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Let's Talk about Race: Children's Racial, Ethnic, and National Identification
and Teacher's Socialization Practices

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of
the requirements for the degree Master of Arts
in Education

by

Taylor Rae Hazelbaker

2017

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Let's Talk about Race: Children's Racial, Ethnic, and National Identification and Teacher's Socialization Practices

by

Taylor Rae Hazelbaker

Master of Arts in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Rashmita S. Mistry, Chair

This study used a mixed methods approach to examine children's racial, ethnic, and national identification in middle childhood, as well as teacher's socialization practices across two program structures. Participants were racially and ethnically diverse and included 64 3rd grade students and their 8 teachers. Children identified with a variety of racial, ethnic, and national labels – most often selecting American to describe themselves, and frequently referenced family heritage, birthplace, and cultural practices and language to explain their identification as well as other sources (e.g., food, books, and conversations with parents) that informed their identification. Teachers reported using read alouds and incorporating multiple perspectives as strategies for talking about race, ethnicity, and nationality in their classrooms. Further, results suggest more in-depth conversations and lessons about race and ethnicity in the dual language immersion classroom. Thus, middle childhood is an essential time for racial, ethnic, and national identity formation, and teachers are important socialization agents.

The thesis of Taylor Rae Hazelbaker is approved.

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2017

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Race, ethnicity, and nationality are prominent social categories that impact how children view themselves and others (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014), including their growing awareness of racial bias and their intergroup relations (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997). Despite a growing body of evidence demonstrating that children's understanding of these social groups develops rapidly during early childhood (Quintana, 2008; Rogers et al., 2012), far less research has examined racial, ethnic, and national identity development earlier in life as compared with later childhood and adolescence (Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012).

Transitioning from early (ages 5-8) to middle childhood (ages 8-12) marks an important developmental shift in children's capacity to engage in social reasoning. During this time, children develop more complex socio-cognitive abilities and broaden their participation in social situations that have implications for their understanding of their own and others' race, ethnicity, and nationality (Ruble et al., 2004). Specifically, the shifts in children's perceptions of self and others have significant effects on children's understanding of social groups and their identification with these groups (Ruble et al., 2004). As such the current study aims to examine the racial, ethnic, and national groups children identify with and the sources (e.g. parents, teachers, books, television) influencing their identification.

Much of the extant research investigating where children learn about their racial, ethnic, and national identity and group membership has focused on parent socialization practices (Hughes et al., 2006). However, with elementary school-aged children in the U.S. spending an average of 943 hours in school per year (Desilver, 2014), it is important to understand how teachers and school context influence children's emerging racial, ethnic, and national identities. Thus, a second goal of the current study is to examine the ways in which teachers facilitate conversations and incorporate lessons about race, ethnicity, and national heritage.

Race, ethnicity, and nationality are complex terms that warrant definitions before turning to a review of the literature. After a conceptualization of terms, the theoretical framework guiding the study is described. Children's developmental understanding of race, ethnicity, and nationality, as well as research regarding the importance of examining their identifications with these groups are presented. Finally, I discuss previous research regarding parent and teacher racial, ethnic, and national socialization practices.

Conceptualization of Terms

Across the U.S., broad racial and ethnic labels are used to categorize people in various contexts (e.g. government census, job applications, education). Hollinger (1995) uses the term *ethno-racial blocs* to describe these socially constructed groups (i.e., White, African American, Asian American, Hispanic/Latinx, and Native American) based on the political context and history of the United States, rather than biology or culture. In the current study, I combine the constructs of race and ethnicity because children's understanding of the two overlap considerably and are not meaningfully distinguishable in childhood and adolescence as compared with adulthood (Quintana, 2008; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Instead, Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2014) recently proposed an "integrated conceptualization" of ethnic-racial identity (ERI) in which the constructs of racial identity and ethnic identity are combined to describe the development of attitudes and beliefs about racial and ethnic group membership in adolescence (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Furthermore, Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2014) suggest reserving the term "identity" for use with adolescents and using the term *identification* with children in early and middle childhood as children's understanding of racial and ethnic identity is limited to labeling, knowledge and behaviors, and constancy, suggesting that children are still forming their identities. Thus, for the current study, I use the term *identification* to refer to

children's identification based on race, ethnicity, or nationality (Phinney et al., 1997; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

In the extant literature, there is much debate between using ethnic versus racial identification, and scholars have only recently suggested a meta-construct of the two terms. Thus, integrating the construct of national identification with racial and ethnic identification introduces another level of complexity to the current study. There is a small body of literature examining racial, ethnic, and national identity in late middle childhood and adolescence which suggests that using a hyphenated American identity (e.g., Asian-American) differs by factors like immigrant status and geographic location of residence (Kiang, Perreira, & Fuligni, 2011; Rodriguez et al., 2016), and adolescent research reveals a complex relationship between racial, ethnic, and national identities (Rodriguez, Schwartz, & Whitbourne, 2010). Since children have not been found to meaningfully distinguish between race and ethnicity and given that research suggests a complicated relationship between race, ethnicity, and nationality in adolescence, I combined racial, ethnic, and national identification as one term in the current study. Further, as a result of recent immigration trends, the United States has become more racially and ethnically diverse (Cohn, 2016), so one of the goals for this study was to explore children's racial, ethnic, and national identifications.

Social Identity Theory

The larger theoretical framework guiding this study is social identity theory (SIT). SIT posits that individuals define themselves in terms of social group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social categorization and social comparison are the processes wherein individuals create socially constructed groups based on similarities within and differences between groups, and make meaning of these groups to understand the social world (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Thus, an

individual's social identity, as a part of one's self-concept, emerges through affiliation as a member of a social group or groups and developing a sense of "we-ness" within the group (Ruble et al., 2004). Extant developmental literature shows that gender, race, ethnicity, and nationality are salient social groups for young children and that the development of children's understanding of and identification with social groups shifts rapidly from early to middle childhood (Ruble et al., 2004).

Development of Children's Reasoning about Race, Ethnicity, and Nationality

At a more micro-level, I use Quintana's (1999) model of the development of children's racial understanding to guide the understanding of young children's racial, ethnic, and national identification. According to Quintana, children's understanding of race and ethnicity begins roughly between 3 and 6 years old and is informed by observable characteristics like skin color, and hair color and texture. At this age, children are capable of labeling themselves in terms of race and ethnicity in a rudimentary manner such as placing a photograph of themselves into predetermined racial categories (Brown & Bigler, 2005). From ages 6 to 10, children's racial understanding shifts to less obviously observable aspects of race and ethnicity including ancestry, pride and family heritage, and as children near adolescence, they begin to associate race with the social world including discrimination, bias, and in-group attitudes (Brown & Bigler, 2005; Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2015; Quintana, 1999).

The emergence of a national identification in young children is less well investigated as compared with race and ethnicity, but prior studies suggest that children are capable of naming their country of residence and labeling themselves in terms of nationality by age 5 (Barrett, Lyons, & del Valle, 2004). By age 10, children begin to show favoritism toward their own national group and prejudice towards other national groups (Rutland, 2004). Also, in a recent

study by Rodriguez and colleagues (2016) with a sample of children ages 10-12 from diverse racial, ethnic, and immigrant backgrounds, the meanings that children attributed to being American were examined. Children from racial and ethnic minority backgrounds were more likely to identify as American and cite pride and feelings of belonging when explaining what it means to be American, as compared to their European American peers who identified as White (Rodriguez et al., 2016).

Importance of Middle Childhood

Middle childhood (ages 8-12) marks a developmental period when children's understanding of social group membership is becoming more nuanced, due in part to both socio-cognitive advances and as they spend more time at school and with peers (Quintana, 1999; Ruble et al., 2004). As mentioned above, Quintana (1999) states that from 6 to 10 years old children move from visible to less visible markers of racial and ethnic understanding, which is related to the development of the ability to think about multiple perspectives or characteristics when understanding race and ethnicity (e.g., skin color and ancestry). Further, during this developmental window, children are also developing the capacity to engage in role-playing, taking multiple perspectives (i.e., positive and negative attitudes, differences and similarities within and between social groups), and shifting to more complex understandings of racial and ethnic groups (Quintana, 1999; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Advances in children's socio-cognitive skills and understanding of race and ethnicity lead to children's racial, ethnic, and national identifications taking on more complex meanings in middle childhood. Although less well investigated as compared with adolescence, a small body of literature has examined racial, ethnic, and national identity development in middle childhood. In a recent study, Rogers and colleagues (2012) asked a diverse sample of 2nd and 4th grade

students to make meaning of their racial and ethnic identification and children most frequently mentioned language and birthplace. Furthermore, 2nd grade students were more likely to respond with “I don’t know” when asked to express the meaning of their identification than 4th grade students, who made more frequent references to language, birthplace, heredity, and physical appearances (Rogers et al., 2012). Regarding children’s national identification, researchers have asked children how American they feel and to rate whether certain phenomena are typical of being a “true American” (Brown, 2011). Results indicated that a sample of 5- to 11-year-old children believed that the most important parts of being an American is to love America and follow American rules (Brown, 2011).

Taken together these findings highlight that middle childhood is a key developmental period when children’s socio-cognitive abilities are more advanced and they express greater interest in understanding and developing their racial, ethnic, and national identification. Although racial, ethnic, and national identification have not typically been examined conjointly, it is important to examine how children may be integrating these identities. Thus, one goal of the current study is to explore how children describe themselves in terms of race, ethnicity, and nationality labels and the justifications they provide.

Socialization of the Children’s Racial, Ethnic, and National Identification

Understanding how children understand and identify with a particular racial, ethnic, and national group is important because it can inform how the adults in their lives can better help to foster healthy understandings which are essential for positive intergroup relations, peer interactions, and psychosocial well-being (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). Socialization is broadly defined as the transfer of information from adults to children (Hughes et al., 2006). Harm (2000) posits that socialization processes are pervasive, consistent, circular, self-perpetuating, and

sometimes invisible. Starting at an early age, children are trained “how to be” certain identities beginning at home and, as children get older, spreading to places outside of the home such as school or places of worship (Harm, 2000). Hughes and colleagues’ (2006) review of parent racial and ethnic socialization practices stresses the importance of preparing racial and ethnic minority children to navigate a majority white society where they may be subjected to discrimination and bias. The ways in which parents talk to their children about race and ethnicity are classified into four developmental categories: cultural socialization (e.g., encouraging children to participate in traditions, take pride in their culture, and learn about the history of their family heritage), preparation for bias (e.g., making children aware of discrimination and having discussions about how to handle it), promotion of mistrust (e.g., warn children about relationships with people from other racial and ethnic groups), and egalitarianism and silence about race (e.g., tell children to value other characteristics above race, or do not talk about race; Hughes et al., 2006). Parents from different racial and ethnic backgrounds have been shown to engage in different socialization practices. For instance, cultural socialization was prevalent in families of African American, Chinese, European American, Japanese, Mexican, and Salvadoran heritage (Coddington, 2016; Phinney & Chavira, 1995), while European American mothers use colorblind racial and ethnic socialization practices (Pahlke, Bigler, & Suizzo, 2012).

Parents are major socialization agents for children, but as children grow older they spend a great deal of time at school and thus, teachers have the potential to play an increasingly salient role in socializing children’s social identities. In the context of school, racial and ethnic socialization is thought to be informed through curriculum, books, peer norms, and social interactions within and outside of the classroom (Aldana & Byrd, 2015; Banks, 2007). The four socialization processes described by Hughes and colleagues (2006) were recently reviewed and

integrated to explain multicultural education practices in classrooms by Aldana and Byrd (2015). Cultural socialization is seen in the incorporation of authors of color, the perspectives of racial and ethnic groups in history lessons, and celebrations like Black History month, which may inadvertently promote a sense of tokenism. Preparation for bias in the school context encourages students to be aware of and challenge racial and ethnic inequalities and discrimination (Aldana & Byrd, 2015). Promotion of mistrust is subtle in schools, but is evident in racial segregation, academic tracking, and forced abandonment of native languages (Aldana & Byrd, 2015; Valdés, 2015). Silence about race and egalitarian socialization practices are seen in the “hidden curriculum” or the lack of conversations about race and ethnicity and the omission of racial and ethnic perspectives in lessons and textbooks (Aldana & Byrd, 2015, p. 570).

Although Aldana and Byrd (2015) suggest ways in which racial and ethnic socialization can be brought into schools, to date little research has explored how teachers talk about race and ethnicity in the classroom context and how these socialization practices shape the formation of students’ identifications. One study examined the effect of teaching history with instruction that directly incorporated historical racial discrimination, and found that these lessons decreased European American children’s racial biases (Hughes, Bigler, & Levy, 2007), which is consistent with previous research that among other potential benefits, discussing race can lead to less prejudice and stereotypic reasoning (Aboud & Fenwick, 1999). However, certain school contexts may provide an opportunity for teachers to incorporate more conversations about race and ethnicity, and more research is needed to investigate teacher practices within these programs.

As a result of rapid immigration growth, the United States has become increasingly linguistically and culturally diverse, and one school context – dual language immersion (DLI) – has garnered interest from researchers, educators, and policymakers (Bailey & Osipova, 2016;

Li, Steele, Slater, Bacon, & Miller, 2016). DLI programs usually begin in preschool and continue through the primary school grades (ages 4-11), with goals to promote bilingualism, biliteracy, academic achievement, and multicultural exposure and understanding (Li et al., 2016). A form of bilingual education, DLI programs bring together approximately equal numbers of students from a dominant societal language (e.g., English) and a partner language (e.g., Spanish), although the proportion of instruction in each language varies greatly across programs (Li et al., 2016; Lindholm-Leary & Genesee, 2014). Extant research has documented academic benefits of DLI programs for native English speakers and English learners, suggesting that students in DLI students perform at the same level, and in some cases better than their monolingual peers (Lindholm-Leary & Genesee, 2014). Further, bilingualism has been associated with improvement in various aspects of cognition, including working memory and selective attention (Bialystok & Barac, 2012).

Although less well investigated, students in DLI programs, as compared to their monolingual peers, rate themselves as more competent in Spanish (Griffin, Bailey, & Mistry, under review), and report higher levels of peer acceptance (Bryne, Coddington, Mistry, & Bailey, 2013). Further, in one study, all students associated language with race and ethnicity (Griffin et al., under review), and, in another study, language was a salient aspect of children's racial and ethnic awareness (Coddington, Rodriguez, Mistry, & Bailey, 2015). Research demonstrates a consistent link between heritage language proficiency and ethnic identity (Oh & Fuligni, 2009; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001), and bilingualism in English and a heritage language may promote a positive sense of ethnic identity (Imbens-Bailey, 1996). For instance, bilingual Armenian American children expressed a greater sense of closeness with the Armenian community as compared with their monolingual Armenian American peers, and this

sense of ethnic community may foster a strong sense of ethnic identity (Imbens-Bailey, 1996). Thus, we know that DLI programs have a range of benefits, but little research to date has examined racial, ethnic, and national identity development within the context of DLI programming.

Extant research has documented parent socialization practices, but far less attention has been paid to how teachers socialize their students about race, ethnicity, and nationality. Having conversations in the classroom about race and ethnicity fosters the development of students' racial and ethnic understanding and identification (Phinney et al., 1997), and it is important to examine the ways in which teachers facilitate these conversations and how they may influence children's identity development. Thus, the current study aims to examine how teachers talk about race, ethnicity, and nationality in their classrooms, as well as how the program structure within the school (i.e., DLI versus English Medium Instruction; EMI) informs conversations about these topics.

Current Study

The current study examined children's racial, ethnic, and national identification as well as factors that influence their identification during 3rd grade, a time when children have both the requisite socio-cognitive abilities to engage in discussions about explorations of their racial, ethnic, and national heritage and when interactions with peers of similar and different backgrounds are especially salient. In addition, teachers' socialization of topics related to race, ethnicity, and nationality in the classroom were explored. The specific research aims were to:

- (1) Describe 3rd grade children's racial, ethnic, and national identification.

- (2) Examine with whom (i.e., parents, teachers, friends) and from what sources (i.e., books, TV, movies) children mention as influencing their racial, ethnic, and national identification.
- (3) Examine the ways in which teachers socialize students about race, ethnicity, and nationality.
- (4) Examine differences in children's racial, ethnic, and national identification, as well as teachers' socialization and curriculum practices as a function of schooling experience (i.e., DLI and EMI program enrollment).

Method

Data Source and Research Site

Data for the current study come from a larger longitudinal study evaluating the impact of participation in a dual-language immersion (DLI) program, a strand within an otherwise English medium instruction (EMI) school, on children's academic, linguistic, and socioemotional outcomes (Bailey & Mistry, 2012). About a third of the students at each grade level (PreK - 4th grade) participate in the DLI program and instruction is predominately in Spanish (90%; English (10%).

Data were collected at a university-affiliated laboratory elementary school in southern California, and a section of the mission statement puts forth that the school is “dedicated to addressing the needs of children from diverse backgrounds.” The importance of this commitment is reflected in the diversity of the student body where the racial and ethnic makeup was European American (36%), Latinx¹ (20%), Asian American (9%), African American (7%), Multi-racial and ethnic (18%), and Other (8%). Socioeconomic diversity was also evident with the annual

¹ We use Latinx here as an alternative to Latino/a and Latin@ because it is gender-neutral and inclusive of all Latin American descendants (Ramirez & Blay, 2016).

household income bracket for study participants at the school ranging from \$10,000 to over \$1,000,000. However, the median annual household income bracket for the study participants (\$150,000-\$199,999) was higher than the median income of Los Angeles County (\$56,196; U.S. Census Bureau, 2016), but similar to the neighborhoods surrounding the school (\$84,342 - \$141,527; <http://zipatlas.com>), and in general students were primarily from upper-middle class families.

Participants

Participants in the current study were 3rd grade students (N=64) who completed the racial and ethnic identification measure and an additional interview component, as well as their 8 teachers. Student participants were 45% male and 55% female, and 36% were White, 17% Latinx, with an additional 20% Multi-Ethnic (Latinx), 14% were Multi-Ethnic (Non-Latinx), 9% were Asian, and 2% African American (see Table 2). Participants also included the lead teachers in each 3rd grade classroom (N=8). The teacher participants were 75% female, 63% European American (Latinx 25%; Unspecified 12%), and had 75% had Master's degrees (Bachelor's degree 25%). The three 3rd grade classrooms were combined with 4th grade and had variability in class size (i.e. 24-36 students). The two larger classrooms had three lead teachers each, while the smaller size classroom had two teachers. One classroom was a dual-language immersion (DLI) program while the other two classrooms were English medium instruction (EMI).

DLI Participants. Participants in the DLI classroom ($n=24$) were 21% White, 33% Latinx, 33% Multi-Ethnic Latinx, 4% Asian, and 8% Multi-Ethnic Non-Latinx. The majority of DLI participants spoke Spanish and English (58%) upon their enrollment in the school, while the remaining participants spoke English (25%), Spanish (8%), or another combination (8%). Ms. Rodriguez, Ms. King, and Ms. Martin (all teacher names are pseudonyms) were the three lead

teachers in the DLI classrooms, and they identified as female, Latinx American ($n=2$) and European American ($n=1$).

EMI Participants. The EMI classrooms consisted of participants ($n=40$) who were 45% White, 8% Latinx, 13% Multi-Ethnic Latinx, 3% African American, 13% Asian, and 18% Multi-Ethnic Non-Latinx. EMI participants were reported by their parents upon enrollment in the school as speaking English (70%), English and Spanish (10%), English and a non-Spanish language (10%), and another combination of languages (10%). Ms. Miller, Mr. Collins, Mr. Roberts, Ms. Anderson, and Ms. Jones were the five lead teachers in the EMI classrooms, and identified as female ($n=3$) and male ($n=2$), as well as European American ($n=4$) and not reported ($n=1$).

Procedures

Each individual child interview took place in a quiet research office and was conducted by a trained research assistant. Participants completed the Racial and Ethnic Identification Measure followed by an open-ended interview aimed at better understanding their identification. Each teacher interview was conducted individually in a quiet room away from other teachers and students. The child and teacher interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. Classroom observations were completed at times when teachers anticipated that conversations about race and ethnicity would likely come up during lessons, activities, or discussions, for example, lessons pertaining to the history of Los Angeles, immigration, and family heritage. All measures, interviews, and observations were completed during the spring of the 2015-2016 school year. After all the child interviews were completed, teacher interviews were conducted followed by classroom observations.

Measures

Racial and Ethnic Identification Measure. The Racial and Ethnic Identification Measure assessed how children identify in terms of their racial and ethnic heritage. The measure contained a list of 28 racial, ethnic, and national labels informed by census track data on the major racial and ethnic groups residing in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, alongside additional labels typically used to categorize one's racial and ethnic group membership (e.g. Latinx, American, Spanish, Black, Italian; see Table 1). First, racial and ethnic labels were explained to children by saying "I am going to show you some words. These are some of the words that describe the many different places that people are from and their racial and ethnic background or group. A racial or ethnic label is the name we use to describe a group of people that come from a similar cultural background." Labeled cards were presented sequentially, in a counterbalanced order, and children were asked, "Are you {racial/ethnic label}?" Responses ("yes", "no", or "I don't know") were recorded and children were given an opportunity at the end of the task to provide any other racial or ethnic labels that described them. If children chose more than one racial and ethnic label they were shown all the cards they picked, and asked "which of these words is most like you?" to form a rank order.

As a follow-up, and to better understand what informs children's selection of racial/ethnic labels, children were asked a series of open-ended questions regarding with whom (e.g., parents, teachers, peers) and from what sources (e.g., books, television shows, movies) children reported having learned about how they know they are a member of their racial and ethnic group. The interview protocol was adapted from Gillen-O'Neel et al., (2015) and Rodriguez et al., (2016). Children were asked a set of 10 open-ended questions including "why did you chose [racial and ethnic label(s)] as best describing you," "tell me a time you've talked to your parents (friends) about being [label]," and "think about a time in class or school when

you have done an activity celebrating or talking about the different places or backgrounds where people come from.”

Teacher Interview. The open-ended interviews with teachers assessed how they discuss and help their students learn about race and ethnicity and were adapted from a protocol used by White, Mistry and Chow (2013). Teachers were asked about specific activities or lessons they use to promote conversations about race, ethnicity, and family heritage, as well as what types of professional development they have taken part in to learn how to facilitate these conversations and activities. The interview questions included “Do you use specific strategies in your classroom to promote interactions among students differing by race and ethnicity?” and “How does teaching a group of students from diverse backgrounds influence what and how you teach in your classroom?”

Classroom Observations. In the initial interviews with teachers, one classroom observation in each classroom (for a total of three) was scheduled during lessons or activities when teachers anticipated having conversations about race and ethnicity or family heritage. The observations were conducted by taking field notes and photographs of artifacts (Bowen, 2009; Maxwell, 2012), and each observation was approximately 30 minutes. The observations were unstructured and the researcher was a complete observer (Maxwell, 2012). An observation protocol provided examples aspects of the classroom that could be observed, such as, how conversations about race and ethnicity were initiated (teacher versus student), what type of classroom format these conversations occurred during (teacher led, whole group discussion, small group discussions, or student inquiry), and how well and often opportunities are taken up or missed by the teachers. In each of the three classrooms, one observation was completed during whole class activities (e.g. read aloud and history lesson) by writing fieldnotes about the content

of the lesson, and student and teacher discussions or questions about race, ethnicity, or family heritage. As soon as possible after each session, the fieldnotes taken during the observations were typed up in Word documents to create ethnographic fieldnotes (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011). Photographs of documents were taken during each classroom observation and again at an end of the year showcase of students' final projects.

Analytic Plan

First, I present descriptive statistics to describe the racial, ethnic, and national labels that children selected. Using Strauss and Corbin's (1998) procedure for open-ended coding, a team of researchers coded children's responses to the question "Why did you choose [label] as most like you?" using an iterative process of selecting random subsets of 20-25% of the responses until coders reached agreement on the final set of codes (see Table 4). We coded for as many themes as were evident in children's responses. Two independent researchers coded the data (84% absolute agreement; Cohen's kappa=.783).

The same coding process described above was used to code children's responses to questions about who they talk with (i.e., parents, friends, in their classroom) about their racial, ethnic, and national identification. After a final set of codes was agreed upon (see Table 5), two independent researchers coded the data (78% absolute agreement; Cohen's kappa=.755). Due to a limited number of children who responded to questions about other sources that informed children's identifications (i.e., food, festivals and activities, books, T.V. shows, movies), the first author coded this portion of the data descriptively based on whether they talked about these sources (Yes or No).

Teacher interviews and classroom observations were coded using Strauss and Corbin's (1998) procedure for open-ended coding in which the interview transcriptions and observation

fieldnotes were read and reread to identify themes and form descriptive codes (i.e., diversity is more than race, using discussions and read alouds, incorporating multiple perspectives, and celebrating differences). Finally, differences in children's racial, ethnic, and national identifications were assessed as a function of program structure (DLI vs. EMI) by computing the chi-square for homogeneity of groups.

Results

Research Aim #1: 3rd grade children's racial, ethnic, and national identification

Descriptive statistics were conducted for the number of REN labels children chose, the labels that were most frequently chosen, as well as the labels children selected as most like them. Out of the 28 labels provided, participants most often selected 3 labels that described them (range: 1-10). The most common choices were: American (80%), White (59%), provided their own label (e.g., Jewish; 48%), English (47%), Irish (23%), Spanish (22%), Mexican (20%), Latino/a American (17%), and Latino/a (16%; see Table 3). When asked to select one label as most like them, children identified with a variety of the labels (14 out of 28 provided). Most often, children identified American as most like them (31%) followed by White (11%), a label provided by the participant (11%), English (8%), Mexican (8%), or two labels combined (e.g., Korean and American; 8%).

Participant's response to "why did you choose [label] as most like you?" were coded into seven categories: (a) family heritage; (b) birthplace and residence; (c) cultural practices and language; (d) categorization; (e) affect and belonging; (f) physical attributions; and (g) social statements (see Table 4). A majority of the participants referenced family heritage to describe why they selected the label most like them. For example, a participant described why he identified as White saying, "Because my dad, even he is from South America. And all my

ancestors as far as I know they were White. None of them were Black.” Close to half of the participants mentioned where they were born or where they have lived, and some students who identified as American responded with answers like, “Because I was born in America” and “Because I’ve lived in America... all my life so far.” A student who identified as Asian American said, “Because I’m from Asia and I live in America.” Participants’ responses also frequently referenced language (e.g., “I chose English because I speak English”) and other cultural practices like food (e.g., “Because I like to eat most Italian foods. I’m friends with a lot of Italians and I feel like I’m just most connected to Italian”). About a fourth of the students made statements minimizing racial and ethnic categories. For instance, a student who selected White as the label most like them stated, “I don’t think race is that important... Because race doesn’t matter, it’s only about who you are on the inside” and another student who identified as American said, “It doesn’t matter where you come from... because like people may come from somewhere else but they still may be nice people so it doesn’t matter.”

Participants responses also included their feelings of affect and belonging, which is evident by one student who identified as both Chinese and American saying, “I feel kinda fine because like at the school like lots of kids are like two different things so it’s like kind of normal to me cuz it’s kind of just like part of me.” Another student who identified as Mexican commented, “I feel happy... because like most in my class I’m like the only person, and that makes me really happy because... I could be special by who I am.” Although only evident in a small portion of the participants’ responses, physical attributions (13%) and social statements (8%) were also brought up. A student who identified as German said, “You can tell because of my goldyish hair cuz more... people who have brown hair... don’t really look like Germans.”

Another student who identified as American said, “Well, it’s just that I was told Donald Trump doesn’t like Mexicans. So, I mean for me it is important that I’m American.”

Some students’ responses referenced many of the themes. For example, one student mentioned family heritage and many aspects of cultural practices and language saying that he identified as Jewish,

“Because most of my family was born in Israel. Um, I know Hebrew... most of the time for vacation I go to Israel. And I have Jewish friends and I go to Hebrew school. I celebrate all the Jewish holidays too.”

Another student’s response included birthplace and residence, family heritage, affect and belonging, and cultural practices and language, and a student, who identified as Latino/a American, commented,

“My mom is from Mexico and my dad is from Argentina and the language from well both races is Spanish. And well I'm from America and I'm mostly me from my dad and mom. And that's why I chose Latino/Latina American because I'm half American and half Latino. [And how do you feel about being Latino/Latina American?] Well I feel proud of being Latina American because I can speak both languages, like the main languages, well mostly English and Spanish.”

Overall, children in the sample identified with a variety of racial, ethnic, and national labels, but most often selected American to describe themselves. Further, when describing why they identified with a specific label, most students referenced aspects of cultural practices and language, where they were born or live, as well as family heritage. Important to note, children also highlighted that race does not matter.

Research Aim #2: Sources children identify as influencing their identification

Who children talk with about their identification. Participant's response to questions about who they talked with about their identification were coded into seven categories: (a) cultural practices and language; (b) family heritage; (c) in school; (d) other responses; (e) affect and belonging; (f) categorization; and (g) history and immigration (see Table 5). Over a fourth of participants said that they do not talk to their parents ($n=18$) or at school ($n=18$) about their race, ethnicity, and nationality (e.g., "I never talk to my parents about being White"), and more than half of the participants ($n=38$) reported that they did not talk to their friends about their identifications.

Parents. Participants most frequently referenced cultural practices and language ($n=25$), family heritage ($n=17$), and had other responses ($n=15$) when describing conversations that they had with their parents. The themes of affect and belonging, history and immigration, conversations in school that involved parents, and statements referring to categorization were mentioned less frequently (see Table 5). One student, who identified as Korean and American, recalled a conversation with his parents when he asked,

"‘Why do I have to speak Korean?’ and my mom said that ‘You should be proud of being Korean American. You should speak Korean, American, and Spanish all together.’ [How did that make you feel when you talked to her?] Made me like sort of proud after that to be Korean.”

Another student who identified as American mentioned talking to her mother about her family heritage saying,

"Well she'll tell me about her ancestors and stuff... Mostly about how they immigrated to different places. [Do you remember where they immigrated to or where they are from?] Um... I know they are from Ireland... but I know they traveled by boat.”

Participant's responses also referenced other types of conversations with their parents and a student who identified as Jewish said, "we talk about how Jewish people don't have that much money to buy food so we usually give it to charity and then they get to give food to them."

School. When asked about these topics coming up at school, over half of the participants ($n=37$) mentioned a class unit or a specific subject when they talked about race, ethnicity, and nationality. Further, students ($n=16$) also recalled lessons pertaining to history and immigration. Some students remembered a specific class time saying things like, "Definitely in inquiry, [teacher name] teaches us you know the history of LA. Umm yeah he is like talking about the first people and second people of LA. So, we know the history," while others talked about activities that they did in previous years. For instance, when asked about when they had done these activities, one student said "Only in 1st or 2nd grade but not in 3rd... Well we do family share outs where you talk about like where you are from and important things to you. But we don't do that anymore." Students also referenced cultural practices and language in their responses ($n=25$). For example, one student recalled,

"when I brought pupusas [traditional Salvadoran corn tortilla with a savory filling] in first grade... we were making pupusas, my grandma was there and we were making pupusas of cheese and cheese with beans and with all my class and everyone liked them... and before we made them, um we talked about parts of El Salvador."

Only a few students' responses referenced family heritage ($n=7$) and affect and belonging ($n=4$) when talking about conversations or activities that they had done in school, and they rarely had other responses or referenced categorization (see Table 5). One student who identified as English recalled a conversation she had with a friend in school about family heritage saying, "She said that she's from El Salvador... I tell her that my mom is from there too... That some of my

grandparents are from there too.” Another student who identified as Mexican referenced affect and belonging when he talked about his class and said,

“They don't really talk about Mexicans they just they don't even know what uh stuff like that is. So, they don't talk about it all and I bring some stuff to celebrate it they just take it like I give it to the kids and then after that they don't really understand why I gave it to them and I mentioned it like a million times that it's Day of the Dead. But they didn't just don't listen... it makes me feel uncomfortable that people don't really know about my country and they everyone else knows about theirs.”

Friends. Over half of the participants ($n=38$) said that they did not talk with their friends about their race, ethnicity, and nationality. For example, one student said, “Well I don't usually talk about being American cuz I'm not a racist person, so yeah,” and another student shared, “Well we never really bring it up. You know it's... I don't know, We just kind of play. We don't talk about our cultures that much.” One student who identified as Italian and chose four other labels that described her said,

“I don't really talk to my friends about being Italian. [How come?] I don't know. It's just not my I feel like it's kind of bragging... Cuz some people are just American and I'm like five other things and like I don't want them to feel that it's better to be more than just one. So, I don't really like to brag.”

Some students who did talk about their identification with their friends mentioned cultural practices and language in their responses ($n=10$) by saying, “my friend talked about her being from Finland... That poo in Finland is called Tree in their language.” Other students talked about their family heritage ($n=4$) saying, “Yeah, I know [student name] is French and I'm pretty sure that [student name] is pretty much American... They just kinda told me and I kinda told

them.” Very few students mentioned other types of conversations with their friends (see Table 5).

What other sources children mention as influencing their identification. Participants’ responses to whether they had eaten food, participated in festivals, activities, and events, read books, or watched T.V. and movies related to their racial, ethnic, and national identification were descriptively coded based on whether they had a response to the question. Over half of the participants responded that they had eaten food ($n=39$) or participated in festivals, activities, and events ($n=39$) related to their identification. However, only one third of participants reported that they had read books ($n=24$) or watched T.V. shows ($n=21$) and movies ($n=19$) about the label they selected.

Food. Students described a variety of food that made them feel like they belonged to their racial or ethnic group. One student who identified as Italian said, “I love love love love love pasta. I love pizza... I love lasagna.” When asked if he ate any food that made him feel American, one student said, “Yes, corn.... Because they grow really good corn on the east coast of America.” Another student who identified as Korean commented, “Bulgogi... bul means fire in Korean and gogi means meat and so that reminds me of it because it was it's Korean’s best meat,” and a student who identified as Jewish said,

“Challah [braided bread], matzah [unleavened flatbread] ... I like challah the most.

[When you eat these foods, who makes it?] We buy it. But in the religion, Jews didn't have time to bake the bread so that’s how the matzah came out.”

A student who identified as European American said,

“When we go to Germany for Christmas we eat different food. Like celebrational food and food and food that you just eat there normally... Well in German it's called

Baumkuchen and the translation is like it won't make sense but it's like tree cake, it has like different layers and its really delicious. It's probably my favorite.”

Festivals, activities, and events. Participants referenced many types of festivals, activities, and events that they participated in that made them feel like they belonged to their racial or ethnic group (e.g., Day of the Dead, Christmas, Hanukah, 4th of July, Passover, Halloween). For example, a student who identified as American described different activities saying,

“Different cultures have different religions so in American culture they have Easter where they have like usually um Easter egg hunts, candy there. And in Christmas you... give other people presents and you get presents. And in Halloween you go trick or treating.”

Another student who identified as Chinese and American, commented about celebrations at school saying,

“At my old school, they used to take it very like seriously and they had like Chinese stuff all over the room which made me feel special because it's like. It's almost like if they're celebrating my culture. [Do you ever celebrate Chinese New Year at this school?] No, not really, cuz they don't really like talk about it that much, they don't really care that much. [Who do you mean by they?] Like the school... Cuz like one day, like Chinese New Year has already happened and so like on that day I didn't even know it was Chinese New Year cuz like nobody really spoke of it... So, it was kind of weird for me.”

A student who identified as Jewish described the festivals that made him feel Jewish including,

“Rosh Hashanah, Hanukah, mostly Hanukah because mostly everyone celebrates Christmas... We open up presents, we have latkes, we have um, we have a little dance

thing, and that's all it. [What about Rosh Hashanah?] Rosh Hashanah, actually, yeah Rosh Hashanah, we say some prayers and we have dinner and that's all it.”

Books. About one third of participants ($n=24$) said they read books related to their racial, ethnic, and national identification, and many students described these books and their feelings about reading them with great detail. For example, a student who identified as White said,

“I’ve read books that talk about being black, but I don’t think White... There’s this book that I read once... it’s like in the life of a black person... and it’s like going to school. Usually a public school and walking there and like not having a good car and like packing not really good lunches like lunchables or something and sometimes like getting treated badly by your White neighbors. [How did that book make you feel?] ... I didn’t feel very. I mean I felt good that I read the book, but I didn’t feel good that Black people weren’t really getting good whatcha ma call it. Good reputations kind of things... Usually in every book I read it’s a White person. [How does that make you feel?] Not good at all actually. It kind of feels icky... [why does it feel icky?] Just because like Black people are the same as White people. It’s like some people just treat Black people like they’re not the same. It’s sad, and like usually the main characters of books are White because people are all, ‘oh well Whites are more interesting.’”

Another student who identified as Korean described a book he had read saying,

“One is a boy from um Korea and he immigrated to American and he didn’t get treated well... and he didn’t know the language that well. [How that like made you feel?] Um kind of bad because Korea is a small country and they don’t like they um the country is rich but a lot of Koreans get bullied and stuff. [Why do you think they get bullied?] Well

because um the Cal, I think the Americans don't want anybody to come and they want their own country.”

Students also reported that they read books that made them feel proud of their racial, ethnic, and national identification as evident in one student who identified as African American and commented,

“For Martin Luther King, I read about how he made a difference like when he was born and then what he wanted to grow up to be and when he was older and then he did the march. and with Jackie Robinson I read about like what sport, when he was little like he was good at the sports that he grew up to do... [How did they make you feel?] Good and special. [Why special?] Because there's lots of famous people are African American.”

T.V. shows and movies. Students were asked if they had seen any T.V. shows or movies about being the label they selected as most like them and about one third of the participants described something they had seen. One student who identified as Mexican talked about T.V. shows and said, “Chavo del Ocho... That one, all the Mexicans have seen that.” Other students talked about the characters in the T.V. shows they watched saying, “All the T.V. shows I watch are with White characters” and “One is Full House, one of their friends is African American.” Students also described movies that they had seen. When asked if he had seen any movies about being White, one student said,

“Yes, all like all the movies. Sadly, movies are not diverse... Um diverse meaning there's not like Japanese people, there's not Black people. They're usually just White males. [how does that make you feel?] Not good... Because first of all females should be in movies. Second of all um Black people should be in movies. Star Wars did a great job because they had a Black person, a Black male and a White female.”

Another student who identified as African American described his feelings after watching a trailer about a movie and said,

“I saw the trailer and... in the movie *Race* it's about this person and um he's the only African American person running and they judge him but I didn't see the movie and so... Um they wouldn't let him use the locker room. [How does that make you feel?] That makes me feel mad and sad... Because I just like I don't get why people like judge us by the color. You're a different color too maybe like you weren't the first like color to be in America so how would you like it if I just judged you.”

Children mentioned that they engaged in conversations about topics related to their racial, ethnic, and national identifications with their parents and at school. They frequently described cultural practices and language, food, and their family heritage when asked about who they talked with about their identification. Children mentioned talking to their friends and other sources like books and movies that informed their ideas about race, ethnicity, and nationality to a lesser extent.

Research Aim #3: Teacher socialization about race, ethnicity, and nationality.

Four themes emerged from the teacher interviews: (a) diversity meaning more than racial and ethnic diversity ($n=8$); (b) using discussions and read alouds to bring up conversations ($n=6$); (c) incorporating multiple perspectives ($n=7$); and (d) celebrating differences in racial and ethnic backgrounds ($n=3$).

Diversity is more than just race. All the teachers said that diversity means more than just racial and ethnic diversity to them. Each teacher mentioned various types of diversity including economic, language, religion, and culture, as well as diversity in learning styles, experiences, family structure, and personalities. Ms. King and Ms. Rodriguez both described

diversity in similar ways, saying that it “encompasses all of the differences that we have as human beings.” Mr. Collins commented, “What I love about [the school] is that the diversity is more than just race.” This theme was not surprising given the school’s explicit mission to “meet the needs of children from diverse backgrounds.”

None of the teachers stated that they use explicit strategies to promote interactions among students who differ in terms of race and ethnicity in their classrooms, instead a few of the teachers, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Collins, and Ms. Jones, focused on forming groups based on other types of diversity (e.g., gender, age, academic diversity). Further, Ms. Miller mentioned that these groups and conversations come up naturally, while Ms. Rodriguez and Ms. Anderson commented that they constantly mix up which children are working together, instead of using a specific strategy. Mr. Collins and Ms. Jones said that they do not explicitly group children by race and ethnicity and explained that interactions among children from different racial and ethnic backgrounds is “just part of our culture of our school that it’s like that’s just an expected thing.”

Discussions and read alouds. Most of the teachers talked about using read alouds in their classroom to incorporate conversations about race and ethnicity. Ms. Jones talked about her classroom and said, “we read lots of books and things and that’s where we get most of the diversity from, it’s from literature. Like discussions will spur from the literature.” Ms. King echoed the connection between read alouds and discussions in her classroom while highlighting the importance of her students sharing. She said,

“So, I think the main thing is just sharing and encouraging kids to share. If they have different experiences, highlighting those, whether it’s through literature, the types of books that we read, we’ve definitely had some moments where kids share deep things. Like we were reading a book called “The Circuit,” in Spanish it’s called “Cajas de

Carton," and this boy is a migrant farm worker and we got on the topic of immigration because they cross the border and so then kids started sharing, 'Oh my dad had these experiences.'"

During one of the classroom observations, Ms. Jones's classroom had a similar discussion when they were reading "Home of the Brave," a story about one of the Lost Boys of Sudan who comes to America. The class talked about people who moved to America and what it means to be a citizen. Ms. Jones shared that her mother became a citizen of the United States and one student said that she helped her friend study for her citizenship test. These are both examples of how Ms. Jones and Ms. King used the books they were reading in their classroom to prompt discussions about topics like immigration. Ms. Miller described how she used the topic of immigration in her classroom to encourage students to learn more about their own backgrounds saying, "We're talking a lot about immigrants and so all these different cultures immigrating to California and... They interviewed their parents 'how'd you get here?'... to learn about where they came from and who they are."

Other teachers emphasized the importance of the type of language used in their classroom conversations. For example, Ms. Miller said,

"We have a lot of conversations. If people are feeling a certain way we then we talk about it openly as a group and I think being really transparent about bringing up... maybe it was a misconception, like they call something racist all the time and so we bring up that topic. Is this racist? And... they each have their opinion and we do it in a really safe way.

They really think about the language that they use and they use 'I' statements."

Mr. Collins also mentioned the importance of guiding children's language when having discussions saying,

“When you hear a stereotype... just kind of you know stopping and using that moment saying, now all people do this or some people do this? So, using the all, some, most, few. Like teaching them that right away and kinda stopping and addressing those things along the way”

A few of the teachers described that classroom discussions and read alouds were a strategy they used to talk about different backgrounds and ideas. Ms. Miller commented that using read alouds in her classroom allowed her to highlight “that we all are different and that’s what makes our opinion to be so special. And how boring would it be if we didn’t have people from diverse backgrounds and diverse learners.”

Multiple perspectives. All but one of the teachers talked about incorporating multiple perspectives into their lessons as a strategy for teaching a unit about the history of Los Angeles in their classrooms. Ms. Martin, Ms. Anderson and Ms. King each mentioned how they plan lessons to honor the backgrounds of their students, and to encourage students to share their own perspectives even if they are different than someone else’s. Further, Mr. Collins talked about the importance of planning lessons to bring in multiple perspectives and making connections to other parts of the world, rather than “just being Eurocentric.” Ms. Rodriguez also commented,

“So, I think we intentionally plan our lessons so that it’s not really like you know in a traditional history book where you’re learning history through a particular... lens, right. Like from the you know American lens. We’re really trying to find the people who have been marginalized and learn it from their perspective.”

Ms. Martin talked about how they implemented these lessons in her interview saying, “we are looking at [Los Angeles] history but through the lens of the oppressed. So, the stories told from other’s perspectives from Native Americans, from Hispanics, from Blacks.” This was

mirrored in another class observation where Ms. Martin led a discussion about why certain historical moments were depicted on the Great Wall of LA and various students answered there was “something wrong,” “a problem and solution,” “it happened in the past,” “wars,” and “discrimination.” Ms. Martin asked the students what kind of discrimination was happening and a student answered, “against people’s race, culture, and how they acted. Really just who they were,” and other students shared that the discrimination was against Native Americans, refugees, and Black people. The lesson continued with each student selecting one historical moment and investigating the perspectives of the people in that moment. Ms. Jones acknowledged that teaching children about multiple perspectives is hard, especially in history, and mentioned that she asks her students questions like, “What was it like when the Gabrielino came here? What was it like when the Spanish men said, you know those kinds of things? So... does that sound fair to you? You know, trying to bring in both perspectives. But, also making sure that the underrepresented is represented.”

Celebrating differences. In each of the themes described above, celebrating differences emerged as a theme from teacher’s responses ($n=3$). When talking about how his students think about diversity, Mr. Collins said, “I think they value it. I think they, it's something to be um celebrated... Also, when they hear something that they feel is unjust or appears as something unjust they call it out.”

This theme also came up when Ms. Anderson was talking about teaching a diverse group of students, and she commented,

“I think we just always are looking at making sure everybody feels respected and... we want to make sure that we highlight differences, but in a way that celebrates them, but not, to make sure that everyone feels that like differences are not something to make fun

of or to like... Like they are differences in a good way, and that we work to make sure that children understand that and know that about each other.”

Ms. King spoke about celebrating differences through read alouds that incorporate multiple perspectives saying,

“thinking about the literature that we use, like the types of resources that we have that we have a wide variety, not just what pertains to the mainstream culture but things that might be about certain kids in the classroom, encouraging the sharing, yeah, and really celebrating their differences. I think we really, really strive to do that. How amazing it is that we can share and learn from people that are different than us.”

Overall, the teachers highlighted that diversity means more than just racial and ethnic diversity. Although teachers did not group students by race and ethnicity, they incorporated strategies including read alouds, discussions, and bringing in multiple perspectives to initiate conversations about topics related to race, ethnicity, and nationality in their classrooms. Thus, teachers described ways in which they are socializing their students about these topics, as well as celebrating the racial and ethnic differences of their students.

Research Aim #4: DLI and EMI program differences

Student level differences by program structure. I assessed initial differences between DLI and EMI participants’ parent reported race and language using chi-square analyses. There were no program differences in the proportion of students who were White, Multi-Ethnic Latinx, and Multi-Ethnic Non-Latinx across the two program strands (see Table 2). However, students in the DLI program were significantly more likely to be Latinx than students in the EMI program, $\chi^2(1)=7.033, p=.008$. Results also revealed that participants in the DLI program were more likely

to speak some Spanish at school entry as compared to students in the EMI program,

$\chi^2(1)=26.283, p=.000$.

In terms of the racial, ethnic, and national identification labels most frequently selected, we found no differences in the number of DLI and EMI students who chose American, White, another label provided, English, Irish, Spanish, and Mexican (see Table 3). However, results showed that students in the DLI program were significantly more likely to choose Latino/a American and Latino/a labels to describe themselves as compared with EMI students, $\chi^2(1)=11.825, p=.001$ and $\chi^2(1)=14.674, p=.000$, respectively. Due to the limited sample size in the labels that children chose as most like them, I only assessed differences between the number of students who chose American as most like them and results revealed no significant differences between program status.

Teacher differences by program structure. Although almost all of the teachers elaborated that diversity meant more than just racial and ethnic diversity, DLI and EMI teachers differed when talking about the racial diversity of their classroom and how aware they thought the children were of racial and ethnic differences. The teachers in the EMI program had a range of opinions about the racial diversity of their classrooms, as well as how aware their students were of this diversity. Mr. Roberts talked about seeing “less variety in terms of cultural” diversity as compared to other schools that he had taught. Ms. Jones also compared the diversity of the school to a large urban district nearby saying,

“I see diversity here, I really think that they're working on. I think the cultural diversity is greater than the economic. And if you go into [school district] right now, you're going to see like 90% African-American, 90% you know Hispanic... I think they've got more segregated. So, I do see like a range of families here ethnically.”

Mr. Collins referenced the university affiliation of the school noting, “I’ve never had a class that’s as really truly diverse ethnically as these classrooms, because there is people from all over the world, being part of the university, there’s people from all over the world.” Ms. Anderson had less to say and simply stated that her “students have a lot of different racial diversity.” Further, Ms. Miller questioned the racial and ethnic diversity of her classroom saying,

“Oh, it’s extremely diverse. Um I would say ethnically maybe not, I actually don’t know the breakdown of our class. Oh my gosh. I feel like it’s not as diverse as I would hope. If that makes sense... If I were to look at income and race I think they try really hard to make that balanced as well. So, I’m sure that’s in my classroom as well. I’m just trying to picture all my kids. Yeah, I think it is diverse. I’ll take that back.”

Mr. Collins, Ms. Jones, and Ms. Anderson each pointed out that “at this age” children are “fairly aware” of differences in terms of racial and ethnic background. While Ms. Miller noted that she thought the students were “very aware, they talk about all of those things very openly,” Mr. Roberts commented,

“I think day to day there’s for the most part it doesn’t feel like there’s a real deep awareness or a real reflection in terms of their culture... it takes prompting and I think it’s not sort of a topic that will come up otherwise.”

The three DLI teachers talked more in depth about the racial diversity in their classrooms reflecting the student level differences in racial background and language. For instance, Ms. Martin said diversity is represented by the “races that we have in our classroom. The different languages the students speak, not just English or Spanish but they speak other languages.” Ms. King commented, “we definitely have racial diversity, if you look at my class, we definitely have

many groups represented I would say all groups.” Surprisingly, Ms. Rodriguez was the only teacher who talked about many of her students being multi-racial and ethnic saying,

“We have you know Korean-Americans who are learning Spanish, so already you're coming in with a Korean culture background language culture and you're in this classroom learning Spanish language culture. So, in that sense, you know, already there is diversity there. There are also, within the student body, there are many mixed-races you know, we'll have even like, so we would have like half African-American, but they're half African-American from Latino countries, so not necessarily African-American, but African-Latin American. Umm we also have like White students from like White racially, but their family originated in Argentina and they're like ethnically Jewish.”

When they described the awareness of their students, Ms. Martin and Ms. King both said that their students were “extremely aware.” Ms. Martin said the students talked openly about what race or what mixed races they are, and Ms. King mentioned that the students also talk about the physical characteristics of race when they are choosing skin color crayons for their self-portraits during art activities. Ms. Rodriguez agreed that the students were “aware that they are racially different,” but that this knowledge may come from home rather than school.

Lessons and student projects. The history of LA and immigration were prominent lessons that teachers and students brought up in their interviews, and were evident in classroom observations and end of the year student projects. Two EMI teachers, Ms. Jones and Ms. Anderson talked about lessons that focused on the Native Americans being the first people of LA and the different reasons that people came to LA. One student also talked about this lesson in their interview saying, “we’re talking about Native Americans and how they moved. We are learning about the Lost Boys and how the million people died drowning from rivers in the war.”

Mr. Roberts commented that his students were learning about immigration and why different groups of people came to LA. Two students listed many of the groups that they studied (e.g., “Chinese, Japanese, Jewish, Korean, German, African American, Indian”), while one EMI student who identified as American said,

“we talked about there are these groups. There are Italian and Chinese. um French. I got chosen for the French group... We studied a paper cuz... all of those most of those people from those places moved to LA.”

One of the end of the year projects was a timeline of Los Angeles and each student’s timeline followed the same structure (see Figure 1). Another end of the year project brought in the theme of immigration and a group of students created a poster describing some of the groups of people



Figure 1.
Timeline of Los Angeles
Used by permission.

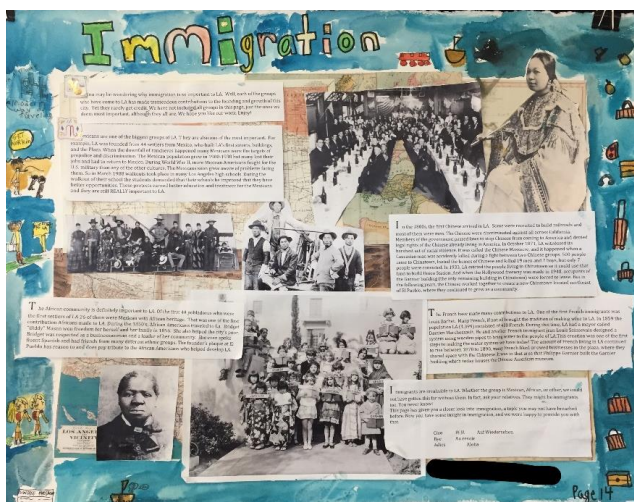


Figure 2.
Los Angeles Immigration Poster
Used by permission.

who immigrated to LA (see Figure 2). The DLI teachers spoke more at length about these lessons in their classrooms. Ms. Rodriguez and Ms. Martin mentioned that when studying LA history, they “incorporate the voices that are not normally heard” by asking their students to think about the perspectives of the Chinese, Japanese, African American, Mexican-American,

and Native Americans and think about their perspectives and feelings. Further, Ms. Martin talked about presenting both sides when teaching about missions in her classroom saying,

“we weren't learning about the missions like ‘oh here's the mission and this is how it was built.’ We learned about the perspective on how the Native Americans felt and how the Spaniards felt. So, we make sure that students know that there's always two sides to an issue.”

A DLI student who identified as American also talked about a time in school when he learned about the history of LA saying,

“we were learning... the Tongva how they just totally got destroyed by those people... And it was really like sad cuz the Tongva had so much love for the nature and the animals and they talked to the animals. Then one day they just some dudes just wanted money and they cut down all the trees and did all that... And the Spanish I think did that. It was the Spanish. They came and treated the Tongva as like not so nice like mean and... push them around and stuff.”

As mentioned previously, I observed a DLI classroom lesson about the Great Wall of LA where Ms. Martin talked about the moments that were depicted on the mural and the students brought up that a lot of the murals had to do with discrimination. The end of the year projects reflected this lesson as students represented a moment from the history of LA with various artistic materials. A few of the DLI students talked about the indigenous



Figure 3.
Indigenous Assimilation
Used by permission.

assimilation. For instance, one student described his project (see Figure 3) saying,

“the indigenous assimilation was when the Europeans changed the clothes of the Native Americans, cut their hair, and changed the culture... Basically tried to make the Native Americans look and act like the Europeans. The Native Americans did not like it. Many Native Americans lost their culture forever.”

Other students in the DLI classroom presented projects about discrimination in the Olympics and described their projects saying, “I did a stadium of Athleticism... because before the Latinos could not do this sport. I represented the injustice of the Latinos (see Figure 4),” and “This drawing is about the Olympics when the people of color won lots of races and sports. The people of color were winning many medals and some Whites did not like it (see Figure 5).”



Figure 4.
Stadium of Athleticism
Used by permission.



Figure 5.
Olympics
Used by permission.

The results reveal a significant difference between the racial and ethnic, and language backgrounds of students in the DLI and EMI classrooms. Further, teachers in the EMI classroom voiced a variety of ideas about the racial and ethnic diversity in their classroom and their perceptions of their students' levels of awareness, and DLI classroom teachers spoke more at length about the diversity in racial and ethnic background and

language represented in their classroom. The classroom observations, final projects, and student interviews offer additional evidence of the DLI classrooms more in-depth lessons about topics related to race, ethnicity, and nationality.

Discussion

While extant research has focused on racial and ethnic identity in adolescence, we know that the formation of these identities occurs earlier in life (Rogers et al., 2012), which highlights the importance of the current study. The goal of this mixed methods study was to examine children's racial, ethnic, and national identification as well as what informs their identification in middle childhood. Further, I examined how teachers socialize their students about these topics, and differences based on program structure (i.e., EMI versus DLI). Results suggest that 3rd grade children were actively developing their racial, ethnic, and national identities, and overwhelming described themselves in terms of their national heritage – i.e., American. Children engaged in conversations with their parents and at school related to race, ethnicity, and nationality, and their ideas about their identifications were informed by their family heritage, where they were born, the language(s) they speak, cultural celebrations and practices, as well as books they have read and movies or T.V. shows that they have seen. Further, teachers highlighted specific strategies that they used to promote conversations about race, ethnicity, and nationality in their classrooms, and the results suggest some differences based on program structure (i.e., DLI versus EMI).

Prior research shows that children in early elementary school identify as American, as well as with the language(s) that they speak (e.g., English, Spanish; Coddington et al., 2015). Further, in early adolescence, children across diverse racial, ethnic, and immigrant backgrounds identify as American and have ideas about what it means to be American (Rodriguez et al., 2016). Consistent with these results, in the current study, children most often identified as

American, but children also identified with a variety of other racial and ethnic labels to describe themselves. Further, in a study investigating the meaning that 2nd and 4th grade students gave to their ethnic identities, Rogers and colleagues (2012) found prominent themes of language, birthplace, and physical appearance. Participants in the current study referenced similar themes, but also mentioned family heritage and affect and belonging when describing their identifications. Surprisingly, a quarter of the children's responses minimized the importance of racial and ethnic groups, and although the data does not speak to the source of these ideas, children may be receiving this type of egalitarianism or colorblind socialization about race and ethnicity from their parents. Thus, my results support that children are affiliating themselves with social groups in terms of race, ethnicity, and nationality (Ruble et al., 2004) as early as in 3rd grade, and use sophisticated reasoning to explain their identification.

The current study more deeply investigated other sources that informed children's racial, ethnic, and national identifications. For instance, children described conversations that they had with their parents, lessons they participated in at school, and, to a lesser extent, discussions that they had with their friends and books they read about race, ethnicity, and nationality. In line with previous work (Phinney et al., 1997), these conversations informed children's understanding of their identification. Further, some students described these conversations, lessons, books, and movies in detail, which provides evidence that children at this age are attuned to messages about race and ethnicity and are taking these sources into account when forming their racial, ethnic, and national identities. This finding calls attention to the ways that race and ethnicity are portrayed in other forms of media as these messages are influencing how young children are coming to understand their own race, ethnicity, and nationality.

There is a dearth of research examining how teachers talk about race, ethnicity, and nationality in their classrooms, but my results suggest that teachers are engaging in socialization practices to promote conversations about race and ethnicity. Teachers mentioned that they routinely used read alouds and incorporated multiple perspectives to encourage their students to share and discuss culture and family heritage. Further, teachers elaborated on the definition of diversity as more than just race and ethnicity, and emphasized the importance of celebrating differences in their classrooms. Thus, teachers play an important role in socializing students about their own and others' racial and ethnic backgrounds, and having these types of conversations is related to healthy identity development and positive intergroup attitudes (Phinney et al., 1997). Further, documenting teacher practices is an important step towards informing interventions that foster healthy identity development.

Although one of the goals of DLI programs is to foster students' understanding of and exposure to multiculturalism (Li et al., 2016), almost no research has examined racial, ethnic, and national development in the context of DLI classrooms. However, one recent study showed that teachers in DLI classrooms discussed and promoted the bilingual identities of their students, and that DLI students reported more self-confidence about speaking Spanish than their EMI peers (Griffin et al., under review). Results from the current study are suggestive of some value-added for students enrolled in the DLI program with respect to racial, ethnic, and national identity formation. For instance, students in the DLI program seem to have a deeper and broader understanding of race and ethnicity and the role of racial discrimination throughout history. Further, students in the DLI classroom were more likely to be Latinx and speak some Spanish at school entry, which was reflected in their teachers' consistent ideas about their level of racial awareness. In contrast, EMI teachers had a range of ideas about their students' understanding of

race, as well as the racial and ethnic makeup of their classroom, and their students talked about race and ethnicity in descriptive ways (e.g., listing the groups they learned about in class). Thus, DLI programs may provide a context for enhanced racial, ethnic, and national identity exploration and formation, although more research is warranted.

Strengths and Limitations

The mixed methods approach used to explore children's racial, ethnic, and national identification is an important strength of the current study as both qualitative and quantitative methods are especially useful when exploring complex topics with children that are less well investigated (Mistry, White, Chow, Griffin, & Nenadal, 2016). Further, classroom observations, documents of student projects, and student interviews provided an opportunity to triangulate the topics and lessons that were brought up during teacher interviews. In addition to the strengths of the study, there are limitations that are important to discuss. For instance, although the current study takes place at a racially and ethnically diverse school, it is important to note that the results are not generalizable to other school settings (e.g., racially homogenous schools), and more research is warranted in various school settings. The generalizability of the study is also limited because of the small sample of teachers and students, as well as the limited age range of study participants. As such, future research should explore racial, ethnic, and national identification with younger children.

Conclusion

As the United States has become more racially and ethnically diverse, it is important to discuss race, ethnicity, and nationality with children as they are actively forming their racial, ethnic, and national identities. Teacher socialization practices and program structures within the school context (i.e., DLI programs) provide opportunities for incorporating conversations about

race, culture, and family heritage in the classroom and supporting healthy identity development. Further, my results reveal that middle childhood is a time when children engage in complex reasoning and conversations about race, ethnicity, and nationality. Thus, as extant research documents young children's understanding of race and ethnicity, exploring who and what sources inform children's ideas is essential for moving towards developing interventions to foster healthy identity development and positive racial and ethnic attitudes.

Table 1

Racial and Ethnic Identification Measure Labels

Latin American	Latin@
Latin@ American	White
Hispanic	English
Spanish	Native American
Puerto Rican	Black
Guatemalan	African American
Colombian	Asian
Salvadoran	Asian American
Cuban	Filipino
Irish	Japanese
German	Vietnamese
Italian	Korean
European American	Chinese
American	

Table 2

Student Demographic Information

		Full Sample	DLI	EMI	Chi- Square	Adjusted <i>p</i> -value
Number		64	24	40		
Gender		55% Female	46% Female	55% Female	0.004	<i>ns</i>
Race						
	White	23 (36%)	5 (21%)	18 (45%)	3.805	<i>ns</i>
	Latinx	11 (17%)	8 (33%)	3 (8%)	7.033	<i>p</i> =.008
	Multiracial Latinx	13 (20%)	8 (33%)	5 (13%)	4.022	<i>ns</i>
	Asian	6 (9%)	1 (4%)	5 (13%)	1.043	<i>ns</i>
	Multiracial non- Latinx	9 (14%)	2 (8%)	7 (18%)		
	African American	1 (2%)	0	1 (3%)		
	Missing	1 (2%)	0	1 (3%)		
Language at Home						
	English (no Spanish)	39 (61%)	7 (29%)	33 (80%)		
	Some Spanish	25 (39%)	17 (71%)	7 (20%)	16.283	<i>p</i> =.000

Table 3

Most Common Racial, Ethnic, and National Labels and DLI versus EMI Program Differences

Racial, Ethnic, and National Label	Total	DLI (n= 24) vs. EMI (n= 40)	Chi-Square	df	p-value
American	51 (80%)	DLI = 17 EMI = 34	4.710	1	ns
White	38 (59%)	DLI = 10 EMI = 28	4.155	1	ns
Provided own label	31 (48%)	DLI = 15 EMI = 16	3.040	1	ns
English	30 (47%)	DLI = 6 EMI = 24	5.067	1	ns
Irish	15 (23%)	DLI = 12 EMI = 3	2.315	1	ns
Spanish	14 (22%)	DLI = 9 EMI = 5	4.986	1	ns
Mexican	13 (20%)	DLI = 9 EMI = 4	7.279	1	ns
Latino/a American	11 (17%)	DLI = 9 EMI = 2	11.825	1	$p = .001$
Latino/a	10 (16%)	DLI = 9 EMI = 1	14.674	1	$p = .000$

Table 4

Code Book for “Why Did You Choose [Label] as Most Like You?”

Code	Responses	Example Responses
Birthplace and Residence <i>Responses that reference place of birth and where one lives.</i>	28 (44%)	“I’ve lived in America,” “I was born in Europe”
Categorization <i>Responses that minimize the importance of racial and ethnic categories by highlighting individual characteristics or saying everybody is the same.</i>	16 (25%)	“A lot of people are White and it does not matter if you are White or Black”, “Races aren’t always important,” “I don’t think it really matters what I am”
Family Heritage <i>Responses that reference where family was born or is from.</i>	42 (66%)	“My mom is Mexican,” “Half of my family is from America... but also half of my family is from Russia”
Social Statements <i>Responses including treatment of others, stereotypes, opinions/feelings towards other groups, and witnessing something unfair.</i>	5 (8%)	“Sometimes people treat people differently,” “They don’t excuse, like take me out of anything like they did back then and there’s no racism now which is good”
Affect and Belonging <i>Responses that describe attitudes or emotions about one’s identification.</i>	14 (22%)	“It’s my culture which is important”, “Mexican’s are cool”, “I’m just most connected”
Physical Attributions	8 (13%)	“My skin is white. My parents skin is white, my grandparents’

<i>Responses that describe visually observable characteristics (e.g., skin and hair color).</i>		skins are white,” “You can tell of my goldyish hair”
Cultural Practices and Language	24 (38%)	“I like to eat most Italian foods,” “I chose English because I speak English”
<i>Responses that reference practices such as speaking a language (communicating), eating certain foods, or visiting a country related to one’s race and ethnicity.</i>		
<i>Note.</i> Because codes were not applied exclusively, percentages do not equal 100.		

Table 5

Code Book for Who Participants Talk with About Their Identification (i.e., parents, friends, in school)

Code	Responses	Example Responses
Cultural Practices and Language <i>Responses that reference food, language, travel, and cultural celebrations or holidays.</i>	Parents= 25 (39%) School= 1 (2%) Friends= 10 (16%)	“Sometimes my mom teaches me words in Chinese,” “I talked about every [Jewish] holiday and when we are going to celebrate it”
Categorization <i>Responses that minimize the importance of racial and ethnic categories by highlighting individual characteristics or saying everybody is the same.</i>	Parents= 2 (3%) School= 2 (3%) Friends= 0	“I told you race doesn’t matter, it’s who you are inside,” “all I know is that like everyone is different and that doesn't really matter”
Family Heritage <i>Responses that reference where family was born or is from.</i>	Parents= 17 (27%) School= 7 (11%) Friends= 4 (6%)	“I asked if I’m Irish and they said your name is Old Irish,” “Well he is Chinese I remember and he came from China, but was born in America cuz his mom I think was born in China and his dad was born in America”
In School <i>Responses that reference class units in the current year, previous years, and other schools, specific subject or class time, and talking with friends at school.</i>	Parents= 1 (2%) School= 37 (58%) Friends= 7 (11%)	“In music class, we were learning about music and about the Native Americans, how they had to go out west,” “Definitely in inquiry [teacher] teaches us you know the history of LA”

Affect and Belonging <i>Responses that describe attitudes or emotions about one's identification.</i>	Parents= 10 (16%) School= 4 (6%) Friends= 5 (8%)	"So, to just think that he [great-grandfather] had the power to walk from Canada to America is just like maybe we have some of those powers. I mean power to do all these crazy stuff and it makes me feel like wow"
History and Immigration <i>Responses that reference historical events and people or groups moving or immigrating to the U.S.</i>	Parents= 9 (14%) School= 16 (25%) Friends= 2 (3%)	"I like to talk about history like the Great Depression that we had in the USA," "My dad immigrated from the east. Well he was in Illinois"
Other Responses <i>Responses that reference religious spaces and other aspects of conversations about race and ethnicity.</i>	Parents= 15 (23%) School= 2 (3%) Friends= 3 (5%)	"When my great grandfather died," "when you are older you are more special in Korea."

Note. Because codes were not applied exclusively, percentages do not equal 100.

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