public regard but not their own private regard further underscores the notion that youth can hear messages about their group's devalued social status from their parents without adopting a negative disposition toward the group.

A second set of hypotheses concerned a general expectation that perceived ethnic/racial discrimination would be associated with centrality, private regard, and public regard. This hypothesis was only partially supported. Discrimination from adults in schools did not significantly predict ethnic centrality or private regard but did predict lower public regard. Discrimination from peers was significant in predicting lower private and public regard but was not significant in predicting centrality. Although we had not predicted this particular pattern of relationships a priori, several findings seem notable. For one, it is interesting that neither source of discrimination predicted how central ethnicity was to youths' self-systems. Indeed, only cultural socializa-

tion predicted centrality, suggesting that positive messages from parents are especially important as determinants of the salience of race to youth. Another important aspect of our findings is that discrimination from peers, but not from adults, was associated with youths' personal views about their ethnic group. This finding is echoed in other research with adolescents (see Way et al., 2008). This suggests that it is necessary to examine the sources of discrimination in early adolescents' lives in order to better understand how it is associated with their identity. Consistent with previous research on ethnic discrimination during adolescence, peer discrimination appears to have a powerful influence on psychological well-being (Greene et al., 2006) and identity development (Way et al., 2008). This is perhaps not surprising given the important role that peers play in the lives of adolescents (e.g., Brown, 1990; Eccles et al., 1993). Peers form the basis for social comparisons among many dimensions of youths' selves (see, e.g., Kupersmidt & Dodge, 2004), so it makes conceptual sense that peers' ethnic and racial biases would be strongly linked to youths' own feelings about their ethnicity. This finding also underscores the extent to which youth negotiate the personal meaning of their ethnicity within peer contexts. It will be useful and necessary for future research to examine more precisely how youth engage other issues of ethnicity and race in addition to discrimination with their peers.

Finally, the finding that peer and adult discrimination each predicted public regard suggests that adolescents' perceptions of their group's social status (public regard) mirrored the extent to which they encountered negative ethnic messages (discrimination) from multiple sources. A troubling implication of this finding is that youth who consistently report lower public regard or feeling devalued because of their race or ethnicity may ultimately experience less positive psychological and academic outcomes. This is an important issue for future study—one that will help shed light on the role of public regard perceptions in adolescent development. Although we are limited by a focus on negative ethnic and racial messages, future research could also examine a converse set of relationships to complement our findings. For example, given our finding that youth who encounter less peer discrimination report more positive private regard, it would be important to know whether having coethnic friendships or perceiving benefits of coethnic peer relationships have positive consequences for ethnic identity, including public regard.

Moreover, we found that the associations of ethnic–racial socialization and discrimination were intertwined. It appears that receiving preparation for bias is associated with more negative public regard among youth as they encounter more discrimination by adults. One interpretation of this finding is that youth are accurate reporters of perceived racial bias because there is a match between parents' expectations (high preparation for bias) and children's perceptions (low public regard), given their experiences of discrimination. The interaction among these two types of messages is most noteworthy, however, because it highlights the ways in which youths' prox-

imal social contexts may function synergistically in shaping youths' beliefs about ethnicity, especially ethnic group status. It remains to be seen whether consistency in and of itself—facing discrimination with ''eyes wide open'' given parental preparation for discrimination—may promote resilient coping mechanisms over the course of adolescence.

Limitations and Future Directions

In this study, the exploration of ethnic identity as a developmental outcome was framed using cultural–ecological and identity development frameworks. We conceptualized ethnic identity as a set of beliefs and perceptions that partially reflect youths' various experiences in daily life. Yet there are several important caveats to our findings and interpretations. First, ethnic identity has been linked to increases in perceptions of discrimination in previous studies (e.g., Sellers & Shelton, 2003). It is noteworthy that the relationship is typically driven by ethnic centrality such that the more importance placed on ethnic identification to one's sense of self, the more perceived discrimination. Yet, in the present research, discrimination was entirely unrelated to ethnic centrality. Given the cross-sectional nature of the study, we cannot make definitive conclusions about the directionality of the relationships. It is perhaps more important that the messages youth believe they receive in their everyday contexts and their beliefs about ethnicity are mutually informative. A second limitation of the data is that it is based solely on self-report measures, and this issue is particularly important for interpreting youths' reports of their parents' ethnic–racial socialization practices with caution. It is possible that different relationships would emerge if parent-report socialization data were used. Yet we would argue that youths' perceptions of their parents' socialization, or received socialization, is an important aspect of ethnic–racial socialization that merits investigation. Similarly, according to PVEST, youths' perceptions (or subjective experiences) of discrimination are as important as actual discrimination (Spencer et al., 1997). Finally, it is important to note that although there were few significant ethnic group differences in the findings reported, and that these differences do not change our overall interpretations, it is possible that more meaningful differences would emerge in a larger and more representative sample of youth. Despite these limitations, the present findings help illuminate potential contextual influences on ethnic identity and suggest many questions and directions for future research on ethnic identity development in adolescence.

Clearly, more contextual approaches and variables are needed both in cross-sectional and longitudinal studies of ethnic identity. More information about the proximal influences on both centrality, private regard, and public regard is needed to better contextualize their potential protective qualities in

the face of other threats to the self. It would be useful to explore neighborhood, school, and classroom-level influences on the development of ethnic beliefs and attitudes in early adolescence, especially as some research suggests that youths' understanding of ethnicity may be bound by structural characteristics of influential settings (e.g., Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Thus, more multilevel research is needed that explores the exogenous (structural arrangements of) and endogenous (perceived) contexts in which children make sense of their ethnicity and that of others.

Related to the issue of context, other research suggests that ethnographic inquiry may be particularly useful for identifying significant events and relationships at home, in school, and among peers that may shape how youth assess and understand their ethnic identity. For example, our ethnographic research suggests that Black and Latino youth might perceive less favorable treatment by adults based on their ethnicity on the one hand, and that Chinese and White students may experience less favorable treatment by their peers on the other (Hughes et al., 2007; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Way et al., 2008). Thus, as Rosenbloom and Way (2004) demonstrated, in highly diverse urban contexts, there may be multiple sources of discrimination, such as adult and peer ethnic tensions, which are distinct from one another and that differentially affect multiple groups. Furthermore, positive peer experiences related to ethnicity and race may also impact perceptions of discrimination as well as the experience of ethnic identity (Way et al., 2008).

In conclusion, it is useful to explore how ethnic identity beliefs may be shaped by the intensity and breadth of ethnic experiences that youth negotiate in their everyday environments. Theory suggests that in many settings, discrimination is more salient for ethnic minorities than Whites (e.g., García Coll et al., 1996). The present findings, in concert with ongoing research on adolescents in New York City, suggest that White and ethnic minority youth encounter different kinds of ethnic discrimination in this particular urban context. More importantly, our findings are consistent with the idea that any kind of ethnic discrimination can have deleterious impacts on the self-systems and identities of diverse youth, including Whites. Future research is necessary to examine the myriad ways youth are encouraged and discouraged to ethnically self-identify by parents, other trusted adults, and peers. The more we learn about perceived ethnic supports and barriers in proximal contexts, the better we will be able to explain when and how ethnic identity may facilitate positive psychological and academic outcomes among youth in diverse settings.

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