

SHORT-TERM WEEKLY EFFECTS OF ETHNIC-RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ON
ACADEMIC OUTCOMES: ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION AND ETHNIC-
RACIAL IDENTITY AS MODERATORS

A DISSERTATION IN
Human Development and Family Science

Presented to the Faculty of the University of Missouri-Columbia in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by
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May 2021

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ACADEMIC OUTCOMES: ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION AND ETHNIC-
RACIAL IDENTITY AS MODERATORS

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DEDICATION

To my three Js. Dream big, play hard, and work smart. Make time to laugh along the way.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This experience has been quite a journey and I could not have done it without the guidance of family and something greater than myself. I am blessed. I am thankful. To my mother, thank you for the cheers and prayers. I heard all of them even when you thought I was not listening. To my brother, thank you for being my coach along the way, reminding me of my purpose, and keeping my head in the game.

To my doctoral committee, thank each of you for your academic counsel and professional support before and throughout this process. Dr. Antoinette Landor, thank you for your solid mentorship. You have consistently exposed me to opportunities to become a better researcher and educator. For that, I will always be grateful. Dr. Lawrence Ganong, thank you for encouraging me to pursue doctoral studies and for the many ways that you have invested in my success over the years. Dr. Melissa Herzog, thank you for your guidance and influence during my earlier years as a graduate student, and for your continued support throughout my doctoral studies. Dr. Michael Williams, without hesitation you agreed to serve on my committee. Thank you for encouraging me to persevere and for reminding me of why I also belong in these spaces. I am excited about continuing to work with you all on the other side.

To my fellow lab members from the Health and Relationships During College (HRDC) study. Thank you all for the laughs and for the stat support! You are all awesome. Remain curious about the research and keep asking those important questions. To my friends, coast to coast and in between, thank you all for the virtual get-togethers and for the positive words of encouragement. I wouldn't trade any of you for the world.

Lastly, I am extremely thankful for Dr. Reuben F. Mills. You saw something in myself that I was too stubborn to see in my youth. Thanks for not giving up on a young kid from Philly.

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ABSTRACT

African American and Latinx undergraduate students who attend historically white institutions continue to face incidents of discrimination which have been associated adverse health and academic outcomes (Del Toro & Hughes, 2019). Given the challenges associated with growing up as an ethnic-racial minority in society, many African American and Latinx young adults are often equipped with important culturally responsive familial and individual resources that may function as protector factors. Through ethnic-racial socialization messages received from parents, children learn how to navigate racialized contexts and develop an ethnic-racial identity, or an individual belief regarding the significance of their ethnic-racial group membership (Sellers et al., 1998). Ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity are multidimensional constructs and certain domains of both have been found to moderate the effects of ethnic-racial discrimination on health outcomes (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). However, most of this work has been conducted using cross-sectional data on adolescent samples and surprisingly few studies have investigated the moderating roles of ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity on the academic outcomes of college students who may frequently encounter ethnic-racial discrimination. In response to the gaps in

literature, this study used a sample of 145 Black/African American and Hispanic/ Latinx (63%; 37% respectively) college students attending a historically white university in the Midwest to examine the short-term weekly effects of ethnic-racial discrimination on weekly academic outcomes (i.e., academic belonging, academic stress, negative academic behaviors). Weekly discrimination and academic data were reported over the course of 4 weeks. Additionally, this study examined the roles of key ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity domains as moderators on relationships between discrimination and academic outcomes. Findings highlight that on weeks when individuals reported higher than usual ethnic-racial discrimination, they also reported lower than usual academic belonging, and higher than usual negative academic behaviors. Further, the impact of ethnic-racial discrimination varied according to the type and frequency of ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity domains. There were no significant associations between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic stress.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Despite gains in the enrollment of African American and Latinx students at historically white institutions across the United States (Krogstad & Fry, 2014), occurrences of racial incidents continue to persist. Students have reported seeing derogatory racial slurs and experiencing various forms of race-based discrimination (McDonald, 2018; Mojica, 2019; Morabito, 2018; Jochman et al., 2019). Ethnic-racial discrimination – the marginalization and unequal treatment that one receives based on ethnicity or race – is a chronic stressor and has been linked to adverse physical and mental health outcomes among African American and Latinx students (Berkel et al., 2010; Chao et al., 2012; Jochman et al., 2019; Davenport et al., 2020). In addition to the negative health implications, a major consequence of ethnic-racial discrimination is negative academic outcomes. Although the latter has been less explored, studies using samples of African American and Latinx college students have found associations between ethnic-racial discrimination and diminished sense of belonging, poorer academic adjustment, and lower academic motivation and grades (Alfaro et al., 2009; Del Toro & Hughes, 2020; Fuller, 2017; Hussain & Jones, 2019). Given that the aforementioned academic outcomes may influence students' motivation to persist to degree completion (Tinto, 2016), it remains important to continue investigations on the short- and long-term academic consequences of a potentially hostile campus racial climate.

To contend with the negative outcomes of racialized experiences, a growing body of literature suggests that African American and Latinx young adults are likely to have received important messages from parents. Through ethnic-racial socialization, parents

communicate implicit and explicit messages to children about their ethnic-racial group membership and how to negotiate complex racialized encounters (Ayón et al., 2020; Hughes et al., 2006). Although ethnic-racial socialization may vary in content, common approaches have been identified and include socializing children about their culture and ethnicity (cultural socialization), preparing children for potential biases they may experience in various contexts (preparation for bias), and teaching children to be cautious during cross-racial interactions (promotion of mistrust). Egalitarian socialization or teaching children that there is equality among ethnicities and races, has been less studied empirically, however scholars suggest that this dimension of ethnic-racial socialization warrants greater need for additional research (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020).

Previous research on ethnic-racial socialization has primarily focused on how various dimensions influence the experiences and outcomes of adolescents. For instance, receiving cultural socialization from parents has been linked to academic achievement, lowered depression, and resilience against the negative effects of racial discrimination (Burt et al., 2012; Neblett et al., 2009; Saleem & Lambert, 2016). However, the effects of other forms of ethnic-racial socialization (i.e., preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust) have yielded mixed results (Coard & Sellers, 2005; Neblett et al., 2006; Smalls, 2009). Scholars have also noted important complexities on the few studies among college students, particularly with investigations on how ethnic-racial socialization may buffer the effects of discrimination on academic outcomes (e.g., academic self-concept, prosocial involvement). Some researchers have found that both cultural socialization and preparation for bias function as salient moderators (Banerjee, Byrd, & Rowley, 2018), while others did not (White-Johnson, 2015). Although ethnic-racial socialization is

commonly understood as a cultural resource, these inconclusive findings may suggest that in academic settings various dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization may have different roles on buffering the effects of discrimination.

Ethnic-racial socialization has often been studied in conjunction with ethnic-racial identity. Similar to ethnic-racial socialization, ethnic-racial identity is a multidimensional construct that acknowledges personal attitudes and beliefs about the saliency of one's race/ethnicity (Neblett et al., 2009). As for the development of African American and Latinx youth and young adults, recent scholarship acknowledges both the content (i.e., thoughts and feelings) and process dimensions of ethnic-racial identity. For example, the content of one's ethnic-racial identity can include race centrality (i.e., the importance of race to one's identity), private regard (i.e., positive/negative self-perceptions of one's race/ethnicity), and public regard (i.e., positive/negative perceptions of societal views regarding one's race/ethnicity), and the process dimension can include exploration (i.e., seeking the meaning of ethnic-racial group membership) (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). This integration of content and process dimensions may be important for a few reasons. It presents a shift from the complexities with early research that differentiated racial and ethnic identity and/or utilized various measures, terminology, and theoretical foundations (Cross, 1978; Phinney, 1992; Sellers et al., 1997). Secondly, the integration acknowledges that the content of one's racial identity, or how one feels about themselves, may be protective against discrimination, and that processes of ethnic-racial identity are universal and promotive, regardless of experiences of adversity (Umaña-Taylor, 2016).

Evidence suggests that there are associations between ethnic-racial discrimination, ethnic-racial identity, and the academic outcomes of adolescent and

young adult African American and Latinx individuals (Boston & Warren, 2017; Chavous et al., 2003; Leath et al., 2019; Pahl & Way, 2006; Rivas-Drake, 2011 Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Smalls et al. 2007). For example, having high levels of race centrality weakened the effects of discrimination on problem behaviors among African American young adults (Caldwell et al., 2004). Among Latinx college students, researchers found that greater group identification buffered the negative effects of discrimination on well-being (Levin et al., 2006). And among adolescents, having high centrality and high private regard was positively associated with greater sense of belonging, academic aspirations, and academic achievement (Boston & Warren, 2017; Chavous et al., 2003). Other scholars however have noted some of the negative academic consequences of identifying too strongly with ethnic-racial identity (Harper & Tuckman, 2006; Worrell, 2007). These authors found negative associations between racial identity and academic achievement, and in a study among African American college students at a historically white institution, Parker and Flowers (2003) found no association between ethnic-racial identity dimensions and academic achievement.

Similar to ethnic-racial socialization, it appears that ethnic-racial identity is commonly associated with positive academic outcomes, however there may be some nuances depending on the type of ethnic-racial identity belief. It is also suggested that for students who have histories of ethnic-racial marginalization, links between ethnic-racial identity and academic outcomes may be shaped by experiences and relationships within the learning environment (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Smalls, 2007). Therefore, this present study can address important gaps concerning the role of ethnic-racial identity on college students' experiences with ethnic-racial discrimination.

This current study is significant for several reasons. First, it adds to the literature on the academic consequences of having experienced ethnic-racial discrimination. Previous literature has established ethnic-racial discrimination as detrimental to students' sense of belonging and as an academic risk factor (Hussein & Jones, 2019; Leah et al., 2019). Given that emerging adulthood is an important stage of life marked with identity exploration and increased social, cognitive, and psychological development (Arnett, 2000; Hope et al., 2015), it is important to continue to investigate links between ethnic-racial discrimination and the academic outcomes of African American and Latinx college students. Furthermore, although ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity have been identified as important culturally responsive mechanisms that may buffer the negative effects of ethnic-racial discrimination on academic outcomes, subdimensions of both have been found to function in complex ways in academic settings, and few scholars have examined these relations among college students (Huguley et al., 2019; Wang et al., 2020). Lastly, while previous studies have highlighted the role of ethnic-racial discrimination as a health concern and stressor for African American and Latinx students, many studies have utilized cross-sectional data or long-term time frames for measurement. More recent racial discrimination studies acknowledge that repeated assessments over shorter time periods may yield more reliable and accurate data (Davenport et al., 2020; English et al., 2019; Jochman et al., 2019; Seaton & Iida, 2019; Stevens et al. 2018).

The aforementioned limitations in literature are addressed in this current study. I utilize a weekly diary approach (4-week duration) to examine the short-term weekly associations between ethnic-racial discrimination and the academic belonging, academic

stress, and negative academic behaviors of African American and Latinx college students who attend a historically white institution. By utilizing shorter time points, one can investigate within-person reports on matters of discrimination for targeting the “who” and “when” of individual risks. This may be critical for the promotion of valuable interventions. I will also investigate whether key ethnic-racial socialization (i.e., cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust) and ethnic-racial identity (i.e., centrality, private regard, public regard) domains demonstrate buffering effects on the relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic outcomes.

In this study, I will utilize secondary data from a larger weekly-diary study on health, relationships and stress among college students at a Midwestern university. Young adults enrolled at the university, between the ages of 18-25, and self-identified as Black/African American or Hispanic/Latinx or Hispanic/Latinx and white were eligible to participate. Guided by the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST; Spencer, 1995), this study will illustrate the ways in which race-related variables affect the academic outcomes of African American and Latinx college students at an historically white institution. As a modified version of Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological Systems Theory (1989), PVEST specifically addresses the normative processes in which people of color perceive and develop identities. Spencer and colleagues (1997) suggest that individuals are at the center of their own ecology, and as such it is critical to consider factors that influence one’s perception of experiences in order to understand relations between risk/protective factors, coping strategies, identity development, and adaptive/maladaptive outcomes and behavior (Spencer, 1999). One of my primary goals with this study is to demonstrate that family socialization and identity processes remain

important culturally responsive familial and individual resources even during young adulthood. For example, if the effects of ethnic-racial discrimination are weakened or attenuated by higher levels of familial and cultural assets (i.e., ethnic-racial socialization, ethnic-racial identity) then this may be valuable for advancing family science literature on the strengths of African American and Latinx families. These findings may also be useful for enhancing higher education theories on student success models, and in practices rooted in improving campus-wide cross racial interactions.

I address the following research questions in this study:

1. What is the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic outcomes?
 - a. What is the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic belonging?
 - b. What is the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and academic stress?
 - c. What is the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors?
2. Does ethnic-racial socialization moderate the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic outcomes?
 - a. Does ethnic-racial socialization moderate the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic belonging?
 - b. Does ethnic-racial socialization moderate the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic stress?

- c. Does ethnic-racial socialization moderate the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly negative academic behaviors?
- 3. Does ethnic-racial identity moderate the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic outcomes?
 - a. Does ethnic-racial identity moderate the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic belonging?
 - b. Does ethnic-racial identity moderate the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic stress?
 - c. Does ethnic-racial identity moderate the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly negative academic behaviors?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ethnic-Racial Discrimination and African American and Latinx Individuals

Although race-based discrimination is no longer legal in the United States, it remains an unpleasant fact for many ethnic-racial minorities. Particularly among African American and Latinx individuals, recent national survey data indicated that 76% of African American and 58% of Latinx adults have reported experiencing frequent ethnic-racial discrimination, or mistreatment because of their race or ethnicity (Horowitz, Brown, & Cox, 2019). Further, survey data on race relations in the United States reveals that over 70% of Americans have witnessed discrimination against African American and Latinx individuals (Daniller, 2021). Despite notions that the United States has embarked on a post-racial society, which may have been fueled by the previous appointment of a Black president, public opinions imply that ethnic-racial discrimination toward African American and Latinx individuals continues to be prevalent.

Research has highlighted that both groups have long histories of experiences with interpersonal and institutional forms of ethnic-racial racial discrimination. This has been evidenced in areas such as employment, housing, and with financial institutions. Discrimination studies show that African American and Latinx individuals with ethnically identifiable names receive fewer responses from employers, and when compared to whites, both groups experience biases in the form of less assistance with home buying options and higher rates of mortgage rejection (Deitch et al., 2003; Krivo & Kaufman, 2004; Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Smedley et al., 2009). Other scholars have found links between ethnic-racial discrimination and negative mental and physical health outcomes

(Araujo, 2004; Finch et al., 2000; Lee & Ahn, 2012; Polanco Roman et al., 2016; Roman, & Miranda, 2013; Walker et al., 2014). Thus, for African American and Latinx individuals, experiences with discrimination can negatively impact family systems by limiting options for upward mobility and by increasing the likelihood for individual physical and mental harm.

Although much of the literature on ethnic-racial discrimination and African American and Latinx populations has focused on adults, there has been increased attention given to the experiences of youth and young adult college students. This may be because these are important developmental years of increased personal and ethnic-racial identity exploration (Arnett & Brody, 2008; Phinney, 1990). These years may also mark initial encounters with ethnic-racial discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006; Massey & Fisher, 2005). Previous research has demonstrated that exposure to ethnic-racial discrimination may be common in the lives of African American and Latinx youth (Brown & Chu, 2012; Dulin-Keita et al., 2011; Flores et al., 2010; Seaton & Douglass, 2014; Zeiders et al., 2013). For example, Seaton and Douglass (2014) found that over 90% of African American youth who participated in a daily diary study reported a discriminatory experience over the course of two weeks. Similarly, among a sample of Latinx adolescents, 94% reported experiencing ethnic-racial discrimination (Flores et al., 2010). Youth have also reported experiencing various forms of discrimination in school settings from teachers and peers that include physical and verbal harassment, ostracization, and stereotype-based treatment (Cordova & Cervantes, 2010; Fisher et al., 2000; Sellers et al., 2003).

Colleges and universities are not exempt from student experiences with ethnic-racial discrimination. From a historical perspective, African Americans and Hispanics were excluded from the benefits of receiving a higher education, and grossly underrepresented due to widespread assumptions of intellectual inferiority (Adams, 1995; Harper, 2009; McClain, 1994).¹ Contemporary research continues to show that Black and Latinx students report incidents of discrimination on college campuses (Billingsley & Hurd, 2019; Hudson Banks, 2010; Hurtado & Ruiz Alvarado, 2015; Hussein & Jones, 2019; Jochman et al., 2019; Stevens et al., 2018).²

Further, the reviewed literature suggests that at historically white institutions, students have perceived and experienced discrimination from both students and faculty (Del Toro & Hughes, 2019; Fries-Bitt & Turner 2001; Fuller, 2017; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Milem et al., 2005; Saldana, 1994; Singer, 2016). For example, in one of the aforementioned studies, qualitative narratives revealed that students felt stereotyped as troublemakers, or experienced lower quality services with academic counseling when compared to white students (Singer, 2016).

Going away to college is a significant milestone for most students, and for African American and Latinx students, being confronted with discrimination may undermine feelings of satisfaction. Scholars have highlighted multiple psychological costs associated with discrimination that include increased depression, anxiety, and isolation (Hinderlie & Kenny, 2002; Hudson Banks, 2010; Hurd et al., 2014; Lee et al.,

¹ The term Hispanic is used when research cited uses the term to describe the study population.

² The term Black is used when research cited uses the term to describe the study population.

2020). However, links to academic outcomes have received less attention. This is surprising since evidence continues to demonstrate significant relationships between student perceptions of school climate and academic outcomes (Hyatt, 2003; Museus et al., 2008). Further, considerable research has been devoted to understanding an apparent achievement gap in access and outcomes when comparing collegiate African American and Latinx students to white students. It has been suggested that the underperformance of ethnic-racial minorities is rooted in a culture of anti-intellectualism (McWhorter, 2000). However, a competing argument may be that students are unable to thrive academically in a racially hostile environment. Other researchers have challenged the latter line of thinking. For example, McGee and Martin (2011) introduced stereotype management as a concept to demonstrate how experiences with discrimination may have a positive effect on academic outcomes (e.g., increased motivation to achieve), particularly for African American college students. Results from a similar study on Black and Latinx college students reveal positive associations between racial discrimination stress and intrinsic motivation (Reynolds et al., 2010). Taken together, there appears to be important nuances relating to how experiences with discrimination influence college students' academic outcomes. Therefore, more research is required to better understand these relationships.

Ethnic-racial Discrimination and Academic Outcomes

Scholarship on the relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and the academic outcomes of African American and Latinx students has generally been consistent. Among samples of youth, discrimination has been associated with decreased school bonding and belonging, lower grades and academic motivation, and more problem behaviors in school (Alfaro et al., 2009; Smalls et al., 2007; Wong et al., 2003). Among

college students, most evidence supports that ethnic-racial discrimination is associated with poorer academic outcomes such as lower GPA/achievement (Billingsley & Hurd, 2019; Del Toro & Hughes, 2019; Fuller, 2017; Stevens et al., 2018), lower academic engagement or motivation (Cabrera et al., 1999; Chavous et al., 2018), diminished sense of belonging (Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Hurtado & Ruiz Alvarado, 2015; Hussein & Jones, 2019; Levin et al., 2006; Nuñez, 2009; Milem et al., 2005; Walton & Cohen, 2011), and increased academic distress (Cheng et al., 2019; Chao et al., 2012). Additionally, Fischer (2007) studied first-year, Latinx students at a selective historically white institution and found that students who had negative perceptions of the racial climate (e.g., observed faculty/students openly use derogatory racial language) were also likely to have lower persistence rates. Other scholars have suggested racial stress as an underlying mechanism linking discrimination to academic outcomes. In a qualitative study on the academic, racial, and social experiences of African American students at a historically white institution, Fries-Bitt and Turner (2001) found that students' racialized experiences were positively linked to racial stress, which in turn subverted students' academic rigor and social integration. Similarly, Steele (1997) found that African American and Latinx students may internalize negative stereotypes, which can depress their academic performance and adjustment in college.

Given that academic integration is key for student persistence and graduation (Davidson et al., 2015), understanding the academic consequences of ethnic-racial discrimination among African American and Latinx college students may be valuable for minimizing academic disparities and for improving cross-racial interactions on campus. Despite important findings from previous studies, this current investigation addresses

several limitations. First, many of the previous studies linking ethnic-racial discrimination to the academic outcomes of college students have primarily been cross-sectional or span over longer periods of time. For example, Stevens et al. (2018) found associations between discrimination and lower academic performance, however participants reported on discriminatory experiences that occurred within the previous year. Although the findings significantly contribute to an understudied area of research, scholars have suggested that the nature of discrimination may be more pervasive and occur more frequently in lives of historically marginalized individuals (Harrell, 2000). In this study, I assess weekly experiences of ethnic-racial discrimination over a period of four weeks. Repeated self-reports over shorter time frames may reduce the likelihood for recall bias (Bolger et al., 2003; Iida et al, 2012). Further, the use of this method helps with identifying important within-person variation. In other words, identifying how increases and decreases in an individuals' own experiences with discrimination impact important academic outcomes. Short-term repeated assessments have increasingly been utilized by scholars who study adolescent and adult experiences with racial discrimination (Davenport et al., 2020; English et al., 2019; Seaton & Iida, 2019; Seaton & Zeiders, 2021; Torres & Ong, 2010). Scholars have found within-person associations between daily racial discrimination and daily depression, as well as weekly reports of racial discrimination and weekly reports of poorer sleep health.

In this investigation I examine how weekly experiences of ethnic-racial discrimination influences weekly academic outcomes such as academic belonging, academic stress (i.e., stress from assignments/exams) and negative academic behaviors (i.e., problematic interactions with peers/professors). Researchers have suggested the

importance of including both positive and negative outcomes when examining minoritized populations (García Coll et al., 1996) which appears to be an omission from previous investigations on links between discrimination and academic outcomes. Further, to my knowledge, similar weekly associations among college students have not been examined in previous research.

Ethnic-racial Socialization and African American and Latinx Individuals

For many African American and Latinx parents, the task of preparing children with the cognitive and behavioral skills to navigate the world as an ethnic-racial minority is an important family process and critical aspect of development. Through ethnic-racial socialization, parents communicate implicit and explicit messages to children about their ethnic and racial group membership and how to negotiate complex racialized encounters (Ayón et al., 2020; Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Stevenson, 1997; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). As a concept, ethnic-racial socialization is commonly used in the literature as an inclusive term to describe the familial patterns of socialization among ethnic-racial minority families. However, it is also the case for authors to make distinctions between racial socialization and ethnic socialization. Racial socialization has been and may currently be used to describe patterns of socialization that occur within Black families (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Thornton et al., 1990), and ethnic socialization may be applied to multiple ethnic groups including Black families (Hughes et al., 2006). Considering the commonality between both concepts and the self-identities of the participants in this study (i.e., African American, Latinx), I use ethnic-racial socialization to describe the participants' experiences with their parents' ethnic and race-related socialization.

Understanding the ethnic-racial socialization practices that youth and young adults receive from parents is important for a couple of reasons. First, given the history of racial stratification in the U.S., many ethnic-racial minority families may perceive that their children will at some point experience a negative race-related encounter. Thus, parental ethnic-racial socialization practices may operate as tools for assisting children with navigating and coping with these experiences. Additionally, America's racial landscape is increasingly changing, such that families and children of color will constitute a majority of the population (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Noe-Bustamante & Flores, 2019). Although individual level views concerning race-relations may not be as fluid, the fact remains that the representation of youth and young adults of color will increase across important domains including academic settings, therefore increasing the likelihood for cross-racial interactions. Knowing what these individuals are learning about racial inequalities and their coping strategies may be a foundational step for implementing appropriate school-based interventions and policies on issues of ethnicity and race.

To gain a robust understanding of the root and significance of ethnic-racial socialization in African American families, it is important to refer to early scholarship. Boykin and Toms (1985) suggest that given the unique history of African Americans in the United States, African Americans endure additional responsibilities with family socialization practices. As with the rest of society, African American families socialize children according to mainstream values. Unlike their societal counterparts, however, African American families face the additional tasks of teaching their children about navigating society as a racial minority, all while providing relevant context about being of African descent. Thus, one can imagine the unique challenges and stressors that some

African American families may face when preparing their children to exist in environments where children may experience race-based rejection. Although there is great diversity among African Americans in general, and in their racial socialization practices (frequency, mode of delivery, content), estimates suggest that roughly 75% of African American families engage in some form of ethnic-racial socialization (Stevenson, 1995; Thornton et al., 1990). These data might imply its continued saliency as a familial practice.

Research has also highlighted the significance of ethnic-racial socialization within Hispanic/Latinx families (Knight, et al., 1993; Quintana et al., 1999; Romero et al., 2000, Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2000; Ayón et al., 2020). Similar to Black families, there is an abundance of diversity among this group. In addition to being a rapidly growing population in the United States, many Latinx families develop under a highly restrictive political climate where issues concerning their race, ethnicity, language, and citizenship status are often scrutinized (Ayón, 2016). For example, at the state-level, families have endured the threat of deportation, dehumanizing stereotypes, and disproportionate levels of detainment. Parents may utilize ethnic-racial socialization with children in response to negative stereotypes, and as a strategy to instill their children with the processes to maneuver in complex environments.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices

The ethnic-racial socialization practices presented by Hughes et al. (2006) provide a comprehensive lens for examining specific types of socialization that may occur in African American and Latinx families. In this particular work, the authors synthesized over two decades of empirical research on parenting within ethnic minority families that

extended across multiple disciplines, and conceptualized ethnic-racial socialization practices as the ways in which parents communicate messages to their offspring regarding norms, values, and beliefs associated with ethnicity and race. Major types of communication include cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism. Through cultural socialization, children may be exposed to cultural traditions and foods, and learn important facts regarding their ethnic-racial history that instill pride (Hughes et al., 2006). Preparation for bias socialization may include parents providing children with instructions when confronted with racism or discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006). Promotion of mistrust socialization generally involves teaching children to be cautious when interacting with other ethnic-racial groups, and through egalitarian socialization, parents may encourage children to believe that there is equality among races or promote colorblind racial ideals (Hughes et al., 2006). One of the challenges with studying ethnic-racial socialization may be found in the lack of consistency in the terminology used to label types of ethnic-racial socialization (Lesane-Brown et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2012). Despite variations in labeling, the majority of typologies are deeply rooted in the works of early scholars who suggested that the content of ethnic and racial socialization can generally be classified according to three areas: (a) content promotive of culture, (b) content that informs the minority experience, and (c) content that relays mainstream experiences (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Demo & Hughes, 1990).

The process of ethnic-racial socialization generally begins during early childhood with cultural socialization practices (e.g., books, games, teachings that cultural teachings) (Priest et al., 2014). However, a more recent study shows that some parents are engaging

toddlers in various forms of ethnic-racial socialization (i.e., cultural socialization, preparation for bias, egalitarianism) (Blanchard et al., 2018). The finding from this study might elucidate how sociocultural conditions intersect with child's age to influence the introduction of additional ethnic-racial socialization practices during pre-adolescent years. During adolescence and early teenage years, findings on the frequency of cultural socialization practices are mixed. Hughes and Johnson (2001) showed less frequent cultural socialization between parents and children, while other researchers showed an increase (McHale et. al., 2006). Most consistent across studies however is that parents generally introduce preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust socialization strategies during adolescent years (Hughes et al., 2006). Research also shows that African American emerging adult college students report having received ethnic-racial socialization from parents (Banerjee et al., 2017). Students typically recall receiving cultural socialization and preparation for bias, with very few reporting promotion of mistrust socialization (Priest et al., 2014). Yet, when parents and other adults are included in the socialization process, African American students, particularly those who attended predominantly white institutions reported receiving more protective ethnic-racialization practices (i.e., preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust).

When compared to other forms of ethnic-racial socialization, egalitarian socialization has been less investigated. According to researchers, a possible explanation is that teaching children to believe that all races are equal, and or discouraging them to participate in discussions about race in public settings may project unrealistic expectations about out-group perceptions of their ethnicity and race (Spencer, 1983; Stevenson, 1995). Despite the limited research on egalitarian socialization, evidence

suggest that some African American and Latinx families do indeed promote egalitarian views concerning race and ethnicity (Anderson et al., 2015, Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Among samples of youth, egalitarian socialization has been associated with higher self-esteem (Villegas-Gol & Tran, 2018) and higher academic expectations (Trask-Tate et al., 2014).

Ethnic-Racial Discrimination and Ethnic-Racial Socialization

The most common type of ethnic-racial socialization that parents endorse is cultural socialization (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Paasch-Anderson et al., 2019; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). A possible reason may be that one of the goals with ethnic-racial socialization is to instill youth with a positive view of their own ethnic-racial group. For instance, among Latinx families, parents have reported encouraging children to build counternarratives to help them cope with the trauma and pressures of migration and when they experience discrimination (Ayón, 2016). As youth approach adolescence, parents expand on the frequency and type of ethnic-racial socialization transmissions. For instance, they may anticipate that children will likely have more frequent racialized encounters and begin to incorporate preparation for bias (e.g., instructions for encounters with racism/discrimination and/or coping) and promotion of mistrust socialization (e.g., teaching children to be cautious when interacting with other ethnic groups) (Lesane-Brown, 2006). These two socialization practices may highlight some of the more protective qualities of ethnic-racial socialization. In a qualitative study on African American parents' perceptions of the shooting death of Trayvon Martin, parents expressed feeling that Martin's death prompted their need to prepare children for the realities of racism (Thomas & Blackmon, 2015). Research on Latinx families found

that when parents prepared children for biases, children were more conscious with detecting stereotypes from others (McKown & Strambler, 2009). An implication of these findings might be that teaching children to be cognizant of racism and stereotypes is valuable for their own cognitive development and personal safety. However, some scholars argue that encouraging children to mistrust others without teaching coping skills may be counterintuitive. Findings show that promotion of mistrust may be a risk factor for increased depressive symptoms among youth (Dunbar et al., 2015).

Parents' own experiences with discrimination may stimulate racial socialization with children. Hagelskamp and Hughes (2014) studied parent-child dyads and found that African American and Latinx parents who experienced institutional racism engaged in more frequent preparation for bias socialization with children. However, when parents experienced interpersonal racism they engaged in more cultural socialization with children. Hughes and Chen (1997) also found links between parental experience with discrimination and socialization practices with children. African American parents who experienced interpersonal prejudice in the workplace engaged in preparation for bias with children but engaged in promotion of mistrust socialization when they experienced institutional-level workplace discrimination. For some parents it may be important to teach children about various forms of discrimination as well as how to negotiate appropriate responses.

Other scholars examined how ethnic-racial socialization unfolds in two-parent African American households where parents experienced discrimination, and found the existence of mother-daughter, father-son dyadic exchanges of ethnic-racial socialization (McNeil Smith et al., 2016). Mothers were more likely to engage in cultural socialization

practices with daughters, while fathers engaged in preparation for bias/promotion of mistrust socialization with sons. This finding supports previous literature that suggests African American girls are more likely to receive cultural socialization strategies from parents, while boys tend to receive preparation for bias (Berkel et al., 2009). For males who reside in diverse neighborhoods, researchers have also found strong relationships between discrimination and preparation for bias socialization (Stevenson et al., 2005). A possible explanation for this pattern of socialization among boys may be linked to negative racialized events involving Black males. Occurrences such as the deaths of unarmed Black males by white police officers may signal parents to engage in more gendered and protective forms of ethnic-racial socialization (Threlfall, 2018).

Ethnic-racial Socialization and Academic Outcomes

Studies linking ethnic-racial socialization and academic outcomes are scant, however, a few existing studies have demonstrated direct links. For example, Bowman and Howard (1985) found that racial barrier, egalitarian, and racial self-worth socialization were all linked to higher levels of achievement. Similarly, Neblett et al. (2006) studied 545 African American adolescents and found positive associations between egalitarian socialization, self-worth socialization, and higher levels of academic curiosity. In Wang and Huguley (2012), participants who reported receiving cultural socialization also reported higher GPAs and increased educational aspirations. These findings highlight the positive effects of various types of racial socialization on academic outcomes. This would make sense given that ethnic-racial socialization generally contributes to positive youth development and has been associated with a range of positive mental health outcomes (Stevenson et al., 2002; Wang et al., 2020). Some

scholars have found negative associations. Children in Marshall (1995) who reported receiving racial socialization from parents also reported lower grades, and in Smith et al. (2003) preparation for bias socialization had a negative effect on achievement.

Few scholars have examined the direct effects of ethnic-racial socialization on the academic outcomes of college students. Two studies however demonstrated interesting findings. Anglin and Wade (2007) studied Black college students at a historical white institution and found that racial socialization was positively associated with students' academic adjustment (e.g., perceptions of school environment). The authors utilized a composite racial socialization measure. In another study on Black college students across a mixture of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs), authors found that students who reported more frequent preparation for bias socialization also reported more prosocial involvement on their respective campuses (White-Johnson, 2015). However, racial pride, preparation for bias, and egalitarian socialization were all unrelated to academic performance. This finding is quite different from the scholarly work conducted on adolescent samples (Neblett et al., 2006). It appears that in academic settings, ethnic-racial socialization may function differently between adolescent and young adult samples, and the effects may vary according to the type of socialization, type of institution, and the academic outcome variable of interest. More investigation is needed to better understand these relationships.

Linking Ethnic-racial Discrimination, Ethnic-racial Socialization and Academic Outcomes

Findings have been mixed on whether ethnic-racial socialization buffers the effects of discrimination on academic outcomes. Using a sample of adolescent African

Americans, Banerjee et al. (2018) found support for cultural socialization and preparation for bias as salient moderators. Receiving high levels of both mitigated the negative effects of discrimination on academic outcomes. Wang and Huguley (2012) also found that high levels of cultural socialization buffered the effects of discrimination on GPA and educational aspirations, however preparation for bias did not support moderation. Preparation for bias also did not moderate the link between discrimination and school bonding in Dotterer et al. (2009). Researchers examined African American adolescents to determine the effects of discrimination on school engagement. Neblett et al. (2006) and White-Johnson (2015) both examined multiple dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization (e.g., cultural socialization, preparation for bias, egalitarianism) as moderators on links between discrimination and academic outcome. Findings did not support evidence of a moderation using adolescent and college student samples. Given the inconclusive findings, continued investigations on these relationships remain important for several reasons. Interrelations between ethnic-racial discrimination, ethnic-racial socialization, and academic outcomes have been evidenced, however these studies are limited, and the available findings primarily address the experiences and outcomes of adolescent samples. Secondly, previous works have neglected to consider the moderating effects of other types of ethnic-racial socialization beyond cultural socialization and preparation for bias. A goal of ethnic-racial socialization is to help children manage experiences with discrimination, and African American and Latinx college students who attend a historically white institution may frequently encounter discriminatory incidents. Thus, students may recall and apply multiple parental teachings about race in ways that benefit their academic development. By examining the role that ethnic-racial socialization plays

in lives of these students, several of the aforementioned limitations from previous research are addressed in this study.

Ethnic-Racial Identity and African American and Latinx Individuals

Ethnic-racial identity broadly describes aspects of one's social identity that are linked to ethnic-racial group membership (Cross, 1971; Sellers et al., 1998; Verkuyten, 2016). Like ethnic-racial socialization, ethnic-racial identity is a complex and multidimensional construct primarily viewed as a cultural developmental asset. Although scholars have often made distinctions between the use of ethnic identity and racial identity in empirical literature, recent authors suggest that an ethnic-racial identity meta-construct may be more appropriate (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). These authors argue that historical distinctions between ethnic and racial identity may be outdated given that contemporary notions of racial and ethnic identity among youth may be more global. They further suggest that most previous measures were rarely designed to solely capture racial or ethnic distinctions, and that there is considerable theoretical overlap between both constructs. As such, I use the term ethnic-racial identity to describe the multidimensionality of one's ethnic-racial identity. This includes content dimensions that reflect one's thoughts and feelings about their ethnic-racial identity, as well as process dimensions through which ethnic-racial identity develops (Sellers et al., 1998; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

In this study, I focus on three content dimensions derived from the multidimensional model of racial identity (MMRI, Sellers et al., 1998). The MMRI provides an understanding of multiple ways that African American and Latinx individuals apply meaning and significance to their ethnic-racial identities. The

dimensions include centrality which refers to the importance of ethnicity-race as it relates to one's own definition of self (Sellers et al., 1998). Private regard reflects the value one holds with belonging to their own ethnic-racial group, and public regard indicates an individual's perception of how others view the individual's ethnic-racial group (Sellers et al., 1998). I also include exploration as an important developmental process dimension that individuals undergo when seeking to understand their own self and personal fit within an ethnic-racial group (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 1996; Phinney, 1992).

Including both content and process dimensions of ethnic-racial identity in this study is important for a few reasons. Content dimensions have foundations in social identity theory (e.g., group membership is an important context for establishing a sense of societal belonging) (Tajfel et al., 1971). Among ethnic-racial minority college students, those with stronger ethnic-racial identity orientations tend to report greater feelings of intergroup belonging, more positive self-esteem, and better psychological adjustment (Roberts et al., 1999; St. Louis & Liem, 2005). Research also finds that settings can trigger an individual's notion of threat or safety (Goodnow & Grady, 1993). For African American and Latinx individuals, developing a healthy ethnic-racial identity is an important task, and entrance into a historically white institution can elicit complex information about ethnicity and race, such as increased exposure to both positive and negative racialized encounters. Thus, through exploration they may actively search for more positive intergroup interactions that affirm their identities, as well as seek opportunities to learn more about the racialized beliefs of themselves and others. In a study on emerging adult friendship pairs, Syed and Juan (2012) found similarities in ethnic identity exploration between collegiate friends. Ethnic minority friendship pairs

were more likely to have ethnicity-related discussion with friends rather than family. Cross (1995) hypothesized that experiences with discrimination might hasten one's efforts toward identity exploration. Collectively these findings may imply that among emerging adults, non-familial contexts and interactions are important sources of ethnic-racial identity development, and that ethnic-racial identity development and discrimination may co-occur in environments where young adults perceive a marginalized identity status.

Ethnic-racial Discrimination and Ethnic-racial Identity

Several theoretical models have posited associations between discrimination and ethnic-racial identity (Branscombe et al., 1999; Cross, 1995; Spencer, 1995). For instance, according to the rejection-identification model (Branscombe et al., 1999), experiences of discrimination will motivate an individual to identify more strongly with their own group. Branscombe et al. (1999) studied African American college students and found that experiences of discrimination increased students' identification with their own racial group. Other scholars have found similar associations. Pahl and Way (2006) conducted a longitudinal investigation on urban Black and Latinx adolescents and Umaña-Taylor and Guimond (2012) studied Latinx adolescents. Both studies found significant associations between reports of higher discrimination and higher identity exploration. These finding may imply that experiences of discrimination may motivate adolescents toward deeper insight into their ethnic-racial identity. However, scholars have also found inverse relationships. Among a sample of Mexican American youth, higher discrimination was associated with lower identity exploration (Romero & Roberts, 2003). Zeiders et al. (2019) studied adolescent Mexican American mothers and found that

higher reports of discrimination were associated with lower ethnic-racial identity resolution; mothers had less clarity about the meaning of their ethnicity. In a cross-sectional study of Latinx adolescents, Armenta and Hunt (2009) assessed different sources of discrimination (i.e., personal, group) and found dissimilar associations with ethnic-racial identity. Personal experiences with discrimination were not associated with increased ingroup identification, however, when individuals perceived that discrimination was common among members of their own group, they reported higher levels of ethnic group identification.

Empirical evidence has also been mixed when examining links between ethnic-racial discrimination and content dimensions of ethnic-racial identity. Findings from Douglass and Umaña-Taylor (2017) revealed that when adolescents reported experiences of discrimination from peers and teachers, they also reported lower public regard. Adolescents felt that others held negative views about their ethnic-racial group. Seaton et al. (2009) studied middle-late adolescent African Americans and found a similar association between racial discrimination and low public regard. However, racial discrimination was not associated with race centrality and private regard. The authors suggests that more research is needed and explain that the theoretical links between discrimination and ethnic-racial identity may be more applicable to developmental dimensions of ethnic-racial identity (e.g., exploration) rather than content dimension (e.g., centrality, private regard).

Other scholars have even suggested bidirectional relationships between discrimination and ethnic-racial identity. For instance, holding strong ethnic-racial identity may increase the likelihood for exposure to discrimination. This was the case

with Neblett et al. (2004). Researchers studied African American college freshman and found that individuals with higher race centrality beliefs reported higher daily racial hassles, and individuals who reported lower public regard (e.g., believed others held negative attitudes about their racial group) also reported higher daily hassles. Rowley et al. (2008) studied African American children and found associations between higher race centrality and increased expectations for discrimination. When children believed that others held positive views of their racial identity (e.g., high public regard), children also reported decreased expectation for discrimination. Other researchers (e.g., Seaton et al., 2009; Zeiders et al., 2019) did not find support for hypotheses linking ethnic-racial identity to discrimination.

Although linking ethnic-racial identity to ethnic-racial discrimination is not a goal of this current study, a directional hypothesis has been theoretically and empirically supported which implies value for future investigations. Additionally, despite inconclusive findings, evidence supports that experiences of discrimination may stimulate ethnic-racial identity orientations.

Ethnic-racial Identity and Academic Outcomes

According to Smalls and colleagues (2007), research linking ethnic group membership or ethnic group beliefs to achievement generally fall within two frameworks (i.e., racial identity as risk, racial identity as promotive). The racial identity as risk approach acknowledges risks that individuals may endure by strongly embracing identity beliefs to cope with academic disenfranchisement. For instance, African American and Latinx students who recognize societal inequalities across important life domains may develop an oppositional identity around education (e.g., belief that education is not for

them), and disidentify with their academics (Finn & Rock, 1997; Ogbu, 1986). Steele (1997) also finds that individuals who identify strongly with their racial group may underperform on academic tasks, particularly when race is made salient, and when individuals perceive that negative societal views are attached to the academic abilities of members within their racial group. Researchers highlight that the racial identity as risk approach may be popular but lacks robust empirical support and does not consider the multiple ways that individuals express their racial identity (Smalls et al., 2007). The other approach, racial identity as promotive, suggests that having stronger group identification or racial identity orientations is a cultural asset and may be a catalyst for more positive beliefs about education and academics. Thus, when individuals are aware of systemic educational barriers, they may also be more motivated to excel. Researchers further argue that viewing racial identity as a cultural asset which aligns with the historical beliefs of groups who were denied access to education (See Chavous et al., 2003).

Among African American and Latinx individuals, there has been empirical support linking ethnic-racial identity to academic outcomes. Boston and Warren (2017) studied African American high school students and found positive associations between centrality and school belonging. When students believed that race was important to their own identity, they also felt more connected to their school. Among Black college students at a predominantly white institution, high levels of centrality have been associated with increased ethnic fit (Chavous, 2000) and higher academic performance (Sellers et al., 1998). Among adolescent boys, but not girls, centrality was positively associated with school importance and academic self-concept (Chavous et al., 2008). Similar support for relationships between centrality and academic outcomes was not

achieved in Smalls et al. (2007). The researchers studied African American adolescents and found that having high levels of race centrality was unrelated to academic outcomes (i.e., academic curiosity, academic persistence, negative school behaviors). The inconsistent findings might imply that there are important gender and age effects to consider.

Among samples of African American and multiracial older adolescents and college students, private regard has been positively associated with academic outcomes (Chavous et al., 2003; 2017; Hurd et al., 2012; Rigali-Oiler & Kurpius, 2013). In a longitudinal study of at-risk young adults, Hurd et al. (2012) found that young adults who reported having greater pride for their Black identity also held high beliefs about the importance of school. Rigali-Oiler and Kurpius (2013) studied racial-ethnic minority and white undergraduates to investigate factors that promote academic persistence. The researchers determined that for racial-ethnic minority students, greater private regard was the most powerful predictor of academic persistence. In an extensive review of empirical findings that link ethnic-racial identity to the academic, psychological, and behavioral outcomes of adolescents, Rivas-Drake et al. (2014) found studies demonstrating positive associations between ethnic-racial identity and the academic outcomes of African American and Latinx adolescents. Among African American adolescents, higher identity exploration was positively linked to interests in learning. Additionally, Latinx adolescents with greater public and private regard also reported strong school attachments and higher grades. In addition to these important findings, researchers also highlight that links between public regard and academic outcomes may be mixed, especially among African American samples (Hurd et al., 2012). Those that report low public regard (e.g., feeling

that others have negative views of African Americans) may be more sensitive with detecting structural barriers and may exhibit more negative academic attitudes and behaviors.

Linking Ethnic-Racial Discrimination, Ethnic-racial Identity, and Academic Outcomes

Various dimensions of ethnic-racial identity may moderate the impact of discrimination on academic outcomes (Chavous et al., 2008; Mrozowski & Sanchez, 2015; Leath et al., 2019; Ong et al., 2006; Wong et al., 2003). Collectively, these authors have found that among African American and Latinx individuals, having strong ingroup attachments (e.g., higher racial centrality) weakens the magnitude of discrimination on various academic outcomes. For instance, Chavous et al. (2008) studied African American adolescents and found that discrimination had less of a negative effect on GPA and lower school importance attitudes among males who reported higher racial centrality relative to those lower in centrality. Wong et al. (2003) revealed similar findings. Among adolescents with strong positive ethnic identity orientations, the negative effects of racial discrimination on adolescents' academic self-concept and achievement were mitigated. A possible reason for these findings is that higher feelings of ingroup pride or stronger beliefs about personal ethnic-racial identity (e.g., higher centrality, higher private regard) may be a source of resilience or protection. Therefore, individuals with stronger ethnic-racial identity orientations are likely prepared to manage the risks associated with ethnic-racial discrimination (Yip et al., 2019). However, having higher ethnic-racial identity orientations may also exacerbate the impact of discrimination on outcomes (Thomas et al., 2009). Researchers highlight that for some individuals, having strong ingroup and

personal ethnic-racial identity attachments can also heighten awareness of discrimination, thus having a stronger negative impact on outcomes (Yip et al., 2019).

Exacerbating predictions also have been made for public regard and exploration dimensions of ethnic-racial identity. In the context of ethnic-racial discrimination, having higher public regard (e.g., beliefs that other groups have positive feelings towards one's own group) may be detrimental for members belonging to groups with histories of marginalization. For instance, when confronted with frequent discrimination, individuals having high public regard may be less prepared to detect racialized mistreatment from others (Seller & Shelton, 2003). Thus, in the literature, findings generally show that the negative effects of discrimination on adjustment outcomes (e.g., academic, behavioral, psychological) are buffered through low levels of public regard rather than high (Caldwell et al., 2004; Chavous et al., 2003; Sellers et al., 2006; Yip et al., 2019). Further, exploration (e.g., ethnic-racial identity knowledge seeking behaviors) suggests a degree of uncertainty regarding one's ethnic-racial identity (Phinney, 1992), and having high identity exploration may provide less protection against experiences of ethnic-racial discrimination on important developmental outcomes. Using a sample of Latinx adults, Torres and Ong (2010) conducted a daily diary investigation to determine whether ethnic-racial identity moderates the effects of discrimination on adults' mental health. Researchers found that ethnic-identity exploration exacerbated the influence of discrimination on depression, whereas the relationship was buffered through identity commitment.

The aforementioned findings suggest that ethnic-racial identity dimensions may interact with discrimination in complex ways to influence academic outcomes for African

and Latinx individuals. Despite these important findings, academic outcomes remain understudied in comparison to mental health outcomes (Yip et al., 2019). Further, adolescent populations have consistently received greater attention in the literature. Considering other sample demographics (i.e., African American and Latinx undergraduates at a historically white institution) could reveal robust findings on relationships between discrimination, ethnic-racial identity, and academic outcomes.

In sum, the reviewed literature brings to attention some of the race-related experiences that influence the academic outcomes of African American and Latinx individuals. Although ethnic-racial discrimination may be an academic risk factor, all individuals do not respond to discrimination the same way. Ethnic-racial socialization practices from parents and individual ethnic-racial identity beliefs may function as sources of resilience to offset the negative impact of discrimination on academic outcomes. Empirical studies support both ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity as cultural assets that are normative to the development of African American and Latinx youth. However, the roles of these cultural assets in the lives of young adults remain understudied.

The reviewed literature may be limited in other important ways. Most studies linking discrimination to academic outcomes are based on adolescent samples. Given the pervasiveness of discrimination, it is important to continue investigating these associations among young adult populations. It may also be important to assess experiences of discrimination over shorter time periods given that discriminatory incidents may occur more frequently in the lives of African American and Latinx individuals. Many of the reviewed studies were either cross-sectional or longer-term

longitudinal assessments of discrimination. Therefore, several of the aforementioned limitations are addressed in this current study.

The Present Study

The present study utilizes the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST; Spencer, 1995) as a framework to illustrate the ways in which race-related variables affect the academic outcomes of African American and Latinx students who attend a historically white institution. The PVEST model posits that individuals are at the center of their own ecology, and that vulnerability factors can impact outcomes. The model also acknowledges the role of protective factors that buffer vulnerability factors (Spencer, 2006). PVEST consists of five components, and aspects of the model align with this study as follows: (1) predisposed risk contributors (i.e., race; Black/Latinx), (2) daily stress engagement experiences (i.e., ethnic-racial discrimination), (3) coping strategies/emergent identities (i.e., ethnic-racial socialization/ethnic-racial identity), and (4) life outcomes (i.e., positive/negative academic outcomes).

Conceptual Model

Figure 1 illustrates the conceptual model of Ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity domains as moderators on the association between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic outcome variables.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

1. a. What is the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic belonging? **Weekly reports of ethnic-racial discrimination will be negatively associated with weekly reports of academic belonging.**

- b. What is the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and academic stress? **Weekly reports of ethnic-racial discrimination will be positively associated with weekly reports of academic stress.**
- c. What is the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors? **Weekly reports of ethnic-racial discrimination will be positively associated with weekly reports of negative academic behaviors.**
2. a. Does ethnic-racial socialization moderate the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic belonging? **The negative relationship between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic belonging will be stronger among reports of (i) low cultural socialization, (ii) low preparation for bias, (iii) low egalitarian socialization. The negative relationship will be weaker or non-existent when reports are high. Conversely, the negative relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic belonging will be (iv) stronger among reports of high promotion of mistrust socialization and (v) weaker or non-existent among reports of low promotion of mistrust socialization.**
- b. Does ethnic-racial socialization moderate the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic stress? **The positive relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic stress will be weakened by reports of (i) high cultural socialization and (ii) high preparation for bias. High egalitarian socialization and high promotion of**

mistrust socialization will exacerbate the influence of ethnic-racial discrimination on academic stress (iii) and (iv).

c. Does ethnic-racial socialization moderate the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly negative academic behaviors? **The positive relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors will be (i) weakened by reports of high cultural socialization and (ii) weakened by reports of high preparation for bias. High egalitarian socialization and high promotion of mistrust socialization will exacerbate the influence of ethnic-racial discrimination on negative academic behaviors (iii) and (iv).**

3. a. Does ethnic-racial identity moderate the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic belonging? **The negative influence of ethnic-racial discrimination on academic belonging will be weakened by (i) high centrality, (ii) high private regard, (iii) high public regard, and (iv) low exploration. The negative influence will be strengthened by (v) low centrality, (vi) low private regard, (vii) high public regard, and (viii) low exploration.**
- b. Does ethnic-racial identity moderate the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic stress? **The positive relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic stress will be weakened by reports of (i) high centrality, (ii) high private regard, and (iii) high exploration. The positive relationship will be exacerbated by reports of (iv) low public regard.**

c. Does ethnic-racial identity moderate the association between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly negative academic behaviors? **The positive relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors will be weakened by reports of (i) high centrality, (ii) high private regard, and (iii) high exploration. The positive relation will be exacerbated by reports of (iv) low public regard.**

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Sample and Procedures

The present study utilized secondary data from a larger weekly diary study on health, relationships, and stress among college students at a Midwestern university. Eligible participants consisted of young adults enrolled at the university between the ages of 18-25 who self-identified as Black/African American or Hispanic/Latinx or Hispanic/Latinx and white. There were 2,122 eligible participants. The eligible participants were emailed and 11.7% expressed interest in the study. This study utilized data from 145 consenting participants.

Study participants were invited to the laboratory and completed an initial online assessment. The duration of the initial assessment was approximately 1.5 hours. Participants then completed weekly diary assessments that were emailed each Friday for four consecutive weeks. The duration of the weekly assessments was approximately 15 minutes each week. After completing the weekly diary assessments, participants completed an end assessment. The duration of the end assessment was approximately 1 hour.

Nearly 63% of participants self-identified as African American, while 37% self-identified as U.S. born Hispanics, Latinos, or individuals of Spanish origin. Additionally, 70% of participants self-identified as female and 30% as male. The average age of participants was 20.84 ($SD = 1.15$). The average household family income of participants ranged between \$60,000 - \$70,000 per year.

Measures

Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (Assessed Weekly)

Ethnic-racial discrimination was assessed each week over the course of four weeks. Items included those consistent with the article by Harrell (2000) that conceptualizes racism-related stress among people of color. The 18-item measure assesses whether events that occurred over the past 7 days were because of race or ethnicity (0 = *No*, 1 = *Yes*; “Been observed or followed while in public spaces”, “Been treated rudely/ disrespectfully”). Higher scores indicated greater frequency of events, and a total mean score was computed each week. Internal consistency reliability for the ethnic-racial discrimination scale was not computed because events are considered independent. Experiencing one type of ethnic-racial discrimination does not increase the likelihood for an individual to experience another (Bollen & Lennox, 1991).

Academic Belonging (Assessed Weekly)

Academic belonging was assessed each week over the course of four weeks. Each week participants reported on the quality of their relationships with other students, administrative personnel, and faculty members (Strayhorn, 2008). The scale consists of three items and ratings ranged from (1 = *Competitive, Rigid, Remote* to 7 = *Friendly, Helpful, Understanding*). Mean scores were calculated each week, and higher mean scores indicated greater academic belonging. Across the weeks, the scale demonstrated good reliability ($W1\alpha = .72$, $W2\alpha = .84$, $W3\alpha = .78$, $W4\alpha = .84$).

Academic Stress (Assessed Weekly)

Academic stress was assessed each week over the course of four weeks. Participants responded to a two-item measure (i.e., “Overall, how stressful were your

assignments for you this week?"; "Overall, how stressful were your exams for you this week?"; 1 = *Not at all Stressful* to 5 = *Extremely Stressful*). Mean scores were calculated each week and higher scores indicated greater academic stress; ($W1\alpha = .52$, $W2\alpha = .61$, $W3\alpha = .61$, $W4\alpha = .50$).

Negative Academic Behaviors (Assessed Weekly)

Negative academic behaviors were assessed each week over the course of four weeks using two-items from the Negative Life Events Scale (Compas et al., 1987; Hankin et al., 2001). The two items assess whether participants had an experience during the week (i.e., "Problems/arguments with professors or other university personnel", "Hassles, arguments/fights with peers or other students at school"; 0 = *No*, 1 = *Yes*). Higher scores indicated greater frequency of events, and a total mean score was computed each week. Across the weeks, the scale demonstrated good reliability ($W1\alpha = .60$, $W2\alpha = .54$, $W3\alpha = .61$, $W4\alpha = .43$).

Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Ethnic-racial socialization was measured during the initial assessment using items consistent with previous studies (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Hughes et al., 2006). The measure consists of four subscales that assess the frequency of ethnic-racial socialization with parents that include *Cultural Socialization* (e.g., Encouraged reading and learning about ethnic- racial history) (four items, $\alpha = .80$), *Preparation for Bias* (e.g., Talked about discrimination or prejudice against participants' ethnic-racial group) (six items, $\alpha = .93$), *Promotion of Mistrust* (e.g., Talked about not trusting individuals outside of participants' ethnic-racial group) (three items, $\alpha = .86$), and *Egalitarianism* (e.g., Told you that people are equal, regardless of their race/ethnic background) (three items, $\alpha =$

.78). Responses ranged from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*). Mean scores for each subscale were calculated and higher scores indicated more frequent ethnic-racial socialization from parents.

Ethnic-Racial Identity

Ethnic-racial identity was assessed using the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, et al., 1998) and the brief version of the Ethnic Identity Scale (Umaña-Taylor, 2004). Three subscales from the MIBI were used to measure the content dimensions of participants' ethnic-racial identity: *Centrality* (e.g., I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic/racial group) (eight items, $\alpha = .82$), *Private Regard* (e.g., I feel good about my ethnic/racial group) (six items, $\alpha = .81$), and *Public Regard* (e.g., Society views people in my ethnic-racial group as an asset) (six items, $\alpha = .87$). The Ethnic Identity Scale was used to assess a process dimension of participants' ethnic-racial identity. Participants reported on: *Exploration* (e.g., I have participated in activities that have taught me about my race/ethnicity) (4-items, $\alpha = .86$). Items ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Mean scores for each subscale were calculated and higher scores indicated higher ethnic-racial identity.

Covariates. Demographic variables associated with ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity were included as control variables in this study. The following demographic variables were assessed: sex (0 = *female*; 1 = *male*), race (0 = *Latinx*; 1 = *African American*), maternal and paternal education (1 = *less than a high school diploma*; 10 = *doctorate degree*), and family income (1 = *less than \$10,000*; 11 = *\$100,001 or more*).

Analytical Strategy

Analyses were conducted in R (R Core Team, 2015). Given the nested structure of the data (i.e., weeks nested within individuals), multilevel regression models were estimated by which the intercept and slope components of model equations were allowed to vary randomly across individuals. Ethnic-racial discrimination (time-variant predictor variable) was split into two variables: a sample-mean centered component to determine between-person effects, and a person-centered component to determine within person effects (Curran & Bauer, 2011).

Weekly academic outcome variables (i.e., academic belonging, academic stress, negative academic behaviors) were each tested in separate models. For each model, first, an unconditional means model (null model) was examined with a focus on the intra-class correlation (ICC) to determine the total within-person and between-person variance. Next, each ethnic-racial discrimination dimension was centered and included in the model to assess within-person effects of ethnic-racial discrimination on academic outcome variables (Curran & Bauer, 2011). Week was also included as a time-varying control variable to account for systematic time trends in the data. The time variable was centered at week 1 ($W1 = 0$, $W2 = 1$, $W3 = 2$, $W4 = 3$). Next, individual control variables (i.e., parental income, education, sex, race) were added as time-invariant predictors, along with ethnic-racial socialization to determine within and between person effects on academic outcomes. Each ethnic-racial socialization subscale was tested with each academic outcome in separate models. When significant effects were detected, multilevel moderation analyses were conducted by creating an interaction term between ethnic-racial discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization. All significant interactions were

probed and plotted using the Johnson-Neyman Technique in the R package (R Core Team, 2015). These steps were repeated in separate models when testing each ethnic-racial identity dimension. Normality of residuals and homoscedasticity were examined, and maximum likelihood estimates were used to account for missingness of data (Enders, 2010).

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics and Correlational Analyses

Table 1 summarizes means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations of all study variables. Level 1 (week level) means represent averages across the four-week study period for each person. Level 1 correlations followed expected directions in that there were significant negative correlations between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic belonging (Boston & Warren, 2017). Ethnic-racial discrimination was also positively associated with academic stress and negative academic behaviors, however only the latter correlation was statistically significant. Level 2 (person level) means suggested that on average, participants recalled receiving more frequent preparation for bias and cultural socialization from parents when compared to other forms of ethnic-racial socialization. This follows the trend in previous literature showing that both preparation for bias and cultural socialization are the most commonly used ethnic-racial socialization practices among African American and Latinx families (Hughes et al., 2006). On average, participants reported higher private regard and higher centrality beliefs concerning ethnic-racial identity. When compared to other ethnic-racial identity beliefs, public regard was least endorsed on average.

Between Person and Within Person Analyses

Using multilevel modeling, the first set of analyses tested unconditional means models to determine how much of the total variance in each academic outcome variable (i.e., academic belonging, academic stress, negative academic behaviors) was attributed to between person and within person variance. In order to proceed with multilevel

modeling, each unconditional means model should have a significant intercept and a significant intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC). Table 2 illustrates the unconditional means model for academic belonging. The intercept of the model was significant ($p < .001$), and the ICC indicated that 69% of the total variance in academic belonging was attributed to differences between subjects. This indicated that 31% of the variance in academic belonging was attributed to within-person variation. Based on these preliminary findings I proceeded with multilevel modeling for the academic belonging outcome variable. Similar significance was found for both the academic stress and the negative academic behaviors variables (See Tables 3 and 4). The unconditional means model for both variables had significant intercepts ($p < .001$) and ICC values that warranted moving forward with multilevel modeling procedures.

Next, the between person (BP) and within person (WP) ethnic-racial discrimination predictor variable was added to each model. I also added week to each model as a time-variant control variable. Week was added to account for any systematic changes in time (Curran & Bauer 2011; Wang & Maxwell, 2015). As shown in Table 5, the expected value of academic belonging for the average person on the average week was 4.74. The effect of week on academic belonging was non-significant ($p > .05$). Similarly, the between person effect of ethnic-racial discrimination was non-significant. However, there was a significant negative within person association between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic belonging ($\beta = -1.46, p < .001$). This suggested that on weeks when an individual's experience of ethnic-racial discrimination was higher than usual, their sense of academic belonging tended to be lower than usual by 1.46. Results from Table 6 show that there were no significant within or between person ethnic-racial

discrimination associations with academic stress ($p > .05$). Therefore, the model could not proceed with multilevel analyses.

Several significant findings are presented in Table 7. The model suggested that there were significant within person ($\beta = 0.26, p < .001$) and between person ($\beta = 0.21, p < .001$) associations between ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors (i.e., fight/hassles with peers or professors). The between person association suggested that individuals who experienced higher ethnic-racial discrimination were also likely to experience more negative academic behaviors. The within-person association highlighted that on weeks when an individual's experience of ethnic-racial discrimination was higher than usual, their negative academic behaviors also tended to be higher than usual.

Between Person and Within Person Analyses with Moderation

The next additions to the models included person-level control variables (i.e., gender, race, parent education/income) and person-level predictor variables (i.e., ethnic-racial socialization, ethnic-racial identity). Dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity were added to test for cross-level interactions that relate to theory (See Figure 1; Spencer, 2006). I was specifically interested in knowing whether within person associations between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic outcomes would be moderated by individual reports of varying levels of ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity beliefs. Each ethnic-racial socialization dimension and each ethnic-racial identity dimension was tested in separate models with each academic outcome. I present findings in the manner that they are related to the two remaining academic outcome variables.

Academic Belonging

Table 8 shows the model that includes cultural socialization as a moderator on the within and between person associations between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic belonging. Cultural socialization was not significantly associated with academic belonging ($p > .05$). Additionally, evidence of a moderation was not supported ($\beta = 0.39, p > .05$). Table 9, however, shows the result for a significant cross-level moderation for preparation for bias socialization. While controlling for race, gender, parental education, and family income, preparation for bias socialization moderated the within person influence of ethnic-racial discrimination on academic belonging ($\beta = 1.03, p < .05$). Given the significant interaction, the interaction effects were probed and plotted using the Johnson-Neyman Technique in the R package (R Core Team, 2015). The Johnson-Neyman Technique provides intervals of significance for the moderation in relation to the observed values of the moderator. Conditional values were set at 1 standard deviation above and below the mean. This process was used hereafter for significant moderations. As shown in Figure 2, the within person association between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic belonging was moderated by person levels of preparation for bias. In other words, the within person influence of ethnic-racial discrimination on academic belonging was significantly stronger for a participant with lower average levels of preparation for bias ($\beta = -2.9, p < .01$) than for another participant with higher average levels. However, the within person association between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic belonging was non-significant for participants with higher average levels of preparation for bias ($\beta = -0.63, p > .05$).

Promotion of mistrust socialization was also found to be a significant moderator (See Table 10). The significant within person interaction was probed and plotted (See Figure 3). As shown, the within person association between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic belonging was significantly negative and stronger for a participant with higher average promotion of mistrust socialization than for another participant with lower average levels

($\beta = -1.47, p < .01$). In contrast, the within person relationship was non-significant and no longer negative for participants with lower average levels of promotion of mistrust socialization

($\beta = 0.27, p > .05$). Egalitarian ethnic-racial socialization was also examined, however in this study egalitarian socialization did not have a main effect on academic belonging, nor did it moderate any within or between person associations ($p > .05$).

Ethnic-racial identity domains were next examined to determine whether content and process domains would function as cross-level moderators. Table 11 shows the results for the multilevel model that examined centrality as a moderator. The model shows a significant and negative within person association between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic belonging ($\beta = -1.16, p < .05$), as well as a significant interaction between within person ethnic-racial discrimination and centrality ($\beta = -0.79, p < .05$). This significant interaction was probed to determine regions of significance for the cross-level moderation. As shown in Figure 4, the moderation was significant at high levels (1 standard deviation above the mean) but not at low levels (1 standard deviation below the mean). For a participant with a higher average level of centrality about their race or ethnicity, the within person influence of discrimination on academic belonging

was significantly stronger ($\beta = - 2.03, p < .01$) than it would be for a participant with a lower average level of centrality. The within person discrimination to academic belonging link was still negative at low levels of centrality, however, the relationship was not significant ($\beta = - .30, p > .05$).

A similar directional pattern emerged when examining private regard and exploration. Both dimensions of ethnic-racial identity significantly interacted with ethnic-racial discrimination. Table 12 shows the results for private regard ($\beta = - 1.23, p < .05$), and Table 13 presents results for exploration ($\beta = - 1.12, p < .05$). Simple slopes analyses suggested that on weeks when a participant experienced higher than usual ethnic-racial discrimination they also experienced lower than usual sense of belonging, and this relationship was stronger among a participant with a higher average level of private regard ($\beta = - 2.2, p < .01$) than it was for a participant with a lower average level of private regard ($\beta = - .60, p > .05$) (See Figure 5). Simple slopes analyses for exploration suggested a similar directional interpretation (See Figure 6). The public regard dimension of ethnic-racial discrimination did not provide evidence of any significant moderator effects.

Negative Academic Behaviors

Preparation for bias and public regard were the only ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity domains that moderated associations between ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors. Table 14 shows that when controlling for race, gender, parental education, and family income, there was a significant within person interaction between ethnic-racial discrimination and preparation for bias on negative academic behaviors ($\beta = - .11, p < .05$). Further probing of the interaction

revealed that the moderation was strongly positive and significant at low levels ($\beta = 0.42$, $p < .01$), but not high ($\beta = 0.17$, $p > .05$) (See figure 7). This implies that on weeks when a participant experienced higher than usual ethnic-racial discrimination, they also had higher than usual negative academic behaviors. However, this condition was significantly stronger for a participant with a lower average level of preparation for bias than it was for another participant with a higher average level.

Lastly, Table 15 presents findings for public regard as a moderator on the relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors. There were significant within person ($\beta = 0.21$, $p < .05$) and between person ($\beta = 0.11$, $p < .05$) interactions. Both interactions were probed and plotted. Results from simple slopes analyses show that the within person association between ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors was positive and significantly stronger for a participant with a higher average level of public regard ($\beta = 0.60$, $p < .01$), than for another participant with a lower average level ($\beta = 0.07$, $p > .05$) (See Figures 8). Further, Figure 9 shows the between person results which suggest that the positive between person relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors was significant among those who reported high public regard ($\beta = 0.39$, $p < .01$), and non-significant among those who reported low public regard ($\beta = 0.11$, $p > .05$).

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

In this dissertation, I utilized a weekly diary approach to examine the short-term weekly effects of ethnic-racial discrimination on the weekly academic outcomes (e.g., academic belonging, academic stress, negative academic behaviors) of African American and Latinx young adults. Recent literature continues to demonstrate that racism and discrimination are pervasive in the lives of African Americans and Latinx adolescents and young adults (Del Toro et al., 2020; Jochman et al., 2019; Umaña-Taylor, 2016). Given the negative consequences associated with discrimination, capturing more frequent self-reports of discriminatory experiences is important for reducing the likelihood of recall bias and for investigating within group variation. Thus, shorter-term longitudinal assessments present much added value to research. Findings highlight that on weeks when individuals reported higher than usual ethnic-racial discrimination, they also reported lower than usual academic belonging, and higher than usual negative academic behaviors. Further, the impact of ethnic-racial discrimination varied according to the type and frequency of ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity domain. The findings from this study reveal some of the complexities of ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity. Although both are generally considered positive aspects of development, results suggest that in some instances ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity provides protection from discrimination, and in other instances may increase vulnerability.

In addition to the aforementioned associations, PVEST was included as the framework to examine the roles of ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity as

salient familial and interpersonal processes theorized to moderate the negative effects of ethnic-racial discrimination on academic and psychosocial health outcomes (Spencer, 1995; Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). This dissertation is unique in that existing literature on these relationships has primarily focused on adolescent samples. Using PVEST to investigate how these processes unfold among young adults may demonstrate that culturally relevant familial processes extend throughout the life course. Several hypotheses were tested, and my findings revealed that the influence of ethnic-racial discrimination on academic outcomes varied according to different subtypes of ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity. In the following paragraphs I discuss my findings as they relate to my hypotheses. I also discuss limitations, implications, and future areas of research.

Ethnic-Racial Discrimination and Academic Outcomes

My initial hypotheses were that weekly reports of ethnic-racial discrimination would be negatively associated with weekly reports of academic belonging, positively associated with academic stress, and positively associated with negative academic behaviors. Findings indicated that on weeks when an individual's experience with ethnic-racial discrimination was higher than usual, academic belonging was lower than usual, and negative academic behaviors were higher than usual. These results align with previous findings showing that experiences with discrimination may undermine African American and Latinx students' sense of belonging (Hurtado & Ruiz Alvarado, 2015; Hussain & Jones, 2019). Within educational settings, sense of belonging has been associated with greater academic motivation and socio-emotional well-being (Slaten et al., 2016). Thus, lacking a sense of belonging may impose limitations on students'

academic and social development. Researchers have also found positive associations between discrimination and problematic behaviors among African American adolescents and young adults (Caldwell et al., 2004; Smalls et al., 2007). Surprisingly, my findings did not show a significant relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic stress. The measure assessed the degree of stress from assignments and exams. It is possible that students may not have had assignments or exams, or any particularly stressful assignments or exams over the duration of this four-week study.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization as a Moderator

I hypothesized that the negative relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic belonging would vary according to the frequency and type of ethnic-racial socialization dimension. More specifically, the relationship would be weakened or non-existent among individual reports of higher average levels (i.e., cultural socialization, preparation for bias, egalitarianism), and stronger among lower average reports. My hypothesis was partially supported to the extent that the negative relationship was significantly stronger for an individual with lower average levels of preparation for bias socialization than it was for an individual with higher preparation for bias. Preparation for bias as a moderator on the link between discrimination and academic outcomes has been supported in previous literature (Banerjee et al., 2018). An implication for this finding could be that for individuals who belong to racially marginalized groups, having less preparation to detect discrimination may be maladaptive. My hypotheses for cultural socialization and egalitarian socialization as moderators were not supported. Higher levels of cultural socialization have been found to buffer the negative effects of discrimination on education aspirations and academic persistence (Banerjee et al., 2018;

Wang & Huguley, 2012), and I expected to find similar directional support. It is important to note that the aforementioned studies, and others, have primarily focused on adolescent samples. Considering the context of my sample (i.e., young adult students at a historically white institution), other forms of ethnic-racial socialization (i.e., preparation for bias) may be more applicable to their experiences. More research is needed given the inconsistency in findings.

My hypothesis for promotion of mistrust socialization as a moderator was supported. The within person association between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic belonging was significantly negative and stronger for a participant with higher average promotion of mistrust socialization than for a participant with lower average levels. In fact, the relationship was non-significant and no longer negative for participants with lower average levels of promotion of mistrust socialization. Promotion of mistrust socialization has rarely been linked to positive outcomes and have been known to exacerbate negative effects (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Researchers have further highlighted that promotion of mistrust socialization may be harmful because they are seldom inclusive of coping and empowerment strategies.

When examining the positive relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors, preparation for bias was the only ethnic-racial socialization variable that functioned as a moderator. However, my hypothesis for preparation for bias was supported in that the positive association between ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors was weakened by higher average levels of preparation for bias.

Ethnic-Racial Identity as a Moderator

I hypothesized that the negative relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic belonging would be weakened by higher average levels of ethnic-racial identity (i.e., centrality, private regard). These hypotheses were not supported. In fact, higher average levels of each exacerbated the negative relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic belonging. Thomas et al. (2009) also found that having higher levels of ethnic-racial identity did not buffer the negative effects of discrimination on academic outcomes. Literature generally supports ethnic-racial identity as protective factor, primarily when linking discrimination to psychological stressors (Chavous et al., 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). However, when linking discrimination to academic outcomes, ethnic-racial identity domains might yield different effects. For example, I also found that the negative relationship was exacerbated by reports of higher average levels of exploration (i.e., identity seeking behaviors). More research may be needed to better understand these relationships.

Lastly, public regard was the only ethnic-racial identity domain that moderated the association between ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors. Although my hypotheses were not supported, this finding was interesting in that there was a significant within person and between person moderation of public regard. Between groups and among individuals, the positive relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors was stronger at higher levels of public regard and attenuated when public regard was lower. In other words, for participants with higher public regard (e.g., beliefs that others held favorable opinions regarding their ethnicity or race) as conditions of ethnic-racial discrimination increased, so did negative

academic behaviors. However, those lower in public regard were less susceptible to the effects of ethnic-racial discrimination. Thus, low public regard may function as a source of protection among individuals frequently exposed to racial discrimination (Sellers et al., 2006).

Limitations

This study has a few limitations to acknowledge. Results were based on a combined convenience sample of African American and Latinx students at a Midwestern historically white institution, and the majority of participants were female. Although this study was interested in the collective experiences of African American and Latinx young adults, it is equally important to acknowledge that intersections of identities can yield differentiated experiences of discrimination. Future studies should consider gendered and racial data disaggregation as the results from this study may not be generalizable to other populations. Future studies should also consider how other racial identity markers may influence experiences with discrimination and academic outcomes. For instance, skin tone often serves as an immediate phenotypic feature that may activate racialized stereotypes and biases (Landor & McNeil Smith, 2019). Skin tone biases and issues of colorism (e.g., skin tone-based discrimination) continue to impact African American and Latinx families yet remain understudied. Within school contexts, skin tone has been linked to variations in academic outcomes among adolescents. When compared to darker skin students, students with lighter skin have been found to have higher GPAs (Thompson & McDonald, 2016) and significantly fewer suspensions (Hannon et al., 2013). Further, African American parents may engage in differentiated parenting and racial socialization practices based on the gender and skin tone of their children (Landor

et al., 2013). Thus, skin tone may play an important role in racialized experiences, academic outcomes, and family socialization practices.

Secondly, data were collected from participants during a time when the university was at the center of highly publicized racialized incidents involving students, faculty members, and administrators. Respondents may have had heightened sensitivities towards discriminatory incidents.

Two other limitations I want to address relate to the measures. Given that respondents were asked to recall experiences of ethnic-racial discrimination over the past week for four weeks, it is likely that some experiences may have occurred outside of school and may not solely reflect experiences that occurred on campus. Future research should consider potential variations in the source of discrimination as this may differential relate to academic-related outcomes. Future research should also consider other dimensions of ethnic-racial identity that were not tested in this study (e.g., affirmation, resolution, racial ideology). Although these dimensions are important, my focus was on the process dimension of exploration given the development phase of participants.

Implications and Future Directions

Much has been evidenced about the negative effects of discrimination on important developmental outcomes of African American and Latinx students who attend historically white institutions (Hope et al., 2015), however, a growing body of research shows that ethnic-racial socialization from parents and students' own internal identity processes have been linked to positive collegiate adjustment, and in buffering the negative effects of ethnic-racial discrimination (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Hughes et al.,

2006). Therefore, it is important for university professionals to be aware of the socialization processes that take place within African American and Latinx families. As universities move toward creating more culturally engaging environments, integrating ethnic-racial socialization and identity development into the experiences of college students may be critical towards developing interventions that not only support improving the campus racial climate, but also support the adjustment of students during a critical period of development. A question that remains is how might these interventions look?

Hughes and colleagues (2016) posit that ecological/transactional perspectives may be warranted when developing appropriate interventions. Guided by the work of Bronfenbrenner, researchers highlight that increased attention should be focused on the characteristics of one's immediate setting in which experiences of racial discrimination, racial socialization, and racial identity development occurs. This may help with identifying adaptive and problematic features of the environment that impacts positive development. Within K-12 settings, elements of ecological/transactional perspectives have been documented. For example, Aldana and Byrd (2015) identified practices within school settings that integrate tenets of racial socialization (e.g., cultural socialization, preparation for bias, egalitarianism). The authors highlight curriculum and school-based programs that expose students to culturally relevant literature, facilitate discussions about race, and teach children how to build cross-racial relations. These strengths-based practices have been noted for fostering positive racial identity development, and with serving as mechanisms for raising racial bias awareness and inter-ethnic relations.

Other scholars have also developed theory-based interventions on racial-identity and racial socialization. For example, Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2017) developed the *Identity Project*, a racial identity intervention for high school students. Researchers found the intervention to be effective in increasing participants' racial identity orientations, which in turn led to higher identity cohesion, higher self-esteem, better grades, and lower depression over time; further demonstrating that opportunities promoting the racial identity development of minority youth can improve academic and psychosocial outcomes. Using a more nuanced theory of racial socialization (Racial Encounter Coping and Socialization Theory [RECAST]), Anderson and Stevenson (2019) found that racial socialization was effective in buffering the negative effects of racial stress on self-efficacy, coping, and developmental outcomes among participants. The intervention was initially developed for examining dyadic racial socialization practices between Black parents and children, however outside clinicians reported on its impact with providing an increased understanding of Black family stressors. This might imply that the model can be effective in contexts outside of the family.

Evidence of interventions at the collegiate level that specifically address racial socialization is scarce, yet research suggests that academic institutions may already be engaging in forms of socializing students about race whether through diversity statements, course offerings, and/or the lack of representation of diverse faculty (White-Johnson, 2015). Further, although African American and Latinx college students may recall and apply parental communications about race when navigating collegiate environments, a growing body of literature suggests that mentors and teachers become agents of ethnic-racial socialization, particularly at the collegiate level (Priest et al.,

2014). This may imply that contexts outside of the home are important sources of racial socialization for African American students at historically white institutions given that they may spend more time away from home and experience increased levels of cross-racial interactions. Seeking immediate counsel from adults on campus for how to deal with racial matters might be crucial for their development.

The broader implications here are that adjusting to college is challenging for many students and the process may be even more difficult for African American and Latinx students who attend historically white institutions. College completion rates for African American and Latinx students at historically white institutions fall short when compared to their white counterparts, and students also report frequent experiences with racial discrimination (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). They may differ in the ways that they see race functioning in their lives when compared to other students, therefore exposure to ethnic-racial socialization experiences on campus are critical to their healthy development. Student Affairs professionals should take note of the aforementioned interventions as guides for determining theory-driven methods of integrating ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity practices in their educational programming. Interventions can be implemented within elective courses, minority support programs, therapeutic services for coping with perceived discrimination, and academic/career support initiatives. For example, researchers have found parental racial socialization to be effective in promoting the career support among African American college students (Blackmon & Thomas, 2014). When students reported receiving racial socialization from parents about coping with racism and how to handle cross-racial interactions, they also reported positive career behaviors, positive career-related modeling, and emotional

support. Given that some students may have legitimate concerns about negative racialized encounters that they may experience on internships or in actual workplace settings, integrating racial socialization strategies in career development programs on campus is feasible. Students can receive opportunities to discuss views on racism, learn effective coping and response strategies, and learn how to approach cross-racial workplace relations. An example of how this might look may be found through replication of the RECAST model (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019). Student affairs professionals can develop a career services intervention that incorporates racial socialization strategies to test whether the intervention functions as a mechanism/buffer between perceived racial stress, coping, and/or career behavioral outcomes. Such opportunities can be powerful tools for minimizing cultural divides that may exist between students who frequently experience discrimination and student affairs professionals.

In moving towards more culturally relevant interventions, a critical prerequisite may be that university professionals investigate and critique their own racial awareness and understanding of existing power dynamics to fully embrace why ethnic-racial socialization is important for African American and Latinx college students. This may include developing an awareness of the current and socio-historic realities of racism and discrimination that has impacted historically marginalized groups (Stevenson et al., 2005). It may also be important to learn and develop an appreciation for the heterogeneity that exists among these groups to avoid assumptions of monolithic group needs. For example, evidence suggests that parents engage in multiple forms of racial socialization (Hughes et al., 2006). Some African American and Latinx students may have been taught to be mistrustful of other races, and some have been taught to avoid conversations

about race altogether. Further, males and females may experience different styles of racial socialization from parents. Therefore, interventions may also consider gendered patterns of ethnic-racial socialization that may occur among African American and Latinx young adults.

In sum, ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity is positively associated with resilience and collegiate adjustment. Additionally, the negative effects of experiencing ethnic-racial discrimination can be mitigated when students are socialized to handle those experiences. Finding ways to integrate strategies throughout student level programming is important for linking theory with practice and for promoting a culturally responsive institution. This might not only improve students' abilities to graduate but may also be a preliminary step with university transformation.

Figure 1

Conceptual model of Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Ethnic-Racial Identity domains as moderators on the association between Ethnic-racial discrimination and academic outcome variables

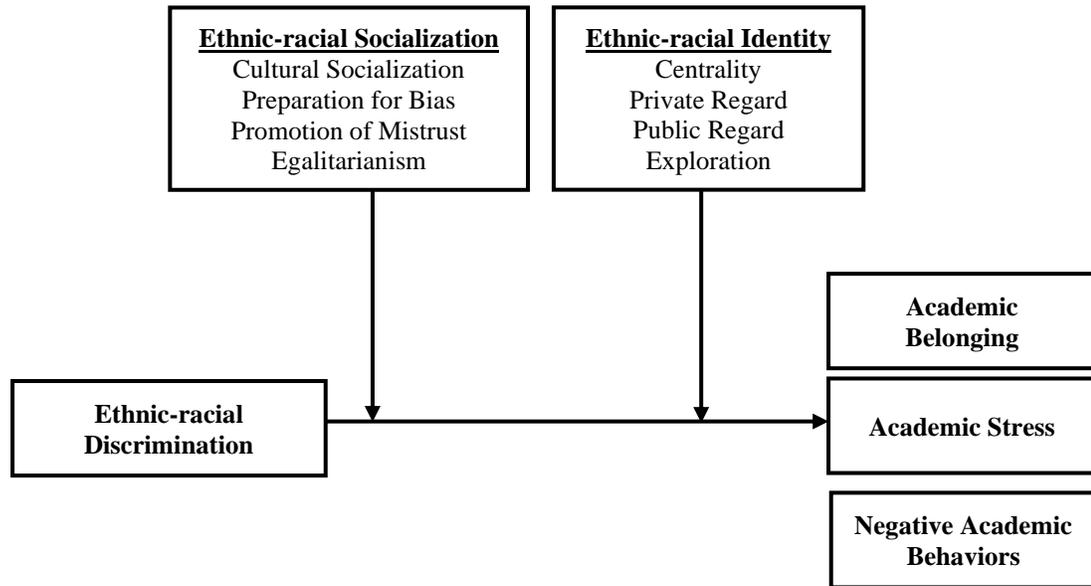


Table 1*Means, standard deviations, and correlations*

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Ethnic-Racial Discrimination	0.13	0.20																	
2. Week	1.50	1.12	-.15**																
3. Academic Belonging	4.67	1.32	-.18**	.01															
4. Negative Academic Behaviors	0.06	0.18	.26**	.09	-.16**														
5. Academic Stress	2.97	0.88	.06	.04	-.06	.01													
6. Cultural Socialization	3.50	0.88	.07	.00	.10*	.02	-.08												
7. Preparation For Bias	3.63	1.10	.21**	.00	-.26**	.00	-.13	.34**											
8. Promotion of Mistrust	2.08	1.02	.31**	.00	-.22**	-.04	.12	.10*	.37**										
9. Egalitarian	3.86	1.01	-.12*	.00	.18**	-.05	.02	.32**	.00	-.20**									
10. Centrality	4.70	1.09	.17**	.00	-.08	.04	.08	.28**	.28**	.22**	.11*								

11. Private Regard	6.3 5	0.6 6	-.03	.0 0	.02	.01	.11	.35* *	.06	-.02	.26* *	.43* *							
12. Public Regard	2.9 4	1.2 6	-.23*	.0 0	.30* *	-.06	-.00	-.01	-.33* *	-.21* *	.16* *	-.14* *	.01						
13. Exploration	3.1 2	0.8 5	.08	.0 0	.08	.02	.11	.43* *	.13* *	-.02	.27* *	.41* *	.43* *	-.09					
14. Gender	1.7 2	0.4 5	.08	.0 0	-.06	.10 *	.20 *	-.06	-.01	.13* *	-.09	.12* *	.03	-.31* *	.19* *				
15. Race	1.3 3	0.4 7	-.18*	.0 0	.31* *	.10 *	.06	.03	.59* *	.23* *	.20* *	-.11* *	.01	.37* *	-.04	-.00			
16. Mother Education	5.9 4	1.7 5	.00	.0 0	-.01	.06	.13	-.04	.04	.00	.02	.15* *	-.06	.02	.05	.10 *	-.11*		
17. Father Education	5.9 9	2.4 2	.01	.0 0	.03	.06	-.10	-.02	.05	-.06	.23* *	.01	.05	.09	.10*	-.07	.16* *	.24* *	
18. Family Income	7.1 1	3.6 2	-.13*	.0 0	.16* *	-.08	-.03	.04	.16* *	.31* *	-.00	.05	-.07	.14* *	.12*	-.01	.21* *	.25* *	.11 *

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Gender is coded as females = 0 and males = 1. Race is coded as Latinx = 0 and African American = 1. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

Table 2*Unconditional Means Model for Academic Belonging*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	4.67***	0.11	41.63	<0.001
Random Effects				
σ^2	0.53			
$\tau_{00 \text{ id}}$	1.20			
ICC	0.69			
N _{id}	106			
Observations	424			
Marginal R ² /	0.000			
Conditional R ²	0.692			

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Table 3*Unconditional Means Model for Academic Stress*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	2.94***	0.08	36.68	<0.001
Random Effects				
σ^2	0.51			
$\tau_{00 \text{ id}}$	0.25			
ICC	0.33			
N_{id}	86			
Observations	163			
Marginal R^2 /	0.000			
Conditional R^2	0.331			

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Table 4*Unconditional Means Model for Negative Academic Behaviors*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	0.06 ***	0.01	5.24	<0.001
Random Effects				
σ^2	0.02			
$\tau_{00 \text{ id}}$	0.01			
ICC	0.20			
N_{id}	106			
Observations	422			
Marginal R^2	0.000			
Conditional R^2	0.202			

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5*Multilevel Model for Academic Belonging*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	4.74 ***	0.12	39.30	<0.001
Week	-0.05	0.03	-1.44	0.149
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP)	-1.13	0.69	-1.64	0.102
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP)	-1.46 ***	0.31	-4.68	<0.001
Random Effects				
σ^2	0.50			
$\tau_{00 \text{ id}}$	1.18			
ICC	0.70			
N_{id}	106			
Observations	424			
Marginal R^2 / Conditional R^2	0.034 / 0.712			

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Table 6*Multilevel Model for Academic Stress*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	2.86 ***	0.12	24.71	<0.001
Week	0.05	0.06	0.94	0.349
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP)	0.13	0.51	0.25	0.802
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP)	0.35	0.55	0.64	0.522
Random Effects				
σ^2	0.51			
$\tau_{00 \text{ id}}$	0.26			
ICC	0.34			
N_{id}	86			
Observations	163			
Marginal R^2 / Conditional R^2	0.006 / 0.339			

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Table 7*Multilevel Model for Negative Academic Behaviors*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	0.07 ***	0.01	4.64	<0.001
Week	-0.01	0.01	-1.07	0.286
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP)	0.21 **	0.06	3.24	0.001
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP)	0.26 ***	0.07	3.81	<0.001
Random Effects				
σ^2	0.02			
$\tau_{00 \text{ id}}$	0.01			
ICC	0.19			
N_{id}	106			
Observations	422			
Marginal R^2 / Conditional R^2	0.070 / 0.246			

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Table 8*Multilevel Model for Academic Belonging: Cultural Socialization as Moderator*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>P</i>
Intercept	3.49 ***	0.71	4.94	<0.001
Week	-0.05	0.03	-1.44	0.150
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP)	-0.51	0.70	-0.73	0.465
Cultural Socialization	0.13	0.12	1.14	0.255
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP)	-1.43 ***	0.31	-4.57	<0.001
Race	0.81 ***	0.24	3.43	0.001
Gender	-0.12	0.23	-0.50	0.614
Mother Education	-0.01	0.06	-0.19	0.850
Father Education	0.04	0.05	0.85	0.395
Family Income	0.03	0.03	0.97	0.331
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP) x Cultural Socialization	-0.07	0.75	-0.10	0.923
Ethnic Racial Discrimination (WP) x Cultural Socialization	0.39	0.31	1.27	0.203
Random Effects				
σ^2	0.50			
$\tau_{00 \text{ id}}$	0.99			
ICC	0.67			
N_{id}	106			
Observations	424			
Marginal R^2 / Conditional R^2	0.142 / 0.714			

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Table 9*Multilevel Model for Academic Belonging: Preparation for Bias as Moderator*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	3.78 ***	0.75	5.06	<0.001
Week	-0.04	0.03	-1.36	0.175
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP)	-0.42	0.73	-0.57	0.566
Preparation for Bias	-0.11	0.12	-0.98	0.329
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP)	-1.76 ***	0.31	-5.61	<0.001
Race	0.64 *	0.29	2.24	0.025
Gender	-0.14	0.23	-0.61	0.544
Mother Education	-0.02	0.06	-0.25	0.802
Father Education	0.03	0.05	0.71	0.476
Family Income	0.03	0.03	1.05	0.292
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP)x Preparation for Bias	0.21	0.76	0.28	0.778
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP) x Preparation for Bias	1.03 ***	0.26	3.95	<0.001
Random Effects				
σ^2	0.48			
$\tau_{00 \text{ id}}$	1.00			
ICC	0.68			
N_{id}	106			
Observations	424			
Marginal R^2 / Conditional R^2	0.149 / 0.726			

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Figure 2

Interaction of within person ethnic-racial discrimination and preparation for bias on the academic belonging of African American and Latinx young adult college students

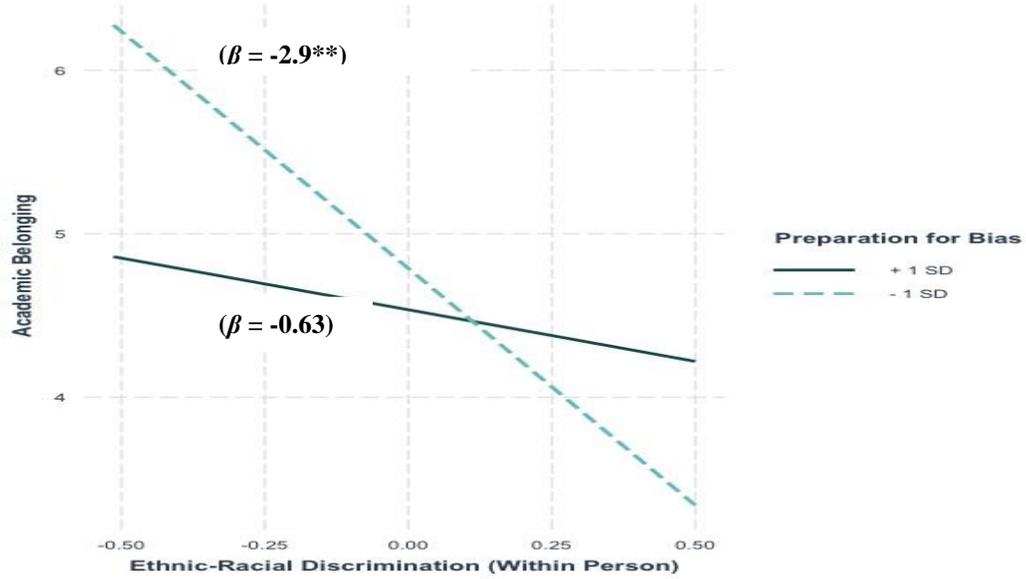


Table 10*Multilevel Model for Academic Belonging: Promotion of Mistrust as Moderator*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	3.65 ***	0.70	5.20	<0.001
Week	-0.03	0.03	-1.04	0.299
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (PB)	-0.53	0.76	-0.69	0.490
Promotion of Mistrust	-0.20	0.12	-1.70	0.088
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP)	-0.60	0.37	-1.61	0.107
Race	0.72 **	0.24	3.02	0.003
Gender	-0.09	0.23	-0.39	0.698
Mother Education	-0.01	0.06	-0.23	0.818
Father Education	0.02	0.04	0.49	0.625
Family Income	0.03	0.03	0.81	0.417
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP) x Promotion of Mistrust	0.69	0.53	1.29	0.199
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP) x Promotion of Mistrust	-0.85 ***	0.21	-3.96	<0.001
Random Effects				
σ^2	0.48			
$\tau_{00 \text{ id}}$	0.97			
ICC	0.67			
N_{id}	106			
Observations	424			
Marginal R ² / Conditional R ²	0.165 / 0.726			

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Figure 3

Interaction of within person ethnic-racial discrimination and promotion of mistrust on the academic belonging of African American and Latinx young adult college students

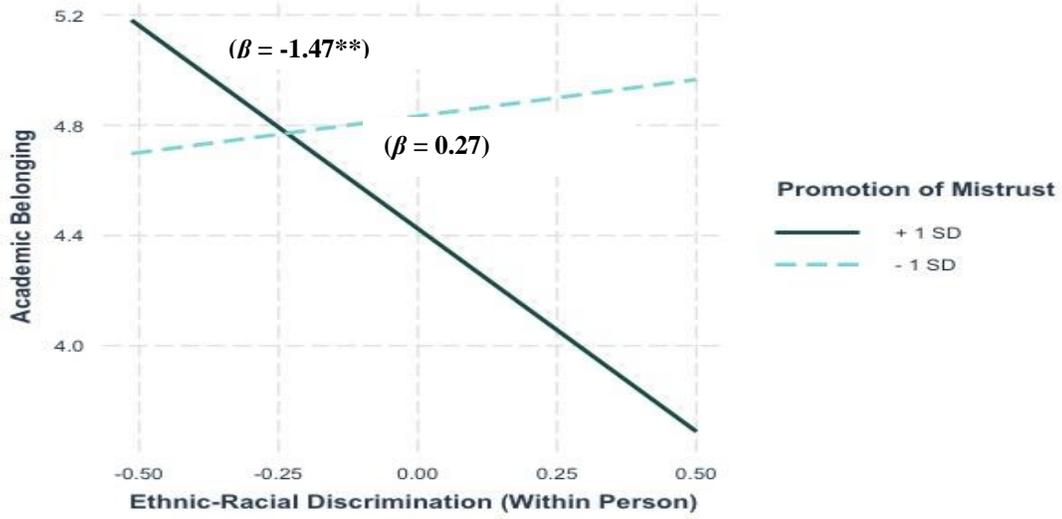


Table 11*Multilevel Model for Academic Belonging: Centrality as Moderator*

Predictors	Estimate	SE	T	p
Intercept	3.51 ***	0.71	4.96	<0.001
Week	-0.04	0.03	-1.37	0.172
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP)	-0.51	0.71	-0.72	0.470
Centrality	-0.04	0.10	-0.36	0.716
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP)	-1.16 ***	0.34	-3.39	0.001
Race	0.80 ***	0.24	3.41	0.001
Gender	-0.13	0.23	-0.54	0.588
Mother Education	-0.02	0.06	-0.31	0.759
Father Education	0.04	0.04	0.85	0.394
Family Income	0.03	0.03	1.07	0.284
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP) x Centrality	0.57	0.76	0.75	0.452
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP) x Centrality	-0.79 *	0.39	-2.03	0.042
Random Effects				
σ^2	0.49			
$\tau_{00 \text{ id}}$	1.00			
ICC	0.67			
N_{id}	106			
Observations	424			
Marginal R^2 / Conditional R^2	0.141 / 0.716			

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Figure 4

Interaction of within person ethnic-racial discrimination and centrality on the academic belonging of African American and Latinx young adult college students

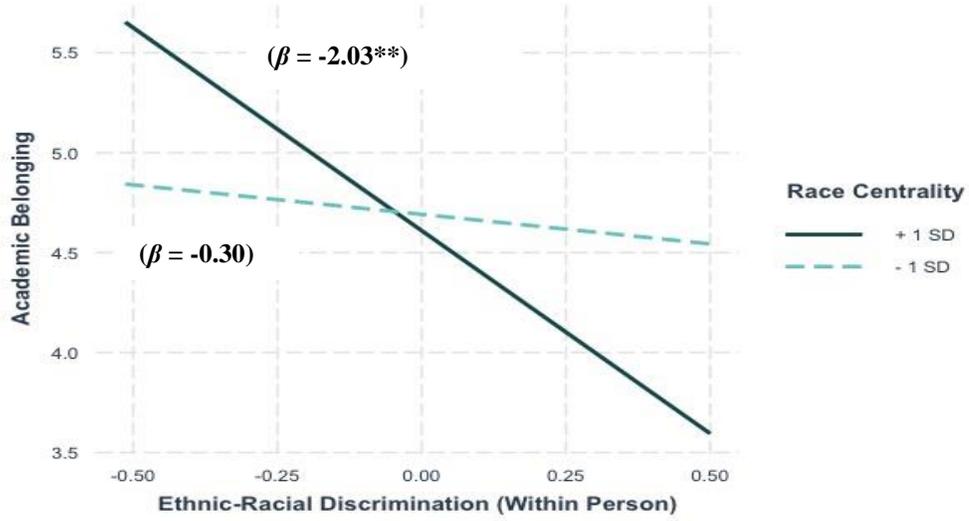


Table 12*Multilevel Model for Academic Belonging: Private Regard as Moderator*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	3.56 ***	0.71	4.98	<0.001
Wee	-0.04	0.03	-1.33	0.183
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP)	-0.46	0.67	-0.69	0.493
Private Regard	0.04	0.16	0.25	0.799
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP)	-1.41 ***	0.31	-4.54	<0.001
Race	0.80 ***	0.24	3.34	0.001
Gender	-0.15	0.23	-0.63	0.532
Mother Education	-0.02	0.06	-0.26	0.795
Father Education	0.04	0.04	0.83	0.408
Family Income	0.03	0.03	1.09	0.277
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP) x Private Regard	-0.32	0.97	-0.33	0.740
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP) x Private Regard	-1.23 *	0.54	-2.30	0.021
Random Effects				
σ^2	0.49			
$\tau_{00 \text{ id}}$	1.01			
ICC	0.67			
N_{id}	106			
Observations	424			
Marginal R^2 / Conditional R^2	0.137 / 0.717			

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Figure 5

Interaction of within person ethnic-racial discrimination and private regard on the academic belonging of African American and Latinx young adult college students

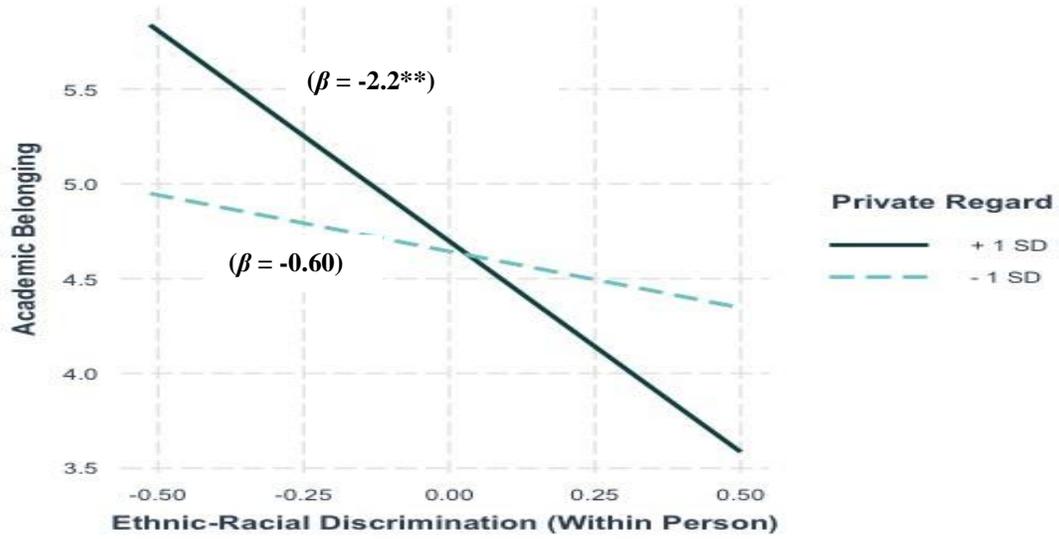


Table 13*Multilevel Model for Academic Belonging: Exploration as Moderator*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	3.65 ***	0.72	5.10	<0.001
Week	-0.04	0.03	-1.38	0.169
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP)	-0.48	0.73	-0.66	0.508
Exploration	0.14	0.12	1.14	0.252
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP)	-1.45 ***	0.31	-4.74	<0.001
Race	0.83 ***	0.24	3.48	<0.001
Gender	-0.19	0.24	-0.81	0.419
Mother Education	-0.02	0.06	-0.26	0.792
Father Education	0.03	0.05	0.76	0.449
Family Income	0.03	0.03	0.91	0.361
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP) x Exploration	-0.14	0.87	-0.16	0.870
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP) x Exploration	-1.12 ***	0.33	-3.41	0.001
Random Effects				
σ^2	0.48			
$\tau_{00 \text{ id}}$	1.00			
ICC	0.67			
N_{id}	106			
Observations	424			
Marginal R ² / Conditional R ²	0.149 / 0.722			

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Figure 6

Interaction of within person ethnic-racial discrimination and exploration on the academic belonging of African American and Latinx young adult college students

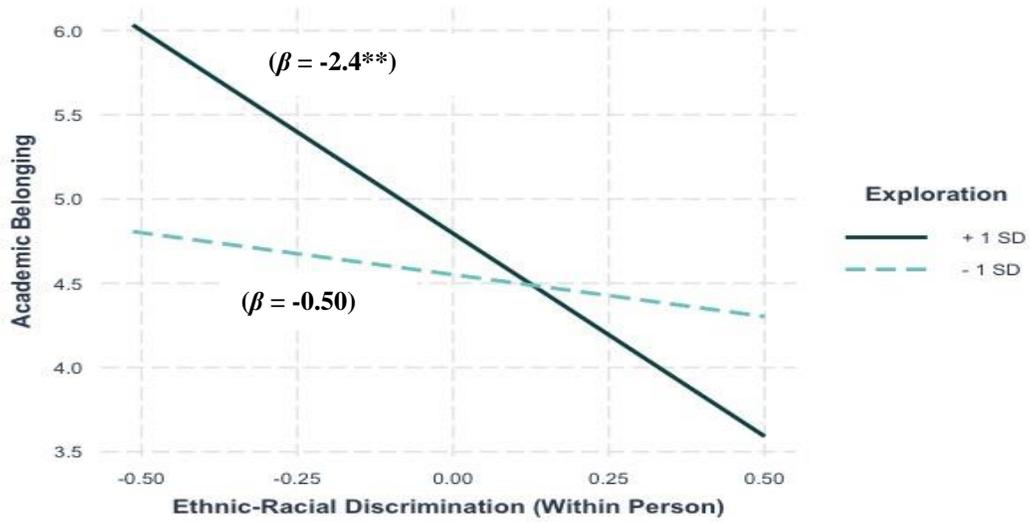


Table 14*Multilevel Model for Negative Academic Behaviors: Preparation for Bias as Moderator*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>
Week	-0.01	0.01	-1.13	0.259
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP)	0.22 **	0.07	3.14	0.002
Preparation for Bias	-0.02	0.01	-1.65	0.100
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP)	0.29 ***	0.07	4.20	<0.001
Race	-0.03	0.03	-1.05	0.293
Gender	0.03	0.02	1.54	0.124
Mother Education	0.01	0.01	1.15	0.248
Father Education	0.00	0.00	0.95	0.343
Family Income	-0.00	0.00	-1.27	0.204
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP) x Preparation for Bias	-0.07	0.07	-0.97	0.334
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP) x Preparation for Bias	-0.11 *	0.06	-1.98	0.047
Random Effects				
σ^2	0.02			
$\tau_{00 \text{ id}}$	0.00			
ICC	0.17			
N_{id}	106			
Observations	422			
Marginal R^2 / Conditional R^2	0.108 / 0.256			

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Figure 7

Interaction of within person ethnic-racial discrimination and preparation for bias on the negative academic behaviors of African American and Latinx young adult college students

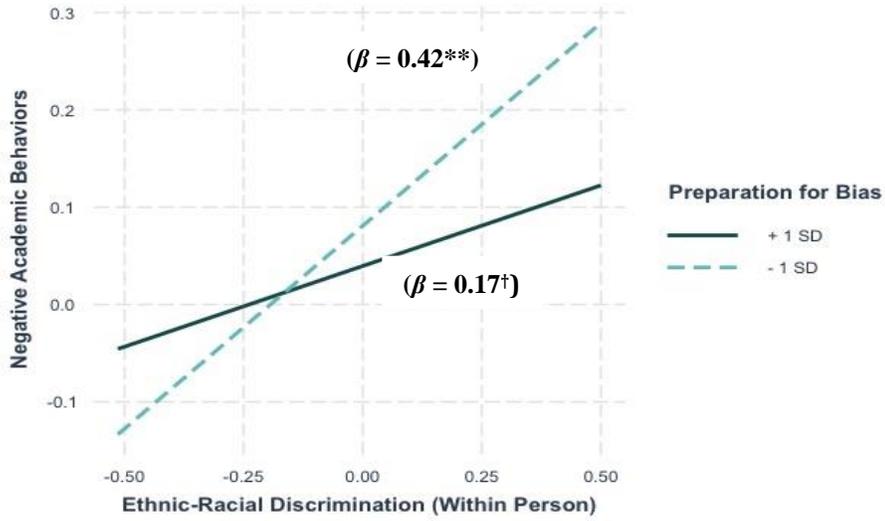


Table 15*Multilevel Model for Negative Academic Behaviors: Public Regard as Moderator*

<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>p</i>
Week	-0.01	0.01	-1.21	0.226
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP)	0.25 ***	0.07	3.43	0.001
Public Regard	0.01	0.01	0.92	0.359
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP)	0.34 ***	0.07	4.74	<0.001
Race	-0.01	0.02	-0.39	0.693
Gender	0.04	0.02	1.69	0.091
Mother Education	0.01	0.01	1.15	0.248
Father Education	0.00	0.00	0.72	0.469
Family Income	-0.00	0.00	-1.02	0.310
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (BP) x Public Regard	0.11 *	0.06	1.99	0.046
Ethnic-Racial Discrimination (WP) x Public Regard	0.21 **	0.07	3.21	0.001
Random Effects				
σ^2	0.02			
$\tau_{00 \text{ id}}$	0.00			
ICC	0.17			
N_{id}	106			
Observations	422			
Marginal R ² / Conditional R ²	0.122 / 0.271			

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Figure 8

Interaction of within person ethnic-racial discrimination and public regard on the negative academic behaviors of African American and Latinx young adult college students

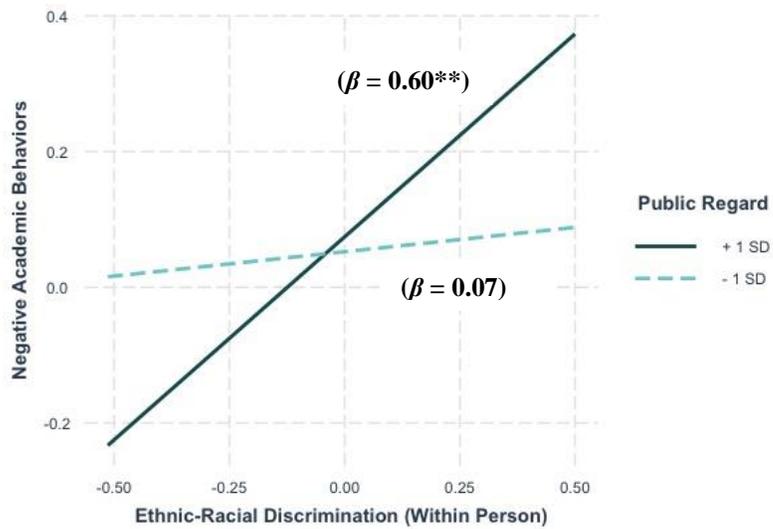
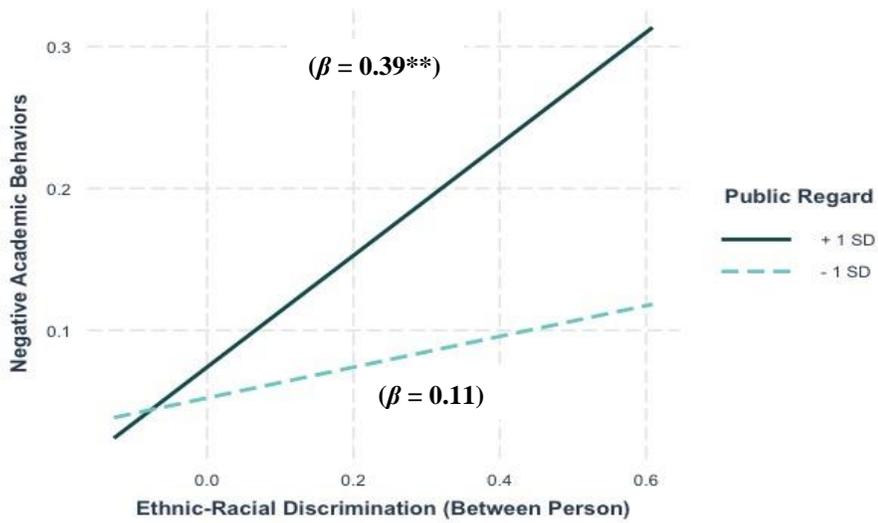


Figure 9

Interaction of between person ethnic-racial discrimination and public regard on the negative academic behaviors of African American and Latinx young adult college students



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APPENDIX A: TABLE OF HYPOTHESES

HYPOTHESIS	SUPPORTED	PARTIALLY SUPPORT	NOT SUPPORTED
1a. Weekly reports of ethnic-racial discrimination will be negatively associated with weekly reports of academic belonging.	✓		
1b. Weekly reports of ethnic-racial discrimination will be positively associated with weekly reports of academic stress.			✓
1c. Weekly reports of ethnic-racial discrimination will be positively associated with weekly reports of negative academic behaviors	✓		
2a. The negative relationship between weekly ethnic-racial discrimination and weekly academic belonging will be stronger among reports of (i) low cultural socialization, (ii) low preparation for bias, (iii) low egalitarian socialization. The negative relationship will be weaker or non-existent when reports are high. Conversely, the negative relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic belonging will be (iv) stronger among reports of high promotion of mistrust socialization and (v) weaker or non-existent among reports of low promotion of mistrust socialization.		✓	
2b. The positive relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic stress will be weakened by reports of (i) high cultural socialization and (ii) high preparation for bias. High egalitarian socialization and high promotion of mistrust socialization will exacerbate the influence of ethnic-racial discrimination on academic stress (iii) and (iv).			✓

<p>2c. The positive relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors will be (i) weakened by reports of high cultural socialization and (ii) weakened by reports of high preparation for bias. High egalitarian socialization and high promotion of mistrust socialization will exacerbate the influence of ethnic-racial discrimination on negative academic behaviors (iii) and (iv).</p>		✓	
<p>3a. The negative influence of ethnic-racial discrimination on academic belonging will be weakened by (i) high centrality, (ii) high private regard, (iii) high public regard, and (iv) low exploration. The negative influence will be strengthened by (v) low centrality, (vi) low private regard, (vii) high public regard, and (viii) low exploration.</p>			✓
<p>3b. The positive relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and academic stress will be weakened by reports of (i) high centrality, (ii) high private regard, and (iii) high exploration. The positive relationship will be exacerbated by reports of (iv) low public regard.</p>			✓
<p>3c. The positive relationship between ethnic-racial discrimination and negative academic behaviors will be weakened by reports of (i) high centrality, (ii) high private regard, and (iii) high exploration. The positive relation will be exacerbated by reports of (iv) low public regard.</p>			✓

VITA

Steven Berkley received his BS in Economics from Morgan State University in Baltimore, MD, and earned his MA in Human Development and Family Science, with a concentration in Youth Development from the University of Missouri in Columbia, MO. Steven began his professional career in education as a high school math and accounting instructor with Baltimore City Public School Systems. He has years of additional experience in senior-level leadership with educational non-profit organizations in Baltimore Maryland and in New York City. His current research interests include socialization processes within Black families and the academic and psychosocial development of youth and young adults.