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The Role of Racial-Ethnic Identity and Family Socialization on Student Engagement: Latino Youth in Select New York City Independent Schools

Abstract

This study explored if there is a statistically significant positive correlation between racial-ethnic identity, family socialization, and student engagement for Latino youth attending select New York City independent schools. Independent schools prepare students well for academic success however; national trends show Latino students are at risk of academic disengagement. Racial-ethnic self-schemas that focus on connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement serve as a protective buffer for Latino youth who face academic barriers. Racial-ethnic identity that is supported by family socialization is also associated with an increase in youths' academic self-efficacy. The purpose of this study was to explore how Latino youth attending select New York City independent schools described their racial-ethnic identity, are socialized by the family, and are academically engaged. This study included 52 students in seventh, eighth, or ninth grade attending one of 14 New York City independent schools. Students completed surveys that include both open-ended qualitative questions with close-ended quantitative questions. Their teachers completed a student engagement measure using a Likert-scale. A quantitative software program compiled the data. Students describe their identity with connectedness, with an awareness of racism, and with embedded achievement. Participants identify overt forms of family socialization more often than covert forms of socialization, although both forms are high. Students are highly engaged in the classroom on both the emotional and behavioral levels. Recommendations include support groups for Latino students and transition programs for middle school students entering high school.

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The Role of Racial-Ethnic Identity and Family Socialization on Student Engagement:
Latino Youth in Select New York City Independent Schools

By

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Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Ed.D. in Executive Leadership

Supervised by

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Ralph C. Wilson, Jr. School of Education

St. John Fisher College

December 2015

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my two Latino children, Sophia and Andrei, and to my mother, Antonia Cordero de Chapman (rest in peace). My mother knew, long before I began researching this topic, that she needed to socialize her children to be strong and connected Latinos with clear goals towards academic achievement.

To my father, Catilo (rest in peace); my siblings, Catilo, Jr., Luis, Magali (rest in peace), Betania, Rose, Jamie, and Vernon; and their children, Anthony (rest in peace), Stephanie, Marisa, Julio Cesar, David, Anthony, George, Zolen, Rhen, Khalil Omari, Kaden, and Maison, may you inspire in your children a love of education, a love of self, and a passion to continue our legacy as educated Latinos for generations to come.

To Zeny Muslin, my dear friend and mentor for over two decades, who gave breath to the need for scholarly work centered on Latino children in independent schools. This one is for you!

To my chair, Dr. C. Michael Robinson, I followed you upstate and it was worth the trek. To my committee member, Dr. Julie White, thank you for your encouraging words, and grammar edits! To Dr. Stephanie Townsend, who helped me tap into my love of data and analysis.

Any individual accomplishments I experience are in the spirit of the Latino collective to which I am proudly a member.

Biographical Sketch

Sandra K. Chapman is a native New Yorker of Puerto Rican and Dominican heritage. She grew up in Spanish Harlem, fondly known as El Barrio. Ms. Chapman is the Director of Diversity and Community at Little Red School House & Elisabeth Irwin High School in New York City. In this full time position, she works closely with faculty, administration, the Board of Trustees, parents, and Pre-K to 12th-grade students to support the school's diversity and equity mission.

All of Ms. Chapman's formal and informal education has taken place in New York. She attended Fordham University from 1986 to 1990 and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts/Sociology degree in 1990. She attended Bank Street College of Education from 1990 to 1992 and graduated with a Master of Science degree in Early Childhood Education in 1992. Ms. Chapman came to St. John Fisher College in the summer of 2013 and began her doctoral studies in the Ed.D. Program in Executive Leadership. She joined OCC cohort one in September 2014. Ms. Chapman's team, Derrick, Katharine, and Larry, were her Shining Lights throughout this journey. Ms. Chapman pursued her research on Latino students in New York City independent schools under the direction of Dr. C. Michael Robinson and Dr. Julie A. White and received the Ed.D. degree in 2015.

Acknowledgement

I would like to acknowledge Phil Kassen, Head of School at the Little Red School House and Elisabeth Irwin High School (LREI). Under Mr. Kassen's leadership and support, I was given release time to pursue my studies while remaining a full member of the senior administrative team. I look forward to our continued work at LREI.

Abstract

This study explored if there is a statistically significant positive correlation between racial-ethnic identity, family socialization, and student engagement for Latino youth attending select New York City independent schools. Independent schools prepare students well for academic success however; national trends show Latino students are at risk of academic disengagement. Racial-ethnic self-schemas that focus on connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement serve as a protective buffer for Latino youth who face academic barriers. Racial-ethnic identity that is supported by family socialization is also associated with an increase in youths' academic self-efficacy. The purpose of this study was to explore how Latino youth attending select New York City independent schools described their racial-ethnic identity, are socialized by the family, and are academically engaged. This study included 52 students in seventh, eighth, or ninth grade attending one of 14 New York City independent schools. Students completed surveys that include both open-ended qualitative questions with close-ended quantitative questions. Their teachers completed a student engagement measure using a Likert-scale. A quantitative software program compiled the data. Students describe their identity with connectedness, with an awareness of racism, and with embedded achievement. Participants identify overt forms of family socialization more often than covert forms of socialization, although both forms are high. Students are highly engaged in the classroom on both the emotional and behavioral levels. Recommendations include

support groups for Latino students and transition programs for middle school students entering high school.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Adolescents consider the idea of doing well in school a central component to their potential and perceived options for the future (Finn & Rock, 1997; Ginorio, Huston, & American Association of University Women Educational Foundation, 2001; Perry, 2008). The possible future selves of youth are developed based on personal ideals and social influences such as the family, school, peers, and the media (Ginorio et al., 2001). Youth who connect their academic identity to other important social identities, such as their racial-ethnic identity or social class, are able to work through academic challenges to attain academic goals (Bennett, 2006; Ginorio et al., 2001; Oyserman, Bybee, & Terry, 2006; Smith & Oyserman, 2015). Likewise, when educational aspirations are synonymous with family values, youth are able to envision academic achievements and success as part of their academic possible selves (Bennett, 2006; Finn & Rock, 1997; Ginorio et al., 2001; Oyserman et al., 2006).

The formation of racial-ethnic identity for minority youth matters, particularly in the context of home and school (Bennett, 2006; Finn & Rock, 1997; Oyserman, 2008). For the purpose of this study, racial-ethnic identity is described using a framework called racial-ethnic self-schemas (Oyserman, 2008). Racial-ethnic identity is described as having three important components: connectedness to one's racial-ethnic group; awareness of racism, which can buffer youth from incorporating the negative views held by society about one's racial-ethnic group; and embedded achievement, the belief that one's racial-ethnic group is connected to positive academic outcomes (Oyserman,

Harrison, & Bybee, 2001). Prior research on the benefits of viewing racial-ethnic self-schema through these three components has helped associate racial-ethnic identity and academic outcomes for youth who contend with negative academic stereotypes stemming from their racial-ethnic identity (Altschul, Oyserman, & Bybee, 2008; Oyserman, 2008; Oyserman, Brickman, Bybee, & Celious, 2006; Oyserman, Brickman, & Rhodes, 2007; Oyserman & Bybee, 2006; Oyserman et al., 2006; Oyserman et al., 2001).

Risk factors such as being a member of a minority group, or coming from a low-income home, or a home where English is not the primary language were associated with academic challenges (Finn & Rock, 1997). Latino students have been identified as students at risk. For example, Latino students contend with negative academic images of their group, making it harder to place effort towards building an academic possible self (Oyserman et al., 2006). Oyserman and Bybee (2006) stated, “By viewing achievement as part of being African American or Latino, identification with this goal is facilitated,” (p. 1156), allowing youth to buffer themselves from the negative messages they hear from society about their racial-ethnic group. A positive self-view, and behaviors that exhibit this positive view, serves as protective mechanisms that impacts school success in spite of being a member of an at-risk group (Bennett, 2006; Finn & Rock; 1997; Good, Dweck, & Aronson, 2007).

This study explored if there was a statistically significant positive correlation between racial-ethnic identity, family socialization, and student engagement for Latino seventh, eighth, and ninth grade students attending select New York City independent schools. The Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure informs how participants described their racial-ethnic identity and their self-schema. The Familial Ethnic Socialization

Measure informs how participants recognize their family's role in socializing them as Latinos. The survey completed by teachers informed participants' engagement in school life on a behavioral and emotional level. Descriptive and inferential statistics predicted if there was a statistically significant positive correlation between youths' racial-ethnic self-schema and family socialization and their student engagement.

Statement of the Problem

Independent schools prepare students well for academic success (National Association of Independent School, 2004, 2014; Torres, 2011). Past reports showed that graduates from independent schools have a strong academic foundation and are well prepared for college. Hundreds of thousands of freshmen attending 2-year colleges, 4-year colleges, and universities took the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) Freshman Survey (Torres, 2011). This survey asked students from public, charter, religious, and independent schools to reflect on their high school experiences. Independent school graduates reported higher skills and abilities that prepared them for general success in life than students from other school systems (Torres, 2011). Similarly, an independent school in Massachusetts (Johnson, 2014), and an executive summary by the National Association of Independent Schools (2014a), found different racial-ethnic groups outperformed peers of similar racial-ethnic groups on the national Student Achievement Test (SAT).

However, national trends show Latino students do not maintain high mathematic scores on standardized tests compared to peers (Institute of Education Sciences, 2013; NAIS, 2014a). While the Institute of Education Sciences (IES) reported that the mathematical gap between Latinos and White eighth graders is narrowing, the results on

the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) showed a 32-point difference, a statistically significant difference and a larger difference, from the national average gap of 28 points. Similar downward trends were reported for Latinos in California (Mendoza, 2013).

Available data on school success for independent school students do not disaggregate the data by race nor ethnicity. However, the report of the Massachusetts independent school did reveal a racial-ethnic divide in academic outcomes between Latino and African American students and their White and Asian American peers (Johnson, 2014). Between 2004 and 2007, the grade point averages of Latino seniors during this 3-year period were .20 to .25 points lower than White and Asian Americans, respectively.

Another study was conducted in 2001 by the Center for Urban Education in the Rossier School of Education at the University of Southern California (Bensimon, 2004). The data from 14 universities and colleges, including 2- and 4-year institutions in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, revealed that Latino and African American students, far more than White and Asian American students, did not receive the average passing grade for courses like accounting, mathematics, economics, history, and political science. These courses are seen as a gateway to access, achievement, and excellence. Bensimon (2004) urged educational settings to seek quantitative evidence about the state of underrepresented students in order to have a more powerful effect on institutional change.

Prior research has focused on the barriers to school success as it relates to race-ethnicity (Oyserman, 2008), social class (Desert, Preaux, & Jund, 2009), self-esteem (Toomey & Umaña-Taylor, 2012), and discrimination and stereotype threat (Steele,

2010; Walton & Cohen, 2007). However, Latino racial-ethnic self-schemas that focus on connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement serve as a protective buffer for Latino youth who face many of these barriers (Good et al., 2007; Lawrence et al., 2007). Over time, this protective buffer is associated with better grades (Oyserman et al., 2006).

The racial-ethnic socialization that occurs in the home contributes to Latino youths' development (Bennett, 2006; Finn & Rock, 1997; Harris-Britt et al., 2007). Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) found that racial-ethnic identity, which was supported for Latino students by family ethnic socialization, was associated with an increase in youths' academic self-efficacy and social competence. Research from previous studies found that family socialization and racial-ethnic identity were correlated with student engagement, school identity, academic success, student resilience, and the transition into the workforce (Bennett, 2006; Oyserman et al., 2006; Oyserman, Kimmelmeier, Fryberg, Brosh, & Hart-Johnson, 2003; Perry, 2008; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, & Updegraff, 2013). However, these studies examined racial-ethnic identity and family socialization separately, while this study attempted to combine these concepts and examined Latinos in independent schools.

There was no standard way to assess achievement for students attending independent schools. Given this limitation, this study focused on the relationship between an academic identity and the strategies used while in school in pursuit of academic goals. Instead of academic achievement, this study looked at student engagement because engagement includes behavioral and emotional components such as effort, persistence, attention, and concentration in academic and nonacademic activities.

Student engagement also included students' enthusiasm, interest, and joy towards aspects of belonging to school.

Researchers encourage future studies that develop our understanding of Latino youths' developmental, psychological, family, and academic needs (Dunham, Baron, & Banaji, 2007; Finn & Rock, 1997; Unama-Taylor et al., 2002). An analysis of racial-ethnic identity, family socialization, and student engagement opened the doors to better understanding the multidimensional components of racial-ethnic identity and academic identity for Latino students in select New York City independent schools, a population missing from current research (Dawe, 2011). This study explored if there was a statistically significant positive correlation between racial-ethnic identity, family socialization, and student engagement for Latino seventh, eighth, and ninth grade students attending select New York City independent schools.

Theoretical Rationale

This study current applied three theoretical frameworks to understanding Latino racial-ethnic identity and its relationship to student engagement. Oyserman (2008) created a model to describe youths' racial-ethnic self-schemas. This model is grounded in the second framework considered for this study which was social identity theory (SIT). SIT is described as an individual's desire to categorize humans into social groups and fit into one or more of these groups. A healthy self-esteem was gained from the positive evaluations individuals contribute to their social groups. Connecting to one's racial-ethnic group alone did not offer strategies for racial-ethnic minority students to build on their academic success. Taken together, social identity theory and racial-ethnic self-

schemas addressed the gap between the construction of social identities for stigmatized racial-ethnic groups and their attempts to develop strong academic identities.

Familial ethnic socialization (FES) is the third framework applied to this study. Developed by Umaña-Taylor, FES uses an ecological framework and focuses on the family's role in developing positive racial-ethnic identity for Latino youth. There were similarities and overlap between social identity theory and FES. However, familial ethnic socialization addresses an important component of Latino ethnic identity development that was not fully explained in the literature on social identity theory. Linking these two theories allowed for an understanding of the reciprocal relationship that occurs whereby the environment, as a social factor, influences ethnic socialization and ethnic socialization influences the individual's racial-ethnic identity (Gonzales-Backen & Umaña-Taylor, 2010; Umaña -Taylor & Fine, 2004).

This study used these three theoretical frameworks to understand Latino racial-ethnic identity, family socialization practices that contribute to youths' racial-ethnic identity, and the impact these two constructs had on student engagement. These frameworks offered insight into understanding the extent to which external factors, such as the family and the school environment, influenced racial-ethnic identity development and student engagement of Latino youth attending select New York City independent schools.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to reveal ways in which Latino students in New York City independent schools described their racial-ethnic identity, were socialized by family, and were engaged in learning activities in the classroom. It built upon Umaña-

Taylor's (2009) work on familial ethnic socialization, Oyserman's (2008) research on racial-ethnic self-schemas, and Skinner, Kindermann, and Furrer's (2009) research on student engagement.

Latino racial-ethnic identity may positively or negatively influence academic outcomes of Latino youth attending predominantly White schools (Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007; Lawrence, Bachman, & Ruble, 2007; Umaña-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002). The direction of these influences is impacted by the cognitive development of one's racial-ethnic identity, the role played by the family, the cumulative effects of discrimination, and the belief that valuing academic achievement is an important part of being a member of one's racial-ethnic group (Fuligni, Rivera, & Leininger, 2007; Good et al., 2007; Lawrence et al., 2007; Oyserman, 2008; Oyserman et al., 2007; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Individuals who do not have a framework for making sense of bias or stereotypes are likely to internalize these negative situations. Youth who internalize negative messages are more vulnerable to stereotypes about their racial-ethnic group (Oyserman, 2008).

Developing a cognitive structure for a racial-ethnic in-group, or a self-schema, includes the thoughts, feelings, and beliefs about membership with that racial-ethnic group (Oyserman et al., 2003). Racial-ethnic self-schemas (RES) holds that Latinos who are schematic for racial-ethnic identity and the larger society obtain higher grades in stereotyped domains than students who are aschematic or schematic for racial-ethnic identity only. Oyserman et al. (2008) examined four RES types on school engagement and well-being. Assessing the racial-ethnic self-schemas of Latino youth attending independent schools in New York City with Oyserman's RES measure will contribute to

her growing body of work about a demographic yet to be studied. The RES measure can determine the possible role racial-ethnic identity plays on emotional and behavioral engagement with school life and persistence in schoolwork, both indicators of academic future selves.

The components to racial-ethnic identity development discussed by Oyserman et al. (2007) do not include the central role the family plays in developing Latino youths' racial-ethnic identity and school identity. To address this gap, this study used Umaña-Taylor's Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure to gain insight into the socialization that occurs at home. Family socialization contributed to family relationships, academic success, and psychological functioning (Umaña-Taylor, 2013; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Racial-ethnic self-schemas and family socialization were compared to the ways in which teachers described Latino students' engagement with learning using a measure created by Wellborn (1991) and adapted by Skinner et al. (2009).

Research Questions

This study asked if there was a statistically significant positive correlation between two predictor variables; Racial-ethnic self-schemas and familial ethnic socialization; and the dependent variable; Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom. This study included Latino seventh, eighth, and ninth graders in select New York City independent schools. Based on prior literature and studies, a potential outcome was predicted with two directional hypotheses and three research questions were asked. Data were collected on racial-ethnic identity and teachers' perspectives of students' academic engagement to test H₁. Data were also collected on family socialization and correlated with the same academic engagement data to test H₂.

H₁: There is a statistically significant positive correlation for Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school between their racial-ethnic self-schema levels and their Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom levels.

1. Using the Racial-Ethnic Self-schema Measure, to what degree do Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school describe their racial-ethnic identity as it relates to connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement?
2. Using the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom Measure, what is the level of student engagement as described by a teacher of a Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth grader attending a New York City independent school?

H₂: There is a statistically significant positive correlation for Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school between their familial ethnic socialization levels and their Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom levels.

1. Using the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure, to what degree do Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school recognize that their families socialize them to be Latino?
2. Using the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom Measure, what is the level of student engagement as described by a teacher of a Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth grader attending a New York City independent school?

Potential Significance of the Study

Latino Americans were a social group whom few researchers have studied, compared to the substantive body of research which existed about African American students' identity development and academic success (Aronson et al., 2002; Bennett, 2006; Dunham et al., 2007; Steele, 2010; Umaña-Taylor, 2009). Researchers were encouraged to focus on Latinos because of this group's growing presence in the United States and the limited studies on their developmental and psychological adjustment (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002). This study contributed to existing work and aided our understanding of Latino racial-ethnic identity, family relations, and academic engagement.

Two competing factors influenced Latino youths' self-concepts. On one hand, contextual and familial factors --such as parents, siblings, and extended family-- strengthened Latino children's racial-ethnic identity, self-esteem, and academic success through a socialization process that involved enculturation and ethnic pride (Bennett, 2006; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004; Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro et al., 2009; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Socialization included exposure to music, Spanish language, beliefs, others in the community from the same ethnic group, and history lessons about the family's ethnic group (Umaña-Taylor, 2001). Empirical work supported the important role the family played in contributing to Latino youths' worldview and their racial-ethnic identity by providing values and modeling behaviors which youth used to function in their multiple environments (Alfaro et al., 2009; Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993; Lawrence et al., 2007; Moje & Martinez, 2007;

Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004; Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, & Updegraff, 2013; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). This study contributed to research on Latino family socialization.

On the other hand, research also showed that Latino children, who are from marginalized and stigmatized groups, internalized implicit and explicit messages about the status of their social group when interacting with the larger society (Ambady, Shih, Kim, & Pittinsky, 2001; Dunham et al., 2007; Oyserman et al., 2006; Steele, 2010). This pointed to the role of other contextual and nonfamilial factors, such as school, peers, and community, on Latino racial-ethnic identity and academic identity (Bennett, 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Youth whose social identity was strongly connected to a marginalized and stereotyped group were more vulnerable to stereotypes about their group (Moje & Martinez, 2007; Steele, 2010). Vulnerability about one's identity in the context of school impacted academic performance (Good et al., 2007; Lawrence et al., 2007; Oyserman et al., 2006; Oyserman et al., 2007; Perry, 2008; Sherman et al., 2013; Steele, 2010). To ward off the cumulative effects of discrimination, and a decline in youths' academic performance, researchers suggested considering the family's role in positively contributing to Latino youths' racial-ethnic self-schema (Good et al., 2007; Oyserman, 2008; Oyserman et al., 2007; Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro et al., 2009).

School personnel do have access to research on Latino youth. However, much of this work focuses on Mexican-American students (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002) which was not the largest demographic of Latinos living in New York State (Bergad, 2011; Pew Hispanic Center, 2010; 2013). As of 2010, 56.1% of Latinos in New York State were Puerto Rican (30.8%) and Dominican (25.3), and only 14.3% were Mexican (Bergad,

2011). The next two largest Latino ethnic groups in New York State are Ecuadorian and Colombian, 8.8% and 4.2% respectively.

It should be noted that there have been major shifts in the Latino groups residing in New York State over the past 20 years. In the 1990s, Puerto Ricans were still the largest ethnic group (49.1%), but this number has declined while the number of Dominicans and Mexicans have increased. As of 1990, there were 19.9% Dominicans and 3.3% Mexicans. Bergard (2011) predicts that by 2019, Dominicans will surpass Puerto Ricans as the largest Latino ethnic group, while Mexicans are predicted to surpass both Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in New York State by 2021. Latino students in large and urban public schools dominated the literature. Situating this study in independent schools benefited Latino youth, their families, and faculty members who faced unique challenges and were seeking to better serve this numeric ethnic minority. While anchored in independent schools, the methodology for the current study can be replicated in charter or public schools, particularly in schools where Latino students are in the numeric minority.

A focus on the particular Latino ethnic groups currently residing in New York City who attend independent schools offered needed research about these Latino students and their academic and home lives. The outcomes of this study contributed significantly to the strengths previously revealed of an independent school education while also surfacing important details to the realized academic experiences of Latino students. The results of this study will be shared at future conferences such as the National Association of Independent School (NAIS) Annual Conference, the NAIS People of Color

Conference, the New York State Association of Independent Schools (NYSAIS) Diversity Conference, and the NYSAIS Admissions Conference.

Definitions of Terms

Disaffection - The opposite of engagement is disengagement. Disaffection includes the behaviors of disengagement (Skinner et al., 2009). Disaffection can be seen as a state of feeling dissatisfied with others or with activities, passivity, lack of initiation, giving up, and discouragement.

Disidentification - Also known as disengagement, this term is used to describe a student who does not actively participate in school life nor develops a sense of identifying with school (Finn & Voelkl, 1993; Skinner et al., 2009; Steele, 1997, 2010). Disidentification or disengagement are seen as passivity, lack of motivation, or low resilience which are often accompanied by emotions such as apathy or dejection or even boredom and coercion (Perry, 2008; Skinner et al., 2009).

Familial ethnic socialization - The family's involvement with cultural activities, exposure to the use of ethnic labels, or engagement in discussions about their country of origin are examples of familial ethnic socialization. The cultural knowledge shared by parents assists young Latinos in their ability to identify with their group. Other factors that contribute to familial ethnic socialization include (a) generation of migration, (b) acculturation, which is the process of change that occurs between cultures, (c) ethnic identity, (d) language, and (e) cultural knowledge of the parents (Gonzalez, Umaña-Taylor, Bamaca, 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004).

Latino - The term is used in this study when referring generically to individuals in the United States born in, or the person's ancestors were born in, a Latin American

country of the Western Hemisphere. Puerto Ricans and Dominicans make up a larger percentage of Latino Pre-K to 12th-grade students living in New York City (Bergad, 2011), and perhaps attending a New York City independent school. This study will also broaden to Latinos of other ethnicities. Doing so allows for data to be collected about Mexican, Ecuadorian, and Colombian families residing in the New York City area.

Racial-ethnic identity - Race is socially constructed. Race also refers to a person's physical characteristics, such as bone structure and skin, eye, and hair color. Ethnicity comprises the cultural beliefs, language, ancestry, and nationality with which one identifies. Latin Americans often embrace their country of origin, or their ethnicity, before they label themselves within a racial group (Oboler, 1992). However, some in the Latino community consider themselves Afro-Latino; racially Black and ethnically Latino (Diaz-Imbelli, 2013; Tatum, 1997). Combining race and ethnicity allows youth to enter a discussion about identity in a manner that suits them, and coincides with what they may have learned from others.

Student engagement - An individual's academic identity is linked to the strategies used while in school in pursuit of educational outcomes, academic success, and future possible selves in the workforce (Finn & Voelkl, 1993; Oyserman et al., 2006; Perry, 2008). To date, there is not an agreed upon definition of school engagement (Fredricks et al., 2011). However, Perry (2008) and Skinner et al. (2009) argue that student engagement is a multifaceted construct that includes emotional and behavioral markers as well as the well-established cognitive notions of engagement. Examples of behavioral engagement include effort, persistence, attention, and concentration in academic and

nonacademic activities. Emotional engagement reflects a student's enthusiasm, interest, and joy towards teachers, classmates, and other aspects of belonging to school.

Summary

Chapter 1 discussed the conditions under which youth envision their future selves. Latinos, as a minority ethnic group, place greater significance on their racial-ethnic identity than White students as it relates to their academic identity. As described by Oyserman (2008), racial-ethnic identity (REI) involves three components: connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement. Youth who describe their REI with these three components are said to have better academic outcomes. Important components to understanding Latino youths' future selves are the role the family plays in contributing to their racial-ethnic identity and how this relates to their engagement in student life.

Three theoretical rationales were used to better understand the relationship between racial-ethnic identity and family socialization; racial-ethnic self-schemas, social identity theory, and familial ethnic socialization. Racial-ethnic self-schemas that involved connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement, were linked to better academic outcomes. Social identity was defined as a person's need to create and fit into social groups with the intention of boosting one's self-concept. Research found that Latino families contribute to the socialization of children's racial-ethnic identity. This family socialization process is key to building Latino students' racial-ethnic identity and academic identity. The chapter concluded with the potential benefits to educators in independent schools when they understand how to contribute to a healthy Latino racial-

ethnic self-schema as a possible moderator for increasing student engagement and their possible future selves.

Chapter 2 will review literature that uses racial-ethnic self-schemas, social identity theory, and familial ethnic socialization. This chapter aims to (a) elaborate on the developmental process of racial-ethnic identity, (b) discuss the relationship between familial ethnic socialization and racial-ethnic identity, and (c) reveal the cumulative effects of discrimination and its impact on racial-ethnic identity and student engagement of Latino youth. Chapter 3 will provide details to the design and methodology for this study, with a focus on Umaña-Taylor's (2009) 12-item Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure, Oyserman's (2008) Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure, and Skinner's (2009) teacher-report of student engagement. Chapter 4 will review the results of this study, and Chapter 5 will discuss limitations of the study and recommendations for policies and practice in New York City independent schools.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Introduction and Purpose

This chapter provides a review of relevant literature on racial-ethnic self-schemas, social identity theory, and *familial ethnic socialization* in order to shed light on the relationship between *Latino* racial-ethnic identity, family socialization patterns, and *student engagement*. The analysis of the literature is subdivided into five interconnected sections: theory, social identity theory and the development of children's racial-ethnic identity, racial-ethnic identity and familial ethnic socialization, racial-ethnic identity threat in school settings, and racial-ethnic self-schemas and academic outcomes. Beginning with *racial-ethnic identity* awareness in young children is useful for understanding the cumulative effects, from childhood to adolescence, of Latino's status in society. This awareness has been found to have negative effects on academic performance (Steele, 2010). Much of this analysis is based on Aboud's (1988) book which is cited in more contemporary work by scholars examining the effects of ethnic and stereotype threat on young children's academic performance (Ambady et al., 2001; Corenblum & Armstrong, 2012; Desert et al., 2009; Dunham et al., 2007; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). This section also discusses Tajfel's (1974, 1978) social identity theory.

Existing research suggested a positive relationship between Latino ethnic identity and self-esteem when Latinos are in the majority (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Racial-ethnic identity becomes more salient for ethnic minorities in heterogeneous communities where a dominant group exists (Umaña-Taylor & Fine,

2004). Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) claimed that youth who are in the numeric minority in school rely on their racial-ethnic identity to inform their sense of self and contribute to their overall adjustment. Encounters with people from high status groups, and increased exposure to discrimination and stereotypes, play a role in ethnic identity formation (Phinney, 1996a). Empirical research affirms that children between 5 and 10 years of age have a heightened awareness of positive and negative stereotypes about race and ethnicity (Aboud, 1988; Ambady et al., 2001; Cvencek, Meltzoff, & Greenwald, 2011; Desert, Preaux, & Jund, 2009; Dunham et al., 2007; McKown & Weinstein, 2003). This awareness may explain why some racial-ethnic minority groups value school differently than the dominant group. For example, a report by the Pew Hispanic Center (2004) found that the longer Latinos reside in the US, the more they seem impacted by discrimination and exclusion. The section titled social identity theory and the development of children's racial-ethnic identity builds a case for understanding Latino children's racial-ethnic identity awareness and the challenges they face growing up as a member of an ethnic minority group in the United States.

After a discussion of how young children become aware of their racial-ethnic identity, this chapter will examine the unique role the family plays in boosting Latino children's awareness of their identity (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). A significant body of literature exists that describes racial-ethnic identity as protective of self-esteem (Gonzalez-Backen & Umaña-Taylor, 2010; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Toomey & Umaña-Taylor, 2012; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009). It is important for educators to understand the psychological well-being of Latino youth and the role the

family plays in boosting self-concepts such as self-esteem and academic future selves (Toomey & Umaña-Taylor, 2012). This section aims to address this process.

The section titled racial-ethnic identity threat in school settings will explore how Latino youths' racial-ethnic identity, and explicit and implicit threats in a school environment, impact academic outcomes. The empirical studies on stereotype or ethnic threat and preparation for discrimination will contribute to this third section. The final analysis will focus on describing how a racial-ethnic self-schema inclusive of a self-identification with the in-group and an awareness of the larger society can buffer Latino youth from academic disengagement.

Racism and prejudice have been shown to impact academic outcomes for African American students (Ambady et al., 2001; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Steele, 2010). Therefore, research on African Americans is generalized to Latinos because many Latino ethnic groups share similar issues with African Americans around racial-ethnic identity development and historical racial-ethnic prejudice in the United States. Moll and Ruiz (2002) stated, "the schooling of Latinos should be analyzed not independently, as is usually the case, but rather in relation to the situation of African American children, for they share similar political environments and colonial forms of education," (p. 270). In addition, there are those in the Latino community who embrace their African roots and consider themselves Afro-Latino. Some Latinos identify ethnically as Latino and racially as Black (Diaz-Imbelli, 2013; Tatum, 1997).

A final consideration is that both African American and Latino youth are discriminated against because they are members of involuntary minorities (Lawrence et al., 2007). Involuntary minorities are social groups that experience discrimination

because they are historically enslaved, colonized, and conquered (Lawrence et al., 2007). Applying empirical research on African American youth to Latino youth may offer insight into the psychological and academic needs of Latino youth.

In summary, the following reviews of the literature use social identity theory, racial-ethnic self-schemas, and familial ethnic socialization as foundations for understanding the development of racial-ethnic identity for Latino students. Research on African American students will shed light on our understanding of Latino racial-ethnic identity, family racial-ethnic socialization, and identity threat in school settings. The connections these concepts have to academic outcomes is also explored.

Reviews of Literature

Theory. The following theoretical frameworks guided the research on Latino students' racial-ethnic identity and their family's role in socializing them to understand their Latino culture, history, and traditions.

Racial-ethnic self-schemas. Dr. Daphna Oyserman is currently a Professor of Psychology at the University of California. Dr. Oyserman is cited over 10,000 times for her work on identity, self-concept, identity-based motivation, and self-regulation (Oyserman, 2004). While her work spans several topics in the field of social science, they are all tied to her interest in the roles culture, society, and identity play on an individual's ability to pursue life's ambitions and goals. Dr. Oyserman's theoretical studies on the relationship between social identities and possible selves have been published in numerous scholarly journals (Oyserman, 2005).

Dr. Oyserman developed "an identity-based motivation model integrating research on the future-oriented aspects of self-concept (e.g., possible selves) with

research on social and personal identities (e.g., research on racial-ethnic identities and cultural psychological research on cultural mindsets),” (Oyserman, 2005, p. 1). This model has been applied to longitudinal and experimental methods that point out when and how racial-ethnic identity serves as a buffer from stereotypes and encounters with failure. She states, “I demonstrate that content of identity, not simply the fact of being a member of a social group matters,” (Oyserman, 2005, p. 1). Minority youth encounter difficulties with negative stereotypes in the school domain (Steele, 2010). These experiences can lead youth to disengage from school and school-related strategies such as student engagement and academic efficacy, affecting the overall academic performance of minority youth.

Individuals differ in their choice of self-identification. Some youth may decide that race-ethnicity is not a defining factor for their sense of self. Oyserman et al. (2003) referred to this idea of including or excluding race-ethnicity from one’s self-concept as being schematic for race-ethnicity or aschematic for race-ethnicity, respectively. Feeling positively connected to a racial-ethnic in-group, or schematic for race, is a contributing factor to positive self-worth (Oyserman et al., 2007; Tajfel, 1974). To maintain positive self-worth, racial-ethnic minority youth develop coping strategies to deal with the ongoing discrimination and stereotypes they face (Oyserman, Kimmelmeier, Fryberg, Brosh, & Hart-Johnson, 2003).

In the context of school success, a strong sense of belonging to a racial-ethnic in-group on its own does not lead youth towards student engagement (Oyserman et al., 2007). A strong in-group racial-ethnic schema can actually influence students to disengage from school in order to avoid the areas where youth are stereotyped (Good et

al., 2007; Lawrence et al., 2007; Oyserman et al., 2007). The choice to remain engaged and identified with the positive domain supports the claim from social identity researchers that students from groups considered to have a low status in society are less likely to leave their group if they have a strong commitment to the group (Stets & Burke, 2000). However, this coping strategy may lead to negative academic outcomes (Good et al., 2007; Moje & Martinez, 2007; Oyserman et al., 2007).

In addition to membership with an in-group, racial-ethnic minority youth need to develop a cognitive structure for their group which includes the thoughts, feelings, and beliefs about their membership (Oyserman et al., 2003). Racial-ethnic self-schemas is described as a combination of cognitive structures and knowledge structures (Oyserman et al., 2007). Cognitive structures help to organize our experiences and provide motivation for reaching goals while knowledge structures are the self-concept we rely on to make sense of our social identity. Oyserman's (2008) work provides an association between racial-ethnic identity and positive academic outcomes when youth develop a racial-ethnic self-schema that includes an awareness of race-ethnicity and youths' place in the larger society (Oyserman, 2008; Oyserman et al., 2003). When racial-ethnic minority youth define themselves with positive traits, skills, and abilities they incorporate these attributes into their self-schemas.

The four racial-ethnic self-schema (RES) types are (a) aschematic RES, where individuals do not see racial-ethnic membership as a defining factor; (b) schematic in-group only RES, where individuals see themselves as a member of their racial-ethnic group with no connections to the larger society; (c) schematic minority RES, where individuals see themselves as members of their racial-ethnic in-group and understand that

there are obstacles they must overcome in order to be a full member of the larger society; and (d) schematic dual RES, where members are closely tied to their racial-ethnic in-group yet understand that there are positive outcomes to being a member of an in-group and the larger society. Oyserman et al. (2006) reported that several studies using this framework report that youth who described themselves as minority and dual RES had better end-of-year grades than youth who were aschematic RES or schematic in-group RES only.

A study including 94 eighth-grade students from a low-income urban minority school found the effects of racial-ethnic self-schemas type was significant, $F(2,78) = 3.28$, p less than .05. Students who were schematic for their in-group and the larger society received higher grades in their last quarter ($M = 2.86$, $sd = .80$) than students who were aschematic ($M = 2.27$, $sd = .99$) or schematic for the in-group only ($M = 2.17$, $sd = .93$). The findings of this study report that a racial-ethnic self-schema that includes the in-group and an awareness of the larger society buffer racial-ethnic minority youth from academic disengagement, increases academic performance, and moderates the negative impact of a racial-ethnic stereotype threat (Oyserman et al., 2003).

Social identity theory. Henri Tajfel was born in Poland in 1919, almost 20 years before the start of WWII. His ability to speak French saved him from being killed after he was captured by the Germans in June 1940. Five years later, Tajfel joined organizations in various European countries that were attempting to rehabilitate child and adult victims of the war. Tajfel's work between 1945 and the early 1950s sparked his interest in social psychology. His first published paper on the overestimation of valued objects became ground work for his later research on stereotyping and prejudice (Stroebe,

1982). Tajfel's writings transitioned from "individualistic cognitive analysis of intergroup processes to a more socio-psychological analysis of the social functions of stereotypes," (Stroebe, 1982, p. V). Tajfel's theory of social identity and intergroup discrimination took shape in the 70s while speaking and writing in Europe. Tajfel wrote extensively on social identity until his untimely death from a terminal illness on May 3, 1982.

Henri Tajfel's social identity theory (SIT) was developed in the 70s with fellow social psychologist John Turner. SIT is used to study the relationship between self-concept and group behavior. It has been used to discuss, for example, attitudes in children, the development of ethnicity and prejudice, and inter-ethnic relations (Tajfel, 1978). SIT posits that individuals will highlight positive aspects of their group, known as the in-group, in order to benefit from membership with that group and satisfy one's self-concept (Tajfel, 1974). Self-conceptualization is reached when individuals, who desire to make sense of the complex social groups available to them, create meaning and define their place with others who are similar. Comparing oneself to others who share similar characteristics leads to the formation of the in-group.

People enhance the evaluation of their in-group and distinguish themselves from others who are dissimilar, known as the out-group. Categorical factors that contribute to the positive and negative attributes assigned to in- and out-group members include, "beliefs and values, affective reactions, behavioral norms, styles of speech, and other properties that are believed to be correlated with the relevant intergroup categorization," (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 225). The process of forming and joining an in-group is known as self-categorization and is a form of self-identification (Stets & Burke, 2000).

Social identity theory is also grounded in Festinger's (1954) theory of intergroup social comparisons. Tajfel and Festinger were contemporaries, though Festinger was born in Brooklyn, New York. Both were born to Jewish parents in 1919 and both researched the impact society had on Jewish people and how they were viewed by out-group members. An experiment on intergroup social comparisons conducted by Festinger in 1947 explored the role belonging to an in- or out-group played on voting choices of Catholic and Jewish women. Subjects were to vote on a president based on first impressions alone. After the votes were in, subjects were told of the candidate's religious affiliation as well as a mistake in the voting process that required them to cast a new vote. Catholic women significantly changed their vote to the Catholic candidate, even if they had voted the first time for the Jewish candidate (Friedman, 2000). Tajfel (1978) felt that Festinger's theory was limiting because it only accounted for individuals comparing themselves to other individuals. Very little focus was placed on the role of individual opinions about groups or the role the group has on the individual's place in society.

Social identities provide guidelines for behavior and affect an individual's view of personal attributes (Bernal et al., 1991). Positive associations are created for one's in-group in an attempt to develop a positive social identity separate from the out-group. Maintaining positive aspects of the in-group can also lead to biased attitudes in favor of one's group. Wolfe and Spencer (1996) stated that prejudice and stereotyping arise from a need to maintain a positive social identity. Social identities are important to individuals of all social groups and ages. Nesdale and Brown (2004) stated that social groups are relevant to children as young as 5 years of age. Oyserman et al. (2007) argued that an

assumption is often made when using social identity theory that race and ethnicity are a part of social identity development when in fact it may not be a necessary part of the process.

Phinney (1996a; 1996b) made a similar argument, claiming that it is challenging to know an individual's psychological, social, emotional, and health outcomes simply by knowing the individual's ethnicity. Other researchers echoed Oyserman's (2007) thoughts and revealed that a full understanding of ethnic identity involves an analysis of the individual's culture and individual sense of ethnic knowledge, the relevance of ethnic group membership, such as ethnic self-identification and ethnic preference, and the individual's social status and experiences with prejudice and discrimination (Corenblum & Armstrong, 2012; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Phinney, 1996b).

Familial ethnic socialization. Dr. Adriana Umaña-Taylor is a foundation professor at the Arizona State University T. Denny Stanford School of Social and Family Dynamics. Umaña-Taylor uses an ecological framework to understand how environmental factors contribute to enculturation, or the process of learning about one's culture. Her research examines how individuals and family members influence each other and are influenced by the ecologies around them. This research found the Latino family at the center and she described this process as familial ethnic socialization. Umaña-Taylor is most interested in the formation of ethnic identity and the components that contribute to this development. She seeks to discover how the socialization process of ethnic identity contributes to family relationships, academic success, and psychological functioning (Umaña-Taylor, 2013; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013).

Research supports the idea that family plays a critical role in Latino children's awareness of culture and ethnicity in addition to learning Latino family values and beliefs (Fuligni et al., 2007; Gonzalez et al., 2006; Knight et al., 1993; Phinney, 1996a; Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro, Bámaca, & Guimond, 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Youth with positive racial-ethnic identification have equally high levels of school engagement and academic motivation (Fuligni et al., 2007). Familial ethnic socialization supports the theory of social identity, yet is particularly important for understanding Latino ethnic identity on the individual and collective levels.

There are micro and macro ecological sources that influence ethnic socialization. Micro factors are influences in the immediate environment, such as the ethnic make-up in the home and school community, or the family's immigration status (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Macro ecological factors are more distant from youth yet continue to impact ethnic identity. Examples of distal influences are socioeconomic status or race relations in the intimate or broader community where youth live. Micro and macro ecological factors are important to consider for middle and high school youth as they begin to question those in their surroundings during their journey toward an achieved racial-ethnic identity.

Umaña-Taylor (2009) created a 12-item Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure. Familial ethnic socialization is measured through questions that are overt and covert: "My family teaches me about my ethnic/cultural background," "Our home is decorated with things that reflect my ethnic/cultural background," respectively. Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure demonstrated reliability in Gonzales-Backen and Umaña-Taylor's

(2010) study of Mexican-origin adolescents with an alpha coefficient of .95, meaning that participants' answers were highly consistent with each other.

Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen, and Guimond (2009) studied Latino youth who comprised less than 20% of the student body of their school and were considered a numerical minority. The participants, from five Midwestern high schools, were consistent with demographics for Latinos in the United States. Most of the youth identified as Mexican (77%), were born in the United States (71.8%), and were born to parents born outside of the United States (61.9% of mothers and 68.1% of fathers). This study was conducted in four waves, though the results of Wave 3 were not included in the final study.

Wave 1 focused on generational status, Wave 2 on familial ethnic socialization and Spanish language fluency, and Wave 4 on ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor, 2009). The results found that family values changed slowly regardless of generational status or gender. Spanish fluency was directly predicted by generational status, meaning that the longer a family lived in the United States the greater the chance of a loss of Spanish language. Ethnic identity, particularly youths' interest in exploring and resolving their identity, was predicted by familial ethnic socialization (FES). Umaña-Taylor et al. (2009) found "boys' and girls' reports of FES at Wave 2 were significantly and positively associated with the degree to which they explored their ethnicity and their sense of resolution regarding their EI at Wave 4," (p. 56). FES influenced youths' interests in exploring their ethnic identity and having clarity about what their ethnic identity meant to them; however, FES was reported to be higher for families with fewer generations in the United States.

Children gain a heightened sense of their ethnicity through the learning experiences with social groups like the family, community, and dominant society (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). This work supports social identity theory and racial-ethnic self-schemas while including contextual factors that specifically influence Latino racial-ethnic identity development. It is helpful to study the ecological factors that contribute to a healthy Latino identity in school communities where they are the numeric minority, which is the case in New York City independent schools.

Physical appearance, such as skin color, and children and families' racial versus ethnic categorizations, vary within Latino ethnic groups and may affect psychological outcomes (Gonzales-Backen & Umaña-Taylor, 2010). Gonzales-Backen and Umaña-Taylor (2010) pointed out the role skin color has on ethnic conflict and racial categorization. They note that one's identity is influenced by how one feels they are perceived by others. Latinos with light skin, who were assumed to be White, were more likely to identify as White than Black or biracial. Having a skin tone that was consistent with being Latino was more closely associated with self-esteem, particularly when acceptance with ethnic in-group was salient.

As previously stated, the following sections will discuss the literature on social identity theory and children's racial-ethnic identity development and the role the family plays in contributing to Latino children's understanding of their ethnic culture, knowledge, and identity. The chapter will end with a review of racial-ethnic identity threat and its impact on minority students' academic success.

Social identity theory and children's racial-ethnic identity development.

Social identities provide guidelines for behavior and affect individual's views of personal

attributes (Bernal et al., 1991). Maintaining membership in a group is aided by the individual's awareness of the distinct positive values and attributes of their group over others. Tajfel (1974) argued that individuals will create evaluative intergroup differences to provide order, meaning, and social identity to any given situation. In fact, high status is a psychological distinctiveness that is to be as attained as it is preserved.

Research on the cognitive and social development of children has advanced opportunities for understanding how young children develop their racial-ethnic identity and attitudes towards in- and out-group members (Aboud, 1988; Corenblum & Armstrong, 2012; Doyle et al., 1988). A look at the cognitive development of racial-ethnic identity was the focus of the Corenblum and Armstrong (2012) study. They found after their 2-year study, that young children's racial-ethnic identity, "has implications for their relationships with ingroup and outgroup members and is associated with their level of perceived competency and self-acceptance," (p. 133). Increases in cognitive development was associated with increases in racial-ethnic identity (REI) and REI was linked to self-esteem and attitudes towards the in-group (Corenblum & Armstrong, 2012).

When examining racial-ethnic identity development, researchers often focus on early to late adolescence because this age group is believed to be ready to examine the role social identities have on their lives (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). A social group largely ignored in research on this particular topic are children between ages 3 and 12, or early to middle childhood (Corenblum & Armstrong, 2012; Desert et al., 2009; Doyle, Beaudet, & Aboud, 1988; Lawrence et al., 2007; McKown & Weinstein, 2003; Rivas-Drake, Hughs, & Way, 2008). However, adolescents and young adults are said to progress from an examination of their childhood, which is heavily

influenced by familial and non-familial environmental factors. This reflection of the past occurs before the exploration of adolescents' own ideas and beliefs are formed. The journey to reach resolution, or an achieved racial-ethnic identity, begins in childhood and continues through adolescence.

Writers on racial-ethnic identity development vary on the relevant components that influence this process, and yet this multidimensional construct defines a person's sense of in-group identity and contributes to their psychological well-being. Phinney (1996a) and Corenblum and Armstrong (2012) claimed that the process includes a sense of belonging to one's ethnic group, high regard of the group, a desire to learn more about one's ethnic group, and engagement in activities central to the group. Oyserman et al. (2007) proposed a model that includes a sense of connectedness, awareness of racism, and an embedded sense of achievement. These models of racial-ethnic identity development are consistent with the theory of social identity in that they require an individual to seek membership with a group and contend with the group's status in society, for example, Phinney's (1996a) high regard for the group, Corenblum and Armstrong's (2012) appraisals of racial-ethnic group members, and Oyserman's (2007) awareness of racism. It is helpful to consider these models simultaneously in a discussion about Latino racial-ethnic identity development as the discussion will contribute to an understanding of this important psychological process.

Young Latino children's racial-ethnic identity awareness, and preference for their in-group, are influenced by (a) the socialization process experienced at home, (b) the presence of other Latinos within a school setting, (c) the status that racial-ethnic groups are perceived to have within the larger society, and (d) characteristics such as skin color

and gender (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Oyserman et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002, Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). These factors interplay with Latino children's racial-ethnic cognitive development (Corenblum & Armstrong, 2012; Doyle et al., 1988; Nesdale & Brown, 2004). Latino youngsters come to understand the characteristics of their social group because there exist different characteristics of another group, seen as the out-group (Tajfel, 1974). These characteristics, and the relationship between the in- and out-groups, are at play when children internalize what they perceive to be a valued or devalued identity. Ethnic minority youth who perceive their identity as a devalued one incorporate negative perceptions into their self-concept and sense of worthiness (Bernal et al., 1991). While many researchers focus on adolescent identity development, this age cohort is clearly not the only time when racial-ethnic identity is salient in minority children's lives, or impacting their self-concept.

Three- to 7-year-olds. Children as young as 3- and 4-years-old begin to develop attitudes about race. Aboud (1988) found that young children were able to apply words such as bad, good, or ugly to their in- and out-group preferences. Children between 4 and 5 years of age displayed awareness of ethnic identity. However, many of the subjects in Aboud's (1988) research were White and Black children. Aboud stated that ethnic awareness of Latinos is delayed by a few years because the distinctive features of Latino children are less salient for White and Black children to discern. This is one reason why children base ethnic distinctions primarily on physical and linguistic attributes that are easily perceived (Doyle et al., 1988). Aboud claimed that the ability of Latino children to select an in-group member is lower at age 4 than it is for White children, though they do increase by ages 6 and 7. Based on the extensive research Aboud (1988) examined for

her book, it is likely that the ethnic awareness for Latino children of themselves and their own ethnic group may be equally delayed.

Though Aboud (1988) found that children under the age of 7 lack the cognitive abilities to generalize self- and group-identity and prejudice, they were not free from expressing biased attitudes. This is consistent with the study of Doyle et al. (1988) which found that the attitudes and biases held by children about ethnic in- and out-group members were influenced by their ability to display maturity in attitude development, hold ethnic constancy, and master the conservation of physical features, meaning that the outer physical changes of an individual do not alter their ethnic group. Older children in this study were less negative towards members of the out-group and more likely to attribute positive and negative adjectives to their in-group (Doyle et al., 1988).

Without the ability to cognitively grasp generalizations, to organize, and to maintain constancy, children under 7 years of age are not able to fully understand racial-ethnic self-identification or transition out of biased thoughts in favor of their in-group. Social identity theory would state that young children's attributions of positive traits towards the in-group are meant to boost self-concept, even if the child has not yet fully developed a sense of self-identification. Regardless of the lack of ability to self-identify, young children are able to categorize others and develop prejudices in favor of the in-group. This is possible because they are able to make sense of low and high status groups in society due to their early understanding of discrimination and prejudice (Aboud, 1988).

Phinney (1996a) claimed that exposure to people from different backgrounds increased children's exposure to discrimination. Attending majority White schools,

Aboud (1988) claimed, made children more aware of the status differences that existed between groups. For example, Aboud (1988) found that 4- and 5-year-old Latino children attending preschool with White teachers and White educational values took on pro-White attitudes. If most of the people Latino children know are Latino, they are likely to say that Latino people are the best. If asked who important people would consider to be best, Latino children are likely to report White people, since there are more White children and teachers who hold the authority and power in many classrooms and schools in the United States (Aboud, 1988). While the literature reveals that young Latino children are not able to cognitively self-identify with their racial-ethnic group until age 7 or 8, prior to age 7 they are already able to develop preferences for White people. Dunham et al. (2007) studied this dichotomous stance in the world.

Dunham et al. (2007) worked with 234 Latino elementary children in Houston, Texas to study the relationship between self-esteem, group identity, and group attitude of Latino children between ages 5 years and 6 months and 12 years and 2 months. They examined the implicit race attitudes of these young children and compared them to the adult subjects, who were between 18- and 24-years-old. The implicit self-esteem was positive for the different age groups, with children and adults pairing positive adjectives to self, $D = .11$, $t(228) = 5.19$, $p (V) .0001$. However, the explicit self-esteem scores were lower for the older children, attesting to the increased awareness of societal expectations and pressures adolescents face (Dunham, 2007).

In regards to preference for in-group however, the group attitude scores of the Latino children showed different results than implicit self-esteem scores. These researchers found that children as young as 5- and 6-years-old showed no overall

preference for their in-group (only 65% of the time) when compared to White children. This suggests that young Latinos have internalized societal attitudes about social groups and group status long before adolescence.

Internalized societal attitudes also impacted the preferences Latino children made for their in-group when they were compared to African Americans, another marginalized social group. In the case of comparisons to African Americans, young Latino children preferred their in-group 81% of the time. The increase in preferences for in-group indicates that Latino young children understand the low status African Americans have in society over White people. This implies that young Latino children are acutely aware of their in-group's low status within the larger society, even when their own self-identification as a Latino is not yet fully formed. The explicit results starkly differed from the implicit results of Latino children ages 5 to 12.

It has been noted that young Latino children primarily base their decisions of ethnic identification on skin color (Aboud, 1988). Given the similarity of skin tones between light-skinned Latinos and White people, it is possible that the distinctions between these two groups are more challenging for young children who have not developed a social and political understanding of ethnicity (Dunham et al., 2007). Regardless, the work by Dunham et al. (2007) adds an important layer to our understanding of racial-ethnic identity awareness in young children. Their work shows the evaluative traits young children apply to their social identities. Awareness of social status and power increases with age as children take on the social attitudes of their families and social settings, such as school teachers, peers, and the media (Tajfel, 1974). The messages from these nonfamilial social environments have a cumulative effect on

children while they are establishing their self-concept. Children from marginalized groups internalize the social messages about their group, and other low status groups, at earlier ages than non-marginalized groups (Aboud, 1988; Ambady et al., 2001; Desert et al., 2009; Dunham et al., 2007; McKown & Weinstein, 2003; Phinney, 1996a).

Six- to 8-year-olds. Around 6 or 7 years of age children begin to move away from the preoperational, egocentric stage and into the concrete operational and socio-centric ways of thinking (Gorman, 1972; Huitt & Hummel, 2003). Moving out of the single-minded, preoperational stage opens children to more cognitive ways of thinking which includes classification, ordering, and the ability to generalize from concrete instances (Gorman, 1972). Children in the concrete operational stage react to the differences among them through three related, yet, conceptually distinct ways. Their interactions involve (a) an awareness of ethnic groups, (b) an awareness of one's own ethnicity, and (c) prejudice (Aboud, 1988). These concepts are similar to models presented by Oyserman and Umaña-Taylor and their colleagues about the process of adolescent racial-ethnic identity development.

Between age 7 and 8, children come to understand that racial-ethnic identity is permanent. This cognitive change coincides with the social-cognitive development of prejudice that states that children's view of prejudice changes as they understand the social world differently (Aboud, 1988, Nesdale & Brown, 2004). In other words, as racial-ethnic awareness increases, prejudice towards the out-group declines. Children in the concrete operational stage are able to focus on internal features to distinguish individuals and no longer perceive others within their group as the only individuals with whom they share similar qualities (Doyle et al., 1988; Nesdale & Brown, 2004). Studies

by Doyle et al. (1988) and Nesdale and Brown (2004) found that with increased age, children replaced racial-ethnic bias with attributes they believed they shared with an out-group member.

As they mature, Latino children are making social comparisons between their racial-ethnic group and the dominant group in society. These comparisons provide them with meaning (Corenblum & Armstrong, 2012; Nesdale & Brown, 2004). By age 7 children are able to categorize and use ethnic labels, but by 8 they have acquired ethnic constancy and understand ethnicity beyond superficial features (Aboud, 1988). Around the time Latino children are establishing their self-identification they are also contending with years of exposure to implicit and explicit negative messages about their in-group. Recent curriculum guides for early childhood programs (York, 2003), and empirical research (Cvencek et al., 2011; Desert et al., 2009), support the dichotomous process for young Latino children's racial-ethnic identity development. Derman-Sparks and the A.B.C. Task Force (1989) stated, "Research about the impact of racism on children's identity development exposes the damage it inflicts on both White children and children of color," (p. 4).

In addition to understanding racial-ethnic self-identification and racial-ethnic constancy, educators benefit from understanding the Latino family's role in positively contributing to Latino children's healthy self-concept through racial-ethnic knowledge and socialization (Knight et al., 1993; Harris-Britt et al., 2007). Latinos consider the centrality of the family unit a crucial contributing factor to Latino students' self-esteem and school success (Delgado Gaitan, 2004; Ginorio et al., 2001; Moje & Martinez, 2007;

Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002). The following section focuses on the role the family plays in socializing Latino children to understand their racial-ethnic selves.

Racial-ethnic identity and familial ethnic socialization. Educación, from the Latino family's perspective, is a more comprehensive term than the accepted American usage. In addition to academic success, the terms education and educated refer to how people conduct themselves politely, act collectively, support and respect others, and how they respond to authority (Delgado Gaitan, 2004). The emphasis is on relationships with others and this basic premise is taught within the Latino home through overt and covert forms of familial ethnic socialization (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013).

Fuligni et al. (2007) applied Tajfel's definition of social identity to the family and stated that youth develop ethnic categorization and ethnic identity by developing a sense of belonging to the family as a social group. Corenblum and Armstrong (2012) stated, "Cognitions may steer behaviour, but motivation and emotions give it meaning and direction," (p. 125). In addition to the cognitive growth that occurs from childhood to adolescence, socialization in the form of acculturation into mainstream American society and enculturation within the Latino society impact Latino children's racial-ethnic identity development, self-esteem, and academic participation (Corenblum & Armstrong, 2012; Fuligni et al., 2007; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Knight et al., 1993; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009).

Early racial-ethnic identity models claim that an individual, often a child, is influenced by family, community, and society (Corenblum & Armstrong, 2012; Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990). Young Latino children acquire an understanding of their ethnicity by experiencing their culture at home and socializing with the family (Bennett, 2006;

Knight et al., 1993; Moje & Martinez, 2007; Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro et al., 2009). These experiences, known as familial ethnic socialization, are the process by which children gain knowledge about their group such as values, attitudes, customs, traditions, language, roles, and beliefs.

Familial ethnic socialization is likely to lead to the initial attitudes about in-group status and convey positive images and messages about the in-group (Phinney, 1996a). Children then accept the messages about ethnicity from their familial environments. This process of racial-ethnic socialization, and the family's role in contributing to the children's perceptions of race-ethnicity, aid children in understanding how they fit into their social group. Ethnic identity achievement and collective self-esteem are then gained from membership in their social group (Ethier & Deaux, 1990; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Lawrence et al. (2007) found that involuntary minority children who feel positive about their group were more likely to do well in school in an attempt to make their group proud. This process helps to balance the discrimination and bias Latino youth encounter from the larger society.

An important tenet to social identity theory is the definition of a group in relation to social identities. Tajfel (1974) stated, "A group becomes a group in the sense of being perceived as having common characteristics or a common fate only because other groups are present in the environment," (p. 72). Knight et al. (1993) and Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) claimed that the definition of an individual's group is influenced by familial sources (parents, siblings, and extended family) and nonfamilial sources (peers, community leaders, and teachers). For example, the ethnic social identities and socialization process of the youth in the Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) study were

influenced by the number of family members born in or outside of the United States as well as the numeric number of other Mexican-origin youth attending the same school as the participants. In other words, the meaning and saliency of youths' racial-ethnic identity was impacted by the presence of others with common or uncommon characteristics.

Factors positively affecting racial-ethnic identity. Umaña-Taylor et al. (2013) examined factors that contribute to Latino racial-ethnic identity exploration and familial ethnic socialization. Over a 2-year longitudinal study they found that the parents' immigration status affected how familial ethnic socialization (FES) was perceived for 178 Mexican-origin youth ($M_{\text{age}} = 18.17$, $SD = .46$, sample included 93 females and 85 males). FES was family-driven for youth born in the United States with immigrant parents and youth-driven for youth with U.S.-born parents. These findings were consistent for all genders.

The four-phase data collection process began in Phase 1 with seventh graders who attended junior high school in five districts and five parochial schools in a southwestern metropolitan area. Students were in 12th grade during Phase 3. Phase 4 studied these students 2 years after 12th grade. The last two phases were the primary focus of the study (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). The study examined the direction of familial ethnic socialization. Familial ethnic socialization (FES), which informed ethnic identity for participants, was considered family-driven. When participants informed FES it was considered a youth-driven process. The authors also considered if FES and ethnic identity were reciprocal and informed each other.

There were no significant differences between genders; however, the results show that the family's nativity status was a variable. Youth from U. S.-born families were not influenced between Phase 3, which focused on FES, and Phase 4, which focused on ethnic identity (EI). However, higher levels of familial ethnic socialization (FES) at Phase 3 did predict high levels of EI at Phase 4 for youth in Mexico-born and mixed-nativity status families (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). The results of this study show that the family's immigration status mattered for the direction of FES efforts and ethnic identity formation. This research reinforces the need to understand the central role the family plays in contributing to Latino youths' racial-ethnic identity.

Previous research has revealed a positive relationship between ethnic identity with self-esteem and academic outcomes (Alfaro et al., 2009; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). However, marginalized and stigmatized social groups are preoccupied with understanding their social group membership in order to understand and accept their group's lower status in majority settings. Phinney (1996a) found that encounters with people from high status groups and increased exposure to discrimination and stereotypes affected psychological outcomes. Some studies have found a link between an awareness of discrimination and preparation for bias with positive psychological outcomes, such as self-esteem (Toomey & Umaña-Taylor, 2012). For example, Umaña-Taylor et al. (2002) discovered that Latino students in majority school settings had higher self-esteem because their social group consisted of members of their own group.

In Umaña-Taylor's et al. (2014) study the researchers looked at how familial ethnic socialization informed Mexican-origin youth in the context of their school setting. This two-wave longitudinal study examined the relationship between ethnic identity and

self-efficacy and social competence of Mexican-origin families with a fifth-grade student. Findings indicate that the mother's nativity significantly affected ethnic socialization and youths' ethnic identity achievement. However, the composition of the school was a more influential factor to the father's role in socializing their children ethnically. In other words, when Latino youth were in the ethnic minority in their school, this low number made salient their ethnicity and impacted the father's role in the socialization process.

Factors negatively affecting racial-ethnic identity. Harris-Britt et al. (2007) found that an overemphasis on racial discrimination resulted in low self-esteem while a balanced racial socialization resulted in higher self-esteem for youth. The two types of socialization examined by Harris-Britt et al. (2007) were those that instilled a sense of racial pride and those that prepared children for experiences with racism and bias. This study emphasized the crucial role family practices have on preparing youth for bias and buffering against the harmful effects of discrimination.

African American eighth grade students were recruited from two public schools in the southeastern section of the United States (Harris-Britt et al., 2007). African Americans comprised 70% and 66% of the student population of the two schools. The 128 participants were administered the Adolescent Discrimination Distress Index to gauge perceived discrimination, the Racial Socialization Scale to assess racial socialization, and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory to assess global self-esteem and feelings of acceptance.

Ninety-four percent of the students reported at least one discriminatory event within a 3-month period. Unique to this study was the fact that family racial socialization had an effect on self-esteem. Students exposed to discrimination and minimal positive

messages about cultural and race pride reported lower self-esteem whereas students who reported frequent exposure to messages of cultural and race pride were not as negatively affected by perceived discrimination. Likewise, African American students who were not prepared for bias had greater perceptions of discrimination and reported lower self-esteem. Harris-Britt et al. (2007) revealed how important it is to maintain an appropriate balance between preparation for bias and cultural and race pride. Too much preparation for bias led to an increased perception of discrimination, affecting children's sense of self-efficacy. These researchers claimed, "racial socialization might be even more important as a buffer for African American students — in majority White schools," (Harris-Britt et al., 2007, pp. 6-7).

Racial-ethnic self-identification, racial-ethnic constancy, racial-ethnic knowledge, and racial-ethnic preferences are impacted by the composition of the community, or numerical minority status, and children's social group status within that community. To preserve the identity of the social group, youth may disidentify with domains that contribute to their group's low status, such as within an academic setting. We turn now to the impact of an awareness of prejudice, stereotypes, and negative societal messages on student engagement.

Racial-ethnic identity threat in school settings. Developing a connection to a racial-ethnic in-group, feeling that one belongs to their in-group, and contending with the views of the in-group set by the larger society are important identity developmental tasks for youth (Oyserman et al., 2006; Oyserman et al., 2007; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). The negative values associated with Latino social status impacts these individuals' choice of membership and self-esteem (Moje & Martinez, 2007; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002).

When school environments support the social and historical knowledge maintained within the Latino family household and communities, or “funds of knowledge,” (Moll & Ruiz, 2002, p. 369) they are more likely to contribute to Latino children’s racial-ethnic and academic identities. On the contrary, if the school domain is a source of implicit and explicit discrimination, or devalues Latino cultural norms, it affects the racial-ethnic identity development and choice of membership with school and academics for these youth (Moje & Martinez, 2007; Steele, 1997).

Exposure to the effects of racial discrimination and low racial-ethnic identity impacts student engagement and performance, and general health and happiness (Altschul et al., 2008; Aronson, Fried, & Good, 2002; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Oyserman et al., 2001; Rivas-Drake et al., 2008; Steele, 2010). Schools that do not embrace the funds of knowledge that stem from Latino households, and are sources of explicit or implicit negative messages about Latino cultural beliefs, history, and people, are likely to contribute, albeit unintentionally, to Latino youths’ low racial-ethnic and academic identities.

What are racial-ethnic threats? The subtle ways children experience racial-ethnic stereotypes may come in the form of aversive racism. Aversive racism claims that stereotypes are delivered in subtle ways to members of oppressed groups. Sue (2010) used the term *racial microaggressions* to discuss this modern form of racism and defines it as, “brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to certain individuals because of their group membership (people of color, women, or LGBTs),” (p. 24). These exchanges are often unconsciously delivered by people in majority status who consider themselves to be good, moral people (Sue, 2010). However, the impact on the recipient,

often a member of an oppressed group, is significant and long lasting (Sue, 2010). Wolfe and Spencer (1996) stated that explicit and overt forms of racism and ethnic bias are less prevalent in society. However, children as young as 5 hold implicit race attitudes and are implicitly aware of positive and negative stereotypes about race-ethnicity (Ambady et al., 2001; Dunham et al., 2007). Further consequences are encountered for children from marginalized and stigmatized groups who endorse societal stereotypes about their group (Good et al., 2007).

Research has demonstrated that children are exposed to negative messages and stereotypes about their group from the larger society (Desert et al., 2009; McKown & Weinstein, 2003; Phinney, 1996a). Children internalize the negative messages about their group and are likely to begin adolescence with positive, negative, or even mixed feelings about their racial-ethnic group (Phinney, 1996a). Feeling positively connected to a racial-ethnic in-group is a contributing factor to positive self-worth (Oyserman et al., 2007; Tajfel, 1974). However, in the context of school success, Oyserman et al. (2007) stressed that a strong sense of belonging to a racial-ethnic in-group on its own does not lead youth towards student engagement. They argue that a strong in-group racial-ethnic schema can actually influence students to disengage from school in order to avoid the stereotyped domain in favor of a more positive domain, in this case their Latino racial-ethnic group. The choice to remain engaged and identified with the positive domain supports the claim from social identity researchers that students from low status groups are less likely to leave their group if they have a strong commitment to the group (Stets & Burke, 2000).

Students in schools with few representations of their racial-ethnic group, who are aware of racial-ethnic group stereotypes, may feel pressure to negate the stereotypes. This is known as racial-ethnic threat and it affects students that are marginalized and academically stigmatized by inducing anxiety and causing them to underperform (Ambady et al., 2001; Aronson et al., 2002; Rivas-Drake, et al. 2008; Steele, 2010). Moreover, in an effort to lessen the stress of racial-ethnic threat and its impact on self-esteem, students may disidentify with school and academics (Aronson et al., 2002; Oyserman et al., 2007; Steele, 1997). Another possible strategy includes the avoidance of activities associated with the low status group in an attempt to change the social identity (Good et al., 2007). The threat of being perceived as being a member of a low status group may affect the cultural activities chosen or the level of comfort with family members speaking Spanish while engaging with the dominant group.

Societal stereotypes create *a threat in the air* (Steele, 1997, Title of article) that affects members of a group about whom a negative social stereotype exists. This racial-ethnic threat hampers individuals in two ways; first, if the threat is experienced in a school domain it can interfere with academic performance and second, when the threat is chronic, it creates pressure for individuals to disidentify with the domain as a way to protect self-identity and self-evaluation (Dunham et al., 2007). Racial-ethnic identity threat increases the likelihood of students monitoring their environment for cues of identity threat, narrows attention span, and may lead students to scrutinize teacher's non-verbal behavior for confirmation of bias (Sherman et al., 2013). This is similar to findings of a study previously discussed by Harris-Britt et al. (2007) who found that an overemphasis on discrimination resulted in low self-esteem.

Impact of stereotype threat on school performance. Desert et al. (2009) explored the link between socio-economic status (SES), awareness of stereotypes, and intellectual performance. This study involved volunteers of 78 children in first grade ($M = 6.83$ years old, $SD = .40$) and 75 children in third grade ($M = 8.82$ years old, $SD = .39$). The results showed that the performance of socially disadvantaged young children decreased when they were presented with a standardized test that measured their intelligence. In addition, they found that children from a lower SES were affected more when they endorsed the negative stereotype about their own social group in regards to intellectual ability, thus affirming that young children can be victims of stereotype threat. For example, studies by Ambady et al. (2001) and McKown and Weinstein (2003) focused on children as young as age 6.

A study by Ambady et al. (2001) sought to discover at what age young children are susceptible to sociocultural stereotypes and whether this affects their academic performance. The authors also questioned if an explicit endorsement of stereotypes was necessary to affect children's behavior. Knowing at what age children are susceptible to stereotypes can influence when an intervention is conducted to improve academic performance.

In a two-part study, the researchers first activated identities of Asian American girls ranging from kindergarten to eighth grade living in the Boston area. The participants were randomly assigned one of three conditions: Asian identity activated, female identity activated, and identity activated (control). Kindergarten through second-grade participants were asked to color in pictures and third through eighth grade completed questionnaires. The ethnic-identity group focused on Asian interests, food,

language, and favorite school subjects. The gender-identity group's drawings and questions focused on dolls, girls, sports, friendship, and dating. Kindergarten through second-grade participants in the control group colored in a picture of a landscape while the participants in the third through eighth-grade control group answered questions about preferring indoors to outdoors, favorite seasons, and a favorite animal. Following the activation exercise, the participants were given a math test with questions consistent with the Iowa Test of Basic Skills. The second study was to establish if the findings could be generalized to Asian American boys. The results were analyzed within three age groups: lower elementary (5-7-year-olds), upper elementary (8-10-year-olds), and middle school (11-13-year-olds).

The findings provide evidence that children as young as 5 years old are susceptible to an implicit awareness of positive and negative stereotypes about gender and ethnicity, even in the absence of an explicit endorsement of these stereotypes. Age factored into whether participants held chauvinistic views of their gender or whether they distanced themselves from their social ethnic group in an attempt to fit in with the dominant group. The results indicated that the performance for youngest and oldest participants were impeded when gender was activated because of the pressure from societal stereotypes about boys performing better than girls on cognitive tests. Boys and girls between ages 8 and 10 view their own gender more positively than the opposite gender, yet are more aware of their ethnic minority status. Viewing one's gender in this chauvinistic way contributed to upper elementary students improved performance on the quantitative measure, unlike the youngest and oldest students.

The results of this study indicate that negative and positive societal messages about gender and ethnicity affected the academic performance of children and youth. In regards to ethnic identity, middle school Asian girls in the study performed significantly better on the Basic Skills test when ethnic identity was activated ($M = .92$) than when gender identity was salient ($M = .77$). The control group scored better than the gender identity group, but not as well as the Asian identity group ($M = .84$), $t(25) = 2.59$, p (less than) $.01$, one-tailed. Middle school boys performed similarly; Asian identity condition ($M = .93$), gender condition ($M = .87$), and control group ($M = .84$), $t(22) = 1.54$, p (less than) $.07$.

McKown and Weinstein (2003) investigated the age at which children can relate to stereotype consciousness and evaluated their response to stereotype threat. In addition, they aimed to understand the level of stereotype consciousness necessary to affect children's cognitive performance. The authors distinguished between personal stereotypes about the self and stereotype consciousness, which is an awareness of the stereotypes held by others. If a child was aware of broadly held stereotypes, which occurs after age 6, then she could infer that she would be stereotyped.

A total of 202 students, between ages 6 and 10, were recruited from a variety of elementary schools in the San Francisco Bay area. Children were told two vignettes about the greens and blues living on an imaginary land. After the first vignette they were asked comprehension questions. Before hearing the second vignette they were told that the greens did not think the blues were smart. Following the second vignette they asked the participants to connect the real world to the imaginary world. This was to measure if the children held broad stereotypes about different ethnic groups similar to those held

between the greens and blues. The second part of the study involved two performance tasks to test for stereotype threat (McKown & Weinstein, 2003).

The McKown and Weinstein (2003) findings conclude that, starting at age 6 and peaking at age 10, children are able to infer an individual's stereotype, from 18% at age 6 to 93% by age 10. By age 10 children are aware of broadly held stereotypes, though some 6-year-olds in the study were also aware of similar stereotypes. Children from stigmatized groups were more likely to be aware of broadly held stereotypes than children from non-stigmatized groups. The researchers also found that stigmatized groups, who were aware of broadly held stereotypes, performed significantly worse on performance tasks. These studies are supported by other studies on the psychological impact of stereotype or ethnic threat on cognitive functioning, on one's sense of competence, or on a sense of belonging (Alfaro et al., 2009; Aronson et al., 2002; Aronson, 2004; Steele, 1997).

Aronson (2004) stated that individuals under stereotype threat will try harder on tests, yet Steele (2010) maintained that they are also more likely to behave like a member of the group being threatened. This was evidenced in the Amady et al. (2001) study whereby girls performed better on a cognitive test when their Asian identity was made salient due to the societal stereotype of Asians being good test takers. Steele (1997) reported that Black students self-regard and their high peer-group self-esteem was related to the, "*disidentification* with domains in which their evaluative prospects were poor (in this case, school and home life) and identification with domains in which their prospects were better (i.e., their peers)," (p. 623). Similar studies found that young Latino children report a positive self-esteem, in part to protect them against feelings associated with a

group that is viewed as less favorable by society (Dunham et al., 2007; Good et al., 2007). To avoid the threat present about race-ethnicity, youth are likely to engage in a self-protective process in order to preserve their self-concept. While at times this can be beneficial, if the threat exists within an educational context, students may lessen from their self-concept the importance of school related identities such as student engagement (Finn & Voelkl, 1993).

It is important for individuals to preserve self-concept. Of significant concern is the disidentification from domains, like school, where students feel stigmatized and stereotyped. The effects of disengagement from school and difficult academic work leads to negative academic outcomes (Aronson, 2004; Bennet, 2006; Oyserman et al., 2007; Smith & Oyserman, 2015; Steele, 1997; 2010). As students from stigmatized groups experience the natural stress and obstacles encountered with school, they become susceptible to the threat in the air about the social group to which they belong. It is not that students doubt their abilities in the particular domain, for example women in STEM subjects or African Americans and Latinos in higher education or advanced placement classes. Instead, it is a preoccupation that others are judging them based on perceived lower standards. There is a fear that they will live up to these standards and this fear actually negatively affects their performance.

Women in math and science and African Americans and Latinos in education who are skilled in their domain, identify with schooling, and whose self-regard is committed to academic achievement develop an academic identification which is assessed by the increase or decrease of grades. Individuals with high academic identification, who are members of social groups to which society has created negative stereotypes, often

internalize the stereotype. When these ideas are internalized they can lead to a low sense of self-efficacy, demotivation, and underperformance in school (Steele, 1997). In other words, those students who feel the threat in the domain they feel the most confident are probably more affected by stereotype threat than unconfident students.

Interventions that revert stereotype threat. Cohen, Garcia, Apfel, and Master (2006) conducted a study to show the impact of affirming racial-ethnic minority youth in a school setting. The researchers assigned African American (119) and European American (124) middle school students into either an affirmation condition or the control group. The European American students showed no treatment effect, regardless of condition group. However, African American students in the affirmed condition showed significant improvements in academic performance compared to the control group. For example, African American students in the affirmation condition earned higher grades in the targeted course and overall grade-point-averages improved. In fact, the achievement gap was reduced by 40%.

Similarly, the results of an intervention by Walton and Cohen (2011) on social belonging, or the sense that one has a positive relation with others, resulted in higher grade point averages, better health, and general happiness. Walton and Cohen's (2011) study involved African American students who often contend with stigmas of not belonging in school. The 49 African American and 43 European American students were in their second semester of their first year of college. The social intervention on school belongingness resulted in a 52% reduction in the achievement gap between African American and European American students.

Oyserman et al. (2007) suggested bridging racial-ethnic in-group identity with the broader society. One schema is known as dual racial-ethnic self-schema whereby youth develop an identity of belonging to both their in-group and the larger society. The other schema is known as minority racial-ethnic self-schema where youth belong to an in-group that must overcome obstacles to gain success in the larger society. Awareness of racism guides youth in knowing how to organize their thinking about race-based experiences, provides guidelines on how to behave in certain domains, and offers strategies for how to respond to challenges in school (Oyserman et al., 2007). The power and social status associated with White groups in the United States can create conflicts for members of marginalized ethnic groups, affecting ethnic minority group membership (Aboud, 1988; Dunham et al., 2007; Moje & Martinez, 2007), and academic performance (Steele, 2010). Student engagement was particularly challenging for youth when racial-ethnic identity was removed from the notion of academic achievement (Oyserman et al., 2007).

Strong in-group identity was a buffer for individuals aware of negative messages, although mostly when the threat of the stereotype was relatively weak (Good et al., 2007). The threat was more damaging to individuals most vulnerable to negative messages in the domain where their identity was being evaluated, for instance, girls measured for their math abilities and African American students for their academic abilities (Aronson, 2004; Steele, 1997, 2010). Part of a high identification with being Black is to reject the messages perpetuated by White society (Good et al., 2007). In this case, a high association with their in-group serves to protect African American students from the prevailing negative messages, but only when a link existed between identity and

achievement. In fact, Oyserman et al. (2007) suggested that a missing component to the research on racial-ethnic identity is the notion of a positive belief that academic achievement is conceptualized within racial-ethnic identity schemas. Racial-ethnic minority youth are said to do better in school when racial-ethnic in-group identity and an awareness of racism are coupled with embedded achievement (Oyserman et al., 2007).

Disidentification prevents Latino students from performing to their academic potential for fear of being rejected by their racial-ethnic group (Sherman et al., 2013). Disidentification can also affect the future career and professional identities Latinos attach to their self-concept (Good et al., 2007; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). When the stereotype is incorporated into a youths' self-definition, in other words internalized as a reflection of the self, the effects of the threat are stronger (Oyserman et al., 2007).

The key to helping Latino youth avoid disidentification with schooling is to create a racial-ethnic identity-achievement link and a racial-ethnic schema that includes both the in-group and the larger society (Good et al., 2007; Oyserman et al., 2007). Youth who are aschematic for ethnicity or schematic for ethnicity only may not develop the necessary skills to ward off negative implications of racism because ethnic saliency and a sense of belonging to a group are absent from their developing sense of self. The final section points to the academic pitfalls or benefits Latino students encounter when racial-ethnic identity, nourished by the family, is either removed from or developed alongside an academic identity.

Racial-ethnic self-schemas and academic outcomes. Patterson and Bigler (2007) stated that for Latino students, “social-group membership is linked to school outcomes,” (p. 67). The numerical minority status of Latino students in a school setting

affects their racial-ethnic identity and school outcomes (Good et al., 2007; Patterson & Bigler, 2007; Umaña -Taylor et al., 2014). When self-worth is associated with academic success it can, in some instances, be costly to the individual (Good et al., 2007). For example, individuals vulnerable to racial-ethnic threat may experience academic setbacks in an attempt to maintain self-esteem and self-worth. As previously stated, high status towards an in-group is as important to attain as it is to preserve.

A study by Phinney, Chavira, and Tate (1992) found that a threatened identity negatively affected how participants rated their ethnic group, but not their ethnic self-concept, which remained stable. Other research supports these findings, indicating that participants of low-status groups maintain a high self-concept despite racial-ethnic threat (Lorenzo-Hernandez & Ouellette, 1998; Oyserman et al., 2007; Phinney et al., 1992; Steele, 1997).

Consequently, one negative affect to youth maintaining a positive self-concept in spite of discrimination and negative outcomes involves disassociation from the domain that contributes to the negative view of the group. With disidentification, individuals disengage in order to preserve self-concept (Bernal et al., 1991; Good et al., 2007; Oyserman et al., 2003; Sherman et al., 2013; Steele, 1997). In some instances, disidentification impacts minority youths' student engagement and general school experiences (Aronson et al., 2002; Steele, 1992).

In addition to membership with an in-group, racial-ethnic minority youth need to develop the cognitive structure for their group which includes the thoughts, feelings, and beliefs about their membership (Oyserman et al., 2003). When racial-ethnic minority youth define themselves with positive traits, skills, and abilities they incorporate these

attributes into their cognitive structure, or self-schemas. The following studies explored the relationship between racial-ethnic self-schemas and academic outcomes.

A study by Altschul et al. (2008) combined racial-ethnic self-schemas with the theory of segmented assimilation in order to see how racial-ethnic self-schemas (RES) influence academic success and predict future assimilation for Latino youth. Working with 185 eighth grade students ($M_{\text{age}} = 13.4$, $n = 95$ female, $n = 89$ male, $n = 1$ no gender selected) from three urban middle schools in a large Midwestern city, the researchers tested the content of RES and academic achievement on immigrant and U.S.-born Latinos living in low-income, urban neighborhoods. These youth attended a school that reported 68% to 84% Latino or African American students, with 79% to 86% receiving free or reduced lunch. About 39.5% of the participants were born outside of the United States, mostly from Mexico (77%). A large percentage of the U.S.-born Latino youth were born to parents born in Mexico, 72% of mothers and 73% of fathers.

Racial-ethnic self-schema theory was combined with immigration status, which the researchers predicted would influence identity and assimilation (Altschul et al., 2008). Segmented assimilation holds that immigrants assimilate into the larger society based on individual and larger contextual factors. RES and the theory of segmented assimilation are both rooted in social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974). Combining the two theories allowed the researchers to explore how individuals define their racial-ethnic identity in terms of the relationship with an in-group and youths' perceptions of their in-group within the larger society. This study of RES and segmented assimilation is similar to the studies conducted by Umaña-Taylor and her colleagues on the ecological micro and macro sources that affect Latino youths' racial-ethnic identity and academic outcomes.

The identities that make up segmented identities are thick, thin, and bicultural (Altschul et al., 2008). Thick identities occur when youth experience an inhospitable context and are more likely to thicken their racial-ethnic identity over time. Thick identities are associated with downward assimilation. A thin identity involves a slow decline from the home identity, or country of origin, and an acculturation into mainstream or American society. Thin identities are likely to occur for immigrants who arrive with human capital and are hypothesized to be positively associated with academic achievement (Altschul et al., 2008). Finally, bicultural identity is used for youth who maintain a strong identity with their in-group while seeing themselves as successful within the larger society. Bicultural identity is associated with better academic success (Altschul et al., 2008).

Thick, thin, and bicultural identities resemble Oyserman's (2008) work on the four racial-ethnic schema types; aschematic for racial-ethnic identity, schematic for racial-ethnic identity only, and dual or minority racial-ethnic self-schema (RES). Students in the Altschul et al. (2008) study were administered an RES survey in September 2003 and April 2004 by a trained facilitator and grades were obtained by the school in January and June 2004. Minority RES was associated with greater academic success than in-group only RES or aschematic RES. With this population, dual RES did not have a significant effect on academic outcomes.

An important result of this study showed that generation in the United States and Spanish-use were not predictors of academic achievement. In fact, the most important aspect of identity which influenced academic outcomes for these Latino youth was their

focus on racial-ethnic in-group status coupled with a desire to achieve in the broader society, or bicultural identity and minority racial-ethnic self-schemas.

In another study, Oyserman et al. (2001) hypothesized that gender would be a factor between the relationship between academic efficacy and the three components of racial-ethnic self-schemas; connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement. The researchers worked with African American eighth graders from a Detroit middle school located in an area with family households at or below the poverty line. In a school setting students answered questions in the beginning and again at the end of the school year. Academic efficacy was measured with the 6-item, 5-point Likert response Eccles (1993) School Efficacy Scale. The Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure was used to measure racial-ethnic identity. Students self-reported their grades with a scale where 0 = mostly Fs, 1 = mostly Ds and Fs, and so on to 8 = mostly As.

Oyserman et al. (2001) echo Phinney (1996a) when they stated that adolescents need to know more than just their race in order to successfully navigate life. Youth are more likely to view race and ethnicity as markers of belonging to communities, and this process works differently for boys and girls. Oyserman et al. (2001) found that academic efficacy was bolstered for African American male and female eighth graders when embedded achievement was incorporated into their racial self-concept. On the contrary, this same study revealed that boys and girls differed in their feelings about academic efficacy when considering an awareness of racism. Boys' feelings were bolstered while the influence on girls' academic efficacy was negative, partly due to the emphasis girls place on relationships and the opinion of others which occurs when youth are aware of other's racist perspectives (Oyserman et al., 2001).

As Latino youth transition from childhood to adolescence they are subjected to implicit and explicit negative and positive messages about their racial-ethnic identity. Their collective self-esteem is gained from membership in their social groups (Ethier & Deaux, 1990). It is likely, then, that the identity development and in-group preferences of Latino children attending predominantly White schools is disrupted and/or unsupported because of low enrollment of Latino students (Dunham et al., 2007; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). In addition, independent schools that inadvertently trigger racial-ethnic threat may cause Latino students to disengage from academics (Aronson et al., 2002; Aronson, 2004; Desert et al., 2009; Steele, 1997; Toomey & Umaña-Taylor, 2012; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009). The literature reveals that the development of a healthy self-concept throughout childhood and into adolescence leads to social psychological outcomes such as positive racial-ethnic identity and a strong academic identity (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Larroy, 2005; Oyserman et al., 2001; Oyserman et al., 2006; Oyserman et al., 2007; Toomey & Umaña-Taylor, 2012; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Summary

Chapter 2 began with a review of the cognitive process of racial-ethnic identity development for young children. Particular focus was placed on the cognitive development that takes place between childhood and early adolescence. Youths' racial-ethnic development has an impact on preferences Latino children place on their in- or out-group membership. These preferences can be based on skin color or children's awareness of bias from the larger society. Familial ethnic socialization and the family's role in contributing to ethnic identity and academic outcomes followed the discussion on

racial-ethnic identity. Umaña-Taylor (2009) paved the way with research on the critical role of familial and non-familial ecological factors on boosting racial-ethnic identity achievement and self-efficacy.

The chapter then reviewed literature that shows that children as young as 5-years-old are susceptible to implicit and explicit stereotypes about social groups such as gender, race, ethnicity, or socio-economic class. The susceptibility to identity threat in school settings was discussed through concepts like aversive racism and racial-ethnic threat. Racial-ethnic threat in school settings impacts Latino students when they are compared to a more valued group in society, such as White people (Good et al., 2007). Within a school context, Latino identity development and self-esteem are aided when racial-ethnic threat is lessened (Aronson et al., 2002; Sherman et al., 2013; Steele, 1997, 2010), and when youth are nourished by the family socialization process. The chapter ended with claims that a healthy racial-ethnic self-schema, inclusive of the individual's racial-ethnic group and the larger society, would boost Latino racial-ethnic identity and increase academic efficacy, engagement, and grade-point-average (Oyserman et al., 2001, 2003, 2007; Steele, 1997, 2010).

The literature reviewed in this chapter supports the previously stated problem whereby Latinos students, who are members of marginalized and stigmatized social groups, attempt to understand and accept their group's lower status in the larger society. These students also encounter barriers to school success that are related to race-ethnicity, social class, discrimination, and stereotype threat. Research demonstrated that micro factors like home and school play a role in supporting the links between a healthy racial-ethnic identity and academic identity for Latino youth.

The literature points to two key factors that help Latino youth avoid disidentification with school and schooling. One factor is the racial-ethnic identity-achievement link that is supported by the development of a healthy racial-ethnic self-schema. Racial-ethnic self-schema that involves an awareness of racial-ethnic identity coupled with an awareness of discrimination leads to better academic outcomes (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Oyserman et al., 2003; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009). The other factor is the role the Latino family plays in contributing to their children's racial-ethnic socialization and school engagement.

Chapter 3 will discuss the methodology for this study. One measure is Oyserman's (2007) Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure (RESM). This measure assesses how youth describe their racial-ethnic identity using connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement. A second component of the RESM is to gauge if youth are aschematic for RES, schematic for RES only, dual RES, or minority RES. A second measure is a 12-item Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure created by Umaña-Taylor (2004) for assessing youths' perceptions of their family's role in socializing them in regards to their culture and ethnicity. A final measure is the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom (SARAC) adapted by Skinner et al. (2009). The SARAC is a Likert-scale survey completed by the students' teacher to gauge the level of emotional and behavioral engagement in classroom life.

Chapter 3: Research Design Methodology

Introduction

Research indicated that racial socialization and racial-ethnic identity development are positively associated with academic outcomes, particularly for racial-ethnic minority youth (Bennett, 2006; Skinner et al., 2009). Prior research demonstrated (a) statistically significant findings between racial-ethnic self-schemas type and grade-point-average, (b) high levels of positive racial-ethnic identification and high levels of school engagement, and (c) the critical role the Latino family plays in boosting Latino youths' self-esteem, cultural awareness, and academic motivation (Fuligni et al., 2007; Oyserman et al., 2003; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004).

The research study was a mixed-methods approach, combining open-ended qualitative questions with close-ended quantitative questions. Open-ended qualitative questions and closed-ended Likert-scale questions were used for the Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure (Oyserman, 2008), and closed-ended quantitative questions were used for both the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009), and the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom Measure (Skinner et al., 2009). The three measures for this study were chosen because they demonstrated validity and reliability with racial-ethnic minority students, Latino students, and middle and high school students (Altschul, Oyserman, & Bybee, 2006; Oyserman, 2008; Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro et al., 2009; Skinner et al., 2009).

This correlational design determined if there was a statistically significant positive correlation between two predictor variables, racial-ethnic self-schemas and familial ethnic socialization and the dependent variable, Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom (SARAC). The Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure informed how participants described their racial-ethnic identity. The Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure informed how Latino youth in independent schools recognized their family's role in socializing them as Latinos. The SARAC informed participants' academic engagement on a behavioral and emotional level. This study included Latino seventh, eighth, and ninth graders in select New York City independent schools.

The goals of this study were to reveal ways in which Latino students in select New York City independent schools described their racial-ethnic identity, were racially-ethnically socialized by family members, and were academically engaged. Prior research and significant findings on racial-ethnic self-schemas, familial ethnic socialization, and stereotype threat influenced the potential outcome of the current study. Two directional hypotheses were predicted and three research questions were asked. Data were collected on racial-ethnic identity and teachers' perspectives of students' academic engagement to test H₁. Data were also collected on family socialization and correlated with the same academic engagement data to test H₂.

H₁: There is a statistically significant positive correlation for Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school between their racial-ethnic self-schema levels and their Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom levels.

1. Using the Racial-Ethnic Self-schema Measure, to what degree do Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school describe their racial-ethnic identity as it relates to connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement?
2. Using the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom Measure, what is the level of student engagement as described by a teacher of a Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth grader attending a New York City independent school?

H₂: There is a statistically significant positive correlation for Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school between their familial ethnic socialization levels and their Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom levels.

1. Using the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure, to what degree do Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school recognize that their families socialize them to be Latino?
2. Using the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom Measure, what is the level of student engagement as described by a teacher of a Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth grader attending a New York City independent school?

Research Context

The New York State Association of Independent Schools (NYSAIS) was formed in 1947 as a result of 11 schools successfully contesting the constitutionality of a law requiring all elementary schools to be registered. Throughout the 60s, NYSAIS's growth

led to the need for a charter and an executive office. Between 1967 and 1977, NYSAIS was granted a charter by the New York State Board of Regents, became a 501(c) (3) not-for-profit organization, grew to over 100 schools, and included a process for evaluating elementary schools. In 1977 a new executive director was retained, evaluation and accreditation of secondary schools was added, the Athletic Association was formed, and information and publication about NYSAIS expanded. An associate director of NYSAIS was appointed in 1982 to organize professional development programs to serve school heads, trustees, business officers, school administrators, and teachers. A second associate director was hired in 1986 whose sole responsibility was to administer the evaluation and accreditation process for member schools (NYSAIS, 2013).

The New York State Association of Independent Schools (NYSAIS) continues to advocate for independent education. Full membership is granted to member schools that pay annual dues and an annual accreditation fee, and are accredited by NYSAIS (see Appendix A). Provisional member schools are established schools seeking to pursue NYSAIS accreditation and regular membership. Associate members are available to other private and quasi-private educational institutions (NYSAIS, 2013).

Currently, there are 194 associations of independent nursery, elementary, and secondary schools. These boarding, day, religious, single-sexed, co-ed, and special needs schools enroll about 79,000 students in New York City, Long Island, Lower Hudson Valley, the Western Lakes, Westchester, Capital District, Lake Placid, Syracuse, Cooperstown, and Istanbul Turkey. Of the schools in New York City, the research study focused on full member schools in Manhattan (74), Brooklyn (9), the Bronx (5), Queens (3), and Staten Island (1).

One of the independent schools has two campuses. One campus is located in the Bronx and the other in Manhattan. While they are listed separately in the regional section of the NYS AIS website, they are considered one school. Schools that ended before the target population were removed from the list such as preschools or kindergarten to fifth grade schools. To address researcher bias, the Manhattan school where the researcher works, and where her children attend, was removed from the list of possible schools. This brought the total number of schools for the research study to 75, or 39% of all New York State independent schools.

Of the 75 schools considered for this study, 55% enroll under 500 students, 28% enroll between 500 and 1,000 students, and 17% enroll over 1,000 students. Most schools are located in Manhattan (76%), though the schools with the largest campuses and acres of land are located in the Bronx and a few in Brooklyn. Only one of the five schools in the Bronx is located outside of the Riverdale community and 56% of the Brooklyn schools are in the vicinity of the Downtown Brooklyn and Fort Greene areas. A large number of the Manhattan schools (56%) are in the Upper West or Upper East side of the island, between West 78th street and East 129th street, and 18% are in the east side of Manhattan between 70th and 79th streets.

The schools also serve a wide span of special interests such as special education (8%), all girls (11%), all boys (15%), Jewish (7%), Catholic (17%), Episcopal (3%), or Quaker Friends (4%). One of the 75 schools is a boarding school, one uses French as the primary language of instruction, one uses Italian as the primary language of instruction, one is a Montessori school, and one was the first Waldorf School in North America. All of the schools have founding principles that inform their mission statement and many

have a diversity mission or diversity statement highlighting their school's thoughts on inclusion, diversity, multiculturalism, social justice, and equity.

Research Participants

An estimated 4.9 million Latinos of Puerto Rican origin and 1.5 million of Dominican origin reside in the United States and the District of Columbia (Brown & Patten, 2013, 2013). Between 1993 and 2011, the number of Latino pre-Kindergarten through 12th-grade public school students doubled such that nearly one-quarter (23.9%) of the students enrolled in public schools in the United States were Latino (Fry & López, 2012). However, only 4.3% of Latino students were enrolled in a United States independent school and 5.1% are enrolled in a New York State independent school (NAIS, 2013).

The National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) and NYSAIS track the number of Latino students enrolled in their schools; however, these organizations do not collect data on the specific countries of origin. Bergad (2011) reported that 56.1% of Latinos in New York State were Puerto Rican (30.8%), Dominican (25.3%), Mexican (14.3%), Ecuadorian (8.8%), and Colombian (4.2%). It is likely that these are the same Latino ethnic groups attending a New York City independent school. Unavailable data were the number of Latino children adopted by American citizens who enrolled their adopted child in an independent school. Residents other than Puerto Ricans and Dominicans were identified during this study.

In a 2013 online report, which was based on 50% of the 194 NYSAIS schools, the National Association of Independent Schools determined there were 12,849 students of color or 29.2% of the total population of NYSAIS students. Of these students, 5.1% were

Latinos, estimating that about 655 Latino students attended a New York State independent school. The 2013 report did not aggregate by cities, leaving it unclear exactly how many Latino students attended a New York City independent school. Therefore, an important step in the process towards gathering data was connecting with a school contact person who helped identify potential Latino students.

There is no definitive answer as to how large a sample size should be (Fowler, 2014). Previous researchers exploring racial-ethnic identity and family socialization worked with sample sizes between 94 and 178. The goal of the sample size for this study was to allow the researcher to apply an analysis that includes both descriptive and inferential statistics. This study ideally included 20 to 25% of the 655 available students, or between 131 and 164 students in seventh, eighth, or ninth grade that identified as Latino of any racial-ethnic group from Latin America, the Caribbean, or South America. Immigration and generation status are important contributors to youth feeling stronger or weaker affiliations with their culture (Gonzalez, Umaña-Taylor, & Bamaca, 2006). Participant criteria, then, included students that were first or older generation Latino; born in the United States; born in Latin America, the Caribbean, or South America; with one or more parents who were first generation or older Latin American, Caribbean, or South American; or were transracially adopted from Latin American, the Caribbean, or South America.

The 75 schools operate differently from one another in regards to the role a classroom teacher plays in a seventh, eighth, or ninth grade student's school life. Teachers reported on the Latino students' academic engagement. If a student had multiple teachers, the school contact person indicated a teacher that knew the Latino

participant best. This teacher was given a teacher consent letter and asked to complete the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom (SARAC) because they were the most informed about the student's overall school life. The contact person received and distributed the teacher consent letters and SARAC for each of the Latino students with a signed parent consent form.

In an attempt to enlist cooperation and pique interest (Fowler, 2014), heads of schools, admissions directors, diversity directors, deans of students, and middle and high school principals received an introductory letter via email (see Appendix B). The researcher initiated contact with the schools.

A parent letter of consent, written in English and Spanish, was handed to students identified by the school contact person. The students were asked to deliver the consent form to their parent(s) (see Appendix C). A signed and returned consent form indicated that the parents were opting in and giving their child permission to participate. Explanations to students of the research study took place in person prior to the students completing the two surveys. Fowler (2014) recommended that respondents receive a written document that addresses what they were volunteering for, ensuring their information would be held confidentially, and informing them of their right to opt out of this study at any point in the process (see Appendix D). Students gave verbal assent to participate.

The school contact person received a packet that included a teacher introductory letter, a teacher consent form, and the SARAC surveys. The letter to teachers asked for written consent, informed them about the importance of confidentiality on behalf of the student, and indicated the time commitment and procedures for completing the survey

(see Appendix E). Teachers had the option to mail the consent form and SARAC survey to the researcher's home or place them in a sealed envelope and hand them to the contact person at their school. Consent forms and surveys given to the contact person were collected when the researcher visited the school campus to conduct the student surveys. All necessary data was taken home with the researcher in a sealed envelope, eliminating the need for a second visit to the school. A self-addressed envelope was left with the school contact person so that late teacher materials could be mailed to the researcher's home.

Data Collection Instruments

There were several stages of data collection. A preapproval process involved cooperation from the school administrator to allow this study to take place in their school (see Appendix B). Once potential students were identified they received a parent letter and consent form (see Appendix C) via the contact person.

Students with completed forms were invited to participate in a one-hour group session with the researcher at their school site. During the hour session, students received a letter (see Appendix D) which briefly described the purpose of this study, garnering their cooperation, informing them of the confidentiality of their answers, and their right to opt out of participating. Students were given 15 minutes to complete a short demographic survey about age, grade, years in current school, place of birth, language(s) spoken at home, and parent place of birth and immigration status (see Appendix F). The two student measures were the Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure (see Appendix G), designed and applied in various studies by Oyserman, and the Familial Ethnic

Socialization Measure (see Appendix H) revised and implemented by Umaña-Taylor (2001).

There were three sections to Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure (RESM). Similar to the demographic survey, RESM asked students to write their first name and last initial on the top of each section. All instructions were written on the surveys; however, the following statement was read aloud by the researcher prior to completing part one, the open-ended items: *“People use different words to describe themselves, which of the following best describes you and people who look like you”?* Students were given approximately 15 minutes to complete this section. They were instructed to turn their paper over when they were done. Participants followed along on their survey while the following statement was read aloud prior to participants completing part two, the closed-ended items: *“People have different opinions about what it means to be Latino, I will read some statements to you. For each one, say how close it is to your opinion using the following scale, where 1= strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neither agree nor disagree; 4= agree; 5=strongly agree.”* Participants were given 15 minutes to complete this section and turn their survey over. The following statement was read aloud by the researcher prior to participants completing the final section, which were also closed-ended items: *“These are statements people sometimes make about being a member of their own racial or ethnic group. Answer for your own racial or ethnic group. There is no right or wrong answer; your opinion counts. For each statement, circle the number closest to your opinion where 1= strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neither agree nor disagree; 4= agree; 5=strongly agree.”* Participants were given 15 minutes to complete this final section.

Participants followed along on their survey while the following statement was read aloud by the researcher prior to participants completing the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (FESM), “*I would like to know about your experiences with your family in the past year. I will read aloud each item, and as you prepare to answer, think about your experiences with your family in the past year.*” The researcher provided 15 minutes to complete this final survey. After all measures were completed, students were released to their advisor, teacher, or school contact person.

The third and final measure, (see Appendix I), was given to the participants’ teacher. This measure has four scales that gauge a student’s behavioral and emotional engagement in school and schooling. Student engagement is a multifaceted construct that includes strategies students use to pursue educational outcomes, success, and future possible selves. The SARAC measure was selected because of its alignment with the ways New York City independent schools gauge academic engagement. Originally created by Wellborn (1991), and later adapted by Skinner et al. (2009) to include a section on re-engagement, SARAC is a measure reported by students and teachers. Only the teacher-reported measure was used for this study. The SARAC teacher-report had an average measure of reliability of .86 and the four scales have a comparative fit index of 1.0. The teacher ratings had concurrent validity with the student self-report. Skinner et al. (2009) indicated that SARAC is both a valid and reliable measure.

Teachers were identified by the school contact person. They received a letter (see Appendix E) from the researcher via the contact person. This letter outlined the purpose of this study, made a request for their voluntary cooperation, and assured them that their information would be kept confidential. The second page of the letter requested their

signed consent to participate. Once the students were identified, the teachers received an envelope with a self-addressed and stamped envelope and a cover letter with instructions; “*The attached Student’s Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom (SARAC) is a 4-item Likert-scale divided into six sections. Please answer each question for each section for the student whose name is at the top of the page where 1=Not at all true; 2=Not very true; 3=Sort of true; 4=Very true.*” The teachers received a copy of the SARAC measure with the participating student’s name at the top. After completing the measure, they placed the survey(s) in the self-addressed envelope, sealed it, and returned it to the researcher or handed it to the school contact person who mailed it to the researcher’s home.

It is important to note that in order to include the student participant in this study, the researcher required the four sets of data previously outlined. These data sets included the student demographic survey, RESM, FESM, and the teacher rated SARAC.

Procedures for Data Collection

Several steps were taken to connect with New York City independent school leaders and to secure a contact person from each school. Once a contact person was identified, all communications about this study were made with this person. Emails were saved in the researcher’s inbox under the title *Personal: SJFC: Research School Status*. A description of the measures, the sampling frame, and the procedures used for collecting data are described in this section.

RESM part 1. The first section of the Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure (RESM) consisted of one closed-ended question and six open-ended questions. The purpose of this survey was to gather language that students would use to describe

feelings, meaning, and behaviors attributed to being Latino. Students used words, phrases, or full sentences to describe the dimensions of their self-schema. Responses were coded using a priori codes set by Oyserman (2003). Additional themes emerged from the students attending New York City independent schools.

RESM part 2. The second part of the Racial-Ethnic Self-schema Measure (Oyserman, 2003) consisted of 12 questions. It included three subscales: the connectedness subscale measured how connected students were to their racial-ethnic group (e.g., *I feel that I am part of the Latino community*), the awareness of racism subscale measured how aware they were that racism existed (e.g., *Some people will treat me differently because I am Latino*), and the embedded achievement subscale measured the extent to which they saw achievement as part of their racial-ethnic group (e.g., *If I work hard and get good grades, other Latinos will respect me*). All questions were coded on a 5-point scale where 1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neither Agree Nor Disagree*, 4 = *Agree*, and 5 = *Strongly Agree*. Prior research to establish the psychometrics of this scale found it was a reliable measure with Cronbach's alpha ranging between 0.58 to 0.79 (Oyserman et al., 2007).

RESM part 3. The third, and final, part of the Racial-Ethnic Self-schema Measure (Oyserman, 2003) consisted of 16 questions. It included four racial-ethnic self-schema (RES) types: the aschematic RES type measured if students did not incorporate their in-group or the larger society as meaningful to their sense of self (e.g., *I don't feel part of any ethnic group*), the schematic in-group RES only type measured if students focused on their in-group without an awareness of their membership in the broader society (e.g., *It is hard to be American and true to my home culture*), the bridging dual

RES type measured if students saw themselves as both an in-group member and a member of the larger society (e.g., *I am proud to be a member of my group and to be part of this great country*), and the bridging minority RES type measured if students focused on their membership with an in-group and that they needed to overcome obstacles related to discrimination (e.g., *It is important for me to show others that when we set our mind to it, people in my group can do as well as anyone else*). All questions were coded on a 5-point scale where 1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neither Agree Nor Disagree*, 4 = *Agree*, and 5 = *Strongly Agree*.

FESM. The survey on family socialization was administered after RESM in order to allow students time to consider their racial-ethnic self-schema prior to considering how their family influenced this process. The Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (FESM) consisted of 12 items (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). It included two types: covert family socialization (e.g., *Our home is decorated with things that reflect my ethnic/cultural background*) and overt family socialization (e.g., *My family teaches me about the values and beliefs of our ethnic/cultural background*). Higher scores indicated higher levels of family ethnic socialization.

An important component to the instructions for FESM is that students considered their experiences with their family in the past year. Race-ethnicity is a fluid process (Phinney, 1996a), and this statement captured participants' most recent experiences and not what may have occurred at an earlier stage of their racial-ethnic identity. All questions were coded on a 5-point scale where 1 = *Not at All*, 3 = *Some of the Time*, and 5 = *Very Much*. Prior research demonstrated reliability with an alpha coefficient of .95,

meaning that participants' answers were highly consistent with each other (Gonzales-Backen & Umaña-Taylor, 2010).

SARAC. The Student Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom consisted of 32 items (Skinner et al., 2009). It included six primary open-ended questions (e.g., *When we start something new in class, this student*) followed by subcategories (e.g., *participates in discussions, seems restless, or is enthusiastic*). The survey questions determined whether students were motivated on four indicators: engagement, disaffection, emotional, and behavioral. Engagement relates to active and focused attention with school and school related processes that lead to academic success while disaffection is seen in individuals who are rebellious, alienated, or burned out with the learning taking place in the classroom (Furrer & Skinner, 2003). All questions were coded on a 4-point scale where *1 = Not At All True*, *2 = Not very True*, *3 = Sort of True*, and *4 = Very True*. The SARAC was determined to be a valid and reliable measure (Skinner et al., 2009).

Sample. A sampling frame of 74 New York City independent schools with full membership with the New York State Association of Independent Schools (NYSAIS) received an email invitation to participate in this study (see Appendix B). Email addresses were retrieved from the NYSAIS website and were sent on January 17 to three schools, on January 20 to 22 schools, and on January 21 to 49 schools. Prior to the start of the NYSAIS job fair on February 21, an in-person follow-up connection was made with 15 schools the researcher had previously emailed. At the job fair, school personnel were handed a printed copy of the same invitation to participate and more details of the study were discussed, such as time commitment and participant criteria. Four schools

declined to participate by responding to the email invitation and 50 schools did not respond to the initial email or in-person invitation. Initially, 21 schools expressed an interest via email responses or an in-person agreement to participate. On April 6, after IRB approval was received, an email was sent to confirm their status. Four schools declined to participate, yielding a final school sample of $n = 17$ for a 23% response rate at the school level.

A school contact person in each of the 17 schools initially identified 137 students that met the research criteria. Schools used their own methods to identify students that were either in seventh, eighth, or ninth grade and self-identified as Latino from any racial or ethnic group from Latin America, the Caribbean, or South America. Packets of information were sent via U.S. express mail to the school contact person. One school contact person had not received confirmation from her head of school and was hesitant to continue without this person's approval. One school had one student and they declined to send the materials to the family because they felt this study would create a feeling of isolation from her peers. Three schools acknowledged receipt of the packet of information, but did not respond to email updates. In the end, these five schools communicated via email with the researcher that they would not participate. A final school contact person shared that he underestimated the events he would be responsible for and could not follow through with this study. This yielded a final school sample of $n = 14$ for a 19% response rate at the school level. Three of the five New York City boroughs were visited. Nine schools were coed, six were K-8 schools, and eight schools were a combination of Pre-K to 12th grade or high school only.

To participate in this study, each student required a signed teacher consent form (see Appendix E) and a completed student engagement survey (see Appendix I). The contact person identified the teacher who knew the student best. The researcher did not have any contact with this teacher, unless the rater was the contact person. This was true for two schools where the contact person was a teacher of one or more of the student participants. All student participants had an accompanied student engagement survey for a 100% response rate at the teacher level.

The 14 schools identified 103 potential student participants. The contact person distributed the introductory letter and consent form to students, who were instructed to hand the envelope to their parent(s) (see Appendix C). The envelopes contained a stamped envelope with the researcher's home as the return address. In order to identify to which school the student belonged, periodic emails were sent to the researcher, with a blind carbon copy to all school contact people, listing the student's first name and last initial and the date of receipt of the parent consent form. This assured that contact people did not see the names of the other schools on the email address list. The contact person responded to the email with the students from their school. Using this method, the researcher was able to communicate directly with the school contact person when all forms were received. Email was used to schedule a school visit to collect student data. A total of 52 Latino students completed the surveys with the researcher, for a 50% response rate at the student level.

The 52 participants were students between the ages of 12 and 15 years ($M = 13.8$ years, $SD = .85$ years), with 31% in seventh grade, 25% in eighth grade, and 44% in ninth grade. The gender breakdown was not evenly distributed (males = 33 and females = 19).

A little more than half the participants attended their current independent school for 1-2 years (53.8%), followed by 21.2% who had attended their current school for more than nine years. The remaining students attended their current school between 3-5 years (11.5%) and 6-8 years (13.5%). Eight students transferred from one independent school to another which increased the total number of students who have been in a New York City independent school for 3-5 years (15.4%); 6-8 years (15.4%); and for more than nine years to 25%.

No students identified as Asian or Native Hawaiian. One student identified as American Indian and Latino and one student identified as American Indian, Black, and Latino. The remaining students identified as Latino only (67%); Black and Latino (10%); or White and Latino (19%). All students (100%) spoke English in everyday conversations, 63% spoke Spanish in everyday conversations, and two students (4%) spoke French/Creole. In their homes, 94% of the adults raising the students spoke English, 92% spoke Spanish in everyday conversations, and only 8% spoke French/Creole at home. A majority of the students were born in the United States (90%), although few students had both parents born in the USA (17.3%). The majority of students had at least one parent who was born outside of the USA with 30.8% having one parent born outside the USA and 51.9% having both parents born outside of the USA. Almost a third of the students did not respond to the question about adoption. Of the 37 students that did respond, no student was adopted. Table 3.1 displays the racial-ethnic identity of the adults raising the students. Students were given three lines to list the racial-ethnic identity of any adult over age 21 that had significant responsibilities for raising the participant. The vast majority (94.2%) of the students were being raised in a

home with at least two adults and 25% of the students listed a third adult. Most of the participants were being raised by an adult that identifies as Latino.

Table 3.1

Adult Racial-Ethnic Identity

Racial-Ethnic Identity	Adult 1	Adult 2	Adult 3
Latino or Hispanic	76.9%	78.8%	23.1%
Black or African American	7.7%	1.9%	1.9%
White	5.8%	7.7%	---
Multiracial	7.7%	3.8%	---
Other	1.9%	1.9%	---
Did Not Respond	---	5.8%	75.0%

Procedure. When all of the parent consent forms were received, a date was set to visit the school. The researcher provided available dates and times to meet with all of the students together. A private room that would seat all students comfortably was requested. The contact person was invited to stay in the room with clear instructions that they would remain silent. The researcher arrived 15 minutes prior to the arranged time to set up the room. Upon arrival, the school contact person handed any teacher consent forms he or she had and all the SARAC surveys to the researcher. These were checked against the teacher consent forms mailed to the researcher's home.

A participant introductory letter (see Appendix D) and pen were placed on the table by each chair. As students entered the room, they were greeted with a smile and asked to read the letter while they waited for all students to take their place. The school contact person introduced the researcher to the assembled group and left the room, except

for one school contact person who stayed silently in the room during the duration of this study. The participant introductory letter was read aloud by the researcher by way of introduction and to obtain assent. All (100%) of the 52 students stayed in the room to participate.

Students were asked to place the date and their first name and the first initial of their last name on the cover page and to turn it over. They were instructed to place their name at the top of all the surveys they were to receive from the researcher and to turn them over when they were completed. The demographic survey was passed out to each student and the instructions read by the researcher. Each question was read aloud by the researcher, who scanned the room to assure most students completed the question before moving onto the next question. After the last question was read, students were encouraged to review the survey to assure that all questions were answered. The demographic survey took between four and five minutes to complete. This survey was then turned over.

The next survey was passed out, reminding students to place their first name and first initial of their last name at the top of the page. The same procedure was used whereby the researcher read aloud each question, allowing time for students to complete their answer. The Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure (RESM) part one took between eight and ten minutes to complete, depending on the size of the group. This survey was then turned over.

The RESM part two was distributed. Students were reminded to place their name at the top and instructions were read aloud by the researcher. Most students waited for the researcher to read each item before circling their answer. It was noted that some

students circled their response prior to the question being read. When this was observed, the researcher stopped and said, *“It is okay to read ahead although I want to encourage you to wait until I read the item, in case you have questions.”* Most students waited, though it was noted that seven students overall continued to answer the items for this survey and the remaining surveys without waiting for the researcher. After the last question was read, students were encouraged to review that each line had a response and that it reflected how the student felt at the present time. RESM part two took between four and six minutes to complete. This survey was then turned over.

The RESM part three was distributed, instructions read, and each item read before participants circled their answer. After the last question was read, students were encouraged to review that each line had a response and that it reflected how the student felt at the present time. The RESM part three took between five and seven minutes to complete. After this survey was turned over the researcher told the students that the next survey being passed out was the last one.

The Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (FESM) was distributed and the same procedures used for the RESM were applied. Students needed between four and six minutes to complete the FESM. Students were encouraged to review that each line had a response and that it reflected how the student felt in the past year with their family.

When the last survey was completed, students were asked to check that the top of each of their sheets had their first name and the first initial of their last name, and that the first page contained the date. The researcher thanked the students and explained how confidentiality would be assured. The researcher said, *“When I get home, I will remove your parent’s consent form from your packet and store them in a locked safe. Then, I will*

give all of your survey sheets the same code number and cut your name from the top of all the pages and shred the tops. When I am ready to look at your answers, I will not know to which school the student belongs or have any name associated with the survey responses.” Each student’s name was called using the name on the parent consent form. The students handed their packet of surveys to the researcher before leaving the room. The researcher attached the packet to the student’s consent form. If the room was empty of students, the researcher paper clipped the corresponding Student Achievement- Relevant Actions in the Classroom and teacher consent form to the student’s packet. If the room was not empty of students, the researcher assembled the packets at home.

In the researcher’s home, student surveys were checked to assure that the name at the top of each page matched. Parent and teacher consent forms were separated from the packet and stored in a locked safe in the researcher’s home. Printed on address labels were school and student codes. Schools in Manhattan were coded with an M, Brooklyn started with a Bk, Bronx with a Bx, and Queens with a Q. The schools were then given a number in the alphabetical order they appeared. Each student in a particular school was then given a letter code. For example, the first student packet from a fifth Manhattan school visited would have the code M5 A, the second student from the same school was coded with M5 B, and so forth. A spreadsheet was used to match school code with the school’s full name and the contact person at each school. This spreadsheet was stored in a locked safe with the parent and teacher consent forms.

Each packet was double checked to assure that the name and code matched on each survey. Then, the names were cut off with scissors, leaving only the identifying code. The tops were shredded and the 52 coded student surveys were stored in a separate

locked safe until SPSS 21 was set up. When student data were inputted into SPSS, they were identified with a number ranging from 1 to 52. This number was placed on the cover packet to link the data with the packet, in the event that an error was made with data input.

Procedures for Data Analysis

The researcher utilized a quantitative software program to compile and code the closed-ended surveys. A statistician assisted the researcher to utilize SPSS 21, input data, and run descriptive and inferential statistics in order to analyze the data from RESM, FESM, and SARAC. Working alongside a skilled statistician helped to eliminate errors with data entry. To protect respondents' identification, the researcher created a code or identification number for each survey and then removed any names from the survey responses prior to sharing data with the statistician (Fowler, 2014). All materials were stored in a locked safe located at the researcher's home and will be destroyed 3 years after the collection date.

The following steps were followed before the data was analyzed and discussed. The content for the RESM open-ended questions was coded following subscales from Oyserman et al. (2003). The open- and closed-ended sections of RESM indicated if the students described their racial-ethnic identity with connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement, as well as if the students were one of the four RES types, aschematic RES, schematic in-group RES only, minority RES, or dual RES. Based on Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004), the subscales for FESM were coded to indicate overt and covert familial ethnic socialization whereby higher scores indicated higher levels of

family ethnic socialization. The SARAC scores indicated the two levels of student engagement, behavioral and emotional.

The subscale scores to RESM, FESM, and SARAC were used in a multiple linear regression analysis. The RESM and FESM subscale scores are the predictor variables. They were correlated with the SARAC subscale scores to indicate which were significantly correlated. The regression model was used with the predictor variables that were significantly correlated to test if they significantly predict the outcome, or student engagement.

Summary

Chapter 3 reviewed the two hypotheses and three research questions that aimed to reveal ways in which Latino students in select New York City independent schools described their racial-ethnic identity, were socialized by family members, and were academically engaged. To assure participant confidentiality, a code or identification number was created for each survey prior to sharing data with a statistician. All data was locked in a secure box in the researcher's home throughout data collection and analysis and will be destroyed 3 years after data was collected.

Upon successful completion of the proposal defense and Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, the researcher re-connected with the contact people in the schools that agreed to participate. The number of potential Latino students in each school was needed in order to send the school contact person the correct number of parent letters and consent forms. Upon receipt of the parent consent forms, Latino students were invited to participate in a one-hour session at their school location, either before, during, or after

school. The time and date were coordinated based on the students' schedule and the researcher and contact person's availability.

The contact person identified the teacher(s) that knew the Latino students best and informed the researcher of the number of teachers who would participate. A packet of information was mailed to the contact person via FedEx to insure speedy and precise delivery of the materials. The packet included a self-addressed large envelope, an introduction letter and a consent form for the teacher(s), and the student engagement measure for each participating student with instructions on how to complete the measure. As previously stated, teachers returned completed SARACs to the researcher during her visit with the students, mailed the surveys in the enclosed envelope, or handed the materials in a sealed envelope to the school contact person.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

In this chapter, the findings of this study are reported. This study included 52 Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school. This study asked if there was a statistically significant positive correlation between the two predictor variables, racial-ethnic self-schemas and familial ethnic socialization and the dependent variable, Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom. The chapter concludes with a summary of the research findings.

Hypotheses and research questions. Two hypotheses were posed and three research questions were asked. Data were collected on racial-ethnic identity and teachers' perspectives of students' academic engagement to test H₁. Data were also collected on family socialization and correlated with the same academic engagement data to test H₂.

H₁: There is a statistically significant positive correlation for Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school between their racial-ethnic self-schema levels and their Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom levels.

1. Using the Racial-Ethnic Self-Schema Measure, to what degree do Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school describe their racial-ethnic identity as it relates to connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement?

2. Using the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom

Measure, what is the level of student engagement as described by a teacher of a Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth grader attending a New York City independent school?

H₂: There is a statistically significant positive correlation for Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school between their familial ethnic socialization levels and their Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom levels.

1. Using the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure, to what degree do Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school recognize that their families socialize them to be Latino?

2. Using the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom Measure, what is the level of student engagement as described by a teacher of a Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth grader attending a New York City independent school?

Data Analysis and Findings

Based on prior literature and studies, a potential outcome was predicted with two directional hypotheses. There were three research questions that expanded on previous research studies (Oyserman, 2003; Skinner et al., 2009; Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro et al., 2009). Tables and narratives provide an overview of the analysis and findings. All analyses for closed-ended measures were performed using SPSS 21. A Pearson correlation was calculated to test the relationship between racial-ethnic identity, family socialization, and teachers' perceptions of students' academic engagement. All

dependent variables were screened for normality and were found to be within acceptable limits of skew (skew statistics less than 2 or -2) and kurtosis (kurtosis statistics less than 3 or -3).

Hypothesis 1. It was hypothesized that there would be a statistically significant positive correlation for Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school between their racial-ethnic self-schema levels with their Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom levels. Two research questions were asked to obtain the data needed for this first hypothesis. The first question pertained to participants' racial-ethnic identity and the second to their teachers' perceptions of their academic engagement.

Research question 1. Using the Racial-Ethnic Self-schema Measure, to what degree do Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school describe their racial-ethnic identity with connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement? Subscales of racial-ethnic self-schema (RES) identified if students fell into one of the four RES types: aschematic RES, individuals do not see racial-ethnic membership as a defining factor; schematic in-group RES only, the individual sees themselves as a member of their racial-ethnic group with no connections to the larger society; schematic minority RES, individuals see themselves as members of their racial-ethnic in-group and understand that there are obstacles they must overcome in order to be a full member of the larger society; and schematic dual RES, members are closely tied to their racial-ethnic in-group yet understand that there are positive outcomes to being a member of an in-group and the larger society.

On a 5-point scale with 12 items (1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*), students described their identity with connectedness ($M = 4.2$, $SD = 0.6$), with an awareness of racism ($M = 3.6$, $SD = 0.7$), and with embedded achievement ($M = 3.8$, $SD = 0.8$). The subscales were on a 5-point scale with 16 items (1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*). Few students identified as aschematic RES ($M = 2.1$, $SD = 0.9$) or schematic in-group RES only ($M = 2.4$, $SD = 0.8$). Most students identified equally as either schematic minority RES ($M = 4.2$, $SD = 0.6$) or schematic dual RES ($M = 4.2$, $SD = 0.6$).

Table 4.1 and Table 4.2 demonstrate that students felt strongly connected to their racial-ethnic identity and to the larger society. The students in this study were aware that racism exists, however, their connection to their Latino identity and engagement in school life buffered them from negative experiences around stereotypes about their race-ethnicity.

Table 4.1

Racial-Ethnic Identity

Identity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Connectedness	50	4.2	.62
Awareness of Racism	50	3.6	.70
Embedded Achievement	49	3.8	.79

Note. N = total number of participants that responded to relevant questions. Two students did not respond to all the questions pertaining to connectedness, two students did not respond to all the questions related to awareness of racism, and three students did not respond to all the questions pertaining to embedded achievement.

While most students saw themselves as minority RES or dual RES, it should be noted that some students did not see race-ethnicity as part of their sense of self and some felt

that their racial-ethnic group was the only thing that mattered, aschematic and schematic in-group only, respectively.

Table 4.2

Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas

RES Identity	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Aschematic for RES	51	2.1	.85
Schematic In-group RES Only	50	2.4	.82
Schematic Minority RES	50	4.2	.63
Schematic Dual RES	51	4.2	.58

Note. N = total number of participants that responded to relevant questions. One student did not respond to the questions pertaining to Aschematic or Schematic Dual RES and two students did not respond to questions pertaining to Schematic In-group Only or Schematic Minority RES.

Research question 2. Using the Student’s Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom Measure, what is the level of student engagement as described by a teacher of a Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth grader attending a New York City independent school? There were six questions with subcategories embedded within each question, totaling 32 items on a 4-point scale (1 = *not at all true* and 4 = *very true*).

The results displayed in Table 4.3 show that, overall, the students were highly engaged in the classroom on both the emotional and behavioral levels. When faced with academic stressors or challenges during the start of learning activities, these students were able to reengage on a behavioral level. The SARAC measure rated students’ disaffection on engagement and reengagement on emotional and behavioral levels. Ratings for disaffection were very low, indicating that students identified with school and schooling, could rely on strategies to overcome academic challenges, were flexible and

persistent, participated in class discussions with peers, and listened carefully to teachers when new material was presented.

A Pearson correlation was run with the subscales for the SARAC and the two components of the Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure. The results displayed in Table 4.4 show the correlation between academic engagement and students' descriptions of their racial-ethnic identity as described with connectedness, awareness of racism and embedded achievement. Table 4.5 displays the correlations between academic engagement and the four racial-ethnic self-schema types.

Table 4.3

Student Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom

SARAC	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Behavioral Engagement	50	3.2	.67
Behavioral Disaffection	49	1.8	.68
Emotional Engagement	49	3.4	.63
Emotional Disaffection	49	1.5	.54
Behavioral Reengagement	50	3.3	.64
Behavioral Disaffection Reengagement	51	1.5	.68
Emotional Disaffection Reengagement	49	1.6	.48

Note. N = total number of participants that responded to relevant questions. Three teachers did not respond to questions pertaining to behavioral disaffection, emotional engagement, emotional disaffection, or emotional disaffection reengagement; two teachers did not respond to questions pertaining to behavioral engagement or behavioral reengagement; and one teacher did not respond to questions pertaining to behavioral disaffection reengagement.

No significant relationships between racial-ethnic identity or racial-ethnic self-schema types and behavioral or emotional engagement or disaffection in the classroom were found for Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school. Therefore, H₁ was denied.

Table 4.4

Correlations Among Student Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom and Racial-Ethnic Identity

SARAC Scale	Connectedness	Awareness of Racism	Embedded Achievement
Behavioral Engagement	$r = -.01, p > .93$	$r = .19, p > .20$	$r = -.08, p > .58$
Behavioral Disaffection	$r = .10, p > .52$	$r = -.05, p > .71$	$r = -.01, p > .93$
Emotional Engagement	$r = .002, p > .99$	$r = .15, p > .32$	$r = .04, p > .78$
Emotional Disaffection	$r = -.17, p > .25$	$r = -.18, p > .23$	$r = -.04, p > .77$
Behavioral Reengagement	$r = .09, p > .90$	$r = .13, p > .40$	$r = .03, p > .85$
Behavioral Disaffection Reengagement	$r = -.06, p > .69$	$r = -.03, p > .85$	$r = .06, p > .67$
Emotional Disaffection Reengagement	$r = -.17, p > .24$	$r = -.02, p > .89$	$r = -.09, p > .53$

Table 4.5

Correlations Among Student Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom and Racial-Ethnic Self-schemas

SARAC Scale	Aschematic for RES	Schematic In-group RES Only	Schematic Minority RES	Schematic Dual RES
Behavioral Engagement	$r = -.09, p > .55$	$r = .09, p > .55$	$r = .19, p > .19$	$r = .05, p > .74$
Behavioral Disaffection	$r = -.07, p > .64$	$r = -.04, p > .79$	$r = -.02, p > .89$	$r = -.11, p > .45$
Emotional Engagement	$r = -.16, p > .26$	$r = .04, p > .78$	$r = .28, p > .05$	$r = -.18, p > .23$
Emotional Disaffection	$r = -.09, p > .56$	$r = -.06, p > .69$	$r = -.25, p > .09$	$r = -.15, p > .30$
Behavioral Reengagement	$r = -.05, p > .72$	$r = .02, p > .91$	$r = .19, p > .18$	$r = .21, p > .14$
Behavioral Disaffection Reengagement	$r = -.07, p > .62$	$r = -.11, p > .44$	$r = -.14, p > .32$	$r = -.77, p > .60$
Emotional Disaffection Reengagement	$r = -.15, p > .30$	$r = .15, p > .32$	$r = -.04, p > .78$	$r = -.13, p > .37$

Hypothesis 2. There is a statistically significant positive correlation for Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school between their familial ethnic socialization levels with their Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom levels. Two research questions were asked to obtain the data needed for this second hypothesis. The first question pertained to participants' family socialization on racial-ethnic identity and the second question on academic engagement was repeated from the first hypothesis.

Research question 1. Using the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (FESM), to what degree do Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school recognize that their families socialize them to be Latino? FESM was a 4-point scale with 12 items (1 = *not at all* and 4 = *very much*). The questions covered covert and overt forms of family socialization.

Table 4.6 showed that students identified overt forms of socialization more often than covert, although both were high. This indicated that students were slightly more able to name the explicit ways their families socialize them in regards to their racial-ethnic identity. The high score for covert and overt socialization indicated high levels of familial ethnic socialization, meaning that students' lives were rich with cultural references, history lessons, and activities that affirmed their Latino racial-ethnic identity. This familial affirmation was balanced with the students' own sense of themselves as Latino, as shown in Table 4.2 with the results for minority RES and dual RES.

Table 4.6

Familial Ethnic Socialization

FES	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Covert	49	3.7	.70
Overt	50	3.9	.87

Note. N = total number of participants that responded to relevant questions. Three students did not respond to the questions pertaining to covert socialization and two students did not respond to questions pertaining to overt socialization.

Research question 2. Using the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom (SARAC) measure, what is the level of student engagement as described by a teacher of a Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth grader attending a New York City

independent school? There were six questions with subcategories embedded within each question, totaling 32 items on a 4-point scale (1 = *not at all true* and 4 = *very true*).

The results in Table 4.7 show that, overall, the students were highly engaged in the classroom on both the emotional and behavioral levels. As previously stated, when faced with academic stressors or challenges, these students were able to reengage on a behavioral level.

Table 4.7

Student Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom

SARAC	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Behavioral Engagement	50	3.2	.67
Behavioral Disaffection	49	1.8	.68
Emotional Engagement	49	3.4	.63
Emotional Disaffection	49	1.5	.54
Behavioral Reengagement	50	3.3	.64
Behavioral Disaffection Reengagement	51	1.5	.68
Emotional Disaffection Reengagement	49	1.6	.48

Note. N = total number of participants that responded to relevant questions. Three teachers did not respond to questions pertaining to behavioral disaffection, emotional engagement, emotional disaffection, or emotional disaffection reengagement; two teachers did not respond to questions pertaining to behavioral engagement or behavioral reengagement; and one teacher did not respond to questions pertaining to behavioral disaffection reengagement.

Table 4.8 shows the results of the correlations between students' academic engagement and their familial ethnic socialization. There were no significant relationships found between these constructs for Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school. Therefore, H₂ was denied.

Table 4.8

Correlations Among Student Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom and Familial Ethnic Socialization

SARAC Scale	Covert FES	Overt FES
Behavioral Engagement	$r = .15, p > .31$	$r = -.08, p > .61$
Behavioral Disaffection	$r = -.10, p > .51$	$r = .05, p > .73$
Emotional Engagement	$r = .14, p > .33$	$r = -.002, p > .99$
Emotional Disaffection	$r = -.23, p > .12$	$r = -.08, p > .61$
Behavioral Reengagement	$r = .06, p > .67$	$r = -.02, p > .90$
Behavioral Disaffection Reengagement	$r = -.15, p > .31$	$r = -.02, p > .90$
Emotional Disaffection Reengagement	$r = -.25, p > .90$	$r = -.09, p > .54$

Qualitative findings. Racial-ethnic self-schemas also involved open-ended questions. The themes previously identified by Oyserman (2003) were aschematic for race-ethnicity, schematic for in-group only, and schematic for in-group and the larger society. In addition to these three themes, there were six other themes that surfaced for the Latino youth attending New York City independent schools. Figure 4.1 displays the themes, which included acculturation, awareness of numeric minority status, awareness of racism and sexism, expectations of others, and family connections.

Students' sense of self, which included their culture and an awareness that they should adhere to values of the larger society, are acculturated to their environment (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009). Several participants revealed their understanding of this process by making statements such as, "Being part of two cultures is a great experience, as I feel the difference in both countries," and "My culture combines with another ethnic

group’s culture.” Students spoke of their awareness that they were one of few Latinos at their school. This mattered to them when they reflected on how their identity made a difference to others. Some stated clearly their awareness of their numeric minority status, for example, “It means I am not the same as everyone. I am different from most people,” “It’s important. Being a Hispanic in a school that’s majority White makes me stand out, outside of school it also matters,” and “I feel different from those around me because most of my school is not Hispanic but White.”

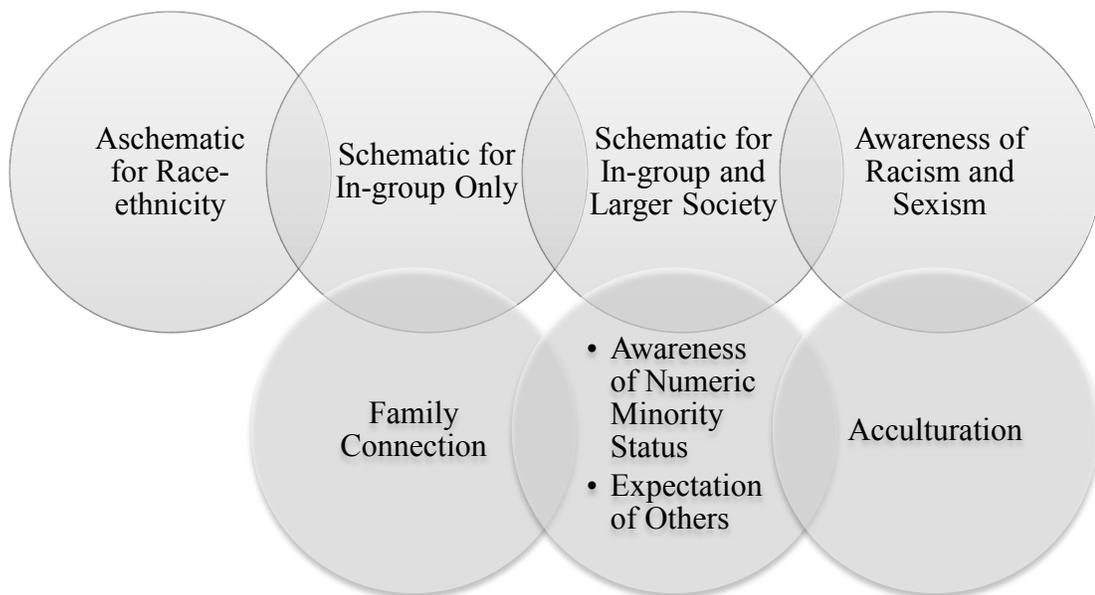


Figure 4.1. Intersection of Racial-Ethnic Self-schemas.

Participants revealed their awareness of racism and sexism. A few expressed that comments made by student peers did not affect them while others were propelled to defy the stereotypes about their group. Students said, “In this school there is a little judgement (racism) but I don’t care,” “They make racial jokes, but it’s a joke so it doesn’t make a difference. We are treated the same,” and “Some close friends joke here.” These subtle

forms of racism, called microaggressions, have been shown to have a greater impact on people than explicit racism, particularly for youth in school settings (Sue, 2010).

Other students commented on the relationship between racism and sexism, for example, “To be Latina is to know how the women of our country or place are treated or oppressed,” “Being Latino means I don’t necessarily have to censor myself, unlike some females do,” “Latina women are very sexualized, so I believe that Latin American women can be objectified in our world,” and finally, “As a female Latina, I think it means that I am a minority, but I don’t really know considering I don’t live in a Latin American country.” Experiencing bias such as noted with this statement, “peers at school identify me as poor and living in ‘the hood,’” served as a source of motivation to prove others wrong. Three students said it well with the following comments, “I have to represent my culture where there are not many others who will,” “The racism that occurred against Hispanics drives me to do well in school and ‘act tough’ with others,” and “Some people have stereotypes, it affects how I am treated by some people, important to show others I’m prideful and not ashamed and to show how stereotypes are false.”

Students spoke of the expectations others had of them, for example, “pressure to achieve something great,” “others expect I can speak Spanish because I’m Colombian,” and “It does make a difference because other ethnicities don’t look at us the same and have set expectations for us.” These external expectations also affected how hard they worked to make other Latinos proud of them, for example, “I have to make a difference in the way that they are portrayed,” and “It is important to me to be Latino because I am representing my ethnic group and I have to act well to ‘make my ethnic group proud.’”

Family was a central theme for the students as they expressed what it meant to them to be Latino. One student said, “To be Latino means to keep my family’s core beliefs alive in the family and better than my parents (American Dream).” The family was seen as the source of their cultural knowledge, language, and roots, for example, “It is very important for me to identify as Latino because if I do not then I am cutting myself off of my roots.” One of the participants stated that being Latino is “very important because it defines me and the outlook I have in society.” This statement sums up the strength found in the sample of 52 Latino students.

Unanticipated findings. To better understand the non-significant findings in regard to racial-ethnic identity and academic engagement, the correlations between racial-ethnic identity descriptions and self-schema types, between racial-ethnic self-schemas and familial ethnic socialization, and between academic engagement and total years attending independent schools were also examined. Here, significant moderate or strong correlations were found between all of the racial-ethnic identity descriptions and self-schema types, as shown in Table 4.9. These correlations were positive for all relationships except for the relationship between racial-ethnic identity and an aschematic self-identity where the relationship was negatively correlated.

The findings in Table 4.9 indicated that students who were connected to their Latino identity, or their in-group, were also aware that racism existed and had a strong sense that achievement was an important aspect of their racial-ethnic identity.

Table 4.9

Correlations Among Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure: Parts Two and Three

ETH Scale	Aschematic for RES	Schematic In-group RES Only	Schematic Minority RES	Schematic Dual RES
Connected	$r = -.52, p < .000$	$r = .38, p < .006$	$r = .30, p < .03$	$r = .36, p < .01$
Awareness of Racism	$r = -.32, p < .03$	$r = .42, p < .003$	$r = .63, p < .000$	$r = .28, p < .05$
Embedded Achievement	$r = -.40, p < .005$	$r = .45, p < .001$	$r = .58, p < .000$	$r = .33, p < .02$

Table 4.10 shows that covert and overt forms of family socialization had a significantly positive correlation to various racial-ethnic self-schema (RES) scales at moderate or strong levels. Overt and covert family socialization were correlated to connectedness while students' awareness of racism was positively correlated to covert family socialization. Students' sense that academic achievement is embedded into their racial-ethnic sense of self was correlated to overt family socialization. Covert and overt forms of familial ethnic socialization (FES) correlated differently for students in regards to their schematic outlook. For example, subtle forms of family socialization, or covert FES, was positively correlated to students who see themselves as members of a minority group and understand that there are obstacles they must overcome in order to be a full member of the larger society, or minority RES. Overt family socialization was positively correlated with students who are closely tied to their racial-ethnic in-group yet understand that there are positive outcomes to being a member of an in-group and the larger society, or dual RES.

Table 4.10

*Correlations Among Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure: Parts Two and Three and
Familial Ethnic Socialization*

RES Scales	Covert FES	Overt FES
Connected	$r = 0.46, p < .001$	$r = 0.69, p < .000$
Awareness of Racism	$r = 0.39, p < .006$	$r = 0.26, p > .06$
Embedded Achievement	$r = 0.26, p > .08$	$r = 0.35, p < .02$
Aschematic	$r = -0.21, p > .16$	$r = -0.43, p < .002$
In-Group	$r = 0.19, p > .20$	$r = 0.17, p > .23$
Minority RES	$r = 0.30, p < .04$	$r = 0.26, p > .07$
Dual RES	$r = -0.02, p > .90$	$r = 0.42, p < .002$

The results in Table 4.11 show another unexpected finding between the number of years students have attended a New York City independent school and the teachers' perceptions on their students' academic engagement. The results show that the longer students are in a New York City independent school, the better they are able to display the necessary behaviors to reengage in their academics, such as working harder when they do not do well on a test or assignment. Table 4.11 also shows a significant positive correlation between total years in a New York City independent school with emotions and behaviors that are contrary to the strategies Latino students need to maintain for their current actions in order to reach future academic goals. While these Latino participants are able to behaviorally reengage in school life, it is taking a toll on them emotionally.

Table 4.11

Correlations Among Student Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom and Total Years Attending an Independent School

SARAC Scale	Total Years Attending an Independent School
Behavioral Engagement	$r = -0.11, p > .45$
Behavioral Disaffection	$r = 0.35, p < .02$
Emotional Engagement	$r = -0.02, p > .88$
Emotional Disaffection	$r = 0.38, p < .01$
Behavioral Reengagement	$r = -0.28, p < .05$
Behavioral Disaffection Reengagement	$r = 0.24, p > .09$
Emotional Disaffection Reengagement	$r = 0.39, p < .01$

Summary

This chapter presented the data gathered from student and teacher surveys on racial-ethnic identity, family socialization, and academic engagement. Prior research suggested that more research was needed to understand the relationship between family socialization, racial-ethnic identity, and school outcomes. The results from this study provide some answers to the important role these constructs have on a small sample of Latino students attending select New York City independent schools.

The results of this study show that Latino seventh, eighth, and ninth grade students attending a New York City independent school see themselves as strongly connected to their Latino identity. These students either described themselves as members of minority groups that must overcome obstacles to be successful in the larger society or saw themselves as belonging to their in-group and the larger society, minority

RES and dual RES, respectively. Students who were minority or dual RES are more engaged and committed to their academic identity. To better understand this multidimensional identity process, this study explored the relationship between students' own self-concept and the socialization process stemming from the family.

The qualitative measure revealed statements that supported participants' racial-ethnic self-schemas. The students are aware of the role their family plays in helping them to develop a strong self-concept as Latino and yet they deeply understand the need to be acculturated into their school communities. Salient for many of these students was the low number of Latino peers in their classes and school. Awareness of this numeric minority status, and encounters with racial-ethnic microaggressions, compelled participants to work harder in order to prove these stereotypes were wrong.

It is not clear if the significant findings between total years in a New York City independent school and disaffection were due to the transition from middle to high school or because of the cumulative years attending independent schools. Some students were transitioning from public, charter, or parochial elementary schools to independent high schools. These factors were not within the parameters of this study, yet the data does support that students are experiencing emotional and behavioral disaffection the longer they remain in a New York City independent school.

Chapter 5 will discuss the implications of this study on the experiences of Latino seventh, eighth, and ninth graders in New York City independent schools and the limitations faced. Recommendations are made for supporting Latino student identity, and the family's role at home and within the school, as a way to maintain student engagement with school and schooling.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Introduction

Two hypotheses and three research questions were asked to explore the relationship between racial-ethnic identity, family socialization, and academic engagement of Latino seventh, eighth, and ninth grade students attending select New York City independent schools. In addition to reviewing if the objectives of this study were met, Chapter 5 will discuss the implications of this study for educators and families caring for this population of students. Limitations of this study are discussed and recommendations will focus on future research, suggestions for independent school policy makers, and best practices for educators in New York City independent schools. The chapter concludes with a detailed summary of this study.

Youth are better able to engage in class and do well in school when they see a relationship between their current academic behaviors and their future self (Ginorio et al., 2001; Oyserman et al., 2006). For racial-ethnic minority youth, this relationship between academic identity and other social identities is particularly important, leading to an identity-to-behavior link that influences student engagement (Oyserman et al., 2006). Many of the youth in this study use a framework to describe their racial-ethnic identity that includes their in-group and the larger society. They express strong ties to Latino culture and history, claiming it fuels them with pride and defines their sense of self. In essence, being Latino is important to most of the participants. This framework

contributes to their worldview which they can then access to function in multiple environments, one of which is the school domain.

The family is central to youths' self-concept. Family educational and cultural values are implicitly modeled and explicitly taught. This socialization includes exposure to cultural music and holidays, Spanish language, family core values and beliefs, and history lessons about the family's country of origin. In this study, a significant positive correlation exists between levels of family socialization and students' own racial-ethnic self-schemas, indicating that these participants are gaining strength and awareness from family about who they are as racial-ethnic individuals. Understanding covert and overt Latino family socialization levels provide insight into the impact the family has on youths' racial-ethnic identity formation.

School engagement contributes to youths' ability to develop strategies towards attaining their future-oriented possible selves (Oyserman, 2012; Perry, 2008). A central premise of this study is that positive Latino racial-ethnic self-schemas will influence the strategies used towards school behavior and overall engagement. The results demonstrate that Latino youth feel emotionally engaged in classroom life. Teachers assess that students appear enthusiastic about new material, show interest and involvement in class, and seem to feel good when working on classwork.

Behavioral engagement and reengagement are strongly evident for these Latino students. They participate in discussions, listen carefully when new topics are introduced, work hard, and sometimes work more than is required. Largely, participants continue to work even when they face difficult problems or class assignments. Participants bounce back when they do not do so well, trying even harder the next time

around. The Latino students are able to see engagement in classroom life as in-group defining moments, meaning there exists a relationship between their racial-ethnic group and academic engagement.

Independent school graduates report having a strong academic foundation and higher skills and abilities for general success in life (Torres, 2011). These graduates complete 4-year degrees, pursue postgraduate degrees, are prepared with technology skills for 21st century living, and are civic minded (NAIS, 2004). These two studies do not aggregate their data by race-ethnicity so it is hard to know the content of success for Latino students compared to other peers in independent schools. The results from this study offer specific content to the academic success of Latino youth in independent schools. Overall, Latino participants are confident about their racial-ethnic group, connect to their family, and engage in their studies. The following section will offer more details about the implications for educators working with Latino youth in New York City independent schools.

Implications of Findings

The focus of this study was to assess the role racial-ethnic identity and family socialization play on academic engagement. The results reveal findings that are inconsistent with the researcher's hypotheses, but are consistent with previous research on racial-ethnic self-schemas and family socialization. This section will discuss the significance of the results for New York City independent schools and will focus on the following:

- Racial-ethnic identity development
- Family socialization practices

- Qualitative findings related to racial-ethnic microaggressions
- Unexpected findings related to academic engagement and total years attending an independent school

Racial-ethnic identity development. Racial-ethnic self-schemas are a combination of cognitive and knowledge structures (Oyserman et al., 2007). Cognitive structures help to organize our experiences and provide motivation for reaching goals while knowledge structures are the self-concept we rely on to make sense of our social ethnic identity. Youth vary in their decisions to include race-ethnicity as a defining factor as they develop their self-concept (Oyserman et al., 2003). However, racial-ethnic minority youth rely on a positive connection to their race-ethnicity to contribute to a positive self-worth (Oyserman et al., 2007; Tajfel, 1974). When racial-ethnic minority youth define themselves with positive traits, skills, and abilities they incorporate these attributes into their self-schemas and this has been shown to buffer youth from academic disengagement (Oyserman et al., 2003).

The racial-ethnic identity framework created by Oyserman (2003) hypothesizes that students who are aschematic or connected to only their in-group are vulnerable to stereotypes while students connected to their racial-ethnic identity and the larger society are academically engaged. The relationship between racial-ethnic identity and academic success is supported by other researchers (Alfaro, Umaña-Taylor, Gonzalez-Backen, Bamaca, & Zeiders, 2009; Furrer & Skinner; 2003). These studies range from the relationship between fitting in with one's racial-ethnic group and academic outcomes (Oyserman, Brickman et al., 2006), the development of adolescents' future possible selves with academic outcomes (Oyserman et al., 2006), the fear of being stereotyped

because of one's race-ethnicity which leads to academic disengagement (Steele, 2010), and how positive images of one's future self can motivate current actions, helping students to sustain an academic focus in pursuit of their academic goals (Oyserman et al., 2001).

Most independent school students in this study feel a connection to their Latino group. The mean score for connectedness ($M = 4.2$, $SD = 0.6$) was higher than their awareness of racism ($M = 3.6$, $SD = 0.7$) or embedded achievement ($M = 3.8$, $SD = 0.8$). These results are similar to findings from prior research that reports a racial-ethnic self-schema inclusive of the in-group and an awareness of the larger society buffer racial-ethnic minority youth from academic disengagement. Instead, youths' academic performance increases and the negative impact of racial-ethnic stereotype threat is moderated (Oyserman et al., 2003).

About half the participants believe they belong to both their in-group and the larger society. This is assessed as bridging dual racial-ethnic self-schemas. The other half, assessed as bridging minority racial-ethnic self-schemas (RES), understand they are members of a group that will encounter racial-ethnic discrimination and that they must overcome these obstacles to reach their future academic goals without compromising their Latino racial-ethnic identity. Dual RES and minority RES are particularly important when students encounter academic challenges because they interpret these difficulties as a normal part of working towards their future academic goals, rather than as an indication that their racial-ethnic group is to blame. A similar study shows that dual and minority RES are better indicators of academic outcomes than other factors, such as generation status or Spanish language use (Altschul et al., 2008).

Race-ethnicity is salient for youth who attend schools where they are in the numeric minority and during the transition from middle school to high school. Students who are invested in school and academics, and experience stereotype threat, are less likely to achieve in school (Steele, 2010). Latino youth attending New York City independent schools have multiple encounters with the dominant group and exposure to discrimination and stereotypes from outside of the school domain. The narratives gathered from many of the student participants demonstrated that they are also exposed to stereotypes and microaggressions about their group from people within their school communities. Microaggressions are “brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to certain individuals because of their group membership” (Sue, 2010, p. 24). Without a framework for understanding race-ethnicity, Latino youth run the risk of internalizing the stereotypes. Regardless of these negative encounters with stereotypes, Latino participants perceive they are connected to their racial-ethnic group and believe doing well in school is important.

Within the school domain, youth rely on their racial-ethnic identity to develop coping strategies to deal with discrimination and stereotypes (Oyserman et al., 2003; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Latino students who internalize the stereotypes they experience in academic domains may believe that academic success is unattainable and not worth their time or effort (Oyserman et al., 2006). Research shows that students who do not incorporate race-ethnicity into their self-concept do not develop a sense of themselves as belonging in academic domains. They struggle to develop the necessary strategies to overcome academic challenges (Oyserman, 2003). Students who believe that school engagement is incongruent with their racial-ethnic identity reduce their

chances of school success because they risk internalizing feedback about their identity delivered through microaggressions that is, in fact, irrelevant (Oyserman, 2003).

It is important to keep in mind that a strong sense of belonging to a racial-ethnic in-group alone does not lead youth towards student engagement. A strong in-group racial-ethnic self-schema can actually influence students to disengage from school in order to avoid the areas where youth are stereotyped in an attempt to preserve their self-concept (Good et al., 2007; Lawrence et al., 2007; Oyserman et al., 2007; Steele, 2010). This risk is evident for a small group of participants in this study. These are Latino students who do not see their racial-ethnic identity as relevant to their overall self-concept, or aschematic RES ($M = 2.1, SD = 0.9$). There are also a few students who focus on their racial-ethnic group as the only thing relevant to their identity formation, or schematic in-group RES only ($M = 2.4, SD = 0.8$).

It is not sufficient for Latino youth in independent schools to simply say they are Latino because this connection alone cannot buffer them from stereotypes about their group (Oyserman, 2008). While it is important to note that this numeric minority exists in this sample size, this study shows that a majority of the Latino participants believe that fitting in with their racial-ethnic in-group is congruent with fitting in with school. Students who develop a self-schema that encompasses the in-group and the larger society are able to disregard information that is irrelevant to their sense of self. They are more academically engaged and less prone to disengagement, or disaffection, with school and schooling (Oyserman, 2003).

The findings indicate that educators benefit from understanding racial-ethnic identity development through a framework of knowledge and cognitive structures in

order to help Latinos build a healthy sense of self. Educators may easily understand that exploration of racial-ethnic identity leads to resolution about what it means to belong to that racial-ethnic group. Two missing components to our understanding of racial-ethnic identity development are referenced as awareness of racism and embedded achievement.

The results demonstrate that a majority of the Latino seventh, eighth, and ninth grade students in this study have a healthy identity that includes connections to their racial-ethnic group, awareness that racism can and has impacted them along the way, and that achieving in school is an important component of their self-concept. Schematic dual RES ($M = 4.2$, $SD = 0.6$) and schematic minority RES ($M = 4.2$, $SD = 0.6$) demonstrate that students are attending schools that may already be taking advantage of opportunities for racial-ethnic exploration through curricular units, extra-curricular programs and activities, and adult and peer role models. These students may have opportunities to discuss the impact of racism and sexism on their lives, learn about Latino contributions to society, and widen the discourse beyond immigration during the course of their school experience. Practical ways for educators to build on their ability to develop Latino youths' racial-ethnic self-schemas is discussed in the recommendations section of this chapter.

In addition to supporting the concept that achievement is congruent with racial-ethnic identity, Latino youth require a strong tie to family members. The results of this study demonstrate that family socialization matters to youths' positive racial-ethnic self-schemas. Therefore, it behooves educators to spend concerted effort reimagining the relationship and sense of belongingness that exists between Latino family members and

the school. The following section will address the implications of the results of this study that focused on family socialization patterns.

Family socialization. The process of ethnic identity development involves ethnic self-identification, ethnic constancy, ethnic knowledge, and ethnic preferences (Knight et al., 1993). This process is heavily influenced by the family (Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro, et al., 2009). Latino children first develop a sense of belonging to the family as a social group. This collective identity supports the individual Latino child's positive racial-ethnic identity. This positive identity has been shown to translate to higher levels of school engagement and academic motivation (Fuligni et al., 2007).

In a previous study, Umaña-Taylor et al. (2009) found that youth reported that family socialization was significantly and positively associated with the degree to which they explored their ethnic identity and had clarity about what this meant to them. The study was longitudinal and included aspects of adolescent ethnic identity formation that were not included in this study of Latino youth in independent schools. However, there are important statistically significant results worth discussing that are similar to the Umaña-Taylor et al. (2009) study on family socialization.

Overwhelmingly, participants of all racial-ethnic, gender, and age groups are aware of family socialization practices. Students are explicitly taught about their ethnic backgrounds, about the history of their specific groups, and about the values and beliefs of their Latino group. Students are exposed to artists and music, cultural traditions, and holidays. An aspect included in their socialization process is the encouragement they receive at home to respect their cultural values and beliefs and develop strong

attachments to their cultural group. In general, family socialization practices are positive experiences for these participants.

An independent school in New York City that did not participate in this study currently has a parent forum focused on the many cultures within the Latino community. The mission of the group is to establish a parent support group as one of the many parents' association committees. Parents meet once a month in the school building to encourage each other and provide a space for Latino high school students to connect with parents of children in the lower grades. This informal connection builds high school students' sense of pride and contributions to the collective Latino community. All Latino cultures and race-ethnicities celebrate together and share the uniqueness of the various ethnic groups represented within the school. Parent facilitators conduct the meetings in English and Spanish to meet the needs of the different languages parents feel most comfortable speaking. School administrators are invited when the parents have questions or concerns that impact their experiences with the school or their childrens' academic or social lives. This parent forum is an example of relationship-building between home and school that contributes to students' sense that they and their family belong.

Student participants with high levels of family socialization also have high levels of racial-ethnic self-schemas and this is consistent with findings from prior research (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009). One of the participants stated that being Latino is "very important because it defines me and the outlook I have in society." The socialization process occurring in these participants' homes contributes to their racial-ethnic identity awareness and preference for their group. Parent forums such as the one that exists in the school above quickly establish for Latino youth that their healthy development is the

responsibility of adults at home and at school. The message that comes across to Latino youth is that the family is seen by school personnel as an important knowledge source.

It has been suggested that schools and teachers engage in “funds of knowledge” when considering the role of the Latino family in supporting student success (Moll & Ruiz, 2002, p. 369). A prior study noted that home visits by teachers helped to debunk the preconception that working class Latino households lack worthwhile knowledge and experience. Educators replaced these misconceptions with beliefs that families have values, educational expectations, knowledge and experiences teachers can quantify and use in their teaching (Moll & Ruiz, 2002).

An example of funds of knowledge is the positive impact of extended family members in providing financial, disciplinary, and general family support, as well as the tendency for mothers (single or married) to seek advice and help from extended family members and/or the church (Moll & Ruiz, 2002). Schools can begin to acquire knowledge during family interviews and conferences that are held when students first enroll to learn of the parents’ educational goals for their children and the support systems the family relies on outside of school personnel.

Qualitative findings. Latino children who enter independent schools in the early childhood or early elementary classes may not have a full awareness of the impact of racial-ethnic bias. Their awareness increases with age and, by middle and high school, students are acutely aware of the social, cultural, and political messages circulating about Latinos. In addition to picking up on Latino bias and discrimination outside of the school community, participants are on the receiving end of discriminatory words and actions by school community members. Participants speak of pressures to achieve, expectations that

they speak Spanish because of their country of origin, and assumptions about their socio-economic status. For example, one participant said, “My peers at school sometimes identify me as poor and living in the hood.” This same student noted the contrast from home life where the sense of belonging is strong, “In my home I am one of them.”

Participants who are part White and part Latino share that they confront challenges with peers who did not perceive them as belonging to the Latino community. One participant says, “Since I don’t look very Latina in the common ways, lots of the girls in my class say I brag about my heritage to get attention,” another says “When you look at me you don’t think Latino but when you get to know me I am,” and another says, “People don’t really seem to care that I’m Latino.” These are experiences several students share regardless of the school they attend or the neighborhood where their school is located. A similar struggle to belong was noted by half African American/Black and half Latino students. One student says, “Most people assume that I am African American, by my appearance, and when I tell them I’m Hispanic their view towards me doesn’t change. Except, other Latinos will accept me more or like me more because they know I’m Hispanic.” These narratives echo the research which points to the role physical features play on influencing how Latino students perceive they are Latino (Gonzalez-Backen & Umaña-Taylor, 2010).

Participants who indicate that they are Hispanic or Latino share racial-ethnic microaggressions they encounter such as, “They make racial jokes,” and “other ethnicities don’t look at us the same and have set expectations for us.” Student narratives imply they are confronting and managing negative encounters about what it means to be Latino. Within domains where students encounter racial-ethnic threats and

microaggressions, researchers recommend that youth be exposed to opportunities to increase their ethnic exploration (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009). This exploration provides youth with knowledge to help them feel self-assured or self-confident, which can help them cope with ethnic-related stressors. A positive sense of belonging to a social group positively impacts self-esteem. Feeling good about one's racial-ethnic group is also a motivator to do well in school in an attempt to make their group proud (Lawrence et al., 2007). As stated by one of the participants, "It is important to me to be Latino because I am representing my ethnic group and I have to act well to make my ethnic group proud."

Student support groups, or affinity groups, are successful ways to provide racial-ethnic exploration, leading students to resolution about what it means to belong to their group. These student affinity groups, facilitated by an adult in the school community of the same racial-ethnic group, serve as informal mentoring programs and provide a safe space for students to process racial-ethnic bias and discrimination. A positive outcome to racial-ethnic student groups is embedded in the stories students share once they are in safe spaces. Student affinity groups can move from process to action, allowing students to strategize appropriate ways to address microaggressions. These forums build students awareness of racism, an important component to their racial-ethnic self-schemas.

Unexpected findings. The results of this study support unexpected findings in three areas. The subscales for the second part of the Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure (RESM) are all statistically significantly correlated with the subscales for the third section of RESM. The data shows that students who are connected to their Latino identity, are aware that racism exists, and have an identity-achievement link are

connected to their racial-ethnic group and the larger society as minority or dual RES. The student affinity groups previously discussed will support these relationships.

The second unexpected finding was the correlation between the racial-ethnic self-schemas scales and covert and overt family socialization. Family ethnic socialization leads to the initial attitudes Latino youth hold about their racial-ethnic group. The positive images and messages received by the family help inform how Latino youth fit into society and how they make sense of discrimination and bias (Lawrence, 2007; Phinney, 1996a). Covert FES is correlated with awareness of racism and minority RES, meaning the people Latino families spend time with, the cultural celebrations and events they attend, or how the home is decorated, and the strong attachment the family has to their ethnic group is related to students understanding that they are a member of a racial-ethnic minority group that must overcome discrimination. Overt FES, which are the direct teachings about ethnic background and history, and the encouragement to respect the values and beliefs of their specific ethnic group, is correlated with students understanding that achievement is an important aspect of their identity and their dual RES status.

The third unexpected finding is the correlation between the total years attending an independent school and the levels of behavioral and emotional disaffection and emotional disaffection reengagement. The data suggest that students who stay in independent schools for longer periods of time can behaviorally participate in new class discussions, listen carefully, and do more than is required. When facing with academic challenges and setbacks, teachers report that these participants work even harder, even bouncing back from a poor performance on a test or assignment. Of greater concern are

the correlations between total years attending an independent school and students' emotional disaffection and emotional disaffection reengagement. The emotional toll on Latino youth shows that they lose the ability to pay attention or come prepared for class, are frustrated, and feel terrible, angry, devastated, or even depressed.

Latino youth are a group that is at risk of academic disengagement (Oyserman et al., 2003), and the current study shows they are at risk of emotional disengagement. Educators should notice the emotional and behavioral signs of disengagement in order to assist students. Perry (2008) found that educators who are oblivious to race and cultural differences did not impact students' strong connections to their racial-ethnic group. There is a downfall in that educators may also be unaware of how students are abandoning Latino values and conforming to White cultural values (Perry, 2008). This break in the identity-to-behavior link can lead to academic stressors such as feeling less respected in school and not valuing school and school activities.

Toomey and Umaña-Taylor (2012) assert that the composition of the community is a contributing factor to the link between affirmation of ethnicity and self-esteem. Affirmation about one's ethnic identity is a process that increases over time, particularly in domains where one's race-ethnicity is salient. Prior research shows that Latino adolescents' ethnic identity resolution and affirmation increased when they were in the numeric minority (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009). This is a reality for Latino students in independent schools, particularly for middle and high school students who are transitioning out of their Latino-majority neighborhood and schools to attend predominantly White schools outside of their familial communities.

Perry (2008) states that youth of color need to acquire a “psychological armor” to maintain consistency in their approach to school, even while they face adversity (p. 402). The unexpected findings indicate that this armor is important for Latino youth who have attended their independent school for more than 7 to 9 years so that their emotional and behavioral academic engagement remain strong. These results, coupled with the narratives, demonstrate that Latino students are navigating racial-ethnic stressors that may not have existed for them when they were younger, but are present in and out of their school experiences as seventh, eighth, and ninth graders. Recommendations for programs and practices that may boost Latino students’ racial-ethnic exploration, self-esteem, and academic engagement are discussed later in this chapter.

Limitations

Although statistically significant findings emerged from this study, a few caveats should be considered when interpreting the results. Some of the limitations experienced were due to the timing of this study, the sample size, and aspects of data that were not collected, but could be important components to our understanding of racial-ethnic identity development.

The timing was not optimal for this study. Schools were contacted in the middle of January, 2015, but not visited until May, 2015, leaving less than 6 weeks to reach out to parents, receive consent forms, visit schools, and collect data before the school year ended in early June, 2015. Between January and May seven schools declined to participate. The contact people at the 14 schools that agreed to participate were also impacted by time constraints as they approached the end of the school year. School contact people ran out of time to do a second call to students who did not respond to the

initial request to participate or to connect with families and students that declined to participate, but may have changed their minds had they had their questions answered.

There is no database available that provides a definitive number of Latino students enrolled in New York City independent schools. For the purpose of this study, the research relied on data collected by the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS). An NAIS (2013) online report showed that 5.1% of all students of color in New York State Independent Schools are Latino, yielding an approximate number of 655 Latino students in the state. Ideally, this study would have included between 130 and 150 students in seventh, eighth, or ninth grade attending an independent school in one of the five New York City boroughs. The time constraints previously mentioned impacted how many students were involved, yielding a total sample size of 52 participants, which was smaller than the 137 students initially identified by school contact people.

The design of this study created a limitation for students who do not use the term Latino as an identifying term. Other terms used in the media, in public policies, the census, and empirical research are Hispanic, Latin American, Latinos, Latinos/as and Latin@s. The assumption that this is a homogenous group strips this pan-ethnic array of people of their distinct histories, experiences with immigration, time in the United States, and the variety of ways Spanish is spoken (Hayes-Bautista & Chapa, 1987; Larroy, 2005; Oboler, 1992; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002).

Recommendations

This study contributes to our understanding of the complexity of racial-ethnic identity and family socialization and their role in supporting Latino youths' academic engagement in New York City independent schools. This study also contributes to

research needed that examines the racial-ethnic identity of adolescents who attend schools or live in communities with different racial-ethnic compositions (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009). In response to the implications of This study, the recommendations will focus on future research; policy recommendations for the National Association of Independent Schools, the New York State Association of Independent Schools, and individual school leaders; and professional practices that support Latino students attending independent schools who are in the numeric minority.

Recommendations for future research. Additional research and a larger sample are needed. The small sample size did not lend itself to a focus on the impact of participants' specific ethnic backgrounds on racial-ethnic identity and school engagement. Unique to this racial-ethnic group are their experiences with discrimination, acknowledgement of, and resources for, their specific group within a region or community, and family support due to history in the United States (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002). Oboler (1992) states "The Hispanic othered-self is, through its implicit homogenization, a denial of the diversity of national, linguistic, social, historical, cultural, gendered, racial, political, and religious experiences of at least 25 million people," (p. 22).

Hayes-Bautista and Chapa (1987) propose the use of the term Latino to describe a national origin group using a geographic framework. However, using Latino has its own challenges. Grouping all Latinos together and a lack of clarity about the regional location of 21 empirical studies was listed as methodological limitations in an examination of research about Latino ethnic identity and self-esteem (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002). While there are vast differences among Latinos, the term is used in this study when referring

generically to those in the United States who were born in, or the person's ancestors were born in, a Latin American country of the Western Hemisphere.

Racial-ethnic identity development is a multidimensional process and as such benefits from a multidimensional measure to understand the degree to which individuals are aschematic, schematic for their group only, or schematic for their in-group and the larger society. This study replicated previous models to understand the correlations between these many dimensions. There are other ecological factors not included in this study that may influence Latino youths' racial-ethnic identity and school engagement. Socio-economic status, the differences and similarities between home and school neighborhoods, skin tone or phenotypes that contribute to students feeling more like they are Latino, the number of Latinos in their present school compared to the dominant group, and race relations in the media are all factors that can inform middle and high school students' self-concept.

Future work should seek to include a larger sample size from a variety of Latino ethnic groups, especially given the results from previous work which indicate that specific Latino ethnic groups vary in their family and school experiences (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2002). When Latino youth are in the numeric minority in their school communities, race-ethnicity becomes salient. Might the racial-ethnic self-schemas and family socialization patterns of students attending Latino majority public schools vary greatly from their peers in predominantly White independent schools? Comparing Latino students who are in the numeric minority to those in the majority at different types of schools may yield other important practices for educators and families. Recruiting more students in each of the grades and assuring a better balance between all genders will

allow future studies to explore if there are differences in racial-ethnic identity and family socialization patterns based on age, grade, and gender.

This study was limited to contact with students and their teachers. In regards to family socialization, future studies should include a fuller understanding of the racial-ethnic backgrounds of the adults raising these Latino youth and how they understand their role in the socialization process. Including the adults in the family and other ecological factors that contribute to identity formation are recommended for future research.

Future research which is not bound by time as this study is should consider the full breadth of the research studies on family socialization and academic engagement. For example, previous research using the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure included adult members of the family. Gonzalez et al. (2006) report that there are differences in how mothers and fathers in interracial families socialize their children to be Latino. Prior research using the measure on student engagement also included a self-assessment that students complete. Skinner et al. (2009) found that components of engagement varied between student reports and teacher reports. Future studies with more data points and a larger sample size would be able to correlate student reports on academic engagement with adult and student reports on family socialization patterns.

There are two final considerations for future research. One is to increase the type of independent schools to assess if there are differences in racial-ethnic self-schemas and family socialization based on enrollment in a pre-Kindergarten through 12th-grade, pre-Kindergarten through eighth grade, high school only, or religiously affiliated school. The second consideration is to obtain access to grades or a common evaluative assessment

instead of using the SARAC measure on behavioral and emotional engagement. An evaluative assessment would rule out teacher bias and provide another lens into Latino youths' academic outcomes.

Recommendations for policy development. Independent schools are 501(c)3 nonprofit schools that are accountable publically to parents and various stakeholders in the community. Each school is governed by their board of trustees and by the associations and agencies that offer accreditation (NAIS, 2004). The policy recommendations below take into consideration that each school operates under a unique framework.

Policy for the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS). An effort must be made to recruit, enroll, and support more Latino students in independent schools. An issue that needs concerted attention is the national landscape of the growing Latino population compared to their enrollment in independent schools. In 2014, the Latino population in the U.S. was 17.4% and it is estimated to reach close to 31% of the total U.S. population by 2060 (Santiago, Galdeano, & Taylor, 2015). The Latino population in New York City also continues to grow, with data suggesting that the five largest Latino populations are Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Mexicans, Ecuadorians, and Colombians (Center for Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino Studies and Center for Urban Research, 2000).

One in five school age children nationwide is Latino and one in four kindergarteners is Latino, yet they lag behind other children in achievement (Pew Hispanic Center & Kaiser Family Foundation, 2004). There is an obvious demographic reality and an impending one to consider. For the first time in history, a population on

the verge of being the majority ethnic group in many parts of the nation is also the least educated (Gándara and Contreras, 2009). These numbers suggest that the Latino education crisis may be an urgent one to address.

Over the past 10 years the number of Latino students enrolled in New York City independent schools has slowly increased. Considering the increase of Latino students noted by researchers and Latino focused organizations, the representation of Latino students in independent schools has been called a “dismal growth” (Cavanagh & López, 2012, p. 132).

Under the public policy position on institutional independence, NAIS holds fast to their core values that each independent school has the freedom to define their mission, develop their own unique policies, and adhere to procedures that are aligned with their mission (NAIS, 2014b). NAIS generates periodic publications on demographic, political, and environmental shifts and their impact on independent schools (NAIS, 2004; NAIS, 2006). There is urgency for NAIS to consider a policy that creates the conditions for regional associations and individual school leaders to attend to the Latino demographic changes in order to recruit, increase enrollment of, finance, and support Latino students in independent schools. Another consideration for NAIS is to recognize the schools that are currently enrolling and supporting more than 10% Latinos in their student body.

Policy for the New York State Association of Independent Schools (NYSAIS).

New York City independent schools are accredited by NYSAIS. This governing body has 11 categories and criterion schools must adhere to in order to be accredited (see Appendix A). Under section three related to school operations, finance, and advancement, NYSIAS suggested schools safeguard school resources for future

generations of students and that the school provide guidance to families for completing financial processes and options. These two items can be used to assess how independent schools are considering the demographic changes in New York City and insuring that Latino students are one of the groups considered as future generations the school can enroll.

Section four on admissions procedures assesses if the school has nondiscrimination policies and practices in place for student recruitment and enrollment. Section eight on parents evaluates if there are channels of communication consistent with the school's purpose and objectives. Insuring that a Spanish speaking employee is available to translate the large content delivered during admissions fairs, open houses, tours, student/parent interviews, parent/teacher conferences, and other school related programs and activities will open doors for Latino households where adults rely on Spanish as their dominant language.

The educational program, section five, already includes language that speaks to the need for schools to deliver developmentally appropriate and academically relevant content to students that addresses issues of equity, justice, and anti-bias education. While the school is writing their self-study report, they can note the areas in their program that address anti-bias curriculum that supports all students, highlighting the areas that are specific to Latinos. This might involve student affinity groups or materials translated into Spanish.

A final criteria, in section nine, relates to the school in the community. This category looks to see if the school is interacting with, and enhancing, the larger community. Latino students are living in all sections of New York City and it is likely

that the 92 independent schools in the five boroughs are surrounded by one or more Latino communities. Independent schools can be assessed by the efforts they are making to inform their Latino communities of their existence and provide opportunities to enroll. One independent school that did not participate in this study created a tutoring program for a neighboring public school that served a large Latino and African American student population. This opens the door for Latino and African American families to enter the school, meet school personnel, become familiar with some of the teaching practices that vary from the public education their child receives, and build a relationship with a contact person to assist with the admissions paperwork and process.

In addition to policy recommendations, there are curricular and co-curricular practices to consider. In fact, Gurin, Nagda, and López (2004) report that students of color with the greatest interactions and experiences with diverse peers through curricular and co-curricular activities show greater interest in learning about groups other than their own and perceive less division among different racial-ethnic groups. While increasing the number of Latino students enrolled in and retained by independent schools will greatly affect the projected outcomes for Latinos in the nation, it is recommended that schools analyze their daily practices in order to become agents of transformation (Moll & Ruiz, 2002). The experiences gained through curricular and co-curricular programs in diverse communities brings out the true benefits of diversity (Gurin et al., 2003). The following sections will focus on admissions procedures, board level discussions, and practices and interventions that support healthy racial-ethnic identity development within the context of the school domain.

Recommendations for practice. The results of this study open the door to possible practices and procedures for different constituents working in independent schools. The following are recommendations for admissions departments, boards of trustees, diversity practitioners, principals, and educators. The final recommendation relates to the conditions that support the Latino family which, as this study shows, has a direct impact on Latino identified students.

Recommendations for admissions. The neighborhoods where New York City independent schools are located are not in neighborhoods with large Latino populations. A new approach to recruiting strategies is needed which develops relationships with the National Head Start Association and public, charter, and Catholic schools located in Latino communities. The desire to keep children close to home and the mindset many Latino families hold about predominantly White independent schools impact low enrollment. These factors also contribute to a lack of awareness about the benefits of attending an independent school outside of the community. The results of this study can be offered as evidence that Latino students are thriving, and not just surviving, in New York City independent schools. Latinos who graduate from independent schools enter college confident and well-prepared for the academic rigor of higher education, are fully engaged academically and in extracurricular pursuits, and are more likely to be civic minded (Torres, 2011). Latino families need to hear directly about the benefits of an independent school education.

Recommendations for boards of trustees. Latino families have concerns that may deter them from considering independent schools for their children. For example, research indicates that 43% of parents feel that because of racial stereotypes, teachers and

principals have lower expectations for Latino students; 47% of parents say that too many White teachers do not know how to deal with kids because they come from different cultures; and 51% of parents feel that the school is often too quick to label Latino kids as having behavior or learning problems (Pew Hispanic Center & Kaiser Family Foundation, 2004). Given these perceptions about White educators and the negative consequences Latino students in the numeric minority experience, independent schools benefit from generative and strategic discussions about how to break down the myths of what it means to attend a predominantly White independent school.

The former President of the National Association of Independent Schools stated that demographic sustainability must be embraced alongside financial, environmental, global and programmatic sustainability if independent schools are to thrive into the future (NAIS, 2004). An NAIS (2004) report, forecasting independent education to 2025, suggested action steps schools should consider to keep ahead of the changing demographics. Analyzing state and local trends and school enrollment patterns, creating enrollment projections for the next 10 years, and convening administrative teams and boards of trustees to generate strategies for reaching these goals are some of the recommendations noted.

An important component of the actions steps recommended by the NAIS (2004) report is to survey parents to ask if they are satisfied with their experience and what can be learned from their collective stories. After generative conversations at the board of trustee level, the head of school of an independent school in New York City personally invited a focus group of African American identified families to a school-sponsored dinner. The head of school convened the chair of the board of trustees, African American

parents who chair a school committee of parents raising children of color, and parents of color who served on the board of trustees diversity and community committee. The head of school asked the families to:

- share their current highlights and experiences as members of the school community,
- discuss the admissions process so that the school leaders could learn more about what the parents hear and experience that inform their decisions to choose the school and what possible microaggressions are delivered during this process, and
- share any suggestions that would help school personnel share their story to African American families unfamiliar with the school.

This same process was used with the few Latino parents in the school. With these narratives as a foundation, the board of trustees, head of school, and director of diversity reimagined the school's admissions tours, parent and student interview process, and financial and strategic goals around recruitment of more African American and Latino families. Throughout the admissions season, the school discussed opportunities to emphasize their strengths while also relying on recommended practices for targeted racial-ethnic groups (NAIS, 2006).

Recommendations for diversity practitioners: affinity work. Moje and Martinez (2007) claimed that an academic identity helps students maintain academic success. Moll and Ruiz (2002) call for schools to create mechanisms for the education of Latino children that capitalizes, rather than devalues, their cultural resources. For example, Bernal et al. (1991) found that Mexican American youth had better educational outcomes

when their ethnic identity included a self-concept as a good student. A familiar and growing practice in New York City independent schools, which builds students' social identity with peers and adults, is affinity group work for students of color. Students of color affinity groups serve many purposes. These formal and regularly scheduled forums offer affirmation, address the social loneliness often experienced by students in the numeric minority, build on students' desire to belong to the school community, and support the individual and the collective group when racial-ethnic biases and stereotypes are experienced.

Tatum (2007) states that affinity group work for students of color is the start of her ABC approach, claiming that these forums are essential for empowering and motivating students in the numeric minority. A stands for affirming identity, B for build community, and C for cultivating leadership. Schools that serve small populations of students of color are eager to graduate strong 21st century leaders, but rely on a colorblind approach that fails to address their specific needs (Tatum, 2007). Latino students are better able to feel that they belong when their social identities are acknowledged, welcomed, and embraced by the school community. Affinity work develops Latino students' bicultural identity as either minority RES or dual RES.

Eun Ryong Lee (2013) offers suggestions on affinity work specific to independent schools. Affinity groups should begin with ground rules for how they will conduct their gatherings. These rules address issues of confidentiality, respect for personal differences in experiencing their racial-ethnic self-concept, and focus on creating a supportive session where putdowns and negative labels of other racial-ethnic groups is not allowed. Students and adult facilitators agree to keep to these ground rules so that benefits to the

individual and to the collective group are nurtured. Tatum (2007) claimed that students need ample time to explore and come to resolution about their racial-ethnic group in order for them to confidently engage in cross-racial or cross-cultural dialogues. Affinity groups contribute to connectedness and awareness of racism, two components of a healthy racial-ethnic self-schema.

Recommendations for principals: transition and mentoring programs. Latino students benefit from transition programs and activities for those who move within the independent school system from middle school into high school, particularly for students who started their independent school career in the elementary grades. Race-ethnicity become more salient for youth as they transition to high school, which can also highlight doubts about one's possible future self. Targeted interventions during this transition help racial-ethnic minority youth associate hardships with the natural occurrence that takes place for all students (Dweck, 2006).

Interventions can demonstrate that challenges can be overcome with support, role models, and dedication towards attaining one's future goals. Similar interventions have reported success in linking social identities to academic possible selves that improve grade point averages, contribute to sustainable study practices, and help to increase youths' self-esteem and general health and happiness (Altschul et al., 2008; Oyserman, 2012; Oyserman & Bybee, 2006; Oyserman et al., 2006; Smith & Oyserman, 2015; Steele, 1997; Walton & Cohen, 2011). Transition and mentoring programs contribute to embedded achievement.

Schools should consider having Latino educators serve as mentors and support systems for the family, not just for the student. Many independent schools limit

communications between the family and the school to the child's teacher or advisor, even if this person is not familiar with Latino culture, traditions, or language. This is most relevant for Spanish speaking households so that someone can communicate about school culture, traditions, expectations, events, and possible support programs without over-taxing the student to translate large school cultural norms to the family.

There are few Latino educators employed in New York City independent schools, which creates another hurdle for Latino middle and high school students who are advised by educators who may possess little to no knowledge about Latino culture. While it behooves the advisor or homeroom teacher to learn about Latino culture, it is more important to understand how specific Latino ethnic groups understand themselves within the context of their cultural norms and as residents of New York City.

Culture is manifested in a variety of ways and is always shifting and changing (Nieto, 1994). A Dominican American female high school student, who identifies racially as Black, and lives in the working class neighborhood of Washington Heights in New York City is likely to have a different experience with Latino culture, expectations, and home country than a half-Colombian, half-White male student living in the upper class and predominantly White neighborhood of the upper east side of Manhattan. The sample for this study included twice as many White and Latino students (19%) as African American and Latino students (10%). It is recommended that relationship building between home and school focus on developing an awareness of the specific traditions, socialization patterns, and micro and macro ecological factors that impact the students currently enrolled, or about to be considered, for any school.

An important, and sometimes missing, discourse in education is the impact social class has on school outcomes. There is comfort in acknowledging individual student success. However, there is a need to understand the power and impact social class has on individuals and on the collective experience of people from marginalized groups (Lareau, 2003; Vilson, 2014; Washington Post, 2015). Social class is directly responsible for how children are raised and the skills they bring to their school life. Parents from higher social classes engage in concerted cultivation with their children. This socialization process helps children develop a set of cultural repertoires and differential advantages (Lareau, 2003).

Latino families, who have assimilated into mainstream American society and have cultural or human capital, socialize their children differently than recent immigrants with limited resources (Altschul et al., 2008). It is important that schools gain a better understanding of the social, cultural, and racial-ethnic realities of Latino students and families in order to design programs that are culturally sensitive (Cavanagh & López, 2012; Diaz-Imbelli, 2013). Independent schools are poised to offer Latino students ample opportunities to engage in concerted cultivation around the educational system, greatly increasing their cultural capital.

Educators who encourage students to conform to school cultural norms may inadvertently praise Latino students for abandoning their Latino cultural norms and beliefs in order to aspire to White cultural norms. Educators benefit from targeted and ongoing trainings on the benefits of increasing racial-ethnic diversity, on social justice or anti-bias curriculum, and on discussions about the negative effects of racial-ethnic microaggressions and stereotype threat on student academic performance. Such trainings

can contribute to cultural changes that buffer Latino students from bias and discrimination and contribute to a deeper understanding of Latino youths' social identities within the context of the independent school domain.

Latino stereotypes experienced by participants may cause students to worry that others in the school community doubt their academic abilities. To alleviate students from this concern, adults with authority within the school domain can discredit the assumptions about social identities and academic ability. Classroom teachers are positioned to have the greatest influence on Latino children's academic success.

Recommendations for classroom teachers. The reported achievement gap between students of color and White students has a long history in our country. The eugenics movement of the 1930s claimed the superiority of White northern European Americans and researchers in the late 1960s used I.Q. test scores to conclude that African Americans and Mexican Americans were genetically inferior to White and Asian Americans (Berlak, 2009). The more recent arguments for the gap are that the cultures and poverty levels of Black and Latino students are to blame for the differences in test scores, ability, and achievement (Education Week, 2011).

Over the centuries, these so-called scientific or environmental explanations have been debated, and many debunked. It has been well documented by curriculum reformists, proponents of multicultural education, research on stereotype threat, and White anti-racist writers that the disparities in education are due to the schooling experiences of marginalized groups, rather than because of the deficit discourse students with marginalized and stereotyped identities apparently bring with them (Aronson, 2004; Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010; Derman-Sparks & A.B.C. Task Force, 1989; Gorsky,

2011; Kendall, 2012; Lee, Menkart, & Okazawa-Rey, 2002; Nieto & Bode, 2011; Steele, 2010; Stevenson, 2014; Wise, 2011; Zinn, 2015). The current state of where the disparities lie was shared by Duncan-Andrade (2011) in the film *Precious Knowledge: Arizona's Battle over Ethnic Studies*, when he said "I have never met a kid with a dysfunctional relationship to learning. I've met a lot of kids with a dysfunctional relationship to school."

Explicit and implicit interventions that support racial-ethnic identity development within the school domain contribute to students' ability to positively affirm, explore, and resolve Latino identity. Youth depend on adults at school and at home to convey messages that Latinos have, and continue to make, necessary contributions to society due to their many achievements. Ideally, embedded throughout the school culture, practices, and curriculum are opportunities to build students' capacity to think critically about power and privilege, racism and sexism, microaggressions about all identities, and other forms of systemic oppression that pose real threats to students' cognitive performance and academic success.

The practices recommended for classroom teachers address racial-ethnic microaggressions and other forms of bias that will build on awareness of racism. Schools are encouraged to become racially literate (Stevenson, 2014). Anti-bias education builds on schools' ability to become racially-ethnically literate. Finally, suggestions are made that focus on the family's role in the schooling of Latino children.

The saliency of racial-ethnic identity may lead to poor academic outcomes if one's identity is associated with negative stereotypes (Ambady et al., 2001; Aronson, Fried, & Good, 2002; Oyserman et al., 2001; Steele, 1997, 2010). Research on the

effects of stereotypes show that an implicit awareness of stereotypes was enough to affect young children's academic outcomes (Ambady et al., 2001; McKown & Weinstein, 2003). By early adolescence, then, Latino students are not only connected to their racial-ethnic identity, they are equally aware of negative views about their racial-ethnic group and have internalized some of these societal views into their growing sense of self-concept (Aboud, 1988; Larroy, 2005; Oyserman & Bybee, 2006; Phinney, 1996b; Tatum, 1997; Umaña-Taylor, Alfaró et al., 2009).

Scholars recommend that teachers lessen the environmental cues that lead to stereotype threat (Steele, 2010). The implementation of situational changes and strategies to reduce racial-ethnic identity threat is known as wise schooling (Steele, 1997). Strategies that would be most effective with Latino youth in predominantly White independent schools should include an optimistic teacher-student relationship whereby adults combine critical feedback with high expectations. This has the potential to leave students with the belief that teachers actually value and believe in their students' potential. Other strategies include affirmation of domain belongingness, meaning the critical relationship that exists between Latino student and the particular school they attend.

Classroom practices and educational trainings that support healthy discourse around race, racism, power, and privilege are highly recommended. Adults may find these discussions with youth uncomfortable, leading to defensiveness, fear, vulnerability, and feelings of blame. Anti-bias educators and writers acknowledge the risks involved in anti-bias work (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010; Johnson, 2006; Stevenson, 2014). These researchers also stress that to end the bias which impacts student learning,

educators have to dismantle, look at, and come to understand how race, racism, power, and privilege is manifested in the community and felt by different social identities. From this new vantage point educators and students can deal with the feelings involved and then take action.

An anti-bias approach to education assumes that educators are committed to the principle that all students deserve to develop to their fullest potential. The curriculum, or content studies, are delivered through a social justice lens. While creating opportunities for students to become self-aware, educators are actively working on a deep understanding of themselves as social beings. In addition to curriculum reform, everyday actions are taken to disrupt the systemic nature of oppression (Ariza, 2006; Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010; Lee, Menkart, & Okazawa; 2002; Nieto & Bode, 2011; York, 1991). Anti-bias frameworks include age-appropriate ways for all students to:

- development positive social identities within the school domain;
- build and strengthen authentic relationships across various differences;
- analyze power and privilege and the impact of bias, discrimination, and stereotypes on all people;
- take action against bias and injustices they see and encounter.

These four frameworks are key to helping Latino youth build their connections to their racial-ethnic group, develop an awareness that racism exists, see achievement as congruent with their racial-ethnic identity, and have their families as valued members of the school community.

Recommendations that impact Latino families. Suro (2006) stated that to limit the study and understanding of Latinos to the story their demographics show creates a

narrative that undervalues social, political, cultural, and economic factors that equally impact Latino lives. In addition to recruiting more Latino students and educators, schools need to apply knowledge about educating and understanding Latinos to their demographic landscape. For example, Suarez-Orozco and Paez (2002) share that Dominicans and Puerto Ricans engage in deep transnationalism and are seen as having dual loyalties. These two pan-ethnic groups are living in New York City and equally concerned with economic, political, and cultural development in their countries of origin. Mexicans, however, have different patterns and experiences with immigration to the U.S. and migration from the south to New York City that impacts their relationship to home and nation. What, then, are the available social networks within the school domain that can provide links between country of origin and the places where Latinos have settled?

Participants expressed the high value they place on Latino culture and belief systems. Their racial-ethnic cognitive structure was intertwined with what it meant to be a member of a Latino family. One participant states that to be Latino means, “to have family and a close relationship with that culture and language,” while another states that the father’s side of the family is, “very family oriented.” These cognitive structures contribute to their ability to organize their experiences in the world and provide motivation for achieving future goals. Dawe (2011) found that Latino students who attended a school in the California Association of Independent Schools did well when they felt fully integrated instead of isolated at their schools.

In addition to cultural values, Latino participants gain school values from the family. A majority of students (86.5%) felt that it was important for the family and the Latino community that they succeed in school. The high value Latino families place on

education, respecting teachers' authority, and their involvement in homework and school life should be seen as assets to independent schools that espouse similar values for a passion for education, mutual respect, and family involvement during their admissions tours, curriculum nights with parents, and parent/teacher conferences. Independent schools that capitalize on the similarities between home and school values, or who assign a member of the school community to bridge the gap between home and school cultural norms, are better serving Latino students. A school contact person, advisor, or mentor can help the family and the student develop a trusting relationship with school.

The literature on Latinas points to high school students valuing their sense of obligation to family while equally being challenged by it (Diaz-Imbelli, 2013; Ginorio et al., 2001). School leaders and family members can help relieve pressures by instilling a sense of pride in developing dual RES which claims that students are part of both their in-group and the larger society. As Latina students negotiate their racial-ethnic identity in their two domains, home and school, they come to see that both are possible. It is recommended that Latino families engage in conversations with their female children about honoring family obligations while maintaining school responsibilities (Diaz-Imbelli, 2013). By developing Latinas possible selves these students can become proud scholars and proud Latinas.

Wolfe and Spencer (1996) stated that the creation of a positive social ethnic identity needs to be in cooperation with, rather than contrary to, an academic identity striving for school achievement. This study contributes to existing research that claims family and school both play an important role in supporting the links between a healthy racial-ethnic identity and an academic identity. School decision-makers that include the

voices of Latino family members can better inform the policies and practices that serve the Latino students enrolled in independent schools. Latino student success in independent schools paves the way for other Latinos.

Conclusion

Excellence, equity, efficiency, and emotion are four core values that guide the work of the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS). Independent schools in New York City are encouraged to provide students with excellent educational experiences that are informed by principles of equity and justice, driven by the collective passion and commitment of the community, and with an eye on the best use of resources to support student services (NAIS, 2014, February 25). Research with independent school graduates reports that these students feel well prepared for college and have higher skills and abilities for their future endeavors than students from public, charter, or other private schools (NAIS, 2004; Torres, 2011).

The national trend on Latino youths' educational trajectory shows a mixed picture. On one hand, recent reports show that Latino high school dropout rates have fallen to 15%, down from 32% in 2000. Also by 2012, college enrollment increased to 49% for Latino 18 to 24 year olds, compared to 47% of White non-Hispanic high school graduates (López & Fry, 2013). On the other hand, right alongside these milestones is data reporting that Latinos are lagging behind other groups in regards to standardized tests, enrolling in 4-year colleges, or earning bachelor's degrees (Education Week, 2011; Institute of Education Sciences, 2013; López & Fry, 2013; Mendoza, 2013).

With this educational backdrop, this study sought to explore how Latino seventh, eighth, and ninth grade students attending select New York City independent schools

describe their racial-ethnic identity, are socialized by the family, and are academically engaged. This correlational study poses two hypotheses and three research questions. Data is collected on racial-ethnic identity and teachers' perspectives of students' academic engagement to test H₁. Data was also collected on family socialization and correlated with the same academic engagement data to test H₂.

H₁: There is a statistically significant positive correlation for Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school between their racial-ethnic self-schema levels and their Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom levels.

1. Using the Racial-Ethnic Self-schema Measure, to what degree do Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school describe their racial-ethnic identity as it relates to connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement?
2. Using the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom (SARAC) measure, what is the level of student engagement as described by a teacher of a Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth grader attending a New York City independent school?

H₂: There is a statistically significant positive correlation for Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school between their familial ethnic socialization levels and their SARAC levels.

1. Using the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure, to what degree do Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth graders attending a New York City independent school recognize that their families socialize them to be Latino?

2. Using the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom

(SARAC) measure, what is the level of student engagement as described by a teacher of a Latino seventh, eighth, or ninth grader attending a New York City independent school?

Throughout this dissertation, a focus is placed on the role of Latino students' racial-ethnic identity and family socialization practices on informing and supporting their academic engagement in independent school settings. The discussion is framed by three theories on racial-ethnic identity development: social identity theory (SIT), racial-ethnic self-schemas (RES), and familial ethnic socialization (FES). A detailed review of the literature reveals the relationship between these three theories and Latino academic engagement.

Racial-ethnic self-schemas focuses on three interrelated components of racial-ethnic identity development. Grounded in social identity theory, RES claims that Latino youth connect to their racial-ethnic social group and gain self-esteem from membership with their in-group. This study refers to this first component of identity development as connectedness (Oyserman, 2008). Latino youth may decide that race-ethnicity is not a defining aspect of their sense of self. This study refers to the exclusion of race-ethnicity from one's self-concept as being aschematic for race-ethnicity. Youth who include race-ethnicity in their construction of self-concept are schematic for race-ethnicity.

A connection to one's racial-ethnic group is not sufficient to buffer Latino students from stereotypes about their group within the academic domain and can, in fact, lead to academic disengagement. For this reason, two relevant components must be

added to racial-ethnic identity development; awareness of racism and embedded achievement (Oyserman, 2008).

Latino family socialization practices help to inform youths' racial-ethnic identity development, increase self-esteem, contribute to academic success, and build youths' psychological functioning (Umaña-Taylor, 2013; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Familial ethnic socialization considers the micro and macro ecological factors that influence Latino ethnic identity. Learning experiences with the family, peers, and community heighten Latino youths' sense of their ethnicity within the larger society.

This study used the Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure, the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure, and the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom Measure to expand on research studies with a demographic not previously studied. This study includes 52 students in seventh, eighth, or ninth grade attending one of 14 New York City independent schools. Student surveys include both open-ended qualitative questions and close-ended quantitative questions. Teachers completed a student engagement measure using a Likert-scale. Data analysis included descriptive and inferential statistics.

Descriptive statistics. Participants described their racial-ethnic identity with connectedness ($M = 4.2, SD = 0.6$), with an awareness of racism ($M = 3.6, SD = 0.7$), and with embedded achievement ($M = 3.8, SD = 0.8$). Few students identify as aschematic RES ($M = 2.1, SD = 0.9$) or schematic in-group RES only ($M = 2.4, SD = 0.8$). Most students identify equally as either schematic minority RES ($M = 4.2, SD = 0.6$) or schematic dual RES ($M = 4.2, SD = 0.6$). Participants identify high levels of covert ($M = 3.7, SD = 0.70$) and overt ($M = 3.9, SD = 0.87$) forms of family socialization.

The results of the student engagement measure showed students were engaged in their academics and have the skills to reengage when faced with setbacks: behavioral engagement ($M = 3.2, SD = 0.67$), emotional engagement ($M = 3.4, SD = 0.63$), and behavioral reengagement ($M = 3.3, SD = 0.64$). Disengagement, discussed throughout this study as disaffection, was favorably low: behavioral disaffection ($M = 1.8, SD = 0.68$), emotional disaffection ($M = 1.5, SD = 0.54$), behavioral disaffection reengagement ($M = 1.5, SD = 0.68$), and emotional disaffection reengagement ($M = 1.6, SD = 0.48$).

Qualitative findings. In addition to the quantitative measures, this study posed open-ended questions to assess if students are aschematic for race-ethnicity, schematic for race-ethnicity only, or schematic for race-ethnicity and the larger society. In addition to these three themes, other interrelated themes surfaced for this particular student demographic. Students' responses focused on acculturation, awareness of minority status, awareness of racism and sexism, expectations of others, and family connections.

Inferential statistics. A Pearson correlation was calculated to test the relationship between racial-ethnic identity, family socialization, and teachers' perceptions of students' academic engagement. The results of the three research questions found that no significant relationship exists between the three constructs, therefore the two hypotheses were denied. Regardless of these results, the descriptive statistics are favorable for Latino youth in New York City independent schools who are in the numeric minority. It shows they are connected to their Latino racial-ethnic group, see an awareness of racism, understand that achievement is an important component to their racial-ethnic construct, and are socialized by family members to positively identify with their Latino culture.

Other significant moderate and strong correlations emerged between racial-ethnic self-schemas and family socialization. Overt and covert family socialization were correlated to connectedness ($r = 0.69, p < .000, r = 0.46, p < .001$, respectively), while students' awareness of racism was positively correlated to covert family socialization ($r = 0.39, p < .006$), and embedded achievement was correlated to overt family socialization ($r = 0.35, p < .02$).

Students who describe their identity as minority RES and dual RES were both connected to their racial-ethnic group and see themselves as part of the larger society. These self-schemas correlate differently with family socialization; minority RES and covert family socialization ($r = 0.30, p < .04$) and dual RES and overt family socialization ($r = 0.42, p < .002$). An unexpected finding shows a significant positive correlation between total years in a New York City independent school with academic disengagement: behavioral disaffection ($r = 0.35, p < .02$), emotional disaffection ($r = 0.38, p < .01$), and emotional disaffection reengagement ($r = 0.39, p < .01$). However, the longer students are in a New York City independent school also positively correlates to their ability to reengage behaviorally ($r = -0.28, p < .05$). The context that leads to these results is not clear, yet the data supports that students are experiencing emotional and behavioral disaffection the longer they remain in a New York City independent school.

Social identities are constructed throughout an individual's lifetime (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010). Young children's ethnic awareness increases with age and between early to middle adolescence youth are seeking membership with their racial-ethnic social group in an attempt to find meaning and come to resolution about their race-ethnicity. Racial ethnic minority youth need to make sense of their race-ethnicity within

the context of the school domain, where they face academic stereotypes and threats related to their group.

While Latino youth develop their future possible selves, they come to rely on content-related components of racial-ethnic identity development. Racial-ethnic identity for Latino youth in this study is described with connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement. This serves as a protective buffer for youth who face academic barriers. Likewise, family socialization practices provide Latino youth in New York City independent schools with affirming messages about what it means to be Latino. The results of this study demonstrate that these Latino students are academically engaged in their independent school life and that their racial-ethnic self-schemas and familial ethnic socialization are positively correlated with one another. Concerted attention should focus on continuing the nurturing environment within these select New York City independent schools for Latino youth to achieve their future academic selves.

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Appendix A

NYSAIS Evaluation and Accreditation



NYSAIS Evaluation and Accreditation

School and Visiting Committee Assessment of the NYSAIS Criteria for Accreditation

A school is evaluated in terms of its own purposes and objectives as well as the following criteria. First the school, and later the visiting committee, will assign ratings to each of the membership criteria in accord with the following schedule:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>6 = criterion fully and completely met
5 = criterion substantially met
4 = criterion generally met</p> | <p>3 = criterion generally not met
2 = criterion not met in significant respects
1 = criterion not met in any respect
n/a = criterion not applicable</p> |
|---|--|

Any rating of 3 or lower by the school should be accompanied by an explanation. The visiting committee may request an explanation when its ratings differ significantly from those of the school.

CRITERION NUMBER	CATEGORY AND CRITERION	SCHOOL RATING	VISITING COMMITTEE RATING
SECTION 1: MISSION AND CULTURE			
Mission			
1.1	The mission statement is clearly articulated and understood by all constituencies of the school community.		
1.2	The mission statement is reviewed at minimum every five years.		
1.3	The mission statement informs all decisions and programs.		
Culture			
1.4	The school's culture is a reflection of its intended values and fosters mutual respect among all constituencies.		
Equity and Justice			
1.5	In keeping with its mission and culture, the school promotes an equitable, just, and inclusive community.		
SECTION 2: GOVERNANCE			
2.1	The governance of the school is clearly defined, transparent, and understood by all constituents.		
2.2	The governing body provides for the continuity of mission.		
2.3	The governing body provides stability in transitions of leadership for itself and its head of school.		
2.4	The governing body provides strategic planning for the school.		
2.5	The governing body ensures that adequate financial resources are provided for the school.		
2.6	The governing body has appropriate policies to support the creation, review and approval of an annual operating and capital budget as well as a multi-year financial plan.		
2.7	The governing body ensures appropriate administrative follow up as a result of an outside, annual professional audit and the corresponding management letter.		
2.8	The governing body ensures that the school has in place adequate provision for risk assessment and management including the transfer of risk through appropriate insurance coverage.		
2.9	The governing body understands its central role in institutional advancement and actively supports these efforts.		
2.10	The governing body delegates responsibility for the operations of the school to the head of school and ensures that the head of school receives appropriate support, evaluation, and compensation.		
2.11	The governing body reviews and maintains appropriate by-laws that conform to legal requirements while assuring that the school and governing body operate in compliance with applicable laws and regulations.		
2.12	The governing body creates a conflict of interest policy that is reviewed annually with, and signed by, individual trustees.		
2.13	The governing body keeps full and accurate records of its meetings, committees, and policies and		

	widely communicates its decisions.	
2.14	The governing body is responsible for establishing school policies and the administration is responsible for establishing administrative practices.	
2.15	Members of the governing body put aside any special interest when fulfilling their responsibilities.	
2.16	The governing body avoids sharing negative perceptions with non-trustees and ensures the confidentiality of all conversations that are conducted by the governing body and its committees.	
2.17	The governing body participates in an effective program of board development that includes annual new trustee orientation, ongoing trustee education, evaluation and self-evaluation, and board leadership succession planning.	
2.18	When appropriate within its mission, the governing body ensures that issues of gender, diversity, and multiculturalism are appropriately considered in policymaking and governing body membership.	
2.19	The governing body operates effectively and has developed policies and procedures to guide the governing body and the school leadership in the implementation of the NYS AIS Criteria for Accreditation.	
SECTION 3: SCHOOL OPERATIONS, FINANCE, AND ADVANCEMENT		
Admin	The administration understands and promotes the mission, standards, and policies of the school, and provides leadership as these evolve and when they are evaluated.	
3.1		
3.2	The business officer works strategically with the head of school and the governing body to ensure the development and implementation of appropriate policies for the long-term management of the school.	
3.3	The business officer provides important assistance to the head of school in administering the school and to the governing body in meeting its fiduciary responsibilities.	
3.4	The administration manages the school's resources in a prudent manner, consistent with the mission, safeguarding the value of those assets for the use of future generations of students by establishing appropriate financial controls and procedures.	
3.5	The administration ensures that the human resource policies and practices are clearly articulated, consistently applied, and conform to legal requirements.	
3.6	The administration participates in ongoing professional development that might include participation in local, regional, and national associations that offer personal support and professional assistance and development.	
Finance	To protect the school's financial resources, the administration and board employ sound financial planning and management practices and procedures, including the development of an annual operating and capital budget, multi-year budget projections, appropriate governing body oversight, and an annual audit.	
3.7		
3.8	There is appropriate administrative follow up as a result of the annual audit of all financial records and its corresponding management letter.	
3.9	The school has appropriate procedures and personnel in place for accounting for all assets and liabilities in accordance with GAAP, including management of accounts receivable.	
Financial Assistance		
3.10	The school adheres to non-discriminatory practices in the administration of its financial assistance policies.	
3.11	The school provides guidance to students and families on its financial assistance process and options.	
3.12	The school enacts documented procedures that ensure a fair, consistent, and equitable assessment of each family's ability to contribute toward educational expenses while safeguarding the confidentiality of financial assistance applications, records, and decisions.	
Development / Advancement	The school has a clear picture of its long and short-term development needs and the organization, resources, and staffing to carry out its efforts.	
3.13		
Physical Plant		
3.14	The physical facilities and equipment are adequately maintained, and a plan is in place for their long-term protection and renewal.	

3.15	If the school has an early childhood program, all instructional and play spaces, as well as supporting resources (e.g. lavatories, eating areas) are adequate and maintained to meet the needs of the children in this program.
Records	The school maintains complete and accurate records for every aspect of the school including financial, students, personnel, legal, corporate, health and safety, etc.
3.16	
3.17	The school has policies and procedures that govern the retention, maintenance, and use of past personnel, financial, corporate, and student records, including print and digital records, and such records are protected against catastrophic loss.
3.18	All records are current and maintained in a secure fashion.
Safety	Materials, routines, and procedures (on and off campus) and the physical plant are so organized as to provide a safe environment for all members of the school community.
3.19	
SECTION 4: ADMISSIONS AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE	
4.1	Consistent with the stated mission of the school, the admission process operates under a clear set of practices for gathering, disseminating, and maintaining prospective student information, and respects the confidentiality of students, families, and documents in the admission process. Schools will ensure that the admission process and/or transcripts have provided sufficient documentation of an appropriate match before offering admission to a student.
4.2	The school has in place policies and procedures to insure nondiscrimination in recruitment and enrollment.
4.3	The school maintains an admission process that respects the needs of students and families to learn about school programs and activities, by communicating before an enrollment commitment is required, in user-friendly formats: clear information, dates, and timeframes for all aspects of the admission process, including total cost of attending the school and other financial expectations as well as expectations around financial aid applications and acceptance of an enrollment offer.
4.4	The school determines eligibility for admission based on the merits of the application and then determines how to allocate financial aid resources to meet student needs and fulfill the mission of the school.
4.5	Throughout the admission process, school representatives apply the same high standards of integrity whether talking about their own school or other institutions.
4.6	School representatives ensure that all recruitment arrangements support the best interests of the student and do not result in a conflict of interest on the part of the school, individual, or firms representing the school.
4.7	The numbers of the total school population, of grade and administrative groupings, and of instructional classes are appropriate to the stated mission of the school.
4.8	The admissions staff participates in ongoing professional development that might include participation in local, regional, and national associations that offer personal support and professional assistance and development.
SECTION 5: EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM	
5.1	The formal educational program is consistent with the mission and culture of the school.
5.2	The school demonstrates that its educational programs and practices are informed by relevant, well-documented research regarding how students learn and the knowledge and capacities they will need to lead purposeful and constructive lives and these programs and practices are regularly reviewed and articulated.
5.3	The educational programs, including online and blended learning, are periodically evaluated by the members of the faculty, and, where appropriate, by other members of the school community, and the results of the evaluation contribute to the analysis and modification of the school's educational program.
5.4	The performance of individual students is regularly assessed by developmentally appropriate measures consistent with the school's mission and meaningful to those who have a legitimate interest in that performance (viz., students, faculty, parents, admissions officers, evaluators) and effectively communicated to those constituencies.
5.5	The school provides evidence of a thoughtful process, respectful of its mission, for using the collective results of student assessment to analyze and modify its educational program.
5.6	The school has in place a procedure for follow-up on the success of its graduates, and uses that information to assess and modify its educational program.
5.7	All school programs demonstrate consideration for the appropriate intellectual, social, physical, aesthetic, and emotional development of students in all aspects of school and student life.

5.8	The issues of equity and justice and anti-bias are addressed in the educational program, the library holdings and other resources to support the program.
5.9	If the school has an early childhood program, all instructional and play spaces, as well as supporting resources (e.g. lavatories, eating areas) are adequate and maintained to meet the needs of the children in this program. <i>(This criteria also appears in Section Three, Business Operations and needs to be addressed in this section from a program viewpoint)</i>
5.10	Instructional materials, equipment, and student work/learning spaces are of sufficient quality, quantity, and variety to provide effective support to the goals and methods of the program.
5.11	The various resource, learning, and support centers are organized, supplied, and staffed to provide for the program of the school and the needs of the students and the faculty.
5.12	Resources, including digital technology, are used appropriately to support the educational program of the school and are assessed regularly for effectiveness.
SECTION 6: STUDENTS AND STUDENT SERVICES	
Students	
6.1	The composition of the student body is consistent with the mission of the school.
Student Services	
6.2	Where appropriate, the school has established a program for orienting and mentoring students new to the school.
6.3	The guidance, counseling, and learning services/support programs of the school meet the needs of the students and are consistent with the educational program and the stated mission of the school.
6.4	The school has policies and procedures concerning the physical and emotional safety and wellbeing of students
6.5	The school recognizes the right of currently enrolled students and families to consider other educational options, and if a transfer is initiated by the family, the school provides appropriate follow up and documentation in a timely manner.
6.6	The school makes provisions for the nutritional needs of its students.
6.7	The program for health care is adequate to meet the needs of the student body and includes the prevention and care of illness and injury.
6.8	If applicable, the school has a program of auxiliary or off-campus activities that is appropriate to the mission of the school and carefully planned and supervised.
6.9	The purpose of the extracurricular activities and the breadth, supervision, and resources allocated to student extracurricular activities are in keeping with the mission of the school.
Boarding Program	
6.10	The school has an intentional boarding program and/or homestay program that is a unified part of the total life of the school for both boarding and day students.
6.11	Students are supported in developing respectful, cooperative and meaningful relationships with those with whom they live—their fellow students, and the adults and families who care for them.
6.12	The evening, weekend and, if appropriate, vacation offerings are intentional and meet the needs of the students.
6.13	For schools enrolling homestay students, guidelines exist that ensure that the student experience is in keeping with the mission of the school.
SECTION 7: FACULTY, ADMINISTRATION AND NON-TEACHING PERSONNEL	
7.1	Consistent with its mission, the school has appropriate practices to insure nondiscrimination in hiring.
7.2	The school promotes a culture of continued, sustained professional growth, offering in-service and outside professional development opportunities to all administrators, faculty, and non-teaching personnel members, for which there is adequate funding. Staff members are aware of, and understand, the program.
7.3	The school has a program for the systematic evaluation of all staff members and staff members are aware of, and understand, the program.
7.4	Salaries and benefits for administrators, faculty, and non-teaching personnel members reflect independent and local school standards. Retirement provisions and other benefits are understood by the staff members, and meet all legal requirements.
7.5	There are a sufficient number of administrators, faculty, and non-teaching personnel members to

	carry out the program of the school, provide for the needs of the students, and insure the supervision, safety, and health of the students.
7.6	Staff members successfully carry out the mission via the program of the school.
7.7	Faculty and non-teaching personnel assignments are appropriate in terms of teaching conditions, methods, and total load in both teaching and other assignments.
7.8	Staff members are qualified by education, training, and experience for the responsibilities they are assigned.
7.9	The school personnel apply the same high standards of integrity when they are discussing their own school or other institutions.
SECTION 8: PARENTS	
8.1	The school provides channels of communication with parents that are sufficient and consistent with the purposes and objectives of the school.
8.2	The enrollment agreement between the school and the parents/guardian and all financial responsibilities are clearly stated in writing.
8.3	The school provides clear expectations regarding parental participation in the school community.
8.4	The involvement of the parent body in the school community is mission-appropriate.
SECTION 9: THE SCHOOL IN ITS COMMUNITY	
9.1	The school interacts with the larger community in ways consonant with the mission and culture of the school, and these interactions enhance the larger community.
SECTION 10: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL COMMUNICATION	
10.1	The school employs methods of communicating with its community members that are appropriate to the school's size, means, culture and mission.
SECTION 11: CONCLUSION-PROCESS AND REFLECTION	
11.1	The school has completed a thorough self-evaluation at all levels in accordance with the procedures outlined by NYS AIS.

NEW YORK STATE AND LOCAL LAW, RULES, AND REGULATIONS (Use YES, NO, or N/A. If a response is NO or N/A, the school should provide an explanation)	
12.1	The school provides a program of instruction substantially equivalent to that afforded in the local public schools.
12.2	Courses are offered in mandated subjects.
12.3	The school day and year are substantially equivalent to those in public schools.
12.4	School vehicles are in compliance with transportation laws.
12.5	The school observes local and state health regulations as they pertain to service personnel and facilities. Records are on file.
12.6	The most recent fire inspection report gives evidence that the school is free from fire code violations.
12.7	The school complies with emergency drill requirements.
12.8	Appropriate attendance records are kept and are on file.
12.9	If the school has a secondary program, the school is registered by the State Education Department.
12.10	If the school has an early childhood program, it complies with all applicable local and state requirements and regulations, including licensing and training of staff.
12.11	Requirements for pupil immunization have been met and records are available.
12.12	When required by ordinance, a certificate of occupancy is on file.
12.13	The school endorses the Statement of Regents Goals for Elementary and Secondary School Students .

Appendix B

Letter to NYSAIS Administrators

Greetings NYSAIS colleagues,

I hope that this communication finds you well. I am the Director of Diversity and Community at Little Red School House & Elisabeth Irwin High School and an Ed. D. student in the Executive Leadership program at St. John Fisher College in Rochester, NY. I am conducting research on the impact racial-ethnic identity has on student engagement of Latino youth in New York City independent schools. My purpose in writing to you is to briefly explain my study and to make an informal request of you in anticipation of my imminent approval by the SJFC International Review Board to begin data collection.

Working Title: *The Role of Racial-Ethnic Identity and Family Socialization on Academic Engagement: Latino Youth in Select New York City Independent Schools*

The purpose of this study is to determine ways in which Latino youth in New York City independent schools connect to their racial-ethnic identity and strive for academic success. This study will reveal possible links between Latino racial-ethnic identity, racial socialization by the family, and student engagement. This study is guided by the following two hypotheses and three research questions:

1. Using the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure (FES), to what degree do Latino youth recognize that their families socialize them to be Latino?
2. Using the Racial-Ethnic Self-Schema Measure (RES), to what degree do Latino youth describe their racial-ethnic identity as it relates to connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement?
3. Using the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom (SARAC) survey, what is the level of student engagement of Latino youth as described by their teachers?
4. Is there a statistically significant positive correlation between FES with SARAC?
5. Is there a statistically significant positive correlation between RES with SARAC?

Participant Selection Criteria:

- Seventh, eighth, and ninth grade students attending K-8 or K to 12th-grade New York City independent school with full membership with NYSAIS.
- Student self-identifies as Latino of any racial-ethnic group from Latin America, the Caribbean, or South America.

- Latino/a student is first or older generation, born in the United States, or student is born in Latin America, the Caribbean, or South America and adopted by parents of any racial-ethnic group.
- Student has at least one primary parent that is first generation or older Latin American, Caribbean, or South American.

Measures and Time:

A one-hour session, either before or after school, with the seventh, eighth, or ninth grade Latino students from your school. Students will meet all together and I will administer the following three surveys:

- Demographic information such as race-ethnicity, language(s) spoken at home, and parent immigration or generation status.
- Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure. A sample item:
 - My family encourages me to respect the cultural values and beliefs of our ethnic/cultural background.
- Racial-Ethnic Self-Schemas Measure. A sample item:
 - Describe what it means for you to be Latino.

The SARAC will be filled out by a teacher that knows the student best.

The data that I collect from your students will be treated confidentially and their identity will not be disclosed in any way to anyone except me. Parent and teacher consent forms will be issued to all participants. Confidential information will be destroyed after 3 years of data collection.

If your school meets the criteria, and you would like to have your students and teachers participate in this critical research project, please respond to this communication. If there is a contact person from your school you would like me to work with, please provide that information as well. My contact information is below should you need to discuss the possible outcomes and benefits of this important research project. Upon completion of my program, my study will be available for you to read. I will likely present my findings and offer recommendations for independent schools at the NAIS Annual Conference, NAIS People of Color Conference, NYSAIS Diversity Conference, and other NYSAIS related conferences.

Sincerely,

Sandra K. Chapman

Director of Diversity and Community

Little Red School House & Elisabeth Irwin High School

Ed. D. Candidate, St. John Fisher College

schapman@lrei.org / skc01425@sjfc.edu / 347-228-3176

Appendix C

Parent Consent Form

Dear Parent(s),

My name is Sandra Chapman. I am a Latina educator and student at St. John Fisher College in Rochester, NY. I am conducting research on Latino 7th, 8th, or 9th graders who attend a New York City independent school. Your child's school has agreed to participate and I am now asking for your approval for your child to participate in my study.

With your permission, your child will be asked to fill out two surveys. One survey is about how your child describes his/her Latino identity and the other survey is about how his/her family helps them understand he/she is Latino. Your child will also fill out information about age, grade, years in school, place of birth, and your place of birth. Anything your child shares with me will be held in confidence, meaning I will not share the name of your child or what school he/she attends. Once I get home, I will change your child's name and school name to a number and then only use their answers for my study. No one who reads my research study will know which answer came from your child or what school he/she attends. All information will be stored in a locked safe in my home and destroyed in 3 years.

The attached form is so that you can decide whether you wish to allow your child to participate in this study. Even if you give permission, you are free to ask that your child not participate in this study at any time. This means you can decline to have your

child participate even after you have signed the consent form and given permission. If you have any questions please contact me at my email address or phone number, skc01425@sjfc.edu or 347-228-3176. I would be happy to answer questions in English or in Spanish. Once you sign and return this form, I will make a copy for you to keep for your records and give it to _____, the contact person at your child's school. This person will make sure you receive a copy of the consent form.

If you have any questions or concerns about this research project, you can contact me. Thank you for taking the time to consider allowing your child to participate in this study.

Sincerely,

Sandra K. Chapman, Ed.D. Candidate
skc01425@sjfc.edu or 347-228-3176



Queridos Padres,

Mi nombre es Sandra Chapman. Soy una educadora Latina con muchos años de experiencia en las escuelas independientes de NY. Además, soy candidata al diploma de Doctorado en la Universidad Saint John Fisher en Rochester, New York. Como parte de mis estudios estoy haciendo un trabajo de investigación acerca de la identificación cultural y racial nuestros estudiantes Latinos que están entre los grados 7mo, 8vo, y 9no. y que asisten a las escuelas independientes de NY.

Por lo tanto, solicito su permiso para que su hijo/a participe en este estudio. El/ella llenará dos cuestionarios. Un cuestionario es acerca de como su hijo/a describe su identidad Latina. El otro es acerca de como su familia le ayuda a comprender que él/ella es Latino/a. Otros datos personales que su hijo/a llenará en el cuestionario son su edad, grado, años en la escuela, lugar de nacimiento de él y de usted/es.

Todo aquello que su hijo/a comparta conmigo es confidencial. Esto significa que yo no compartiré ni su nombre ni el nombre de su escuela con ninguna otra persona. Una vez yo reciba el formulario de su hijo/a ya lleno, yo sustituiré su nombre y el nombre de su escuela por un número de identificación. Sólomente así usaré en mi estudio las contestaciones que su hijo/a me ofrece. Por lo tanto, aquel que lea mi informe no podrá reconocer las contestaciones ofrecidas por su hijo/a ni la escuela a la que él/ella asiste. Toda información recopilada será guardada bajo llave en un archivo en mi casa y será destruída dentro de tres años.

El formulario adjunto es para que usted decida si quiere darle permiso a su hijo/a para que participe en este estudio. Si usted cambia de parecer, aún despues de haber dado

su permiso, usted tiene el derecho de cambiar de parecer y pedirme que su hijo/a no participe en este estudio. Si usted tiene alguna otra pregunta puede comunicarse conmigo a través de mi correo electrónico : skc01425@sjfc.edu o mi teléfono: 347-228-3176. Me dará placer contestar cualquier pregunta que tenga ya sea en Español o Inglés. Una vez usted firme y me devuelva este formulario, yo le haré una copia y se la dejo con Dr. Louise Grotenhuis en la escuela de su hijo/a. Si usted tiene alguna preocupación o pregunta acerca de este estudio, no tenga duda en comunicarse conmigo. Muchas gracias por permitirle a su hijo/a participar en este proyecto.

Atentamente,

Sandra K. Chapman, Ed.D Candidate.
skc01425@sjfc.edu or 347-228-3176

St. John Fisher College INFORMED CONSENT FORM (for use with minors)

Title of study: The Role of Racial-Ethnic Identity and Family Socialization on Academic Engagement: Latino Youth in Select New York City Independent Schools

Name of researcher: Sandra K. Chapman

Faculty Supervisor: Dr. Michael Robinson **Phone for further information:** 347-228-3176

Purpose of the study: I am conducting a study with Latino 7th, 8th, or 9th graders who attend a New York City independent school in order to learn how these students identify their race-ethnicity and how their family might affect their identity.

Place of study: Your child's school. **Length of participation:** One hour.

Risks and benefits: The expected risks and benefits of participation in this study are explained below: There are no known risks or benefits to your child if he/she participates in this study.

Method of compensation, if any: None.

Method for protecting confidentiality/privacy: All information will be kept in a locked safe in the researcher's home. Your child's survey information will be matched with their parental consent form and the teacher survey. Then, all personal data will be replaced with an identification number and personal data destroyed.

Your rights: As the parent/guardian of a research participant, you have the right to:

1. Have the purpose of the study, and the expected risks and benefits fully explained to you before you choose to allow your minor child to participate.
2. Withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.
3. Refuse to answer a particular question without penalty.
4. Be informed of appropriate alternative procedures or courses of treatment, if any, that might be advantageous to you or your minor child.
5. Be informed of the results of the study.

I, the parent or guardian of _____, a minor _____ years of age, consent to his/her participation in the above-named study. I have received a copy of this form.

	/	/15
Print name (Parent/Guardian)	Signature	Date
<u>Sandra K. Chapman</u>		4 / 6 /15
Print name (Investigator)	Signature	Date

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please contact the researcher listed above. If you or your child experiences emotional or physical discomfort due to participation in this study, contact the Office of Academic Affairs at 385-8034 or the Health & Wellness Center at 385-8280 for appropriate referrals.

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) of St. John Fisher College has reviewed this project. For any concerns regarding confidentiality, please call Jill Rathbun at 385-8012. She will direct your call to a member of the IRB at St. John Fisher College.

Revision 9/01



Appendix D

Participant Letter

Student's First Name Only:	
Student's Last Name-Initial Only:	
Teacher's Name:	
Advisor's Name:	
School Contact:	

For Researcher's Use Only

Student Code Number:

School Code Number:

Dear Student,

My name is Sandra K. Chapman. I work at Little Red School House & Elisabeth Irwin High School in Manhattan. I am also a student in the Executive Leadership program at St. John Fisher College in Rochester, NY. I am doing a study to learn more about Latino and Latina students at independent schools in New York City. I am curious about how these students identify their race and ethnicity and how their family might affect their identity.

Your participation will help me answer some of these questions. Anything you share with me will be held in confidence. No one who works at or attends your school will know what you tell me. I will also not tell your parent/guardian what you say.

Your parent has already signed a consent form. However, it is up to you whether or not you want to take the survey. I do appreciate your willingness to answer the two surveys I have. One will ask questions about how you describe your racial-ethnic identity and the other will ask questions about how you understand your family's role in developing your racial-ethnic identity. There is also some basic information about you

that I will collect. You can refuse to answer any question you are not comfortable with by simply crossing the question out.

Finally, if at any point during this process you feel any kind of discomfort or stress, please speak to your advisor or have your parent(s) speak to the school psychologist.

Thank you so much,

Sandra K. Chapman

Appendix E

Teacher Letter

Dear Teacher,

My name is Sandra K. Chapman. I am a student in the Executive Leadership program at St. John Fisher College in Rochester, NY. I am conducting research to learn more about Latino and Latina students who attend independent schools in New York City. I am curious about how these students describe their racial-ethnic identity, how they understand the role their family plays in developing their racial-ethnic identity, and how this might be connected to student engagement.

Your voluntary cooperation will help me answer some of these questions. Anything you share with me will be held in confidence. I ask that you also keep the measure you are completing confidential and not share with parents or other colleagues. Once I get home, I will change the student's first name and school name to a coded number, use that same coded number on the student engagement measure you complete, and then only use the answers for my analysis. No one who reads my research paper will know which answer came from you, your student(s), or to which school you both belong.

Once I receive your signed consent form, you will receive a valid and reliable student engagement measure called Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom (SARAC) for students whose parent(s) have already signed a consent form. While you are under no obligation to participate and there are no consequences to not

participating, your voluntary participation helps to complete the student's ability to be included in this research. I do appreciate your willingness to answer the teacher measure.

Thank you,
Sandra K. Chapman



St. John Fisher College INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title of study: The Role of Racial-Ethnic Identity and Family Socialization on Academic Engagement: Latino Youth in Select New York City Independent Schools

Name of researcher: Sandra K. Chapman

Faculty Supervisor: Dr. Michael Robinson **Phone for further information:** 347-228-3176

Purpose of the study: I am conducting a study with Latino 7th, 8th, or 9th graders who attend a New York City independent school in order to learn how these students identify their race-ethnicity and how their family might affect their identity.

Place of study: School where student attends. **Length of participation:** 15 minutes to one hour.

Risks and benefits: The expected risks and benefits of participation in this study are explained below: There are no known risks or benefits to your child if he/she participates in this study.

Method of compensation, if any: None.

Method for protecting confidentiality/privacy: All information will be kept in a locked safe in the researcher's home. Your survey information will be matched with the student's parental consent form and surveys. Then, all personal data will be replaced with an identification number and personal data destroyed.

Your rights: As a research participant, you have the right to:

1. Have the purpose of the study, and the expected risks and benefits fully explained to you before you choose to participate.
2. Withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.
3. Refuse to answer a particular question without penalty.
4. Be informed of appropriate alternative procedures or courses of treatment, if any, that might be advantageous to you.
5. Be informed of the results of the study.

I have read the above, received a copy of this form, and I agree to participate in the above-named study.

	/ /15	Date
Print name (Participant)	Signature	
Sandra K. Chapman	4 / 6 /15	Date
Print name (Investigator)	Signature	

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please contact the researcher listed above. If you or your child experiences emotional or physical discomfort due to participation in this study, contact the Office of Academic Affairs at 385-8034 or the Health & Wellness Center at 385-8280 for appropriate referrals.

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) of St. John Fisher College has reviewed this project. For any concerns regarding confidentiality, please call Jill Rathbun at 385-8012. She will direct your call to a member of the IRB at St. John Fisher College.

Revision 9/01



Appendix F

Demographic Questions

Student's First Name Only:

Student's Last Name-Initial Only:

Directions: Circle or write in the answer that best matches how you describe yourself.	
<p>QUESTION 1 - How old are you?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 11 years old 2. 12 years old 3. 13 years old 4. 14 years old 5. 15 years old 6. 16 years old 	<p>QUESTION 2 - What is your gender?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Female 2. Male 3. Other
<p>QUESTION 3 - In what grade are you?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 7th grade 2. 8th grade 3. 9th grade 	<p>QUESTION 4 – How many years have you attended this school?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1 – 2 year 2. 3 – 5 years 3. 6- 8 years 4. More than 9 years <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. If you transferred from another independent school, how many years were you at that other school?
<p>QUESTION 5 – How do you describe yourself? Circle all of the groups that describe you</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • American Indian or Alaska Native • Asian • Black or African American • Hispanic or Latino • Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander • White 	<p>QUESTION 6a - What languages do you speak comfortably in everyday conversations?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. English 2. Spanish 3. French/Creole 4. Other _____ <p>QUESTION 6b - What languages do the people you live at home with speak?</p>

1. English
2. Spanish
3. French/Creole
4. Other _____

QUESTION 7 - Where were you born?

- United States of America
- Outside of the United States of America
 - If outside of the USA, from which country were you born?

- Are/were you adopted? YES NO

QUESTION 8 - What is the racial-ethnic identity of the adult(s) raising you in your home?

Parent/Guardian/Other Adult in the Home

Parent/Guardian/Other Adult in the Home

Parent/Guardian/Other Adult in the Home

QUESTION 9 - Where were your parent(s) born?

1. United States of America
2. Outside of the United States of America

If outside of the USA, from which country or countries were they born?

Parent/Guardian _____

Parent/Guardian _____

3. Are your parent(s)/guardian(s) recent immigrants or migrants from another country? YES NO

Appendix G

Racial-Ethnic Identity and Racial-Ethnic Self-schemas

Student's First Name Only:

Student's Last Initial Only:

People use different words to describe themselves. Which of the following best describes you and the people who look like you?

Racial-Ethnic Identity:
Part One

Circle the appropriate answer and fill in the remaining questions to Part One. Raise your hand if you have individual comments or questions.

1. Latino
2. Hispanic
3. Mixed; parents are from different groups. If so, which: _____ and _____
4. Other (write in): _____.
When you think of yourself, you would most likely use the term _____ (write in from the list above) to describe your racial or ethnic group.
Describe what it means to you to be Latino or your specific ethnic group:
What are the everyday things you do that make you feel like you are Latino or your specific ethnic group:
Think about yourself as a male or female, what does it mean to be Latino or Latina? Does it make a difference to others that you are a Latino or your specific ethnic group? If so, can you tell me in what ways it makes a difference? How important is it to you to be Latino or your specific ethnic group?

Student's First Name Only:

Student's Last Initial Only:

People have different opinions about what it means to be Latino. I will read some statements to you.

Racial-Ethnic Identity:
Part Two

For each one, circle how close it is to your opinion using the scale below. Choose one answer that best describes your opinion at the present time and circle the number.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
It is important to me to think of myself as Latino.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that I am part of the Latino community.	1	2	3	4	5
I have a lot of pride in what members of the Latino community have done and achieved.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel close to others in the Latino community.	1	2	3	4	5
If I am successful it will help the Latino community.	1	2	3	4	5
It is important for my family and the Latino community that I succeed in school.	1	2	3	4	5
Some people will treat me differently because I am Latino.	1	2	3	4	5
As a Latino, the way I look and speak influences what others expect of me.	1	2	3	4	5
Things in the Latino community are not as good as they could be because of lack of opportunity.	1	2	3	4	5
It helps me when others in the Latino community are successful.	1	2	3	4	5
People might have negative ideas about my abilities because I am a Latino.	1	2	3	4	5
If I work hard and get good grades, other Latinos will respect me.	1	2	3	4	5

Student's First Name Only:

Student's Last Initial Only:

These are statements people sometimes make about being Latino. There is no right or wrong answer; your opinion counts.

Racial-Ethnic Identity:
Part Three

For each statement, circle the number closest to your opinion using the scale below. Choose one answer that best describes your opinion at the present time and circle the number.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
As a member of my group it is important for me to share my culture and traditions with others.	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud to be a member of my group because we as a people have made many contributions to society.	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud to be a member of my group and to be part of this great country	1	2	3	4	5
I am both part of my ethnic group and an American like everyone else.	1	2	3	4	5
We have to try harder than others because as a member of my ethnic group it is not easy to make it in America.	1	2	3	4	5
It is important for me to show others that when we set our mind to it, people in my group can do as well as anyone else.	1	2	3	4	5
It is important for me to represent my group in the best possible way because not everyone sees my group positively.	1	2	3	4	5
Even though others may not expect much of us, there are people in my group who have shown America that we can accomplish a lot.	1	2	3	4	5
It is better to be with my own group because sometimes other people don't get how we are.	1	2	3	4	5

I like to be mostly with people from my group because we understand each other best.	1	2	3	4	5
There is not much good about American culture, so I try to stick mostly to my own culture.	1	2	3	4	5
It is hard to be American and true to my home culture.	1	2	3	4	5
Belonging to a particular group is not important to me; we are all human.	1	2	3	4	5
Everyone is an individual, so my ethnic group does not matter to me.	1	2	3	4	5
It does not mean anything to me to be part of an ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
I don't feel part of any ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5

The researcher received permission from D. Oyserman to use the Racial-Ethnic Self-schemas Measure.

Coding Racial Ethnic Identity, part 2

Embedded achievement (items 5, 6, 10, and 12)

Connectedness (items 1-4)

Awareness of racism (items 7, 8, 9, and 11)

Coding Racial-Ethnic Self-schemas, part 3

Bridging – Dual RES subscale: RES1 – RES4

Bridging – Minority RES subscale: RES5 – RES8

In-group RES subscale: RES9 – RES12

RES Aschematic subscale: RES13 – RES16

Appendix H

Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure

Student's First Name Only:

Student's Last Initial Only:

I would like to know about your experiences with your family in the past year. I will read aloud each item, and as you prepare to circle your answer, think about your experiences with your family in the past year.

Please rate (between 1 and 5) how much you agree with each of the following items using the scale below. Choose one answer that best describes your experiences with your family in the past year and circle the number where 1=Not at all to 5=Very much.

Family Socialization

	Not at All		Some of the Time		Very Much
My family teaches me about my ethnic/cultural background.	1	2	3	4	5
My family encourages me to respect the cultural values and beliefs of our ethnic/cultural background.	1	2	3	4	5
My family participates in activities that are specific to my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
Our home is decorated with things that reflect my ethnic/cultural background.	1	2	3	4	5
The people who my family hangs out with the most are people who share the same ethnic background as my family.	1	2	3	4	5
My family teaches me about the values and beliefs of our ethnic/cultural background.	1	2	3	4	5
My family talks about how important it is to know about my ethnic/cultural background.	1	2	3	4	5
My family celebrates holidays that are specific to my ethnic/cultural background.	1	2	3	4	5

My family teaches me about the history of my ethnic/cultural background.	1	2	3	4	5
My family listens to music sung or played by artists from my ethnic/cultural background.	1	2	3	4	5
My family attends things such as concerts, plays, festivals, or other events that represent my ethnic/cultural background.	1	2	3	4	5
My family feels a strong attachment to our ethnic/cultural background.	1	2	3	4	5

The researcher received permission from A. Umaña-Taylor to use the Familial Ethnic Socialization Measure.

Coding items for covert FES: 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12

Coding items for overt FES: 1, 2, 6, 7, 9

Appendix I

Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom (SARAC)

Teacher's Name:	
School Contact:	

For Researcher's Use Only
Student Code Number:
School Code Number:

Dear Teacher

The following student has a signed parent consent form, giving permission for the student to participate in this research study. In order for the student's surveys to be included in my research, it must be accompanied by this teacher report about their engagement in school life. You have been given this survey because you are the best person to report on her/his school engagement. The attached Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom (SARAC) is a 4-item Likert-scale divided into six sections.

Please answer each question for each section for the student whose name is at the top of the page where 1=Not at all true; 2=Not very true; 3=Sort of true; 4=Very true.

Return this survey to the contact person named above, or mail it in the self-addressed envelope provided by the contact person.

Thank you for your time and attention,
Sandra K. Chapman

Student Name _____

		Not At All True	Not Very True	Sort Of True	Very True
A.	When we start something new in class, this student...				
	1. participates in discussionS	1	2	3	4
	2. doesn't pay attention	1	2	3	4
	3. is enthusiastic	1	2	3	4
	4. thinks about other things	1	2	3	4
	5. seems restless	1	2	3	4
B.	In my class, this student...				
	1. works as hard as he/she can	1	2	3	4
	2. does just enough to get by	1	2	3	4
	3. seems interested	1	2	3	4
	4. is anxious	1	2	3	4
	5. is angry	1	2	3	4
	6. does more than is required	1	2	3	4
	7. seems unhappy	1	2	3	4
	8. comes unprepared	1	2	3	4
C.	When working on classwork in my class, this student...				
	1. appears worried	1	2	3	4
	2. seems to feel good	1	2	3	4
	3. appears frustrated	1	2	3	4
	4. appears involved	1	2	3	4
	5. seems uninterested	1	2	3	4

D.	When I explain new material, this student...				
	1. doesn't seem to care	1	2	3	4
	2. listens carefully	1	2	3	4
E.	When faced with a difficult problem or assignment in my class, this student				
	1. "attacks" it	1	2	3	4
	2. gives up quickly	1	2	3	4
	3. becomes frustrated	1	2	3	4
	4. doesn't even try	1	2	3	4
	5. gets angry	1	2	3	4
	6. just keeps trying	1	2	3	4
F.	When this student doesn't do well on a test or assignment in class, he/she				
	1. feels terrible	1	2	3	4
	2. bounces back	1	2	3	4
	3. is devastated	1	2	3	4
	4. gets angry	1	2	3	4
	5. gets depressed	1	2	3	4
	6. works harder the next time	1	2	3	4

The researcher received permission from E. A. Skinner to use the Student's Achievement-Relevant Actions in the Classroom Measure.

Coding

Engagement-Behavior

1. When we start something new in class, this student participates in discussions.
2. In my class, this student works as hard as he/she can.
3. When I explain new material, this student listens carefully.
4. In my class, this student does more than required.

Disaffection Behavior

5. When we start something new in class, this student doesn't pay attention.
6. When we start something new in class, this student thinks about other things.
7. In my class, this student does just enough to get by.
8. In my class, this student comes unprepared.

Engagement Emotion

9. When we start something new in class, this student is enthusiastic.
10. When working on classwork in my class, this student appears involved.
11. When working on classwork in my class, this student seems to feel good.
12. In my class, this student seems interested.

Disaffection- Emotion

13. When working on classwork in my class, this student appears worried.
14. In my class, this student is anxious.
15. In my class, this student seems unhappy.
16. When I explain new material, this student doesn't seem to care.
17. In my class, this student is angry.
18. When working on classwork in my class, this student appears frustrated.
19. When we start something new in class, this student seems restless.
20. When working on classwork in my class, this student seems uninterested.

Re-engagement (Optional)

1. When faced with a difficult problem or assignment in my class, this student "attacks" it.
2. When this student doesn't do well on a test or assignment in my class, he/she works harder next time.
3. When faced with a difficult problem or assignment in my class, this student just keeps trying.
4. When this student doesn't do well on a test or assignment in my class, he/she bounces back.
5. When faced with a difficult problem or assignment in my class, this student gives up quickly.
6. When faced with a difficult problem or assignment in my class, this student doesn't even try.
7. When this student doesn't do well on a test or assignment in my class, he/she is devastated.

8. When this student doesn't do well on a test or assignment in my class, he/she gets depressed.
9. When faced with a difficult problem or assignment in my class, this student becomes frustrated.
10. When faced with a difficult problem or assignment in my class, this student gets angry.
11. When this student doesn't do well on a test or assignment in my class, he/she gets angry.
12. When this student doesn't do well on a test or assignment in my class, he/she feels terrible.