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Ambiguously Ethnic: The Association Between Perceived Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization
and Psychosocial Outcomes for Early Adolescents

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

by

Elianny Camilo Edwards

2019

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Ambiguously Ethnic: The Association Between Perceived Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization
and Psychosocial Outcomes for Early Adolescents

by

Elianny Camilo Edwards

Master of Arts in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Sandra H Graham, Chair

This study examined the association between perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization and somatic symptoms, feelings of loneliness, social anxiety, as well as feelings of school belonging and school safety for mono-racial and multiracial early adolescents. Ethnic pride and school racial-ethnic composition were examined as moderators of these associations. Participants were 5,991 sixth grade students from 26 diverse schools in northern and southern California. Over 25 percent of students in the sample ($n = 1,602$) perceived being miscategorized by their peers. T-test results showed that students who perceived having their racial-ethnic identification miscategorized experienced more somatic symptoms than those who did not perceive racial-ethnic miscategorization. Results also showed a moderating effect of school racial-ethnic composition on the association between racial-ethnic miscategorization and psychosocial outcomes. When students perceived being miscategorized as Multiethnic/Biracial at a school where Multiethnic/Biracial students were the numerical majority, they had lower social anxiety than students who perceived being miscategorized as Multiethnic/Biracial at a school where they were the numerical minority. Overall findings highlight the importance of examining racial-ethnic identification and school ethnic context during early adolescence.

The thesis of Elianny Camilo Edwards is approved.

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University of California, Los Angeles

2019

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Introduction

Today Americans are more racially and ethnically diverse than ever. By 2055, racial and ethnic minorities are projected to comprise 56% of the population, thereby making the U.S. a nation with no racial majority (Cohen & Caumont, 2016). Despite such growing diversity, racial constructs in the U.S. remain rigid as they are heavily influenced by phenotype and physical traits considered characteristic of particular racial and ethnic groups (Feliciano, 2016). Yet increased variation in racial phenotypes, even within racial groups, (Maddox, 2004) is bringing to light the growing racial ambiguity of the U.S. (Sanchez, Young & Pauker, 2015). Given that the demographic trend of today is moving toward more multiracial identities and greater ethnic and racial diversity, it is likely that racial ambiguity will lead to increased mismatches between self-identification and the perception of others (Campbell & Troyer, 2007; Franco & O'Brien, 2018).

The discrepancy between personal and perceived racial-ethnic identification is a phenomenon that Campbell and Troyer (2007) refer to as misclassification—"identifying with one [or more] racial groups but being perceived by others as 'looking like' [and thus belonging to] another racial group" (pp.750). Researchers have used several other terms to refer to the aforementioned phenomenon including, racial-ethnic invalidation (Franco & O'Brien, 2018), and racial-ethnic miscategorization (Newcomb, 2017). Despite differences in terminology, findings across studies largely suggest that for mono-racial and multiracial adults, discrepancies between personal and perceived racial-ethnic identification are associated with negative outcomes including depression, suicidal thoughts, (Campbell & Troyer, 2007) increased stress, and negative affect (Newcomb, 2017). From a developmental perspective, however, little is known about how mono-racial and multiracial youth experience miscategorization.

Studies show that for early adolescents, the transition to middle school coincides with increased feelings of pride about their racial-ethnic group membership as well as increased

exploration of their racial-ethnic identity (French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber 2006). As a result of this exploration, it is common for early adolescents to change their racial-ethnic identification across the middle school years. This is particularly the case for students in the racial-ethnic minority at schools with low levels of diversity (Nishina, Bellmore, Witkow, & Nylund-Gibson, 2010). Studies also show that the transition from elementary to middle school often results in more racial homophily, such that early adolescents foster friendships with peers of the same racial-ethnic background (Shrum, Cheek, & Hunter, 1988). Such patterns of friendship segregation tend to persist across high school as well (Shrum et al., 1988). Given the emerging sense of racial-ethnic identity that students experience during early adolescence, examining experiences of miscategorization during middle school is particularly relevant. As such, the current study explored the association between perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization and psychosocial outcomes among a sample of mono-racial and multi-racial early adolescents.

Literature Review

Conceptualization of Terms

Racial-ethnic identification. While the terms “race” and “ethnicity” are often used interchangeably, their distinctions are important to acknowledge as they connote and denote significantly different meanings. Contemporary research defines race as a social rather than a scientific construct (Carter, 1995; Quintana, 1998). Racial categories group people with shared genetic, biological, and physical features together, and presupposes psychological and cognitive differences between racial groups based on their genetic and biological factors (Carter, 1995; Quintana, 1998). Ethnicity, on the other hand, does not specifically refer to physical, biological, or genetic factors, but instead sociological and anthropological characteristics like language, customs, and geographic region (Quintana, 1998). The current study utilized the term “racial-

ethnic identification” as a meta-construct that acknowledges the intersections between racial and ethnic components of identity (Umaña-Taylor, et al., 2014). Research suggests considerable overlap between racial and ethnic identity and their associations to psychosocial adjustment (Casey-Cannon et al., 2011; Iwamoto & Liu, 2010; Umaña-Taylor, et al., 2014). Furthermore, youth do not typically separate racial and ethnic components of their identity from their lived experiences (Cross & Cross, 2008). As such, in this study, I used the term racial-ethnic identification to capture ethnic background and racialized experiences as a result of belonging to a particular group in the context of the United States (Umaña-Taylor, et al., 2014).

Racial-ethnic miscategorization. The current study also employed the term racial-ethnic miscategorization to more specifically refer to a perceived discrepancy between how a target personally identifies and how that target *thinks* others perceive his or her racial-ethnic identification. In other words, racial-ethnic miscategorization refers to a discrepancy between “who *I am*” versus “who *I think other people think I am*.” For example, if an individual self-identifies as Latina/o, but perceives that others identify him or her as White, for the purposes of the current study, that individual would be identified as a target of perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization. The term “perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization” will be used specifically when referencing methods, findings, and implications for the current study. However, when referring to previous research on personal and perceived racial-ethnic identity mismatches, the term “miscategorization” will be used instead.

Miscategorization

Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) posits that a basic need to “belong” and maintain positive self-identity drives individuals to develop a sense of self from group membership. By way of social categorization and comparison, individuals emphasize differences

between groups and similarities within groups in order to organize their social environment and attribute meaning to their categorizations (Rogers, Zosuls, Halim, Ruble, Hughes, & Fuligni, 2012; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This meaning-making process in turn allows individuals to develop a sense of collective membership with a group to which they feel integrated (Rogers et al., 2012; Ruble, et al., 2004).

Experiences of miscategorization, however, threaten an individual's sense of membership in a racial-ethnic group by bringing to question whether or not they actually belong. After all, part of feeling integrated into a racial-ethnic group(s) is securing acceptance as an ingroup member (Seaton, Verkuyten, Quintana, & Gee, 2017). Individuals not only seek validation from other ingroup members, but as a way of preserving positive self-identity, they also strive to have their racial-ethnic identification validated by outgroup members (Seaton et.al, 2017). Such identity validation is associated with psychological coherence, reduced anxiety, and improved health as it allows individuals to confirm their views about themselves (Lou, Lalonde, & Wilson, 2011; North & Swan, 2009). Conversely, miscategorization (as result of appearance, behavior, or any other factor) is an identity invalidation associated with depressive symptoms, anxiety, lowered self-esteem, and increased feelings of loneliness (Franco, Katz, & O'Brien, 2016; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2003).

To my knowledge, Flores and Huo (2012) is one of the only studies that focuses on experiences of miscategorization among mono-racial individuals. The authors conducted an experiment with Asian and Latino students at a public California university to examine the consequences following a hypothetical experience of miscategorization. Study participants were asked to envision themselves at a social gathering and react to being mistakenly assigned to an incorrect national origin (e.g. being referred to as Chinese when they are actually Filipino) by someone they just met. Results indicated that when participants envisioned being

miscategorized, they reported more negative emotions including feelings of hurt, sadness, frustration, discomfort, and annoyance. They also expressed more negative feelings towards the group to which they were mistakenly assigned.

Similarly, a study by Campbell and Troyer (2007) used data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent to Adult Health to focus on miscategorization among American Indian adults—a small population susceptible to miscategorization. Results found that miscategorized American Indians had higher rates of psychological distress, including depression, suicidal thoughts, and use of psychological counseling services as compared with American Indians who were not miscategorized. The authors reasoned that miscategorization posed a threat to individuals' sense of self, their group identification, and their social status. Consistent with SIT and theories of identity validation, miscategorization threatened to disconnect individuals from members of their racial group and thus excluded them from social networks because of a perceived lack of “legitimacy.” The burden of having to prove their authenticity resulted in negative psychological outcomes for those American Indian participants who experienced miscategorization.

Song and Aspinall (2012), utilized online surveys and semi-structured interviews to examine the experiences of biracial and mixed-race adults in Great Britain. Participants were asked to discuss how others typically perceive their racial-ethnic identification and how it makes them feel. Unlike aforementioned studies on mono-racial individuals, findings suggested variability in the way that multi-ethnic individuals experience miscategorization. Twenty-six percent of participants reported negative experiences of miscategorization and described feeling pigeonholed into an identity with little regard to other important aspects of themselves. Participants felt particularly negative about being miscategorized when they were either mistakenly assigned to a race perceived to have a lower social status, when as individuals of

color they were confused for White, and/or when they were assigned attributions of “foreignness” to their group (e.g. “You’re Black? But your skin is so light.”). Conversely, 26 percent of participants felt indifferent to miscategorization and expressed feelings of color-blind patriotism (e.g. “We are all British”). Interestingly, the remaining participants enjoyed and embraced being miscategorized and described feeling “exotic” and attractive as a result.

Findings from Newcomb (2017), a qualitative study of racially ambiguous biracial and multiethnic adults from the United States, corroborate the variability found in Song and Aspinall (2012). Male and female participants ages 25 and older described having negative experiences with miscategorization as they recalled instances of racial discrimination and profiling. As self-identified people of color, they reported feeling particularly invalidated when perceived as solely White. However, participants reported feeling more neutral or positive about miscategorization so long as they were still being perceived as people of color, as it helped validate their mixed-race identities.

The aforementioned studies all suggest that individuals who are miscategorized experience significant consequences that either negatively or positively impact their personal thoughts, feelings, and social interactions. A majority of the existing literature on miscategorization, however, does not address the experiences of youth and focuses mainly on adults. Similarly, despite a growing amount of research on psychological and social outcomes associated with racial-ethnic identity for multiracial adolescents (Campbell & Eggerling-Boek, 2006; Cheng & Klugman, 2010; Fisher, Reynold, Hsu, Barnes, & Tyler, 2014), adolescent researchers have yet to address how mono-racial and multiracial youth experience miscategorization, and its consequences.

School Context & Racial-Ethnic Identity in Early Adolescence

Early adolescence is marked by many transitions. Along with a host of biological, hormonal, and emotional changes that make self-identity increasingly salient (Swanson, Spencer & Peterson, 1998), early adolescents also experience a significant change in context via the elementary to middle school transition (Eccles, Lord, & Buchanan, 1996). Because children spend so much time at school, and it serves as a central setting for intra-ethnic contact (Brown, 2016), when discussing the racial-ethnic development of early adolescents, the racial-ethnic composition of the school context becomes particularly important. Previous research has shown, for example, that youth are more likely to use ethnicity as a self-descriptor when they have more same-ethnic peers at their school (Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997). Similarly, a longitudinal study with students in middle childhood found that when Latina/o students attended a school with a greater representation of White students they deemphasized their ethnicity over time and instead highlighted their American identity (Brown, 2017). Such research suggests that youth seek to highlight identities that allow them to fit in with their peers, which makes sense given the increased importance of peer acceptance (Kingery, Erdly, & Marshall, 2011) and the tendency to self-segregate into racial-ethnic groups in middle school (Shrum, Cheek, & Hunter, 1988; Seidman, Aber, & French, 2004; Tatum, 1997). Ultimately, increased cognitive maturity and changes in school context allow early adolescents to develop a more nuanced awareness of racial-ethnic messages via interactions with adults and peers outside of their family (Brown & Bigler, 2005; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way 2009; Seaton et al., 2017). Given the social interactions and racial-ethnic messages that early adolescents receive during the elementary to middle school transition, examining experiences of racial-ethnic miscategorization may have important implications for both how early adolescents feel about themselves and how they feel at school in general.

Psychosocial Outcomes

School belonging and loneliness. A critical component to a developmentally responsive and positive elementary to middle school transition is fostering school belonging via high quality interpersonal relationships (Ellerbrock, Kiefer, Alley, 2014; National Middle School Association, 2010). Research shows that middle school students conceptualize school belonging in terms of their ability to fit in at school, receive support from others, and form meaningful relationships with peers and adults (Nichols, 2008). Studies suggest that students with a strong sense of school belonging have better academic outcomes, success expectancies, motivation, and overall emotional well-being (Arslan, 2018; Goodenow, 1993). Conversely, students with low levels of school belonging are at risk for loneliness, lower emotional well-being, and higher emotional distress (Arslan, 2018; Zhang, Gao, Fokkema, Alterman, & Liu, 2014). Walsemann, Bell, and Maitra (2011) posit that racial-ethnic identification is an important factor associated with feelings of school belonging. Using data from the US National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, Walsemann et al., (2011) analyzed a sample of over 18,000 middle and high school adolescents and found that when students' racial-ethnic groups were disproportionately underrepresented at school, particularly for students of color, students reported less school belonging. They were also more likely to report depressive and somatic symptoms, due perhaps to increased exposure to discrimination and stress (Walsemann et al., 2011). Such research highlights the importance of exploring how youth experience their racial-ethnic identities at school and how experiences of racial-ethnic miscategorization impact feelings of school belonging.

Somatic symptoms and school safety. Stress and anxiety are associated with an increased risk for somatic symptoms including headaches, stomachaches, backaches, and fatigue (Christiansen, Copeland, & Stapert, 2008; Rhee, Holditch-Davis, & Miles, 2005). Early

adolescents are particularly vulnerable to such somatic symptoms when they don't feel safe at school (Meltzer, Vostanis, Goodman, & Ford, 2007). Research suggests that early adolescents in middle school conceptualize school safety in terms of victimization (Varjas, Henrich, Meyers, 2009). Specifically, students who fear being harassed or bothered by peers in school hallways, lunchrooms, bathrooms or other places where adult supervision is minimal, often report feeling less safe at school (Harper, Paris, Henrich, & Meyers, 2012; Varjas, Henrich, Meyers, 2009). A recent study on early adolescents' perceptions of safety and vulnerability at school, surveyed more than 70 6th grade classrooms across 11 racially and ethnically diverse public middle schools in northern and southern California (Juvonen, Nishina, & Graham, 2006). Results indicated that racial-ethnic school diversity was associated with school safety and social satisfaction. In classrooms with higher racial-ethnic diversity, African American and Latina/o students reported feeling safer, less lonely, and less fearful of harassment. Similarly, at the school level, higher racial-diversity was associated with lower levels of victimization. Such findings have important implications about the potential impact of racial-ethnic identification and school racial-ethnic diversity on students' overall experiences in school and their psychosocial outcomes.

The Current Study

The current quantitative survey study examined the association between perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization and psychosocial outcomes among a sample of early adolescents. For the purposes of this study, racial-ethnic miscategorization was defined as a discrepancy between how a target personally identifies their racial-ethnic identity and how they think that other students in their school perceive their racial-ethnic background. Psychosocial outcomes are assessed using a variety of measures targeting somatic symptoms, feelings of loneliness, social anxiety, and feelings of school belonging and safety.

I also tested the possibility that ethnic pride and school racial-ethnic composition might moderate the association between perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization and psychosocial outcomes. Previous research suggests that a strong ethnic identity can either buffer or exacerbate discrimination (Rivas-Drake & Hughes, 2008; Lee, 2005). Considering that racial-ethnic miscategorization can be construed as a form of discrimination, the current study explored the extent to which strong ethnic identity either worsened the effect of perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization on psychosocial outcomes or served as a buffer against its potentially negative effects.

Furthermore, given that the ethnic makeup of a school can signal an imbalance of power such that students in the numerical majority have the most social capital (Graham & Juvonen, 2002), perceiving racial-ethnic miscategorization as the racial-ethnic majority group at school could be more protective than perceiving racial-ethnic miscategorization into the numerical minority group. As such, this study also explored the extent to which perceiving racial-ethnic miscategorization as a member of the numerical racial-ethnic majority group versus the numerical racial-ethnic minority group influenced outcomes of racial-ethnic miscategorization.

As the U.S. becomes increasingly more diverse it is important that we understand the impact of miscategorization, as it will likely be a reality for more people. Furthermore, because the under 18 population is among the most diverse in the U.S (Pew Research Center, 2015), examining the influence of perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization on youth becomes even more relevant. As such my research questions were:

(1) What is the effect of perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization on psychosocial outcomes (i.e., loneliness, somatic symptoms, school belongingness, and school safety) among a sample of monoracial and multiracial early adolescents?

Based on prior research (Campbell & Troyer, 2007; Flores & Huo, 2012; Song & Aspinall, 2012), I hypothesized that perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization would be associated with greater negative outcomes for early adolescents. More specifically, racial-ethnic miscategorization would be associated with greater feelings of loneliness, more reports of somatic symptoms, higher levels of social anxiety, and less feelings of school belongingness and safety.

(2) Do ethnic pride and school racial-ethnic composition moderate the effects of racial-ethnic miscategorization on loneliness, somatic symptoms, social anxiety, school belonging, and school safety?

I hypothesized that ethnic pride would moderate experiences of racial-ethnic miscategorization on psychosocial outcomes. More specifically, I expected that the relationship between perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization and negative psychosocial outcomes would be weaker for students with high ethnic pride. Acknowledging, however, that racial-ethnic miscategorization could be perceived as a form of discrimination, I also anticipated the possibility of perhaps finding the opposite effect as well— strong ethnic pride would exacerbate the relationship between perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization and psychosocial outcomes. Furthermore, I predicted that school racial-ethnic composition would moderate the effect of racial-ethnic miscategorization on psychosocial outcomes. I expected that students who perceived miscategorization into the numerical racial-ethnic majority group at school would have better outcomes than those who perceived miscategorization into a numerical minority group at school.

Method

Participants

Data for the proposed study were acquired from The Middle School Diversity Project, a larger longitudinal study that explores the potential psychosocial benefits of attending a racially/ethnically diverse urban middle school. The study includes 5,991 sixth grade participants from 26 diverse schools in northern and southern California. Schools were recruited to vary in ethnic composition. Six schools were ethnically diverse (i.e. they did not have a numerical majority or minority group), 11 schools had a clear numerical majority ethnic group (either Asian Latino, Black/African American, and White), and 9 schools had two relatively large and equally represented groups (i.e. Latino and White, Latino and African American). This sampling strategy resulted in an ethnically diverse sample that was 28% Latino, 23% White, 17% East or South-East Asian, 12% African American, and 14% Multi-ethnic, with the rest identifying as American Indian, Middle Eastern, Pacific Islander, or South Asian .

The current study utilized data from the full sample of monoracial and multiracial 6th grade participants (N=5,991) as well as data from a subset of participants (n =1,602) who reported experiencing racial-ethnic miscategorization. The subsample of participants who reported a perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization included a total of 1,602 participants, 54% of whom are female (n=872) and 55% of which are male (n=730). The racial-ethnic composition of this subsample was 42% Multi-ethnic/Biracial, 25% Latina/o, 7.2% White, 6.4% African-American/Black, 5.2% Filipino, 5.1% East/Southeast Asian with the rest identifying as South Asian, Middle Eastern, American Indian and/or Other.

Procedure

Participants were recruited and surveyed in the fall and spring of the sixth grade. 8,874 consent forms were distributed to the entire sample and 83% of parents gave permission for their

child to participate. Two \$50 gift cards were raffled in each school for those students who returned a consent form. Following written parent permission and student assent, researchers entered a non-academic class for one hour to administer the survey. Researchers read the survey aloud as participants followed along and answered the corresponding questions on their survey. The current study only utilized data collected in the spring.

Measures. *Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization.* To determine racial-ethnic miscategorization, all participants were prompted with the question, “What is your ethnic group?” In response to this question, participants chose from a list of 13 racial-ethnic categories or provided an open-ended answer if they identified as Multi-ethnic/Biracial or if their racial ethnic identification was not represented by any of the listed categories. Participants were then asked to report others’ perception of their racial-ethnic group with the prompt, “Most students in my school think I am...” In response to this prompt, participants were presented with the same list of 13 racial-ethnic categories as in the previous measure. A discrepancy between a participant’s racial-ethnic group category and others’ perception of their racial-ethnic group qualified as an experience of perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization. In the current study, racial-ethnic miscategorization was a categorical “yes” or “no” variable.

Somatic symptoms. Participants were presented a checklist of seven somatic symptoms adapted from Urry and Beardman’s (1998) Add Health and asked to report how often they have experienced each symptom in the past two weeks. The checklist included symptoms like headaches, dizziness, and sleep problems. Participants responded on a 4-point scale from 1 (“not at all”) to 4 (“almost every day”). The mean was calculated, and a composite score was created ($\alpha = 0.80$).

Loneliness. Items were adapted from Asher and Wheeler (1985) Children’s Loneliness Measure. A total of five items assessed the extent to which participants felt lonely at school with

questions like “I have nobody to talk to” or “I feel left out of things.” Participants responded from 1 (“always true”) to 5 (“not true at all”) on a five-point scale with a midpoint of 3 (“sometimes true”). The mean was calculated, and a composite score was created ($\alpha = 0.91$).

Social Anxiety. Six items were adapted from two subscales of the Social Anxiety Scale for Adolescents (La Greca & Lopez, 1998) to assess fear of negative evaluation and social avoidance. Items included prompts like “I worry what others think of me” and “I’m afraid to invite others to do things with me because they might say no.” Each prompt was rated on a 5-point scale from 1 (“not at all”) to 5 (“all the time”). The mean was calculated, and a composite score was created ($\alpha = 0.82$).

School belonging. Six items were adapted from a school climate subscale of the Effective School Battery (ESB; Gottfredon, 1986) and included items like “I feel like I am part of this school”, “I feel that I belong in this school” and “I feel close to people at this school.” Items were rated on a 5-point scale from 1 (“for sure yes”) to 5 (“no way!”). The mean was calculated, and a composite score was created ($\alpha = 0.87$).

School safety. Also adapted from a school climate subscale of the Effective School Battery (ESB; Gottfredon, 1986), six items assessed perceived safety at various places in school (e.g., in the restrooms, hallways) and on the way to or from school. Items included questions like “Are you afraid that someone will hurt you or bother you at school?” and “Do you feel unsafe during lunch?” Participants responded on a 5-point scale from 1 (“always”) to 5 (“never”). The mean was calculated, and a composite score was created ($\alpha = 0.80$).

Ethnic pride. To assess participants’ sense of membership and the quality of their affiliation with their ethnic group, three items were adapted from The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992). Questions like “I know what it’s like to be a member of my ethnic group” and “I am a proud member of my ethnic group” were rated on a 5-point scale from

1 (“definitely yes!”) and 5 (“definitely no!”). The mean was calculated, and a composite score was created ($\alpha = 0.72$).

School racial-ethnic composition. To calculate the proportion of students from each racial-ethnic group at each school, the total number of students from each group (including multiethnic/biracial) at each middle school was divided by the total number of students at that school. These data were gathered from the California Department of Education (CDE) database.

Results

The results section is divided into three parts. The first part presents descriptive information for outcome variables in the study. The second part reports the main effects of perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization, and the last section tests hypotheses about moderation. As explained below, I addressed some of my research questions using the full sample of 5,991 participants and addressed others using only the subsample of participants who perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization ($N=1,602$).

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 reports descriptive information for all of the psychosocial variables of interest in the study, and Table 2 reports correlations among them. Descriptive statistics show that overall, students in the sample do not report extreme levels of somatic symptoms, loneliness, or social anxiety, and that they reported feeling moderate levels of school belonging and high levels of school safety. Furthermore, each of the outcome variables are moderately correlated with each other. As expected, somatic symptoms, loneliness, and social anxiety are negatively correlated with school safety and school belonging and positively correlated with one another. Last, frequencies for perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization show that over 25% of students in the sample perceive being miscategorized by their peers.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Psychosocial Outcomes

<i>Outcomes</i>	N	M	SD	Range
Somatic Symptoms	3626	1.73	0.587	1-4
Loneliness	3645	1.65	0.78	1-5
Social Anxiety	3658	2.15	0.76	1-5
School Belonging	3726	3.69	0.73	1-5
School Safety	5500	4.23	0.67	1-5

Note. The first four variables were part of a planned missing design, which explains the smaller Ns.

Table 2. Correlations Among Outcome Variables

<i>Outcome Variables</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. Somatic Symptoms	-	.272**	.277**	-.241**	-.296**
2. Loneliness		-	.522**	-.381**	-.426**
3. Social Anxiety			-	-.248**	-.412**
4. School Belonging				-	.350**
5. School Safety					-

**p<0.01

Table 3. Frequencies for Perceived Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization

	N	Valid Percent
Perceived Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization, YES	1602	28.3
Perceived Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization, NO	4050	71.7

Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization and Psychosocial Outcomes

My first research question sought to explore the association between racial-ethnic miscategorization and psychosocial outcomes. I hypothesized that students who perceive racial-ethnic miscategorization would have more negative psychosocial outcomes than students who do not perceive racial-ethnic miscategorization. To test this hypothesis, I conducted a t-test comparing both groups using the full sample. Table 4 shows the means for each psychosocial outcome as a function of perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization. When comparing participants who perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization to those who did not, an independent samples t-test showed a significant difference between mean scores for somatic symptoms, such that students who perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization ($M=1.82$, $SD=.613$) experienced significantly more somatic symptoms than students who did not perceive racial-ethnic miscategorization ($M=1.70$, $SD=.573$), $t(1700) = -5.32$, $p<.01$). There was no significant difference between groups on feelings of loneliness ($t(1740.05) = -1.397$, $p>.05$), social anxiety ($t(3618) = 0.567$, $p>.05$), school belonging ($t(3690) = -0.123$, $p>.05$), or school safety ($t(5448) = 1.579$, $p>.05$). Results for the association between racial-ethnic miscategorization and somatic symptoms confirmed my hypothesis, meanwhile my hypothesis was not confirmed for the other outcome variables.

Table 4. *t*-test Results Comparing Psychosocial Outcomes for Students who Perceive Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization (Miscategorization YES) and Students Who Do Not Perceive Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization (Miscategorization NO)

<u>Outcome</u>	<u>Group</u>						95% CI for <u>Mean</u> <u>Difference</u>	<u>t</u>
	Miscategorization YES			Miscategorization NO				
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n		
Somatic Symptoms	1.82	.613	995	1.70	.573	2593	-.164, -.076	-5.32**

Loneliness	1.68	.810	1005	1.64	.767	2604	-.097, .016	-1.40
School Belonging	3.70	.745	1099	3.69	.722	2593	-.055, .048	-.123
School Safety	4.21	.682	1552	4.24	.662	3898	-.008, .071	1.58
Soc. Anxiety	2.14	.781	1013	2.16	.757	2607	-.038, .071	.567

*p<0.05

**p<0.01

Ethnic Pride as a Moderator of the Effects of Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization

The next set of analyses examined the extent to which ethnic pride moderated the effects of racial-ethnic miscategorization on the psychosocial outcomes of interest—somatic symptoms, loneliness, social anxiety, school belonging, and school safety. My approach to ethnic pride as a moderator was exploratory because it could either weaken or exacerbate the relationship between racial-ethnic miscategorization and psychosocial outcomes. In these exploratory analyses, I tested the moderating effect of ethnic pride on all of the outcomes, even those not significant in the t-test analyses. I used race-ethnicity and gender as control variables. Gender was dummy coded with “male” as the reference group, and race-ethnicity was dummy coded using “Latina/o” as the reference group because it was largest demographic in the sample.

Table 5 shows a main effect of ethnic pride such that higher levels of ethnic pride were significantly associated with lower somatic symptoms ($B = -.058$, $SE B = .015$, $p < .01$), less loneliness ($B = -.218$, $SE B = .020$, $p < .01$), less social anxiety ($B = -.189$, $SE B = .019$, $p < .01$), more school belonging ($B = .256$, $SE B = .018$, $p < .01$), and more school safety ($B = .125$, $SE B = .014$, $p < .01$). Testing for moderation showed a significant interaction between ethnic pride and perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization for school safety ($B = -.06$, $SE B = .030$, $p < .05$). I used

multiple regression to test the decomposition of this interaction at three levels of ethnic pride-- one standard deviation above the mean, at the mean, and one standard deviation below the mean. Results, however, did not confirm my hypothesis as ethnic pride did not significantly impact the relationship between school safety and racial-ethnic miscategorization ($M=4.30$, $SD= .67$, $t(1857) = -3.08$, $p<0.01$).

Table 5 Multiple Regressions of Ethnic Pride and Perceived Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization on Somatic Symptoms, Loneliness, Social Anxiety, School Belonging, and School Safety

	Somatic Symptoms				Loneliness				Social Anxiety			
Model 1	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.021	1.665	.021		.018	1.589	.027		.037	2.088	.026	
Gender		.112**	.020	.095		-.060*	.026	-.039		.087**	.025	.057
Black/African American		.019	.034	.010		-.019	.044	-.008		-.172**	.043	-.071
East/SE Asian		-.088**	.032	-.051		.220**	.042	.096		.291**	.041	.129
White		-.021	.028	-.014		.146**	.037	.075		-.010	.036	-.005
South Asian		-.097	.075	-.022		.044	.098	.008		.049	.096	.009
Filipino		-.093	.061	-.027		.232**	.079	.050		.271**	.076	.060
Middle Eastern		-.013	.071	-.003		.069	.094	.013		.001	.092	.000
Multiethnic		-.033	.034	-.020		-.049*	.045	-.023		-.150**	.044	-.071
Other		-.001	.105	.000		.346**	.141	.041		.062	.133	.008
Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization (ETHMis)		.124**	.026	.094		.097**	.035	.056		.046	.034	.027
Model 2	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.025	1.93	.064		.051	2.531	.089		.063	2.904	.087	
Gender		.113**	.020	.096		-.057**	.025	-.037		.089**	.025	.058
Black/African American		.016	.034	.008		-.033	.043	-.014		-.184**	.043	-.076

East/SE Asian		-.094**	.032	-.054		.197**	.042	.086		.271**	.041	.120
White		-.038	.028	-.026		.080*	.037	.041		-.067	.036	-.035
South Asian		-.092	.075	-.021		.062	.097	.011		.064	.094	.011
Filipino		-.084	.061	-.024		.271**	.078	.059		.302**	.075	.067
Middle Eastern		-.010	.071	-.003		.074	.093	.014		.006	.090	.001
Multiethnic		-.043	.034	-.026		-.086	.044	-.040		-.181**	.043	-.085
Other		-.029	.105	-.005		.241	.139	.029		-.025	.132	-.003
ETHMis		.116**	.026	.089		.070*	.034	.041		.021	.033	.012
Ethnic Pride (ETHPride)		-.058**	.015	-.065		-.218**	.020	-.186		-.189**	.019	-.163
Model 3	R²	B	SE B	β	R²	B	SE B	β	R²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.025	1.86	.078		.051	2.603	.106		.063	2.988	.104	
Gender		.112**	.020	.096		-.056*	.025	-.036		.090**	.025	.059
Black/African American		.017	.034	.009		-.035	.043	-.014		-.185	.043	-.077**
East/SE Asian		-.093**	.032	-.054		.196**	.042	.085		.270	.041	.119
White		-.035	.028	-.024		.076*	.037	.039		-.071	.036	-.037
South Asian		-.091	.075	-.021		.061	.097	.010		.062	.094	.011
Filipino		-.081	.061	-.023		.267**	.078	.058		.298	.076	.067**
Middle Eastern		-.006	.071	-.001		.070	.093	.013		.001	.090	.000
Multiethnic		-.045	.034	-.027		-.083	.044	-.039		-.179	.043	-.084**
Other		-.032	.105	-.005		.244	.139	.029		-.021	.132	-.003
ETHMis		.305*	.136	.233		-.145	.176	-.084		-.229	.172	-.135
ETHPride		-.043*	.018	-.048		-.235**	.024	-.200		-.209	.023	-.180**
ETHMis x ETHPride		-.045	.032	-.144		.052	.042	.125		.060	.041	.148

Table 5 Continued Multiple Regressions of Ethnic Pride and Perceived Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization on Somatic Symptoms, Loneliness, Social Anxiety, School Belonging, and School Safety

	School Belonging				School Safety			
Model 1	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.024	3.649	.025		.015	4.181	.019	
Gender		.174**	.024	.119		.092**	.018	.069
Black/African American		.048	.042	.020		.042	.032	.020
East/SE Asian		-.154**	.039	-.073		-.128**	.030	-.065
White		-.116**	.034	-.063		.083**	.026	.050
South Asian		.205*	.094	.036		.005	.070	.001
Filipino		-.024	.076	-.005		-.012	.057	-.003
Middle Eastern		-.092	.086	-.018		.044	.064	.010
Multiethnic		-.028	.040	-.014		.097**	.031	.053
Other		-.031	.134	-.004		-.103	.098	-.014
Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization (ETHMis)		-.023	.031	-.015		-.062**	.024	-.042
Model 2	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.075	2.539	.083		.029	3.640	.064	
Gender		.166**	.023	.114		.090**	.018	.067

Black/African American		.066	.041	.028		.049	.031	.023
East/SE Asian		-.125**	.038	-.059		-.114**	.029	-.058
White		-.025	.034	-.014		.124**	.026	.074
South Asian		.173	.092	.031		-.001	.069	.000
Filipino		-.084	.074	-.019		-.035	.057	-.009
Middle Eastern		-.099	.084	-.019		.038	.064	.008
Multiethnic		.008	.040	.004		.119**	.031	.064
Other		.045	.131	.006		-.059	.098	-.008
ETHMis		.018	.030	.011		-.046*	.024	-.031
Ethnic Pride (ETHPride)		.256**	.018	.231		.125**	.014	.122
Model 3	R²	B	SE B	β	R²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.075	2.535	.099		.030	3.551	.076	
Gender		.166**	.023	.114		.089**	.018	.067
Black/African American		.066	.041	.028		.051	.031	.024
East/SE Asian		-.125**	.038	-.059		-.113**	.029	-.057
White		-.025	.034	-.014		.128**	.026	.077
South Asian		.173	.092	.031		.003	.069	.001
Filipino		-.084	.074	-.019		-.027	.057	-.007
Middle Eastern		-.099	.084	-.019		.044	.064	.009
Multiethnic		.008	.040	.004		.117**	.031	.063
Other		.045	.131	.006		-.061	.098	-.009
ETHMis		.031	.161	.020		.220	.127	.148
ETHPride		.257**	.022	.232		.146**	.017	.142
ETHMis x ETHPride		-.003	.038	-.009		-.064*	.030	-.180

**p≤.01, Latina/o served as the reference group for racial-ethnic groups and Male was the reference group for gender variables.

School Ethnic Composition as a Moderator of the Effects of Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization

The last set of analyses examined the extent to which school ethnic composition moderated the effects of racial-ethnic miscategorization. I hypothesized that students who perceived being miscategorized into the numerical racial-ethnic majority group at school would have better outcomes than those who perceived being miscategorized into a non-majority group. In order to test school ethnic composition as a moderator of the effects of racial-ethnic miscategorization, I used an analytic subsample comprised solely of participants who perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization (N=1,602). Using responses from the self-report “Students in my School Think I Am” measure, I identified the different racial-ethnic groups that participants perceived being mistaken for, and coded the responses to identify 9 different racial-ethnic groups-- Black/African American, East/Southeast Asian, White/European American, Latino/Mexican, South Asian, Filipino/Pacific Islander, Multi-ethnic/Biracial, or Other (including Middle Eastern and Native American/Indigenous). To be consistent with California Department of Education, I combined East/Southeast Asian and South Asian students into one pan-ethnic Asian group. Then, for each outcome, I tested the interaction between the racial-ethnic group to which participants perceived being miscategorized and the percentage of students from that racial-ethnic group at the participant’s school. As such, I had a total of 8 interaction terms.

School ethnic composition was a continuous variable ranging from 0 to 100 percent. None of the participants in the sample attended a school where the numerical racial-ethnic majority group exceeded 70% representation. However, several participants attended schools where certain racial-ethnic groups had 0% representation. I decided not to exclude such cases from the study in order to examine potential effect of perceiving racial-ethnic miscategorization

to a group that is not represented at school. In the interest of space, only significant findings are reported (See Table 6 and Table 7).

Table 6 shows a significant interaction between perceiving racial-ethnic miscategorization as Multi-ethnic/Biracial and the percentage of Multi-ethnic/Biracial students at school on feelings of social anxiety ($B=-7.59$, $SE\ B=3.428$, $p<.05$). The interaction was probed by testing the effects of the miscategorization group at three levels of percent representation for each racial-ethnic group, one standard deviation below the mean (low percent representation), at the mean, and at one standard deviation above the mean (high percent representation). Participants who perceived being miscategorized as Multi-ethnic/Biracial in a school with a low percentage of Multi-ethnic/Biracial students had higher social anxiety than those at a school with a high percentage of Multi-ethnic/Biracial students, thereby confirming my hypothesis about the protective function of being miscategorized as a numerically larger group ($t(425) = 2.77$, $p<.01$) (See Figure 2).

Table 6 Multiple Regressions of School Racial Ethnic Composition (%Multi) and Perceived Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization as Multi-ethnic/Biracial (MisMulti) on Somatic Symptoms, Loneliness, Social Anxiety, School Belonging, and School Safety for Students

	Somatic Symptoms				Loneliness				Social Anxiety			
Model 1	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.021	1.763**	.047		.034	1.657	.061		.025	2.109	.059	
Gender		.135**	.039	.110		-.071	.051	-.044		.077	.050	.049
Black/African American		-.017	.089	-.007		.030	.112	.009		.006	.109	.002
East/SE Asian		-.067	.091	-.025		.343**	.121	.096		.177	.117	.051
White		.118	.087	.046		.157	.113	.047		.003	.110	.001
South Asian		-.096	.142	-.022		-.315	.186	-.054		-.149	.180	-.027
Filipino		-.109	.094	-.039		.223	.121	.062		.261*	.116	.076
Middle Eastern		-.052	.098	-.018		.112	.127	.030		.011	.124	.003
Multiethnic		-.043	.051	-.035		-.020	.067	-.012		-.104	.064	-.066
Other		.078	.136	.019		.598**	.179	.108		.248	.169	.047
MisMulti		.079	.062	.044		.104	.081	.044		.054	.078	.024
Model 2	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.021	1.77**	.047		.035	1.666	.062		.026	2.119	.060	
Gender		.135**	.039	.110		-.071	.051	-.044		.078	.050	.050
Black/African American		-.021	.089	-.008		.025	.113	.008		.000	.109	.000
East/SE Asian		-.067	.092	-.025		.344**	.121	.096		.178	.117	.051
White		.124	.088	.049		.166	.114	.050		.013	.110	.004
South Asian		-.093	.142	-.021		-.312	.186	-.054		-.146	.180	-.026
Filipino		-.110	.094	-.040		.221	.121	.061		.259*	.116	.075

Middle Eastern		-.047	.098	-.016		.120	.128	.032		.021	.125	.006
Multiethnic		-.040	.051	-.033		-.016	.067	-.010		-.099	.065	-.063
Other		.082	.136	.020		.604**	.179	.109		.255	.170	.049
MisMulti		.079	.062	.044		.104	.081	.044		.055	.078	.024
% Multi		-.617	.850	-.023		-.859	1.114	-.024		-1.021	1.062	-.030
Model 3	R²	B	SE B	β	R²	B	SE B	β	R²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.0 23	1.765**	.048		.037	1.66**	.062		.030	2.109**	.060	
Gender		.132**	.039	.108		-.075	.051	-.046		.072	.050	.046
Black/African American		-.024	.089	-.009		.021	.113	.006		.003	.109	.001
East/SE Asian		-.064	.091	-.024		.348**	.121	.097		.181	.117	.052
White		.137	.088	.054		.185	.115	.056		.040	.111	.012
South Asian		-.082	.142	-.019		-.294	.186	-.051		-.122	.180	-.022
Filipino		-.11	.094	-.040		.222	.121	.061		.260*	.115	.075
Middle Eastern		-.051	.098	-.018		.114	.128	.030		.011	.124	.003
Multiethnic		-.039	.051	-.032		-.015	.067	-.009		-.098	.065	-.062
Other		.080	.136	.019		.600**	.179	.109		.250	.169	.048
MisMulti		.120	.071	.066		.167	.091	.070		.147	.088	.064
% Multi		-.283	.891	-.011		-.341	1.168	-.010		-.226	1.119	-.007
MisMulti x % Multi		-3.593	2.882	-.047		-5.491	3.748	-.055		-7.599*	3.428	-.084

**p≤.01, Latina/o served as the reference group for racial-ethnic groups and Male was the reference group for gender variables.

Table 6 Continued Multiple Regressions of School Racial Ethnic Composition (%Multi) and Perceived Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization as Multi-ethnic/Biracial (MisMulti) on Somatic Symptoms, Loneliness, Social Anxiety, School Belonging, and School Safety for Students

	School Belonging				School Safety			
Model 1	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.027	3.643**	.056		.018	4.11**	.042	
Gender		.168**	.045	.112		.132**	.035	.096
Black/African American		.060	.097	.020		-.020	.077	-.007
East/SE Asian		.024	.104	.008		-.096	.086	-.030
White		-.224**	.092	-.081		-.023	.073	-.009
South Asian		.211	.147	.045		.092	.118	.020
Filipino		.012	.110	.004		-.088	.082	-.029
Middle Eastern		-.245	.120	-.065		.055	.089	.017
Multiethnic		-.056	.061	-.037		.086	.046	.062
Other		-.041	.172	-.007		-.132	.129	-.027
MisMulti		-.017	.068	-.008		-.012	.055	-.006
Model 2	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.028	3.634**	.057		.028	4.078**	.042	
Gender		.169**	.045	.113		.133**	.035	.097
Black/African American		.063	.097	.021		-.003	.077	-.001
East/SE Asian		.020	.104	.006		-.110	.085	-.035
White		-.235**	.093	-.085		-.053	.073	-.020
South Asian		.202	.148	.043		.058	.118	.013
Filipino		.011	.110	.003		-.087	.081	-.029

Middle Eastern		-.257*	.121	-.068		.028	.089	.008
Multiethnic		-.063	.062	-.042		.069	.046	.050
Other		-.048	.172	-.009		-.151	.128	-.030
MisMulti		-.018	.068	-.009		-.009	.054	-.004
% Multi		.907	.925	.030		3.026**	.741	.104
Model 3	R²	B	SE B	β	R²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.028	3.63**	.058		.029	4.082**	.043	
Gender		.168**	.045	.113		.134**	.035	.098
Black/African American		.065	.098	.022		-.002	.077	-.001
East/SE Asian		.022	.104	.007		-.113	.085	-.036
White		-.228**	.094	-.083		-.062	.074	-.024
South Asian		.203	.148	.043		.053	.118	.012
Filipino		.012	.110	.003		-.087	.081	-.029
Middle Eastern		-.258*	.121	-.069		.030	.089	.009
Multiethnic		-.062	.062	-.041		.068	.046	.049
Other		-.048	.172	-.009		-.150	.128	-.030
MisMulti		-.001	.076	-.001		-.035	.061	-.017
% Multi		1.073	.987	.035		2.811**	.777	.097
MisMulti x % Multi		-1.324	2.754	-.017		2.283	2.481	.028

**p≤.01, Latina/o served as the reference group for racial-ethnic groups and Male was the reference group for gender variables.

Table 7 Multiple Regressions of School Racial Ethnic Composition (%Latina/o) and Perceived Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization as Latina/o (MisLatina/o) on Somatic Symptoms, Loneliness, Social Anxiety, School Belonging, and School Safety for Students

	Somatic Symptoms				Loneliness				Social Anxiety			
Model 1	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.019	1.779**	.045		.033	1.680	.058		.025	2.121**	.056	
Gender		.141**	.039	.115		-.064	.051	-.039		.079	.049	.050
Black/African American		-.010	.089	-.004		.038	.113	.012		-.003	.109	-.001
East/SE Asian		-.055	.092	-.021		.357	.121	.100		.172	.117	.050
White		.120	.089	.047		.156	.116	.047		-.023	.112	-.007
South Asian		-.095	.142	-.022		-.317	.187	-.055		-.166	.181	-.030
Filipino		-.104	.095	-.038		.226	.122	.063		.247*	.117	.072
Middle Eastern		-.057	.099	-.020		.102	.129	.027		-.018	.125	-.005
Multiethnic		-.058	.050	-.047		-.042	.066	-.026		-.131*	.063	-.083
Other		.072	.137	.017		.582	.179	.105		.221	.170	.042
MisLatina/o		-.021	.055	-.013		-.020	.071	-.009		.070	.069	.033
Model 2	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.020	1.731**	.071		.033	1.721	.093		.026	2.184	.090	
Gender		.141**	.039	.115		-.064	.051	-.039		.079	.049	.050
Black/African American		-.005	.089	-.002		.034	.113	.010		-.009	.110	-.003
East/SE Asian		-.035	.095	-.013		.340	.125	.095		.146	.121	.042
White		.133	.090	.052		.146	.117	.044		-.037	.113	-.012
South Asian		-.085	.143	-.020		-.326	.187	-.056		-.178	.181	-.032
Filipino		-.101	.095	-.036		.223	.123	.062		.241*	.117	.070
Middle Eastern		-.044	.100	-.015		.091	.130	.024		-.035	.127	-.009

Multiethnic		-.050	.051	-.040		-.049	.067	-.030		-.142*	.064	-.090
Other		.076	.137	.018		.579	.179	.105		.215	.170	.041
MisLatina/o		-.024	.055	-.015		-.018	.071	-.008		.073	.069	.035
% Latina/o		.113	.130	.029		-.096	.169	-.018		-.147	.163	-.029
Model 3	R²	B	SE B	β	R²	B	SE B	β	R²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.021	1.711**	.076		.034	1.747* *	.099		.026	2.17**	.095	
Gender		.141**	.039	.115		-.064	.051	-.040		.079	.049	.051
Black/African American		-.002	.089	-.001		.029	.114	.009		-.006	.110	-.002
East/SE Asian		-.028	.095	-.011		.331**	.125	.092		.151	.121	.043
White		.139	.090	.055		.138	.117	.041		-.033	.114	-.010
South Asian		-.080	.143	-.018		-.332	.188	-.057		-.175	.182	-.031
Filipino		-.101	.095	-.036		.223	.123	.062		.242*	.117	.070
Middle Eastern		-.037	.101	-.013		.082	.131	.022		-.030	.127	-.008
Multiethnic		-.047	.051	-.038		-.053	.067	-.032		-.140*	.065	-.089
Other		.083	.137	.020		.570**	.180	.103		.220	.171	.042
MisLatina/o		.074	.138	.045		-.149	.181	-.068		.142	.173	.067
% Latina/o		.159	.143	.041		-.157	.186	-.030		-.114	.179	-.023
MisLatina/o x % Latina/o		-.267	.343	-.066		.353	.447	.067		-.185	.430	-.036

Table 7 Continued Multiple Regressions of School Racial Ethnic Composition (%Latina/o) and Perceived Racial-Ethnic Miscategorization as Latina/o (MisLatina/o) on Somatic Symptoms, Loneliness, Social Anxiety, School Belonging, and School Safety for Students

	School Belonging				School Safety			
Model 1	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.027	3.638**	.053		.018	4.108**	.040	
Gender		.166**	.045	.111		.131**	.035	.095
Black/African American		.063	.098	.021		-.024	.078	-.008
East/SE Asian		.026	.104	.008		-.100	.086	-.031
White		-.219**	.093	-.079		-.028	.074	-.011
South Asian		.216	.148	.046		.089	.119	.020
Filipino		.016	.111	.005		-.092	.083	-.031
Middle Eastern		-.239*	.121	-.063		.051	.090	.016
Multiethnic		-.048	.059	-.032		.085*	.045	.062
Other		-.034	.173	-.006		-.137	.130	-.028
MisLatina/o		-.010	.062	-.005		.019	.048	.011
Model 2	R ²	B	SE B	β	R ²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.028	3.697**	.082		.019	4.184**	.064	
Gender		.169**	.045	.113		.132**	.035	.096
Black/African American		.056	.099	.019		-.030	.078	-.010
East/SE Asian		.002	.107	.001		-.132	.088	-.041
White		-.236**	.095	-.086		-.049	.075	-.019
South Asian		.203	.148	.043		.074	.119	.016
Filipino		.006	.111	.002		-.103	.083	-.034
Middle Eastern		-.253*	.122	-.067		.032	.091	.010
Multiethnic		-.060	.060	-.040		.071	.046	.051

Other		-.039	.173	-.007		-.143	.130	-.029
MisLatina/o		-.006	.062	-.003		.025	.048	.014
% Latina/o		-.140	.150	-.029		-.178	.116	-.041
Model 3	R²	B	SE B	β	R²	B	SE B	β
Intercept	.031	3.64**	.088			4.161**	.068	
Gender		.17**	.045	.114		.133**	.035	.097
Black/African American		.077	.099	.026		-.024	.078	-.008
East/SE Asian		.017	.108	.005		-.125	.089	-.039
White		-.22**	.096	-.080		-.042	.076	-.016
South Asian		.213	.148	.045		.079	.119	.017
Filipino		.002	.111	.001		-.103	.083	-.034
Middle Eastern		-.231*	.122	-.062		.038	.091	.012
Multiethnic		-.050	.060	-.033		.075	.046	.054
Other		-.010	.174	-.002		-.134	.130	-.027
MisLatina/o		.249	.152	.126		.136	.122	.074
% Latina/o		-.010	.166	-.002		-.126	.127	-.029
MisLatina/o x % Latina/o		-.699	.381	-.145		-.299	.302	-.068

****p**≤.01, *Latina/o served as the reference group for racial-ethnic groups and Male was the reference group for gender variables.*

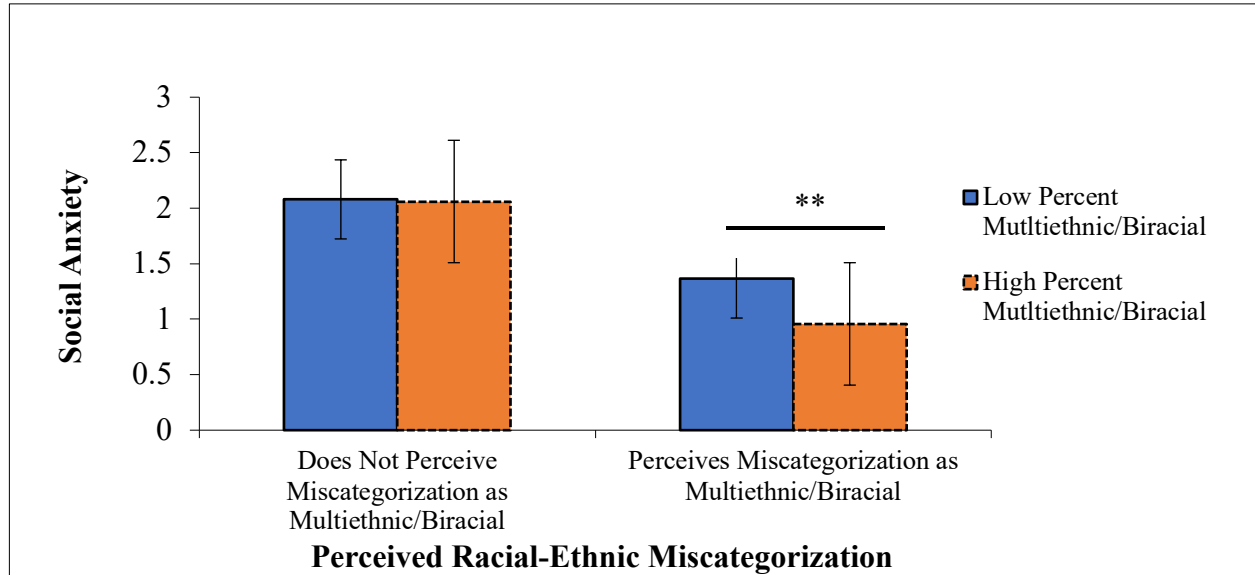


Figure 1. Interaction between miscategorization and percent of Multi-ethnic/Biracial youth in the school for social anxiety.

In summary, results showed that compared to students who do not perceive racial-ethnic miscategorization those who do experience more somatic symptoms. Results also showed a main effect of ethnic pride such that students with high ethnic pride experience less somatic symptoms, less loneliness, less social anxiety, and more school belonging and school safety. School racial-ethnic composition also moderated effects of racial-ethnic miscategorization. When students perceive being miscategorized as Multi-ethnic/Biracial at a school with a low percentage of Multi-ethnic/Biracial students they feel more social anxiety, than those who attend school with a high percentage of Multi-ethnic/Biracial students.

Discussion

As the demographic trend of today moves towards greater racial and ethnic diversity (Cohen & Caumont, 2016), increased variation in racial phenotypes (Maddox, 2004; Sanchez, Young & Pauker, 2015) has made experiences and perceptions of racial-ethnic miscategorization more common (Campbell & Troyer, 2007; Franco & O'Brien, 2018). Extant literature largely suggests that for mono-racial and multi-racial adults, discrepancies between personal and

perceived racial-ethnic identification are associated with negative outcomes (Campbell & Troyer, 2007; Song & Aspinall, 2012; Newcomb, 2017). However, research has yet to explore the impact of racial-ethnic miscategorization from a developmental perspective. This gap in the literature motivated my exploration of the association between perceived-racial ethnic miscategorization and psychosocial outcomes for early adolescents. During this developmental period, exploration of racial-ethnic miscategorization may be especially important as the transition from elementary to middle school coincides with an emerging sense of racial-ethnic identity and ethnic pride (French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber 2006).

The present quantitative survey study focused specifically on students' self-reported perceptions of racial-ethnic miscategorization. A racially and ethnically diverse sample of 6th grade students was first prompted to identify their race/ethnicity and then prompted to identify the racial-ethnic group that they perceive their peers think they belong to. Over 25% of the total sample reported experiences of perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization. While no associations were found between perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization and feelings of loneliness, social anxiety, school belonging, or school safety, I found the hypothesized association between perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization and somatic symptoms. Students who perceived being miscategorized by their peers experienced more headaches, tiredness, stomachaches, dizziness, loss of appetite, nausea, and sleep problems. Extant literature on youth ages 10-18 years old suggests that exposure to a stressor is associated with increases in perceived stress and the prevalence of recurrent physical pain like headaches and abdominal pain (Alfveb, Ostberg & Hjern, 2008). So, it is possible that the association between perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization and somatic symptoms may be a result of students' having in the past experienced being misidentified as a stressor.

More unique to my study was the inclusion of ethnic pride as a moderator of the association between perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization and psychosocial outcomes. Ultimately, ethnic pride did not serve as a moderator, however, high ethnic pride was associated with better psychosocial outcomes including less somatic symptoms, less feelings of loneliness, less social anxiety and stronger feelings of school belonging and school safety. Thus, consistent with extant literature and independent of miscategorization, findings suggest that high ethnic pride may serve as a buffer against negative social and mental health outcomes for adolescents (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008; Holcomb-McCoy, 2005). Given the main effect of ethnic pride, future research may benefit from examining ways to support educators in increasing ethnic pride in students.

I also hypothesized that school racial-ethnic composition would moderate the relationship between racial-ethnic miscategorization and psychosocial outcomes such that perceiving racial-ethnic miscategorization into numerically larger racial-ethnic groups at school would be associated with more positive outcomes. Results confirmed my hypothesis for students who perceived being miscategorized as Multi-ethnic/Biracial. Compared to students attending schools with a low percentage of Multi-ethnic/Biracial students, students who perceived being miscategorized as Multi-ethnic/Biracial by their peers at a school with a large percentage of Multi-ethnic/Biracial students reported less social anxiety.

Such findings offer some evidence in support of the benefits of racially and ethnically diverse schools. Previous studies posit that school diversity may offer a numerical balance of power to students of different racial-ethnic groups, thereby decreasing their vulnerability and increasing their likelihood of developing healthy intergroup relationships (Juvonen, Kogachi, & Graham, 2018; Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014). Perhaps as a result of increased diversity, negative evaluation and social avoidance were less prominent in contexts where Multi-ethnic/Biracial

students comprised a large percentage of the school population. It may be that in such contexts, racial ambiguity and perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization may not be as threatening to personal identity and group membership, thereby allowing students to feel more comfortable and less anxious about how they will be received by their peers.

Limitations and Future Directions

The robust dataset used to explore early adolescents' experiences with racial-ethnic miscategorization is an important strength of the current study as it provided a large, racially and ethnically diverse sample of students during the critical developmental transition to middle school. A limitation of the study, however, is that the dataset does not disaggregate Multi-ethnic/Biracial identities thereby restricting the ability to analyze the impact of perceiving racial-ethnic miscategorization as just one or two of an individual's multiple racial-ethnic identities. Also, because effect sizes were small, and patterns were inconsistent, results should be interpreted with caution. Last, while a secondary data analysis allowed me to draw inferences about how perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization can potentially impact early adolescents, it does not capture the nuances of their experiences. One direction for future research is to examine perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization qualitatively in order to get a better understanding of how early adolescents make sense of their racial-ethnic identity and how they think about others' perceptions of them. A qualitative approach may capture more nuance and uncover other factors associated with how adolescents understand their racial-ethnic identification and experience racial-ethnic miscategorization. Building off of the current study, future research should also examine how the social status of the group to which an adolescent perceives miscategorization moderates outcomes of racial-ethnic miscategorization. For example, what is the impact of being in a racial-ethnic group with a higher social status and perceiving miscategorization into a lower status group, or vice versa? Because Latinos are a societally low status group, it could be that

being incorrectly perceived as a member of that group in my study compromised feelings of belonging as the size of that group increased. Last, given adolescents' tendency to change their racial-ethnic identity across the middle school years, a longitudinal approach to studying perceived racial-ethnic identity could provide more insight into adolescents' racial-ethnic exploration and identity development (Nishina, Bellmore, Witkow, & Nylund-Gibson, 2010).

Conclusion

The growing racial and ethnic diversity of the United States is likely to increase racial ambiguity. As such, it will become harder for people to identify within the current constructs of race, and mismatches between personal identification and perceived racial-ethnic identity is likely to become more common. My results provide evidence that for early adolescents, perceived racial-ethnic miscategorization impacts their day to day lives and experiences at school. Given such findings, it is important to continue to explore how demographic shifts of today impact how early adolescents not only understand themselves, but also how they experience school, develop friendships, develop their identity, and ultimately navigate their world.

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