

ScholarWorks@GSU

Interpersonal and Structural Discrimination, Ethnic-Racial Identity, and Civic Action Among Immigrant-Origin Youth of Color in the U.S.

Authors	Delbasso, Claudia A
Citation	Delbasso, Claudia A. "Interpersonal and Structural Discrimination, Ethnic-Racial Identity, and Civic Action Among Immigrant-Origin Youth of Color in the U.S." 2023. Dissertation, Georgia State University. https://doi.org/10.57709/35813918
DOI	https://doi.org/10.57709/35813918
Download date	2026-05-16 11:53:31
Link to Item	https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14694/13020

Interpersonal and Structural Discrimination, Ethnic-Racial Identity, and Civic Action Among
Immigrant-Origin Youth of Color in the U.S.

by

Claudia A. Delbasso

Under the Direction of Gabriel P. Kuperminc, PhD

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2023

ABSTRACT

Civic action refers to participation in various prosocial and political activities to improve one's community. Marginalized social identities and discrimination based on these identities often shape civic action among immigrant-origin youth of color (IYOC). IYOC face interpersonal and structural discrimination that affect their development and integration into U.S. society. In the context of such forms of discrimination, civic action is an important resource for IYOC, as it can be an adaptive response to navigate and to challenge discrimination. Dimensions of ethnic-racial identity (ERI) also promote positive outcomes in the context of discrimination and are likely to contribute to IYOC's civic participation. However, the extent to which ERI dimensions might moderate associations between both interpersonal and structural levels of discrimination and civic action is unclear.

This study examined unique and interactive effects of both interpersonal (ethnic-racial) and structural discrimination and two dimensions of ERI (exploration and commitment) on three types of civic action: conventional political action, activism, and community service among IYOC. Participants were 213 emerging adults ($M_{\text{age}} = 19.69$, $SD = 2.03$) residing in Georgia who completed an online survey of facilitators and barriers to civic action. Most participants were second-generation immigrants (79%), female (74%), and of Black/African descent (37%). Data collection began in spring 2021 and concluded in spring 2022.

Interpersonal and structural discrimination had differential associations with civic action and ERI dimensions. Moderation analyses revealed significant interactions of interpersonal discrimination and ERI commitment explaining variance in conventional political action, and of structural discrimination and ERI exploration explaining variance in activism. Interpersonal discrimination was positively related to conventional political action at low levels of

commitment. Structural discrimination was positively related to activism at high levels of exploration.

Findings underscore the importance of investigating the interplay between individual and sociopolitical factors when examining IYOC's active participation in their communities and in society at large. Findings can inform future research on the civic development and wellbeing of IYOC and have implications for the development of intervention efforts aimed at empowering IYOC to resist and challenge discrimination via action.

INDEX WORDS: Discrimination, Ethnic-racial identity, Civic action, Civic engagement, Immigrant youth, Immigration policy

Copyright by
Claudia-Andrea Delbasso
2023

Interpersonal and Structural Discrimination, Ethnic-Racial Identity, and Civic Action Among
Immigrant-Origin Youth of Color in the U.S.

by

Claudia A. Delbasso

Committee Chair: Gabriel P. Kuperminc

Committee: Sierra Carter

Josefina Bañales

Laura G. McKee

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Services

College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

May 2024

DEDICATION

Para mi papi, por todo. Nada de esto sería posible sin ti; gracias hasta el infinito.

Para mis amigxs que se han convertido en familia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and express gratitude for those who have made this dissertation and getting to this stage of PhD possible. Gabe, thank you for your mentorship, humor, and encouragement throughout this PhD process. Poder hablar contigo de diferentes conceptos en español, conversar francamente sobre mis intereses, y compartir con tus colegas en Argentina me ha ayudado ful. Thank you, Eco Lab and writing group, for reviewing 183471734 drafts of documents, providing clarity about PhD lingo and norms, and being a source of support. Thanks to Sierra Carter, for your support, guidance, and expertise on this and other milestones and processes throughout grad school—it has made a world of difference. Thanks to Laura McKee, my clinical advisor and committee member on thesis and dissertation, for your expertise, warmth, and feedback. Thanks to Josi Bañales—hasta desde la distancia se siente tu presencia y apoyo—and your expertise on my dissertation has been essential. Thank you to my clinical advisors, peer mentors, and mentees that I met throughout this program for helping shape me personally and professionally.

This work was supported by a Health Resources & Services Administration (HRSA): Behavioral Health Workforce Education and Training (BHWET) Programs [1 M01HP41970-01-00].

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		V
LIST OF TABLES		IX
LIST OF FIGURES		X
1 INTRODUCTION		1
1.1 Why is Civic Action Important for Immigrant-Origin Youth of Color?		5
1.2 Patterns of Participation in Civic Action		6
1.3 Discrimination and Youth of Color’s Civic Engagement		8
<i>1.3.1 Discrimination Across Multiple Levels</i>		<i>9</i>
<i>1.3.2 Interpersonal Discrimination</i>		<i>10</i>
<i>1.3.3 Structural Discrimination</i>		<i>12</i>
1.4 The Role of Ethnic-Racial Identity in Civic Engagement Among Youth of Color		16
<i>1.4.1 Ethnic-Racial Identity and Civic Action</i>		<i>18</i>
<i>1.4.2 Potential Moderating Effects of Ethnic-Racial Identity</i>		<i>19</i>
1.5 Current Study		22
2 METHOD		23
2.1 Participants		23
2.2 Procedures		25
2.3 Measures		25

2.3.1	<i>Independent Variables</i>	25
2.3.2	<i>Dependent Variables</i>	27
2.3.3	<i>Demographic Variables</i>	28
2.4	Data Analytic Plan	29
3	RESULTS	30
3.1	Preliminary Analyses	30
3.1.1	<i>Differences in Discrimination, ERI, and Civic Action</i>	31
3.1.2	<i>Correlations</i>	34
3.2	Primary Analyses	34
3.2.1	<i>Main Effects Model</i>	35
3.2.2	<i>Main and Interactive Effects Model</i>	38
3.2.3	<i>Simple Slopes Analyses</i>	40
4	DISCUSSION	43
4.1	Overall Engagement in Civic Action Among IYOC	43
4.2	The Importance of a Multi-Level Conceptualization of Discrimination	45
4.2.1	<i>The Role of Discrimination in Explaining Civic Action</i>	45
4.3	The Role of Ethnic-Racial Identity in IYOC's Civic Action	49
4.3.1	<i>The Promotive and Interactive Effect of ERI Dimensions</i>	49
4.4	Implications for Practice	53
4.5	Limitations and Future Directions	54

4.6 Conclusion.....	57
REFERENCES.....	58

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Participant Demographics (N = 213).....	24
Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations (N = 213).....	33
Table 3. Correlations.....	34
Table 4. Results of Main Effects of Discrimination and ERI on Civic Action	37
Table 5. Results of Main and Interactive Effects of Discrimination and ERI on Civic Action....	39

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Interaction of interpersonal discrimination and ERI commitment on conventional political action..... 41

Figure 2. Interaction of structural discrimination and ERI exploration on activism. 42

1 INTRODUCTION

Civic engagement—“prosocial and political contributions to community and society” (Wray-Lake & Abrams, 2020, p. 11)—is critical to the positive development of individuals and communities (Levine, 2008). The behavioral dimension of civic engagement, referred to as civic action, involves participation in a range of activities to improve one’s community (Bobek et al., 2009), such as contacting elected officials, advocating for social change, and volunteering. Research has documented positive associations between participation in community organizing, volunteerism, and activism and increases in self-confidence and sense of agency (Gilster, 2012; Prado et al., 2021; Ruiz & Ravitch, 2022; Schwartz & Suyemoto, 2013). Theoretical and empirical research also suggests that civic action is an important resource to navigate and to challenge systems of oppression (Arce et al., 2020; Hope & Spencer, 2017; Stepick & Stepick, 2002).

Immigrant-origin youth of color (IYOC; i.e., they and/or one of their parents were born in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and/or the Caribbean) are one of the fastest growing segments of the U.S. population (Ward & Batalova, 2023; Vespa et al., 2020) and face interpersonal and structural discrimination that affects their development and integration into U.S. society (e.g., Barajas-Gonzales et al., 2018; Crookes et al., 2021; Szaflarski & Bauldry, 2019). Interpersonal discrimination occurs at the microsystem level between individuals in social exchanges and may involve being called names, threatened, or harassed because of one’s ethnic-racial identity (Berman & Paradies, 2010). Structural discrimination operates through unjust policies and practices at the macrosystem level, such as policies that criminalize immigrants and restrict their access to healthcare and education (Crookes et al., 2021). Discrimination is associated with psychological distress and low self-esteem (see Benner et al., 2018 and Carter et al., 2019, for

meta-analytic reviews) and contributes to existing health disparities (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2017; Viruell-Fuentes et al., 2012). For example, in a literature review on the effects of U.S. immigrant-related policies on immigrants and U.S.-born children of immigrants (first- and second-generation immigrants, respectively), Perreira & Pedroza (2019) found that restrictive immigration policies and enforcement practices predicted more perceived discrimination, higher levels of psychological distress and mistrust of judicial systems, and less interactions with public officials among immigrant-origin youth regardless of documentation.

Given both the pervasive negative effects of discrimination and the benefits of civic action, it is important to understand factors that affect the relationship between discrimination and civic engagement among IYOC. Some studies have found that IYOC who perceive discrimination against their collective identities believe the government is less responsive to people like them (Ballard, 2016; Chan & Latzman, 2015) and feel alienated from social and electoral political systems (Wray-Lake et al., 2018). Youth may be ineligible to vote due to documentation requirements or may abstain from activities that could expose them or their immigrant parents to government officials due to the threat of enforcement (Perreira & Pedroza, 2019). Thus, discrimination and marginalization can lead to lower conventional political action (e.g., Schildkraut, 2005) and can serve to exclude IYOC from civic life. Other studies have shown that discrimination galvanizes both conventional and non-conventional political action, such as activism and community service activities, among immigrant-origin adolescents (Gutiérrez, 2014; McWhirter et al., 2019) and adults (Maginot, 2021). For instance, in their literature review of immigrant youth civic engagement, Stepick and Stepick (2002) noted that discrimination is a likely motivator for civic actions that benefit one's marginalized sociocultural

community—whether along dimensions of race, ethnicity, or immigrant background. Thus, marginalized social identities and discrimination based on these identities often shape civic action among IYOC (Arce et al., 2023; Sánchez-Jankowski, 2002; Stepick & Stepick, 2002).

Findings on the influence of discrimination on civic action vary depending on the operationalization of discrimination and type of civic activity assessed (Anyiwo et al., 2020). Systemic barriers such as political disenfranchisement disproportionately exclude youth of color and immigrant youth from electoral activities. Thus, examinations that focus exclusively on such activities may yield incomplete pictures of IYOC's civic engagement. Black American and Latinx college students who report more frequent racial/ethnic interpersonal discrimination (e.g., Pinedo et al., 2021) and Latinx adults who report more concern about threats to immigrant rights (e.g., Maginot, 2021) generally participate in more activism. However, highly visible protests may pose risks for undocumented youth and youth in mixed-status families under the threat of immigration enforcement. Thus, scholars have called for research to better understand how different levels of discrimination motivate or hinder involvement in the types of civic action youth engage in (e.g., Hope et al., 2016; Hope & Spencer, 2017).

Ethnic-racial identity (ERI) development informs how youth of color understand and respond to racial/ethnic discrimination (Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and is likely to contribute to IYOC's civic participation in the context of discrimination (Stepick & Stepick, 2002). Scholars theorize that youth of color's collective ERI may influence their civic engagement in response to group-based injustice (Anyiwo et al., 2018; Mathews et al., 2020; Sánchez-Jankowski, 2002). This is consistent with frameworks rooted in social identity theory, which contend that individuals are motivated to engage in activities that benefit communities that they regard as important to their identities (Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Ong,

2007; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). When faced with discrimination, youth who have actively explored and gained clarity about the meaning of their ethnic-racial group membership may feel a personal commitment to or be galvanized to engage in civic action. Indeed, for some IYOC, racialized exclusion motivates civic action to give back to their ethnic and immigrant communities out of concern for inequitable conditions and a sense of responsibility and commitment to improve social conditions for their identity-based communities (e.g., Arce et al., 2020; Stepick & Stepick, 2002). Whereas ERI promotes positive outcomes in the context of discrimination and protects against some of the negative effects of discrimination (e.g., psychological distress, lower school belonging; see Yip et al., 2019 for a meta-analytic review), the extent to which ERI dimensions might moderate associations between both interpersonal and structural levels of discrimination and civic action among IYOC is unknown.

The purpose of the current study was to address gaps in the literature by (1) examining associations between two levels of discrimination – interpersonal (racial/ethnic) and structural (immigration policies and practices) – and three types of civic action: conventional political action (e.g., voting), activism (e.g., protesting), and community service (e.g., volunteering) among a sample of IYOC, and (2) examining the interactive effect of two dimensions of ERI (exploration and commitment) on the association between discrimination and civic action. The study focused on emerging adulthood (the developmental period between the ages of 18 to 29), given that this period of development has been identified as critical both for identity exploration and development of long-term civic commitments (Arnett, 2015; Finlay et al., 2010; Hooghe & Wilkenfeld, 2008; Watts & Flanagan, 2007). I begin by describing civic action as an important resource for IYOC and then present patterns of participation in different types of civic action. Literature on discrimination and civic engagement among people of color is reviewed, with

special attention to mixed findings across levels of discrimination, types of civic action, and participants' racial/ethnic and/or immigrant background. Next, I review the literature on how ERI shapes civic outcomes and may moderate associations between discrimination and civic action. Findings can inform future research on the civic development and wellbeing of IYOC and have implications for the development of intervention efforts aimed at empowering IYOC to resist and challenge discrimination via action.

1.1 Why is Civic Action Important for Immigrant-Origin Youth of Color?

As one of the fastest growing segments of the U.S. population (Ward & Batalova, 2023; Vespa et al., 2020), IYOC's civic engagement has important implications for civic society and their own development (Levine, 2008). Through civic action, individuals can build social connections, skills, and knowledge to benefit their communities (e.g., Kolano & Davila, 2019; Prado et al., 2021; Schwartz & Suyemoto, 2013). Immigrants' community participation contributes to both their integration into the host country and their well-being (Alfieri et al., 2021; Ruiz & Ravitch, 2022) and various civic activities have been shown to promote positive psychosocial outcomes. For example, youth voting, activism, and volunteering has been associated with greater educational attainment and household income in adulthood (Ballard et al., 2019). Black and Latinx youth's involvement in school and religious organizations in early adolescence predicts greater life satisfaction and educational attainment in adulthood (Chan et al., 2014). Among first- and second-generation Asian immigrant college students, Chan (2011) found that civic action was related to positive social and academic development, such as leadership and career skills and self-esteem. Participants described deriving a sense of competence, confidence, and connection through their involvement in various civic activities that benefit their identity-based communities (e.g., student and community organizations,

volunteerism, peer mentorship; Chan, 2011). Garcini et al. (2020) identified involvement in religious institutions, Latinx community groups, and activism as promotive of well-being for undocumented Latinx immigrants. Adolescents and emerging adults of color involved in activism, whether through community organizing, advocacy, or dialogue about social issues that affect their communities, report a sense of agency, empowerment, and group solidarity (Ginwright, 2007; Mosley et al., 2020; Ortega-Williams et al., 2020; Schwartz & Suyemoto, 2013).

1.2 Patterns of Participation in Civic Action

Scholars have recommended that examinations of civic engagement disaggregate different types of civic action, as this can help better clarify motivations for and barriers to civic activities that are accessible to the group of interest (Barrett & Brunton-Smith, 2014; Ekman & Amnå, 2012; Gaby, 2017). For example, age and citizenship requirements preclude non-citizens and youth under age 18 from voting in the U.S. Due in part to structural barriers (Lopez & Marcelo, 2008), second-generation immigrant-origin youth have shown higher rates of participation in conventional political action—activities related to electoral processes (e.g., voting, contacting a government official)—than their first-generation counterparts (Wong et al., 2011). Exclusion from traditional systems can also motivate participation in specific types of non-conventional civic action that is accessible to these youth (e.g., Jensen, 2008).

Research finds that IYOC are civically engaged through participation in non-conventional political activities, such as activism (i.e., activities that aim to influence social and/or political change; e.g., advocacy, protest) and community service (Chan, 2011; Stepick et al., 2008; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015) on behalf of others who are excluded by traditional systems. Involvement in non-conventional civic activities may vary based on whether they are

high- or low-risk (e.g., highly visible and possibly illegal protest and signing a petition, respectively; Hope, Pender, et al., 2019), as they may expose undocumented youth or youth in mixed-status families to the threat of immigration enforcement. Therefore, composite measures of civic action and/or exclusion of particular types of civic activities are likely to lead to incomplete pictures of civic engagement (Ekman & Amnå, 2012).

Scholars theorize that historical and contemporary racialized exclusion from social and political systems (e.g., political disenfranchisement, documentation) influences IYOC's disengagement from civic actions perceived as supportive of an inequitable system and engagement in civic actions for the good of their marginalized social groups (Sánchez-Jankowski, 2002). Indeed, immigrants of color have been found to be actively involved in activities that more immediately benefit the communities they regard as important to their self-concept, such as volunteerism, tutoring, outreach, and mentoring (i.e., community service, e.g., Borjian, 2018; Jensen, 2008; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015). Not all IYOC who experience discrimination will respond to identity-based exclusion in the same manner.

Involvement in particular types of civic action may vary based on the risk of participation (e.g., Rosales et al., 2021) and ethnic-racial identity (ERI) development (e.g., cultural socialization, ERI exploration and resolution, Pinetta et al., 2020). Consistent with the larger social and ethnic-racial identity literature, ERI is “associated with cultural behaviors and values, with attitudes toward one’s own group, and with responses to discrimination” (p.274, Phinney & Ong, 2007). However, the role of ERI in moderating the relation between discrimination and civic action among IYOC has not been carefully examined. To better understand how IYOC resist and challenge discrimination via civic action, it is critical to understand how this relation might vary depending on sociocultural factors, such as ERI. Examining and distinguishing

specific types of civic action can also help account for systemic barriers that disproportionately affect youth of color and immigrant youth (Dixon et al., 2018; Hope & Spencer, 2017). Thus, the current study will examine IYOC's involvement in three types of civic action defined above: (1) conventional political action, (2) activism, and (3) community service.

1.3 Discrimination and Youth of Color's Civic Engagement

Civic engagement develops in the context of racialized exclusion and systemic inequity (Sánchez-Jankowski, 2002). Studies assessing the link between discrimination and civic engagement among youth of color have primarily been conducted with Black American and Latinx youth in the U.S. Discrimination manifests across multiple levels, including interpersonal (i.e., racial/ethnic discrimination behaviors in social interactions; Harrell, 2000; Jones, 2000) and structural (i.e., policies or practices that “marginalize entire communities”, Barajas-Gonzales et al., 2021, p. 5); each of which shape access to resources by perceived ethnic-racial group membership and predict a host of negative psychosocial outcomes across the lifespan (e.g., see Benner et al., 2018 and Carter et al., 2018 for meta-analytic reviews). Scholars theorize that racial/ethnic discrimination plays a critical role in predicting conventional political action and activism among youth of color (Anyiwo et al., 2018; Sánchez-Jankowski, 2002).

Experiences of discrimination have been found to differentially relate to civic action depending on both the level of discrimination and type of civic action assessed (see Anyiwo et al., 2020 for a review). As such, this study will examine two levels of discrimination: interpersonal (racial/ethnic) and structural (immigration policies and practices). First, I summarize results from extant studies assessing relations between stress from different levels of racial discrimination and civic action. Next, I review the literature on interpersonal

discrimination as a predictor of civic engagement among people of color and then present findings on structural discrimination as a predictor of the same.

1.3.1 Discrimination Across Multiple Levels

A handful of studies have examined the relation between stress from different levels of racial discrimination and civic action among Black American youth. Stress from cultural racial discrimination (e.g., rarely hearing or reading anything good about Black people in history books or media) has been positively associated with degree of involvement in African American activism among Black college students attending historically Black colleges/universities (HBCU) or predominantly White institutions (PWI) across different regions of the U.S. (Krueger et al., 2021) and attending a PWI in the South (Szymanski & Lewis, 2015), and involvement in various civic and political activities to address systemic inequality among a geographically diverse sample of Black adolescent (Hope et al., 2020). Stress from institutional racial discrimination (e.g., not receiving a promotion due to race) was positively associated with civic action among college students in one recent study (Krueger et al., 2021) but did not reach significance in another (Szymanski & Lewis, 2015). Krueger et al. (2021) posited that the discrepant findings could be attributed to more frequent stress from institutional racial discrimination and an older and more geographically and institutionally diverse sample relative to Szymanski & Lewis' (2015) study. However, stress from institutional racial discrimination was a positive predictor of civic action among adolescents who reported a lower average of this stress (Hope et al., 2020) relative to that reported among college students (Krueger et al., 2021; Szymanski & Lewis, 2015). Thus, both participants' developmental stage (adolescence vs. emerging adulthood) and setting might influence results. Interestingly, stress from individual racial discrimination positively predicted civic action among adolescents (Hope et al., 2020), but

not college students (Krueger et al., 2021; Szymanski & Lewis, 2015). The discrepant finding may be an artifact of measurement differences of civic action. In sum, these studies indicate that experiences of discrimination may differentially relate to civic action depending on both the level of discrimination and the types of civic actions assessed (Anyiwo et al., 2020).

1.3.2 Interpersonal Discrimination

Previous studies report various effects of interpersonal racial/ethnic discrimination on conventional political action among Asian and Latinx immigrant-origin adults (Berry & Junn, 2015; Cooc & Kim, 2021; Schildkraut, 2005; Valdez, 2011). For instance, voting-eligible Latinxs who reported more frequent racial/ethnic discrimination were significantly less likely to have voted or registered to vote than those who reported no discrimination (Schildkraut, 2005; Valdez, 2011). However, participants who experienced discrimination and primarily self-identified with their national or ethnic social identity were more likely to vote. Other studies with Asian and Pacific Islander adults have failed to find a significant association between discrimination and conventional political action (e.g., vote, contact government/city official; Berry & Junn, 2015; Cooc & Kim, 2021). Whereas Cooc & Kim (2021) controlled for the significant positive direct effect of ethnic identification and sense of belonging, neither of these two studies investigated how the relation between discrimination and conventional political action might differ depending on a third variable, such as ERI. Though the survey did not assess participant documentation status or citizenship (Cooc & Kim, 2021), the results may have been reflective of structural barriers to electoral activities rather than disengagement from civic life. However, other types of civic action were not assessed (Berry & Junn, 2015; Cooc & Kim, 2021; Schildkraut, 2005; Valdez, 2011).

Interpersonal racial/ethnic discrimination generally predicts greater participation in activism among immigrant-origin youth and adults of color (Ballard, 2013; Maginot, 2021; Pinedo et al., 2021; Tran & Curtin, 2017). For example, using national survey data, Maginot (2021) found that racial/ethnic discrimination positively predicted Latinx immigrant-origin and non-immigrant adults' involvement in protests for and discussions of immigration reform. Similarly, more frequent racial discrimination was associated with more activism related to racial equality and immigrant rights among first- and second-generation Asian adults (Tran & Curtin, 2017). In two recent longitudinal studies with Black and Latinx emerging adults in college, more racial/ethnic microaggressions during the last year of high school predicted increased participation in general activism (e.g., boycott a product for social/political reasons, join a protest) in college among both Black and Latinx participants (Pinedo et al., 2021), and predicted increased participation in activism related to Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals and Black Lives Matter only among Latinxs (Hope et al., 2016). This is consistent with literature that suggests that pathways to civic action may differ across marginalized racial/ethnic backgrounds (Bañales, Mathews, et al., 2020; Hope et al., 2018) and civic activity assessed. The authors highlighted that, "The repeated incidents of police-involved deaths that sparked the BLM campaigns all involved Black adolescents and young adults, which may have been enough to catalyze Black youth involvement regardless of their previous experiences with microaggressions" (p.211; Hope et al., 2016). Thus, the researchers called for examinations of different levels of discrimination on youth's involvement in activism (Hope et al., 2016).

Consistent with premises from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), experiences of discrimination appear to contribute to civic action that is focused on benefiting one's community. For example, racial discrimination has been positively associated with attending

meetings that affect one's local community (Riley et al., 2020) and civic and social justice activities to benefit the African American community (e.g., tutoring Black youth, donating time to community service) among Black American college students (White-Johnson, 2012), and unrelated to volunteering with a community service organization/school event among first- and second- generation Asian and Latinx adolescents (Ballard, 2013). Differential findings may be a function of civic outcomes that specify a focus on benefiting one's community (Riley et al., 2020; White-Johnson, 2012). Indeed, evidence from qualitative studies with Indian and Salvadoran parents and their adolescent children demonstrate that discrimination motivated community service in and for their ethnic-racial and immigrant communities (e.g., volunteer, tutoring, help organize neighborhood/community events; Jensen, 2008). Similarly, Suárez-Orozco et al (2015) found that Latinx immigrant-origin emerging adults of varying documentation statuses were motivated by social injustice and, in particular, immigration reform.

1.3.3 Structural Discrimination

This study focuses on responses to restrictive immigration policies as an indicator of structural discrimination (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Gee & Ford, 2011). Immigration policies are salient in the lives of IYOC because they inform how others perceive them and influence social inclusion, access to resources, and integration for immigrants and their children (Barajas-Gonzales et al., 2021). Restrictive immigration policies aim to deter undocumented immigration and to reduce access to resources, such as education, healthcare, and protections (Ayón, 2017). Restrictive immigration policies since the mid- to late 2000s include agreements between Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and state/local law enforcement to identify and deport undocumented individuals with a nonviolent offense (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2017) and threats to terminate programs that offer temporary protection from

deportation (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals [DACA]; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2017). Such policies contribute to anti-immigrant rhetoric and “racialize and construct immigrants as undesirable others and a threat to the nation” (Viruell-Fuentes et al., 2012, p. 2103), exposing IYOC to negative effects regardless of their actual documentation (e.g., criminalization, racial profiling, threatened rights and safety; see Barajas-Gonzales et al., 2018, Barajas-Gonzales et al., 2021, and Crookes et al., 2021 for reviews). Relatedly, perceptions of and responses to restrictive immigration policies are informed by the level of threat and exclusion experienced and/or expected (e.g., threat of deportation and/or family separation, exclusion from certain rights/reduced access to resources; Abrego, 2019; Ayón, 2017; Barajas-Gonzales et al., 2021; Enriquez & Millán, 2021).

IYOC have been found to give back to their immigrant and ethnic-racial communities out of concern for inequitable conditions, a sense of responsibility to counter negative stereotypes against their marginalized communities, and a commitment to prevent future oppression (e.g., Jensen, 2008; Stepick et al., 2008; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015; Wray-Lake et al., 2018). As such, a growing body of research examines ways in which immigrant youth and adults of color perceive and respond civically to restrictive immigration policies and enforcement actions. Perceived negative impacts of restrictive immigration policies have been found to influence immigrants of color’s involvement in conventional political action, activism, and community service (e.g., discussions of electoral politics, advocacy, mentoring, tutoring; Ballard et al., 2015; Jensen, 2008; Malin et al., 2015; McWhirter et al., 2019). For instance, Maginot (2021) found that fear of deportation of a family member, close friend, or oneself predicted greater involvement in protests for and discussions of immigration reform among a national sample of Latinx immigrant-origin and non-immigrant adults, while fear of deportation was unrelated to

intended voting in the 2010 midterm election. The positive link between fear of deportation (worry about the possible deportation of a family member, close friend, or oneself) and general political discussions was also found among a sample of voting-eligible Latinxs in the Rio Grande Valley, whereas, in contrast, fear of deportation was negatively associated with voting in the state-wide 2018 primary election (Altema McNeely et al., 2022). Differences may be due to measures of voting intentions (Maginot, 2021) versus behaviors (Altema McNeely et al., 2022). Among a sample of undocumented and DACA-holding Latinx college students in California, perceived negative effects of restrictive immigration policies (perceived racial/ethnic discrimination and threat to family) predicted more frequent involvement in political and activism activities (e.g., contact public official and boycott a product for social/political reasons, respectively; Rosales et al., 2021).

In another study with a national sample of Latinx adults (age range = 18-86), Besco et al. (2022) assessed the effects of an experimental racist threat condition on anticipated likelihood of voting in the coming election and on a composite measure of conventional political action and activism (e.g., talk about politics with others and protest, respectively). Participants were assigned to either a control condition in which they viewed a campaign video about the economy or a treatment condition in which they viewed a disparaging campaign video about Latinxs or immigrants. The treatment condition positively predicted intended voting but had no significant effect on the composite measure of civic action. Combining conventional political with activism activities may have obscured significant associations. Moderation analyses revealed that, for participants who reported low interest in politics, the mobilizing effect of anti-Latinx and anti-immigrant rhetoric on intended voting was reliant on the strength of the participants' self-identification with their ethnic group. No significant interactive effects were present for the

compositive civic action measure. Thus, it is important to assess different types of civic action and to examine the potential of social identity to affect the link between discrimination and civic participation.

More recently, qualitative studies with primarily Latinx immigrant-origin adolescents and their parents have documented a range of responses to restrictive policies and their effects under the Trump administration, including a sense of commitment to their identity-based communities and involvement in various civic activities to support Latinxs' and immigrants' rights (e.g., Arce et al., 2020; Kennedy et al., 2020; Wray-Lake et al., 2018). For example, among Latinx immigrant parents of varying documentation statuses, Arce et al. (2020) found that parents and their children developed a sense of commitment to participate in civic action to protect themselves, their families, and their immigrant communities against the negative effects of restrictive immigration policies and enforcement practices. Parents highlighted their children's commitment to and/or participation in conventional political action and activism, such as speaking to city officials and committing to civic-oriented careers (e.g., immigration law) to defend immigrant rights. Similarly, in a recent qualitative examination of primarily second-generation Latinx adolescents' reactions to the Trump presidency (Wray-Lake et al., 2018), both direct experiences with and heightened awareness of racism, discrimination, and anti-immigrant legislation and related negative effects motivated some youth to participate in conventional political action and activism (e.g., paying more attention to local elections and news; talking about politics with others; taking a stand on key political issues related to injustice) to fight racism and discrimination against them and other marginalized groups. Existing research thus highlights the importance of considering both youth's marginalized sociocultural identities and inequities against these identities when investigating their civic engagement.

The current study extends this line of research by examining IYOC's involvement in three types of civic action (conventional political action, activism, and community service) in response to interpersonal and structural discrimination. The study also extends the growing research on sociocultural factors that influence civic engagement by examining the moderating effect of two dimensions of ERI (exploration and commitment) on the link between discrimination and civic action.

1.4 The Role of Ethnic-Racial Identity in Civic Engagement Among Youth of Color

Ethnic-racial identity (ERI), beliefs and feelings about one's ethnic-racial group and the processes through which these develop (i.e., ERI process; see Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014 for a review), influences IYOC's civic engagement and shapes youth of color's involvement in conventional political action, activism, and community service in response to discrimination (Anyiwo et al., 2018; Davis & Carlo, 2019; Hope & Spencer, 2017; Mathews et al., 2020; Sánchez-Jankowski, 2002). These processes consist of exploring the meaning of one's ethnic-racial group membership (i.e., ERI exploration), and gaining a sense of resolution, attachment, and belonging to one's ethnic-racial group (i.e., ERI commitment; Erikson, 1968; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Exploration involves seeking information and learning about one's ethnic-racial group membership through social interactions, participation in cultural activities, and reflection about potential effects of group membership on one's life (Roberts et al., 1999). Youth who have a strong investment in and sense of belonging and attachment to their ethnic-racial group, as indicated by a high ERI commitment, feel pride about their group membership, feel positively about being a member of this collective, and have a sense of clarity about the meaning of their collective identity in their lives (Phinney & Ong, 2007). According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), this sense of belonging and positive feelings about a particular social

identity group that is central to an individual's self-concept is related to one's investment in promoting the well-being of the group.

Recent work highlights associations between ERI dimensions and civic beliefs (perceived ability to make a difference in one's community) of Black and Latinx early adolescents (Bañales, Hoffman, et al., 2020), as well as between ERI and anticipated likelihood of future community involvement in high school among a sample of primarily second-generation Latinx early adolescents (Pinetta et al., 2020) and anticipated likelihood of future activism for the Black community among Black adolescents (ages 14-17) and emerging adults (ages 18-29; Hope, Gugwor, et al., 2019). In a longitudinal examination, Bañales, Hoffman, et al. (2020) demonstrated that whereas ERI exploration had no significant effect on civic beliefs, greater ERI resolution (clarity about one's ethnic-racial group membership) across two years of middle school was positively associated with civic beliefs. Resolution is a component of ERI commitment as conceptualized by Phinney & Ong (2007) and as defined in the previous paragraph. In contrast, Pinetta et al. (2020) found positive effects of ERI exploration on anticipated community involvement, though ERI resolution was not significant. Discrepant effects of ERI dimensions may be due to differences in the operationalization of the civic outcome assessed or the setting of data collection, with Pinetta et al.'s (2020) study occurring in schools comprised of primarily Latinx students with a large portion of Latinx and/or bilingual teachers and Bañales, Hoffman, et al.'s (2020) study occurring in schools comprised of primarily White students and teachers. Hope, Gugwor, et al. (2019) documented a positive association between the central importance of one's racial identity and anticipated low-risk activism (i.e., relatively safe), but not high-risk activism (i.e., risky due to threat of arrest/bodily harm). These studies suggest that ERI affects civic beliefs and expectations for future civic action among

adolescents, and that these effects vary by ERI dimension. While these studies provide helpful insights into the connections between ERI and civic development, these works emphasize civic beliefs and expectations rather than civic behavior.

1.4.1 Ethnic-Racial Identity and Civic Action

Researchers have suggested that youth of color's sense of connection and belonging to their ethnic-racial communities is one way they become civically engaged; however, the contribution of ERI processes to their civic action has not been carefully examined (Anyiwo et al., 2018; Anyiwo et al., 2020). Only one study to date has directly investigated the influence of ERI processes (i.e., exploration and commitment) on youth of color's civic action (Fish et al., 2021). Exploration positively predicted involvement in activism tied to specific political events (e.g., PULSE nightclub shooting, Dakota Access Pipeline), while commitment was not a significant predictor among a sample of adolescents and emerging adults of color (age 15-23) (Fish et al., 2021). In another study, Asian immigrant-origin college students described joining ethnic student organizations to connect with peers of their same background and to explore and learn more about their ERI (Chan, 2011). In contrast, in Jensen's (2008) qualitative examination of Salvadoran and Indian immigrant parents' and their adolescent children's civic engagement, participants emphasized their commitment to maintain their cultural identity and related traditions as a motivator for their involvement and volunteerism in religious, ethnic, and community organizations.

Associations between other aspects of ERI and civic action have been considered. Among national samples of immigrant-origin Latinxs, a sense of linked fate among Latinos/Hispanics was associated with a greater likelihood of contacting a government official to pay attention to a topic of personal concern (Valdez, 2011) and a strong sense of pride in being

Latino/Hispanic was associated with participating in activism to support immigrant rights following Trump's presidential election (Wiley et al., 2021). Other dimensions of ERI have been positively linked with civic action to benefit the Black/African American community among Black American emerging adults in college. Youth who considered racial identity as central and important to their overall self-concept reported more frequent involvement in civic and social justice activities for the Black community (e.g., tutoring, community service; White-Johnson, 2012) and more time spent in student organizations and community service events for the Black/African American community (Chapman-Hilliard et al., 2020). Feeling positively about one's race and racial group membership has been positively associated (White-Johnson, 2012), and not significantly associated with civic action (Chapman-Hilliard et al., 2020). In sum, the research outlined above suggests that youth of color's ERI and civic action are indeed connected and that ERI dimensions may be differentially related to civic beliefs and types of civic action.

1.4.2 Potential Moderating Effects of Ethnic-Racial Identity

Discrimination likely has differential effects on IYOC's civic action depending on their ERI development. Empirical evidence from qualitative work with immigrant youth and adults of color suggests that a strong identification with or commitment to their collective immigrant and/or ERI can motivate their civic commitment and/or action in response to experiencing or witnessing discrimination (e.g., Arce et al., 2020; Jensen, 2008; Stepick et al., 2008; Wray-Lake et al., 2018). This is consistent with a larger literature that suggests fostering a collective identity as an important factor to inspire commitment to and involvement in civic action (Watts & Hipolito-Delgado, 2015).

For instance, Malin et al. (2015) qualitatively examined motivations for and involvement in civic activities among a racially and ethnically diverse sample of majority first- and second-

generation youth. Analyses revealed that, among civically engaged youth, concern for identity-based issues (e.g., inequities, discrimination) that affected their family and “members of a social identity group that they felt attached to, such as ethnicity” was one of the most common motivators for civic involvement (e.g., role modeling, advocacy, political efforts; Malin et al., 2015; p. 120). Similarly, there is evidence from evaluations of community-based organizations, ethnic studies, and social justice programming serving Asian, Black, and Latinx youth to suggest that perceiving racism and injustice against their collective social identity groups (e.g., ethnic-racial, immigrant) can motivate civic commitment and involvement in activism, conventional political action, and community service when youth develop a strong sense of pride and belonging to their marginalized social identities (Kennedy et al., 2020; Kolano & Davila, 2019; Suyemoto et al., 2015). On the other hand, youth who feel negatively about their ethnic-racial group or who have a limited understanding of their marginalized social group’s history, culture, and traditions may be more negatively affected by discrimination and thus more disengaged from civic life (Mathews et al., 2020; Suyemoto et al., 2015).

Among Black American adolescents and emerging adults, the belief that others have negative views of Black people (low public regard) strengthened the positive association between institutional racial discrimination and anticipated likelihood of future high-risk activism for the Black community (Hope, Gugwor, et al., 2019), but was unrelated to anticipated low-risk activism. Public regard did not moderate associations between cultural racial discrimination and anticipated low- or high-risk activism. While this study assessed civic expectations rather than behaviors, the findings underscore the importance of attending to both the level of discrimination, as well as the risk and content of civic action. Indeed, consistent with frameworks grounded in social identity theory (Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Tajfel &

Turner, 1986), racialized youth who are exploring and reflecting on their ethnic-racial group membership are actively searching for information about their group's values, history, and traditions, which may bolster a sense of responsibility to address group-based injustices to support the betterment of their community (Pinetta et al., 2020). Youth who have a high degree of clarity about the role of group membership in their lives and a strong sense of commitment to their group may be motivated to act in ways that benefit their group when faced with discrimination. For example, Mathews et al. (2020) posits that ERI resolution, or clarity about the role of ethnic-racial group membership in one's life, may be a positive predictor of civic activities to challenge social inequities. Thus, it is important to consider both IYOC's marginalized identities and discrimination against these identities when examining their civic engagement. However, few studies have examined these factors concurrently and empirical examinations of how ERI interacts with discrimination to affect different types of civic action among IYOC are limited.

Most studies that assess civic action have focused primarily on interpersonal racial/ethnic discrimination, while neglecting structural discrimination, such as anti-immigrant policies and enforcement practices. For instance, interpersonal racial/ethnic discrimination has been found to increase the likelihood of voting among U.S. citizen Latinx adults that primarily self-identify with their ethnic or national social identity, whereas it had the opposite effect for those that primarily self-identified as American (Schildkraut, 2005). IYOC give back to their communities through various civic activities, such as advocacy and peer mentorship; however, few studies assess differential effects of discrimination on multiple types of civic action. For example, research has found that anti-immigrant attitudes, policies, and practices have risen in recent decades (e.g., Bolter et al., 2022) and contribute to activism to fight for the rights of

undocumented and immigrant communities (Cadenas et al., 2022). The limited attention that research has given to the role of multiple levels of discrimination on explaining multiple types of civic action has restricted our understanding of factors that may facilitate or hinder IYOC's civic action in response to discrimination. Therefore, this study contributes to the gap in the literature by examining direct effects of interpersonal and structural discrimination on civic action among IYOC and interactive effects of two dimensions of ERI (exploration and commitment) on those associations.

1.5 Current Study

The first aim was to examine the independent associations of interpersonal (racial/ethnic) and structural (restrictive immigration policies) discrimination with three types of civic action (i.e., conventional political action, activism, community service) in a sample of immigrant-origin youth of color in emerging adulthood. Guided by the empirical evidence reviewed above, it was hypothesized that interpersonal discrimination would be negatively associated with conventional political action (Berry & Junn, 2015), and positively associated with activism (Tran & Curtin, 2017) and community service (Riley et al., 2020). Structural discrimination was hypothesized to be positively associated with conventional political action (Altema McNeely et al., 2022) and positively associated with activism and community service (Maginot, 2021; Rosales et al., 2021; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015).

The second aim of the study was to examine potential moderating effects of ERI processes (exploration and commitment) on the associations between discrimination and civic action using a multivariate regression approach. This could contribute to a more holistic understanding of how sociocultural factors support or deter IYOC's civic action in response to discrimination (Mathews et al., 2020). Drawing from previous literature on the promotive and

protective effects of ERI commitment (see Smith & Silva, 2011 and Yip et al., 2019 for meta-analytic reviews), it was hypothesized that higher levels of commitment would buffer the association between interpersonal discrimination and conventional political action (Schildkraut, 2005), and would strengthen associations between interpersonal discrimination and activism (Malin et al., 2015) and with community service (Jensen, 2008). Higher levels of commitment were also hypothesized to strengthen the associations of structural discrimination with conventional political action (Besco et al., 2022), activism and community service (Arce et al., 2020; Maginot, 2021; Wiley et al., 2021).

Whereas ERI exploration has been found in some studies to exacerbate negative psychosocial outcomes in the context of discrimination (Yip et al., 2019), there is also evidence that it may be positively associated with civic expectations (Pinetta et al., 2020) and civic action (Chan, 2011; Fish et al., 2021). Thus, exploration was also expected to have the same effects as commitment. Variation in the pattern of associations according to participant ethnic-racial background and immigrant generation (i.e., first- and second-generation) was explored.

2 METHOD

2.1 Participants

The analytic sample comprised 213 immigrant-origin emerging adults ($M_{\text{age}} = 19.69$, $SD = 2.03$) residing in the state of Georgia. Most participants were born in the U.S. to at least one immigrant parent (79%) and identified as female (74%). In terms of ethnic-racial background, most participants identified as Black/African (37%), Asian (24%), and Latinx/a/o/Hispanic (23%). Demographic information can be found in Table 1.

Participants were recruited as part of a larger study of the contribution of critical consciousness and immigrant optimism to IYOC's civic action. Data collection began in spring

(March) 2021 and concluded in spring (April) 2022. A measure of ERI was added in April 2021. Only participants who completed the measure of ERI were included in the sample for the current study. Participants were eligible to participate in the study if they met the following criteria: 1) identify as an immigrant-origin youth of color (i.e., they/and or one of their parents were born in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and/or the Caribbean), 2) be between the ages of 18 and 29, and 3) reside in the state of Georgia.

An a-priori power analysis was conducted using GPower 3.1.9.7 (Faul et al., 2007) to estimate the sample size needed to detect significant effects with at least 80% power. Given that small to medium effect sizes were found in previous research examining relationships among perceived discrimination and civic action, and/or among ERI and civic action (e.g., Hope et al., 2016; Rosales et al., 2021; Tran & Curtin, 2017), a similar effect size was selected to provide a conservative estimate ($f^2 = .07$). Results indicated that a sample size of 189 was adequate to detect a significant effect with 80% power in a hierarchical linear regression model ($\alpha = .05$). Thus, the planned sample size for the current study was $N = 189$.

Among those who began the screening process ($n = 373$), there were 259 participants that met eligibility criteria and provided valid data. Of the remaining 259 participants, 82.24% ($n = 213$) completed a measure of ERI. Chi-square analyses revealed no significant differences between samples that completed and did not complete the measure of ERI on demographic variables. Table 1 summarizes the demographic characteristics of the final sample.

Table 1. Participant Demographics (N = 213)

	n(%)	M (SD)	% Missing Data
Gender			.5
Female	156 (73.6)		
Male	52 (24.5)		
Non-binary/Other	2 (.9)		
Prefer not to answer	2 (.9)		
Age (years)		19.69 (2.03)	6.6
Race/Ethnicity			

Asian	52 (24.4)	
Black/African	78 (36.6)	
Latinx/Latina/o/Hispanic	48 (22.5)	
Multiracial/Other	35 (16.4)	
Immigrant-origin		.9
First generation	45 (21.3)	
Second generation	166 (78.7)	
Eligibility to Vote in U.S.		
Ineligible	15 (7.0)	
Eligible	187 (87.8)	
I don't know	11 (5.2)	
Recruitment Source		
SONA	193 (90.6)	
Community	20 (9.4)	

2.2 Procedures

Study procedures were approved by the Georgia State University (GSU) Institutional Review Board. Participants were recruited online using GSU's SONA system and through dissemination of digital recruitment flyers via email to community partners. The study was administered using Qualtrics, a secure online survey platform. Participants first provided consent for participation and answered a brief demographic questionnaire, including questions to assess inclusion criteria and potential covariates (e.g., eligibility to vote in U.S. elections), prior to starting the survey. The survey took between 20-40 minutes to complete. Student participants who completed the survey received 0.5 units of course credit. Community participants did not receive compensation for survey completion.

2.3 Measures

2.3.1 *Independent Variables*

2.3.1.1 *Interpersonal Discrimination*

The Everyday Discrimination Scale (Williams et al., 1997) assesses the frequency of interpersonal racial/ethnic discrimination events in daily life. This scale has been validated and used in previous studies with emerging adults of color with adequate reliability (e.g., $\alpha = .80$,

Tran & Curtin, 2017). Internal consistency for the current sample was high, $\alpha = .90$. Participants were instructed to indicate how often (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Less than once a year*, 3 = *A few times a year*, 4 = *A few times a month*, 5 = *At least once a week*, 6 = *Almost every day*) they have experienced each event “because of your race or ethnicity.” Examples of events include, “People act as if they think you are dishonest.” “People act as if they think they’re better than you.”

2.3.1.2 Structural Discrimination

Responses to structural discrimination (restrictive immigration policies) were measured using the Threat to Family and Social Exclusion subscales of the Perceived Immigration Policy Effects Scale (PIPES; Ayón, 2017), which assess emotional responses to recent immigration policies and actions. Reliability for the composite of the two subscales in the current sample was $\alpha = .92$. Items assess the frequency of responses to perceived negative effects of restrictive immigration policies implemented in the U.S. over the last few years (i.e., structural discrimination). The Threat to Family subscale (3 items) reflects concern about the impact of restrictive immigration policies on the participant or their family and fear of family separation (e.g., “Do you worry about the impact immigration policies have on you or your family?”). The Social Exclusion subscale (5 items) reflects loss of liberty, lack of safety, fear of deportation, and absence of rights due to restrictive immigration policies (e.g., “Did you fear being deported or detained?”). Items were rated on a 5-point scale, ranging from *never* (1) to *always* (5). These scales have similarly been used to examine perceived restrictive immigration policy effects among immigrant-origin college students of color (Rosales et al., 2021).

2.3.1.3 Ethnic-Racial Identity

ERI was measured using the 12-item Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999) which assesses two dimensions of ERI, exploration and

commitment. The two subscales of the MEIM display configural and metric invariance among emerging adults from diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds in the U.S. (Yap et al., 2014). The exploration subscale assesses exploration of and active involvement in efforts to learn about the meaning of one's ethnic-racial group membership (e.g., "I have spent time trying to find out more about my racial/ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs"; 5 items). The commitment subscale assesses attachment, commitment, and belonging to one's ethnic-racial group (e.g., "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own racial/ethnic group"; 7 items). Reliability for each subscale for the current sample was $\alpha = .77$ and $\alpha = .92$, respectively. Items were measured on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). Responses for each subscale were summed.

2.3.2 Dependent Variables

Each dependent variable is an index of civic action behaviors/activities that can be categorized as reflecting conventional political action, activism, or community service. Each item in an index makes an independent contribution to the composite measure. Such indicators are not assumed to be due to one common factor and thus, unlike scaled variables, items do not need to be intercorrelated in order to be used (Crossman, 2020).

2.3.2.1 Conventional Political Action

Six items were used to assess frequency of participation in conventional political activities within the past 12 months, such as working for or contributing money to a political campaign (e.g., "privately urged others to vote a particular way"). Five of these items have been used in previous studies with college students of color (e.g., Wray-Lake et al., 2017). The following item was added to include voting behavior in the assessment of conventional political

action, “How often have you voted in local and national elections?” Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 = *Never* to 5 = *Very Often*.

2.3.2.2 Activism

Participants completed five items which assessed the frequency of participation in activism activities in the last year (Diemer & Li, 2011). Sample activities assessed include protests, boycotts, and petitions (e.g., “Signed an email petition about a social or political issue”). Items were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 = *Never* to 5 = *Very Often*.

2.3.2.3 Community Service

The 7-item Civic Participation subscale of the Active and Engaged Citizenship scale (Zaff et al., 2010) was used to assess frequency of participation in community service activities in the last year (e.g., “volunteered your time (at a hospital, day care center, food bank, youth program, community service agency)”; “mentored or advised a peer”). Participants rated each item on a 5-point Likert type scale (1 = *Never* to 5 = *Very Often*).

2.3.3 Demographic Variables

To describe the experiences of subgroups in terms of discrimination, ERI, and civic action and to account for variance in civic action as a function of demographic characteristics, this study examined the following participant self-reported variables as potential covariates: ethnic-racial background (0 = Asian, 1 = Black/African, 2 = Latinx/Latina/o/Hispanic, 3 = Multiracial/Other), immigrant generation (0 = born outside of the U.S., 1 = U.S.-born to immigrant parent(s)), gender (0 = female, 1 = male), and eligibility to vote in U.S. elections (0 = ineligible, 1 = eligible). Given small sample sizes, self-identified gender as “Nonbinary/Other,” or those who marked “Prefer not to answer” were coded as missing, but no findings related to these groups were interpreted. Participants who responded “I don’t know” regarding their

eligibility to vote were coded as ineligible to vote. Previous research has found that rates of participation in civic action among youth of color vary by gender and ethnic-racial background as well as immigrant generation and voting eligibility (e.g., Gaby, 2017; Hope et al., 2016; Ishizawa, 2015; Wray-Lake et al., 2020). In addition, voting eligibility determines the extent to which individuals can participate in conventional political efforts (e.g., voting; Dixon et al., 2018).

2.4 Data Analytic Plan

Descriptive statistics were conducted on SPSS 25. Independent sample t-tests were conducted to examine mean differences across dependent and independent variables by eligibility to vote in U.S. elections, gender, and immigrant generation. A one-way ANOVA was conducted to examine differences across independent and dependent variables by ethnic-racial background. Bivariate correlations were used to examine relationships among study variables. These preliminary analyses served two purposes: first, to describe the experiences of subgroups in terms of discrimination, ERI, and civic action; and second, to identify potential covariates for the main analyses examining associations between discrimination and civic action for the sample as a whole. Demographic variables that had a significant association with a dependent variable and at least one independent variable were included as covariates in subsequent analyses, as these could bias estimates of associations (Jaccard et al., 2006).

For the primary analyses, multiple regression analyses were conducted to assess interactive effects of ERI exploration and commitment on the associations of interpersonal and structural discrimination with three types of civic action (conventional political action, activism, and community service). In order to account for intercorrelations among the three types of civic action, analyses were conducted using Mplus version 8 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017), which made

it possible to examine associations of independent variables and moderators with all three indices of civic action within the same model.

3 RESULTS

3.1 Preliminary Analyses

Residual scatterplots and histograms of the dependent variables against each predictor variable were used to check if the data met assumptions of linearity, homoscedasticity, independence, and normality. Each type of civic action was a linear function of each type of discrimination (i.e., met the assumption of linearity). The variance of the residuals was constant across the range of ERI exploration and ERI commitment (i.e., met the assumption of homoscedasticity). The residuals were not correlated across observation (i.e., met the assumption of independence). Similarly, the data met the assumptions of linearity, homoscedasticity, and independence for each type of civic action (outcome variable) against ERI dimensions (moderator variables). There were no curves in the data (each type of civic action was a linear function of each ERI dimension). There was a similar spread of data across ERI dimensions (the variance of the residuals was constant across the range of each ERI dimension). There was no evidence of clustering (the residuals were not correlated across observation). The sample dataset was normally distributed.

Descriptive analyses and regression diagnostics were used to check for skewness, kurtosis, missing data, and outliers; this revealed acceptable skew (<2), no kurtosis, and few missing data ($\geq 6.6\%$, no more than 14 values missing for any variable). Regression diagnostics indicated that there were no participants with high leverage or high influence. There were two participants with high distance for electoral political action, one for activism, and three for community service. Given that there was no leverage, no corrections were made. Little's MCAR

test revealed that these data were not missing completely at random, $X^2(72 \text{ df}) = 92.754, p = .050$. However, based on an assumption that data were missing at random (MAR), the missing data were handled using Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML), an approach that does not impute missing values, but uses all available information in the sample data to estimate the most likely population parameters (Muthén & Muthén, 2017).

3.1.1 Differences in Discrimination, ERI, and Civic Action

Table 2 displays the means and standard deviations for the measures of interpersonal (racial/ethnic) discrimination, structural discrimination (responses to restrictive immigration policies), ERI exploration and commitment, and civic action. U.S.-born youth ($M = 2.60; SD = 1.02$) reported more activism than their foreign-born counterparts ($M = 2.13; SD = 1.13$), $t(205) = -2.68, p = .008, d = .45$. Women reported higher levels of ERI exploration ($M = 3.94, SD = .66$) than men ($M = 3.56; SD = .82$), $t(72.43) = 3.05, p = .003, d = .55$, and more ERI commitment ($M = 4.27; SD = .69$ for women and $M = 3.93; SD = .77$ for men), $t(204) = 2.99, p = .003, d = .48$. Women ($M = 2.64; SD = 1.02$) also reported more frequent involvement in activism in the past year than men ($M = 2.04; SD = 1.09$), $t(202) = 3.57, p < .001, d = .58$. Youth who were eligible to vote reported more frequent involvement in conventional political action ($M = 2.31; SD = .84$) as compared to youth who were either ineligible to vote or who did not know their voting eligibility ($M = 1.87; SD = .75$), $t(209) = -2.58, p = .001, d = .54$, and more activism ($M = 2.58; SD = 1.04$ for voting-eligible youth and $M = 1.92; SD = .98$ for voting-ineligible youth), $t(207) = -3.06, p = .003, d = .64$. Voting-eligible youth also reported higher levels of ERI Exploration ($M = 3.90; SD = .69$) as compared to their voting-ineligible counterparts ($M = 3.50; SD = .84$), $t(209) = -2.69, p = .008, d = .56$.

There were significant group differences by ethnic-racial background for structural discrimination, $F(3, 205) = 8.17, p < .001$ and for involvement in conventional political action, $F(3, 207) = 3.68, p = .013$. Participants who identified as Latinx ($M = 2.47; SD = .98; n = 48$) reported more frequent responses to structural discrimination than those who identified as Asian ($M = 1.79; SD = .91; n = 51$), Black/African ($M = 1.79; SD = .85; n = 75$), or Multiracial/Other ($M = 1.65; SD = .84; n = 35$). Latinx ($M = 2.44; SD = .81; n = 46$) participants reported more frequent involvement in conventional political action in the past year than Asian participants ($M = 1.95; SD = .85; n = 52$). No group differences on conventional political action were significant for youth who identified as Black/African or Multiracial/Other.

Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations (N = 213)

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min-Max	Skewness (SE)	Kurtosis (SE)
Interpersonal Disc.	206	2.43	1.01	1.00-6.00	0.53 (.17)	0.23 (.34)
Structural Disc.	209	1.92	0.94	1.00-5.00	0.90 (.17)	0.13 (.34)
ERI Exploration	211	3.85	0.72	1.40-5.00	-0.46 (.17)	0.07 (.33)
ERI Commitment	211	4.17	0.73	2.14-5.00	-0.76 (.17)	-0.18 (.33)
Conventional Political Activism	211	2.26	0.84	1.00-4.83	0.23 (.17)	-0.45 (.33)
Community Service	209	2.50	1.06	1.00-5.00	0.11 (.17)	-0.93 (.34)
	207	2.53	0.88	1.00-5.00	0.16 (.17)	-0.17 (.34)

3.1.2 Correlations

There were several significant bivariate associations among study variables (see Table 3). Interpersonal discrimination was positively associated with structural discrimination, ERI exploration and all three types of civic action. Structural discrimination was also positively correlated with conventional political action and activism but was unrelated to ERI dimensions. ERI exploration was positively correlated with ERI commitment and all three types of civic action. ERI commitment was positively correlated with conventional political action and community service. Activism was positively associated with community service and conventional political action.

Table 3. Correlations

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Interpersonal Disc.	–						
2. Structural Disc.	.39***	–					
3. ERI Exploration	.25***	.11	–				
4. ERI Commitment	.10	.02	.73***	–			
5. Conventional Political	.31***	.27***	.23***	.14*	–		
6. Activism	.33***	.21**	.21**	.11	.59***	–	
7. Community Service	.34***	.11	.37***	.24***	.34***	.25***	–

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

3.2 Primary Analyses

Based on the results of the preliminary analyses, gender, immigrant generation, eligibility to vote, and dummy-coded Latinx and Asian variables (e.g., 1 = Latinx, 0 = non-Latinx) were included as covariates in the primary analyses, since significant associations of these variables with at least one type of civic action and at least one independent variable suggested possible confounding (Jaccard et al., 2006). Since all independent variables are continuous, each of those variables were mean centered prior to running the analyses (Hayes & Rockwood, 2017).

Multivariate analyses were conducted using Mplus version 8.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017). The

first model examined the main effects of interpersonal discrimination, structural discrimination, ERI exploration, and ERI commitment on three types of civic action (conventional political action, activism, and community service). The second model expanded on the first by examining moderating effects of ERI exploration and commitment on all three types of civic action. Four interaction terms were computed by multiplying the mean centered scores for interpersonal and structural discrimination with ERI exploration and with ERI commitment.

3.2.1 Main Effects Model

Results from the first model testing main effects are presented in Table 4. Interpersonal discrimination was significantly positively related to all three types of civic action. The positive association between interpersonal discrimination and conventional political action was in the opposite direction from what was hypothesized. Structural discrimination was significantly associated with more frequent participation in conventional political action ($\beta = .19, p = .017$) as hypothesized, but contrary to expectation, was unrelated to activism or community service. ERI exploration was significantly and positively related to community service but was unrelated to conventional political action or activism, whereas ERI commitment was unrelated to all three types of civic action.

Asian participants were significantly less likely to have participated in conventional political action ($\beta = -.18, p = .009$) and community service ($\beta = -.12, p = .045$) in the past year than non-Asian participants. Latinx participants were significantly less likely to have participated in community service than non-Latinx participants ($\beta = -.21, p = .002$). Immigrant generation was not significantly associated with civic action. Voting eligibility was significantly positively associated with conventional political action ($\beta = .13, p = .031$) and activism ($\beta = .15, p = .026$). Gender was also significantly related to activism, with men reporting less participation than

women ($\beta = -.18, p = .010$). The full model explained 19% of the variance in conventional political action, 21% of the variance in activism, and 29% of the variance in community service.

Table 4. Results of Main Effects of Discrimination and ERI on Civic Action

Variable	Conventional Political				Activism				Community Service			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	95% CI	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	95% CI	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	95% CI
Immigrant Gen.	.02	.16	.01	[-.14, .16]	.19	.22	.08	[-.09., .24]	-.04	.16	-.02	[-.16, .12]
Gender	-.06	.12	-.03	[-.15, .09]	-.44	.17	-.18**	[-.32, -.04]	.14	.14	.07	[-.07, .20]
Vote Eligibility	.33	.16	.13*	[.01, .25]	.48	.22	.15*	[.02, .28]	-.30	.18	-.11	[-.24, .02]
Asian	-.34	.13	-.18**	[-.31, -.04]	-.14	.17	-.06	[-.19, .08]	-.26	.13	-.12*	[-.24, -.00]
Latinx	-.08	.14	-.04	[-.18, .10]	-.05	.18	-.02	[-.16, .12]	-.46	.15	-.21**	[-.35, -.08]
Interpersonal	.13	.07	.16*	[.01, .32]	.24	.08	.24**	[.08, .39]	.21	.06	.24***	[.10, .38]
Structural	.17	.07	.19*	[.03, .35]	.12	.09	.11	[-.04, .26]	.03	.07	.04	[-.10, .17]
ERI-E	.18	.11	.15	[-.03, .33]	.19	.14	.13	[-.05, .32]	.43	.11	.35***	[.18, .52]
ERI-C	-.00	.10	-.00	[-.17, .17]	-.06	.13	-.05	[-.22, .13]	.02	.10	.01	[-.15, .17]
<i>R</i> ²			.19***				.21***				.29***	

Note. *N* = 213. **p* < .05; ***p* ≤ .01; ****p* ≤ .001. ERI-E = Ethnic-racial identity exploration. ERI-C = Ethnic-racial identity commitment.

3.2.2 Main and Interactive Effects Model

Results from the second model are presented in Table 5. The interaction of interpersonal discrimination X ERI commitment contributed significantly to explained variance in conventional political action ($B = -.23, p = .016$) and the interaction of structural discrimination X ERI exploration contributed significantly to explained variance in activism ($B = .40, p = .014$). Contrary to hypotheses, no other interactions were significant. In contrast to findings from the main effects model, when interaction terms were added to the model, the association between ERI exploration and conventional political action was significant ($\beta = .20, p = .030$) and there was no significant association of self-identification as Asian on community service. Relative to the main effects model, inclusion of the interaction terms explained an additional 4% of the variance in conventional political action (total $R^2 = .23$) and an additional 2% of the variance in activism (total $R^2 = .23$), but explained no additional variance in community service.

Table 5. Results of Main and Interactive Effects of Discrimination and ERI on Civic Action

Variable	Conventional Political				Activism				Community Service			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	95% CI	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	95% CI	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	95% CI
Immigrant Gen.	.01	.15	.01	[-.14, .15]	.19	.21	.01	[-.10., .24]	-.04	.16	-.02	[-.17, .13]
Gender	-.07	.12	-.04	[-.15, .08]	-.47	.17	-.19**	[-.33, -.05]	.14	.14	.07	[-.07, .20]
Vote Eligibility	.36	.14	.14**	[.03, .25]	.48	.21	.15*	[.02, .23]	-.30	.18	-.11	[-.24, .02]
Asian	-.31	.13	-.16*	[-.29, -.03]	-.14	.17	-.06	[-.19, .08]	-.23	.13	-.11	[-.24, .01]
Latinx	-.06	.14	-.03	[-.17, .10]	-.08	.18	-.03	[-.17, .10]	-.42	.15	-.20**	[-.34, -.06]
Interpersonal	.13	.06	.16*	[.02, .30]	.26	.08	.25***	[.10, .40]	.21	.06	.24***	[.10, .38]
Structural	.16	.07	.19*	[.04, .34]	.07	.08	.06	[-.08, .20]	.04	.07	.05	[-.09, .19]
ERI-E	.22	.10	.20*	[.02, .37]	.24	.15	.16	[-.04, .36]	.44	.11	.34***	[.19, .53]
ERI-C	-.04	.10	-.04	[-.20, .13]	-.09	.14	-.06	[-.26, .13]	.00	.10	.00	[-.16, .16]
Interpersonal x E	-.02	.10	-.02	[-.21, .16]	-.20	.18	-.15	[-.43, .12]	.03	.12	.03	[-.19, .24]
Interpersonal x C	-.23	.10	-.22*	[-.40, -.04]	.09	.18	.06	[-.19, .32]	-.13	.12	-.11	[-.33, .10]
Structural x E	.10	.14	.09	[-.15, .32]	.40	.16	.26*	[.05, .48]	-.07	.14	-.06	[-.28, .17]
Structural x C	-.04	.13	-.03	[-.25, .19]	-.25	.16	-.17	[-.38, .04]	.02	.13	.01	[-.19, .21]
<i>R</i>²			.23***				.23***				.29***	

Note. $N = 213$. * $p < .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$. ERI-E = Ethnic-racial identity exploration. ERI-C = Ethnic-racial identity commitment

3.2.3 *Simple Slopes Analyses*

Preacher et al.'s (2006) MLR two-way interaction tool was used to probe significant interactive effects at 1 *SD* below and above the sample mean of each moderator (i.e., ERI commitment and ERI exploration). Regarding the interaction of interpersonal discrimination X ERI commitment on conventional political action, results revealed a significant slope of $B = .30$ ($p = .001$) at 1 *SD* below the mean of ERI commitment and $B = .13$ ($p = .027$) at the mean, and a non-significant slope of $B = -.04$ ($p = .667$) at 1 *SD* above the mean (see Figure 1). Regarding the interaction of structural discrimination X ERI exploration on activism, results showed non-significant simple slopes of $B = -.22$ at 1 *SD* below the mean of ERI exploration ($p = .125$) and $B = .07$ at the mean ($p = .415$), while a significant slope of $B = .35$ emerged at 1 *SD* above the mean ($p = .014$; see Figure 2).

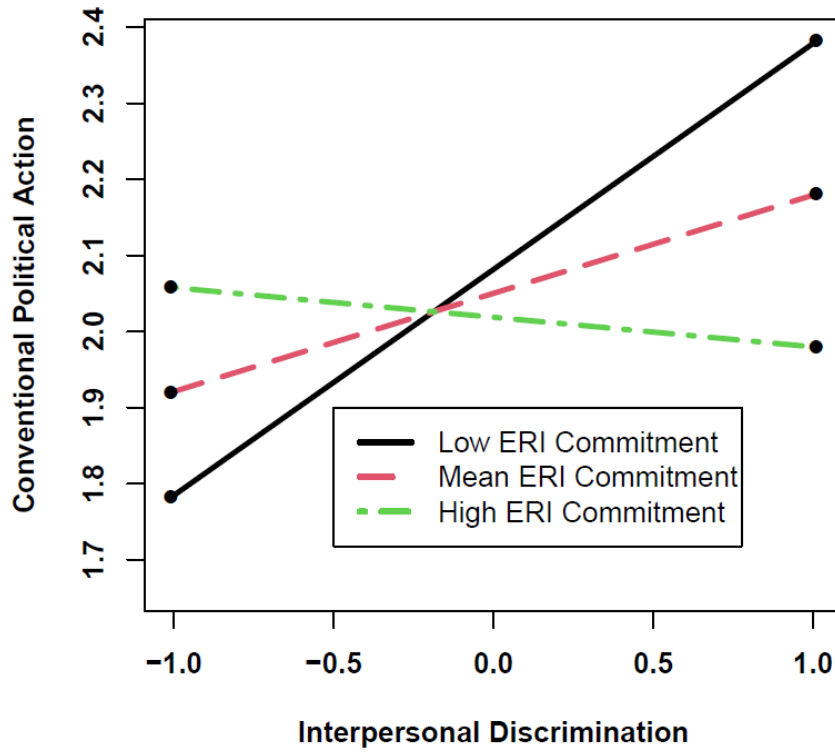


Figure 1. Interaction of interpersonal discrimination and ERI commitment on conventional political action.
 Note: Low and high values correspond to 1 SD below and above the mean of ERI commitment, respectively.

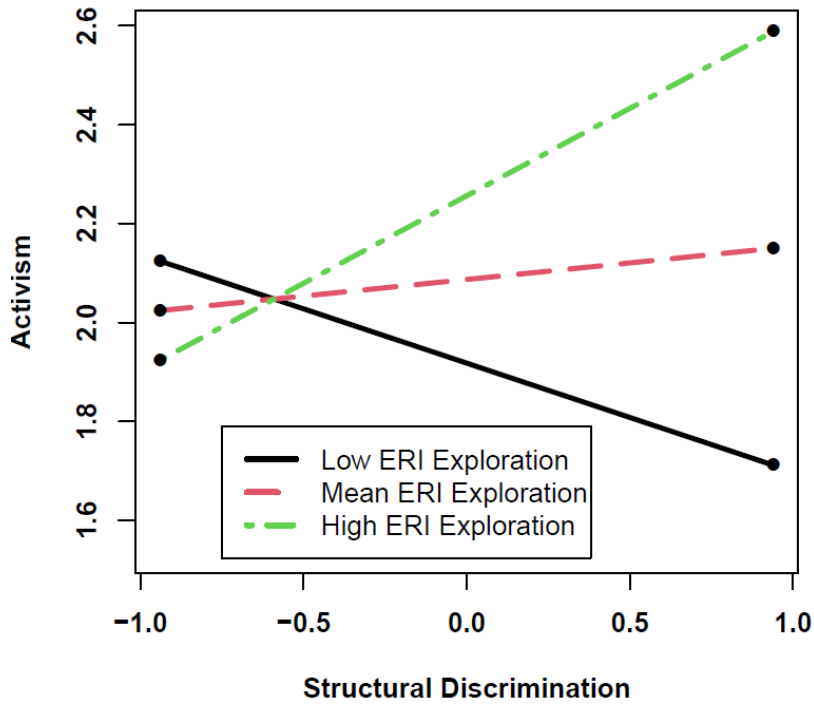


Figure 2. Interaction of structural discrimination and ERI exploration on activism.
 Note: Low and high values correspond to 1 SD below and above the mean of ERI exploration, respectively.

4 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to fill gaps in understanding sociocultural factors that shape civic action among immigrant-origin youth of color by 1) examining direct effects of interpersonal and structural discrimination on three types of civic action (conventional political action, activism, and community service) among IYOC in emerging adulthood and 2) examining interactive effects of two dimensions of ethnic-racial identity on the associations between discrimination and civic action. Youths' ERI significantly interacted with discrimination experienced at both the microsystem and macrosystem levels to shape their civic participation. The nature and direction of these associations varied across system levels, ERI dimensions, and types of civic action, highlighting the complexity of these associations. Findings underscore the importance of investigating the interplay between factors at the individual and sociopolitical levels when examining IYOC's active participation in their communities and in society at large.

4.1 Overall Engagement in Civic Action Among IYOC

In order to better understand factors that might shape IYOC's civic engagement, it is important for research to include measures of civic activities that are accessible to the group of interest and that account for codified barriers to particular types of civic action (e.g., voting eligibility; Arce et al., 2023; Dixon et al., 2018). Results of descriptive analyses demonstrate that IYOC are active in their communities in various ways, including via conventional political action (e.g., paying attention to election candidates and issues), activism (e.g., signing petitions about social or political issues), and community service (e.g., mentoring peers). Involvement across the three types of civic action were further assessed in sensitivity analyses to examine overall civic participation within the past 12 months (0 = Never, 1 = Rarely, Sometimes, Often, or Very Often). Across all three types of civic action assessed, 99% of participants reported engaging in

one of the civic activities at least Rarely, with 87.7% of youth endorsing any participation in conventional political action, 83.3% endorsing any participation in activism, and 92.3% endorsing any participation in community service. Most youth (90.2%) reported participation in two or more types of civic action, with 69.5% reporting participation in activities across all three types. A growing number of studies indicate the importance of considering the role of intersecting identities and marginalizing systems in youth of color's civic engagement (e.g., Bañales, Mathews, et al., 2020; Godfrey & Burson, 2018; Hope et al., 2016). Protections offered to immigrant youth and their close family members via nativity and documentation status contribute to differences in civic action (Dixon et al., 2018; Rosales et al., 2021). Consistent with extant literature, youth's civic participation varied based on their voting eligibility, with voting-eligible youth reporting more frequent involvement in conventional political action and activism than their voting-ineligible counterparts. Frequency of engagement in specific types of civic action also differed by immigrant generation, gender, and ethnic-racial background, with second-generation youth and women reporting more activism in the past year than first-generation youth and men and Latinx participants reporting more conventional political action than Asian participants.

Regarding differences in experiences of discrimination and ERI, results of descriptive analyses showed that Latinx participants reported more frequent responses to structural discrimination (restrictive immigration policies) than participants who identified as Asian, Black/African, or Multiracial/Other. Women reported higher levels of ERI exploration and commitment than men. The study found no other significant group differences by demographic variables. In evaluating these findings, it is important to note that the current study sample is

relatively small for group comparisons. Thus, the emergent differences underscore the importance of attending to the role of subgroup variation and intersectional identities.

4.2 The Importance of a Multi-Level Conceptualization of Discrimination

Results of the current study extend the body of literature on links between discrimination and civic engagement by examining two levels of discrimination and three types of civic action among IYOC. As previously mentioned, most of the research assessing discrimination and civic action has focused on interpersonal discrimination and few studies have simultaneously examined the relation between multiple levels of discrimination and different types of civic action. While concern for restrictive immigration policies can deter or preclude immigrant-origin youth's participation in certain civic activities due to threat of enforcement or ineligibility from electoral political systems, it can also motivate activism to bring about social change. However, most of this research has assessed one type of civic action (e.g., Maginot, 2021) and has not assessed differential effects of discrimination on multiple types of civic action.

Analyses revealed that interpersonal and structural levels of discrimination had differential associations with youths' civic action. Thus, the levels of discrimination were associated with differing outcomes, pointing to the need to examine manifestations of discrimination across ecological levels in conjunction with different types of civic action when considering how IYOC navigate and challenge discrimination via civic action. This is consistent with literature that supports a multi-level conceptualization of discrimination, as these are differentially related to outcomes (e.g., Hope, Gugwor, et al., 2019; Krueger et al., 2021).

4.2.1 The Role of Discrimination in Explaining Civic Action

It was hypothesized that interpersonal discrimination would be negatively associated with conventional political action and positively associated with activism and community service.

Structural discrimination was hypothesized to be positively associated with all three types of civic action. Findings supported some but not all of the study's hypotheses. The data supported the predicted positive associations for interpersonal discrimination with activism and community service and paralleled previous work on interpersonal racial/ethnic discrimination and activism among a national sample of immigrant-origin Latinx adults (Maginot, 2021) and immigrant-origin Asian adults (Tran & Curtin, 2017) and on interpersonal racial/ethnic discrimination and community service among Black American college students (Riley et al., 2020; White-Johnson, 2012).

Contrary to expectation, more frequent day-to-day experiences of interpersonal discrimination (e.g., being treated with less courtesy than other people) were associated with more frequent participation in conventional political activities in the past year, such as paying attention to election candidates and issues or talking about the campaign with others. Data collection for the current study began in March 2021, just a few months after President Biden was elected, and following months of campaigns to elect progressive candidates, many of whom were people of color (e.g., Stacey Abrams in Georgia), and to bring attention to pervasive racialized violence and injustice. This context may have cast conventional political activities, such as voting, as a form of activism to resist oppression. Thus, findings highlight the importance of considering a combination of individual and contextual factors in tandem, such as political context and perhaps exposure to sociopolitical socialization at the time of data collection, that may shape IYOC's civic action. Future studies might synthesize these factors in a mediational model in order to establish connections and possible pathways between discrimination, ecological context, sociopolitical socialization, and civic action to create or adapt/tailor settings

(e.g., community-based organization) and interventions (e.g., peer mentorship) that support IYOC's civic participation.

Regarding structural discrimination, results revealed significant positive correlations with conventional political action and activism and a significantly positive main effect on conventional political action. Specifically, findings of the current study suggest that more frequent concern about negative effects of restrictive immigration policies (structural discrimination) was associated with more frequent participation in conventional political activities. This finding is in line with previous research identifying the mobilizing effects of concern for restrictive policies and practices on general conventional political activities such as contacting a public official among undocumented Latinx college students (Rosales et al., 2021) and discussing politics with others among voting-eligible Latinx adults (Altema McNeely et al., 2022). Contrary to the hypothesized positive associations between structural discrimination and activism and community service, structural discrimination was not a significant predictor of either of these two types of civic action. One possible explanation for the non-significant main effects of structural discrimination on community service is that most of the participants in this study were second-generation immigrants and, relative to their first-generation counterparts, these youth have been found to participate less frequently in community service in some studies (e.g., Ishizawa, 2014). However, there were no significant group differences by immigrant generation on community service in the current study sample. Other studies that seek to understand the ways in which IYOC participate in their community find that second-generation youth engage in community service activities that might not be included in survey measures of this type of civic action (e.g., participating in leadership roles to help their Latinx and immigrant community members, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2015). Thus, a mixed-method approach that captures

these qualitative differences in youths' civic activities could help elucidate nuances in their civic participation.

Relatedly, the non-significant findings in the current study may be indicative of the need to include measures of civic action that are identity- or issue-specific. The civic action assessed in the current study reflected general rather than identity- or issue-specific civic activities and these did not specify the beneficiary of civic action, which may have affected the results. It may be that identity-based marginalization is more likely to spur involvement in non-conventional civic action such as activism and community service that benefits one's targeted community in response to discrimination, relative to general non-conventional civic action.

For example, an emerging body of literature shows that IYOC participate in certain non-conventional civic activities precisely as a consequence of racialized exclusion. Indeed, in another study with a smaller subset of the current study sample, structural discrimination was associated with increased likelihood of having participated in immigration-related activism and Black Lives Matter activism within the past year (Peraltilla et al., 2021). This is consistent with the social identity literature (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987) which posits that discrimination against one's social group can motivate participation in activities that focus on benefitting that community (e.g., Riley et al., 2020; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2015). Moreover, and consistent with social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), evidence from qualitative studies with adolescent IYOC shows that youth participate in these activities to counter negative stereotypes against their social groups (e.g., Jensen, 2008; McWhirter et al., 2019). It will thus be important for future research to assess civic activities that specify the intent (e.g., social change) and domain (e.g., immigrant rights) of the civic action to better understand the additive value of this specificity when examining variation in different types of civic action among IYOC.

4.3 The Role of Ethnic-Racial Identity in IYOC's Civic Action

Civic participation may be a manifestation of cultural traditions or values, and thus encompass some of the cultural activities that youth engage in. As such, exploration may be interrelated with particular civic activities as youth seek information and experiences to inform their understanding of the role that their ethnic-racial group membership has on their lives. Particularly for groups with experiences of historical and contemporary political marginalization, civic participation may also stem from cultural socialization to effectively navigate identity-based exclusion and discrimination. Thus, a strong ERI commitment may similarly encourage civic action to promote the well-being of one's social group when ERI is politicized (Mathews et al., 2020). Current study results support the notion that ERI can contribute to civic participation among IYOC and reveal that different dimensions of ERI work to promote specific types of civic action and to affect associations between discrimination and civic action.

4.3.1 The Promotive and Interactive Effect of ERI Dimensions

ERI exploration was positively correlated with all three types of civic action, suggesting that IYOC in emerging adulthood who are seeking information and further developing an understanding of their ethnic-racial group membership via dialogue about their group's history and participation in cultural activities are also likely to be involved in various civic activities. This is consistent with evidence from a recent longitudinal study of links between ERI exploration and a composite civic action measure of activism, community service, and conventional political activities among a sample of Black American emerging adults across four years of college (Hope et al., 2022). More ERI exploration during the beginning of college and at the end of the first and second year of college was associated with more frequent civic action at the end of the first, second, and fourth year of college, respectively. Consistent with those

findings, the current study found significant positive main effects of ERI exploration on conventional political action and community service and an interactive effect on activism. Contrary to expectations, however, ERI exploration did not moderate the association of either level of discrimination with conventional political action or community service, nor did it moderate the association of interpersonal discrimination with conventional political action. As expected, ERI exploration significantly interacted with structural discrimination to influence activism, such that the association between structural discrimination and activism was significant and positive only at high levels of exploration. Thus, IYOC who are actively involved in efforts to explore and learn about the meaning of being a member of their ethnic-racial group may be more likely to become engaged in activism in response to structural discrimination. These findings underscore the importance of assessing both marginalization and sociocultural factors in understanding variation in IYOC's civic participation.

In contrast, whereas ERI commitment had significant positive correlations with conventional political action and community service, multivariate analyses found no independent direct effects of commitment on any type of civic action. Specifically, ERI commitment does not appear to contribute meaningfully to conventional political action or community service above and beyond the contributions of interpersonal and structural discrimination and ERI exploration. Scholars have proposed that a strong personal investment in and sense of commitment to one's ethnic-racial group can motivate activism (Anyiwo et al., 2018; Mathews et al., 2020). However, extant empirical examinations of this have largely focused on adolescence and/or civic beliefs/intentions rather than behaviors. It may be that youth who feel a strong commitment to their ethnic-racial group engage in activism activities that were not captured by the measure of these behaviors in the current study. Another related possibility is that ERI commitment is a

more potent motivator of activism related to one's ethnic-racial group, but not necessarily general activism. Alternatively, it could be that a combination of factors is needed for ERI commitment to translate into activism. Consistent with Mathews et al. (2020), critical reflection of systemic inequities (i.e., awareness of and critical thinking about the structural causes of oppression) may be a necessary component in youth's motivation for and participation in activism. For IYOC, critical reflection and ERI exploration are intertwined processes (Arce et al., 2023). Future research would benefit from considering critical reflection alongside ERI development. Thus, only youth who have both high levels of ERI exploration *and* ERI commitment may be more likely to participate in activism.

According to developmental models of identity development (Erickson, 1968; Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1989), knowledge and understanding of the meaning of one's ethnic-racial group membership (high ERI exploration) *in combination with* a strong sense of commitment in that group is necessary for "identity achievement." On the other hand, a limited understanding of the history, culture, and meaning of one's ethnic-racial group membership (low ERI exploration) in conjunction with a strong sense of ERI commitment reflects a "foreclosed identity." Youth with foreclosed ethnic-racial identities may lack a clear understanding of how or why their ethnic-racial group membership affects their life and thus, their emotional ties to their social group may not translate directly into civic behaviors (e.g., Suyemoto et al., 2015). The secure sense of self and ERI commitment derived from an achieved identity is grounded in a process of exploration which may not have been accurately captured with the current study's analytic approach. Perhaps by examining commitment independent of exploration, the current study confounded foreclosed with achieved identity.

A similar pattern may be present in relation to the non-significant interactive effects of ERI commitment. ERI commitment did not moderate the associations of either level of discrimination with activism or community service, nor did it moderate the associations of structural discrimination with conventional political action. Thus, future studies would benefit from a profile analytic approach to assess the joint effect of differing levels of exploration and commitment. Adding to the civic development literature, these results also point to the importance of looking at multiple dimensions of identity to better capture the nuances in which youths' identity development relates to their civic participation.

Building on past research, moderation analyses revealed that the relation between interpersonal discrimination and conventional political action varied by ERI commitment—the felt sense of belonging to and resolution about the meaning of ethnic-racial group membership on one's life. However, interactive effects did not occur in the expected direction. For IYOC who feel less positively about or connected to their ethnic-racial group (low ERI commitment), experiences of interpersonal discrimination were associated with more frequent participation in conventional political action. Specifically, results suggest that only those low or average on ERI commitment were prone to engage in conventional political action in the context of high interpersonal discrimination. In other words, more interpersonal discrimination was associated with more conventional political action for those with low and average ERI commitment, while for those with high ERI commitment that association was not significant (see Figure 1). It is unclear why this may be the case. One possibility is that youth who feel a strong investment in and motivation to foster the well-being of their communities may feel especially alienated from electoral political systems and believe the government is less responsive to them. These youth may therefore abstain from conventional political action as either a means of self-preservation or

as a result of beliefs in the ineffectiveness of their civic efforts (e.g., low external sociopolitical efficacy, Arce et al., 2021). As IYOC are navigating their membership to both their American and ethnic-racial groups, it could be that a measure of bicultural identity or a combination of factors (e.g., sense of social responsibility, Arce et al., 2023) are related to their motivation to engage in conventional political action.

4.4 Implications for Practice

The study findings extend current understanding on IYOC's civic actions in response to discrimination and have implications for organizations, mentors, and practitioners to support IYOC facing multi-level discrimination. First, IYOC give back to their communities through various activities. Thus, absence of participation in one type of civic activity does not equate disengagement from all civic action. Those working with IYOC should seek to identify and understand how youth are already contributing to their communities and what might preclude or impede participation. Given group differences in civic action, particular attention to intersecting identities is recommended in order to support youth's involvement in activities that are both accessible and most meaningful to them, with a focus on culturally relevant assets. In practice, this can look like asking an open-ended question to identify the most salient aspects of their identity (e.g., item 8 of the Cultural Formulation Interview, American Psychological Association, 2013) and engaging youth in conversation to gather information about what civic activities they participate in generally and what actions they engage in response to discrimination particularly. For example, in a recent study of IYOC's online civic engagement, researchers concluded that the categories often used in research with IYOC (e.g., "Latinx") would have been inadequate categorizations to reflect youth's descriptions of how their multiple identities shape their online civic engagement (Wilf et al., 2022).

Second, interpersonal discrimination is a potent predictor of youth's civic action. In contrast, structural discrimination may matter more for conventional political and activism activities as assessed in this study. Those working with IYOC can support youth's civic engagement through programming that strengthens skills to detect structural inequity and discrimination and expands knowledge about contextually-relevant strategies to engage in accessible civic action (e.g., Kennedy et al., 2020; Kolano & Davila, 2019; Suyemoto et al., 2015).

Third, findings suggest that to help promote civic action among IYOC, those working with these youth should integrate activities and conversations that facilitate youth's exploration of who they are in relation to their ethnic-racial identities. This may include ethnic-racial, cultural, and/or political socialization and is in line with the integration of racial socialization into trauma-focused cognitive behavioral therapy for racial trauma (Metzger et al., 2021; Williams et al., 2022). Data from this investigation suggest that different facets of ethnic-racial identity promote certain types of civic action and can affect the relations between interpersonal and structural discrimination and civic action. Thus, the cultivation of different identity processes can help promote different types of civic action.

4.5 Limitations and Future Directions

This study shed light on sociocultural factors at the individual (interpersonal discrimination, ERI) and systemic (structural discrimination) level that may shape IYOC's civic participation. Findings should be considered within the context of its limitations. The cross-sectional nature of this study precludes causal interpretations. Future studies would benefit from examining how ERI processes unfold over time and how these developmental processes relate to different manifestations of discrimination and participation in civic activities. Given that the

study sample was made up of primarily second-generation immigrant college students, future research would benefit from expanding the participant sample to include more first-generation immigrants and community participants to improve generalizability. Moreover, given the relatively small sample size, a larger participant sample may offer a more robust understanding of group-level differences on study variables.

It is important to consider the geographic and sociopolitical context and timing in which the data were collected. The participant sample was drawn from a more recently established immigrant community in the Southeastern region of the U.S. Most research with IYOC is done in established immigrant destinations—states with the largest number of immigrants, such as California, Texas, and Florida (Ward & Batalova, 2023)—and thus, current study findings may have limited relevance for these communities. The current study sample was ethnically diverse, with participants identifying from a variety of Asian, African, Caribbean, and Latin American countries. Future research could increase the study’s generalizability by examining effects of discrimination and ERI on civic action among immigrant-origin youth in other regions of the U.S. and among racially marginalized youth in other countries. Data collection began about a year into the COVID-19 pandemic, just a few months after President Biden was elected, and in the context of ongoing restrictive immigration policies (e.g., ineligibility for COVID-19 relief measures) and racialized violence (e.g., Atlanta spa shootings, murder of unarmed Black Americans by law enforcement). Thus, political and social/cultural factors tied to the sociopolitical timing of data collection might have influenced results.

A strength is that the current study considered the potential for distinct findings for two levels of discrimination on multiple types of civic action among IYOC; future research is needed to replicate and extend these findings. Different operationalizations of these constructs could

have influenced study results. Specifically, whereas the measure of interpersonal discrimination assessed perceived behaviors from others (e.g., acting in a certain way), the measure used as an indicator of structural discrimination assessed primarily emotional responses to restrictive immigration policies and actions (e.g., feeling a certain way due to immigration policies). In addition, where possible, research would benefit from including measures that assess multi-level discrimination or multi-level race-related stress tied to racialized immigration policies and enforcement practices. Another avenue for future research would be to explore the role of emotion (e.g., fear, anger, concern, stress) as mediators and moderators in the links between discrimination and civic action.

The results of this study point to the importance and potential of ERI dimensions in shaping the civic participation of IYOC. Future research could further assess whether the cultivation of different identity processes can help promote different types of civic action and how changes in identity processes might incite/motivate changes in civic action over time. Reciprocal processes could also be examined to understand how discrimination and engagement in civic action shape the development of ERI. Although the present study addressed gaps in the literature by examining effects of ERI exploration and ERI commitment, considering ERI commitment independent of exploration might have confounded youth who are identity achieved with those who are identity foreclosed. Latent profile analysis can be used to further understand links between ERI dimensions and civic action among IYOC. Future research should also examine other possible resources in shaping IYOC's civic participation, such as ethnic-racial, cultural or political socialization (Pinetta et al., 2020). A mixed-methods approach could be used to gain a deeper understanding of the motivations and intended outcomes of youths' civic action,

along with more nuanced insights into their choices of whether and how to engage in civic action.

4.6 Conclusion

Key take-aways from the current study are that immigrant origin youth of color are active in their communities and that their civic participation is shaped by experiences of discrimination and processes of ethnic-racial identity development. IYOC contribute to their communities through various civic activities and thus, examinations that assess only one type of civic action may result in inaccurate conclusions about their civic engagement and contribution to their communities and society at large. Findings of the current study provide support for a multi-level conceptualization of discrimination in investigations of factors that shape civic participation among IYOC. These youth face interpersonal and structural discrimination that affects their eligibility and motivation to participate in certain types of civic activities. Attending to only one level of discrimination obscures important motivators of youths' civic action. Youth's awareness of discrimination and action in response to such marginalization is informed by their ethnic-racial identity. Therefore, it is necessary to consider how youth are constructing their identities in order to support them as they navigate and challenge oppression.

REFERENCES

- Abrego, L. J. (2019). Relational Legal Consciousness of U.S. Citizenship: Privilege, Responsibility, Guilt, and Love in Latino Mixed-Status Families. *Law & Society Review*, 53(3), 641–670. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lasr.12414>
- Alfieri, S., Marzana, D., D'Angelo, C., Corvino, C., Gozzoli, C., & Marta, E. (2021). Engagement of young immigrants: The impact of prosocial and recreational activities. *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community*, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10852352.2021.1935199>
- Altema McNeely, N., Kim, D., & Kim, M. (2022). Deportation threat and political engagement among latinos in the Rio Grande Valley. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, 45(15), 2843–2866. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2022.2048044>
- American Psychological Association (2019, October 31). *Discrimination: What it is, and how to cope*. <https://www.apa.org/topics/discrimination>
- Anyiwo, N., Bañales, J., Rowley, S. J., Watkins, D. C., & Richards, S. K. (2018). Sociocultural Influences on the Sociopolitical Development of African American Youth. *Child Development Perspectives*, 12(3), 165–170. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12276>
- Anyiwo, N., Palmer, G. J., Garrett, J. M., Starck, J. G., & Hope, E. C. (2020). Racial and political resistance: An examination of the sociopolitical action of racially marginalized youth. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 35, 86–91. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2020.03.005>
- Arce, M.A. (2021). *Civic action among immigrant youth of color in the U.S.: Contributions of critical reflection, sociopolitical efficacy, and immigrant optimism* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Georgia State University.

- Arce, M.A., Delbasso, C.A., & Kuperminc, G.P. (2023). Influences of sense of social responsibility, immigrant bargain, and immigrant optimism on critical consciousness development among immigrant youth of color. In E.B. Godfrey & L.J. Rapa (Eds.), *Developing critical consciousness in youth: Contexts and settings* (pp.292-317). Cambridge University Press.
- Arce, M. A., Kumar, J. L., Kuperminc, G. P., & Roche, K. M. (2020). “Tenemos que ser la voz”: Exploring resilience among Latina/o immigrant families in the context of restrictive immigration policies and practices. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 79, 106–120. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2020.08.006>
- Arnett, J. J. (2015). *Emerging adulthood: The winding road from the late teens through the twenties* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199795574.013.9>
- Ayón, C. (2017). Perceived Immigration Policy Effects Scale: Development and Validation of a Scale on the Impact of State-Level Immigration Policies on Latino Immigrant Families. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 39(1), 19–33. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986316681102>
- Ballard, P.J. (2013). The civic lives of immigrant-origin youth [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Stanford University.
- Ballard, P. J. (2016). Longitudinal links between discrimination and civic development among Latino and Asian adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 26(4), 723–737. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12221>

- Ballard, P. J., Hoyt, L. T., & Pachucki, M. C. (2019). Impacts of Adolescent and Young Adult Civic Engagement on Health and Socioeconomic Status in Adulthood. *Child Development, 90*(4), 1138–1154. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12998>
- Ballard, P. J., Malin, H., Porter, T. J., Colby, A., & Damon, W. (2015). Motivations for Civic Participation Among Diverse Youth: More Similarities than Differences. *Research in Human Development, 12*(1–2), 63–83. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15427609.2015.1010348>
- Bañales, J., Hoffman, A. J., Rivas-Drake, D., & Jagers, R. J. (2020). The development of ethnic-racial identity process and its relation to civic beliefs among Latinx and Black American adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 49*(12), 2495–2508. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-020-01254-6>
- Bañales, J., Hope, E. C., Rowley, S. J., & Cryer, C. Q. R. (2021). Raising justice-minded youth: Parental ethnic-racial and political socialization and Black youth's critical consciousness. *Journal of Social Issues, 77*(4), 964–986. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12486>
- Bañales, J., & Rivas, D. D. (2022). Showing up: A theoretical model of anti-racist identity and action for latinx youth. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12747>
- Bañales, J., Mathews, C., Hayat, N., Anyiwo, N., & Diemer, M. A. (2020). Latinx and black young adults' pathways to civic/political engagement. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 26*(2), 176–188. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000271>
- Barajas-Gonzalez, R. G., Ayón, C., & Torres, F. (2018). Applying a community violence framework to understand the impact of immigration enforcement threat on Latino children. *Social Policy Report, 31*(3), 1–24. doi:10.1002/sop2.1

- Barajas-Gonzalez, R. G., Ayón, C., Brabeck, K., Rojas-Flores, L., & Valdez, C. R. (2021). An ecological expansion of the adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) framework to include threat and deprivation associated with U.S. immigration policies and enforcement practices: An examination of the Latinx immigrant experience. *Social Science & Medicine*, 282, 114126. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2021.114126>
- Barrett, M., & Brunton-Smith, I. (2014). Political and civic engagement and participation: Towards an integrative perspective. *Journal of Civil Society*, 10(1), 5–28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17448689.2013.871911>
- Benner, A. D., Wang, Y., Shen, Y., Boyle, A. E., Polk, R., & Cheng, Y.-P. (2018). Racial/ethnic discrimination and well-being during adolescence: A meta-analytic review. *American Psychologist*, 73(7), 855–883. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000204>
- Berry, J. A., & Junn, J. (2015). Silent citizenship among Asian Americans and Latinos: Opting out or left out? *Citizenship Studies*, 19(5), 570–590. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2015.1074342>
- Berman, G. & Paradies, Y. (2010). Racism, disadvantage and multiculturalism: towards effective anti-racist praxis, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(2), 214-232. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870802302272>
- Besco, R., Garcia-Rios, S., Lagodny, J., Lajevardi, N., Oskooii, K., & Tolley, E. (2022). Fight not flight: The effects of explicit racism on minority political engagement. *Electoral Studies*, 80, N.PAG. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2022.102515>
- Bobek, D., Zaff, J., Li, Y., & Lerner, R. M. (2009). Cognitive, emotional, and behavioral components of civic action: Towards an integrated measure of civic engagement. *Journal*

of Applied Developmental Psychology, 30(5), 615–627.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2009.07.005>

Bolter, J., Israel, E., & Selee, A. (2022). *Four years of profound change: Immigration policy during the Trump presidency*. Migration Policy Institute.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (1997). Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation. *American Sociological Review*, 62(3), 465–480. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2657316>

Borjian, A. (2018). Academically Successful Latino Undocumented Students in College: Resilience and Civic Engagement. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 40(1), 22–36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986317754299>

Cadenas, G. A., Campos, L., & Minero, L. (2022). The psychology of critical consciousness among immigrants: Reflection and activism responding to oppressive immigration policy. *Current opinion in psychology*, 47, 101433. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2022.101433>

Carter, R. T., Johnson, V. E., Kirkinis, K., Roberson, K., Muchow, C., & Galgay, C. (2019). A meta-analytic review of racial discrimination: Relationships to health and culture. *Race and Social Problems*, 11(1), 15–32. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-018-9256-y>

Chan, W. Y. (2011). An exploration of Asian American college students' civic engagement. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 2(3), 197–204. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0024675>

Chan, W. Y., & Latzman, R. D. (2015). Racial discrimination, multiple group identities, and civic beliefs among immigrant adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 21(4), 527–532. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000021>

- Chan, W. Y., Ou, S.-R., & Reynolds, A. (2014). Adolescent civic engagement and adult outcomes: an examination among urban racial minorities. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *43*(11), 1829–1843. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-014-0136-5>
- Chapman-Hilliard, C., Hunter, E., Adams-Bass, V., Mbilishaka, A., Jones, B., Holmes, E., & Holman, A. C. (2022). Racial identity and historical narratives in the civic engagement of Black emerging adults. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *15*(2), 230–240. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000251>
- Christophe, N. K., Martin Romero, M. Y., Hope, E., & Stein, G. L. (2022). Critical civic engagement in Black college students: Interplay between discrimination, centrality, and preparation for bias. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *92*(2), 144–153. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ort0000600.supp> (Supplemental)
- Cooc, N., & Kim, G. M. (2021). The roles of racial discrimination and English in civic outcomes for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000443>
- Crookes, D. M., Stanhope, K. K., Kim, Y. J., Lummus, E., & Suglia, S. F. (2021). Federal, State, and Local Immigrant-Related Policies and Child Health Outcomes: A Systematic Review. *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40615-021-00978-w>
- Crossman, Ashley. (2020, August 27). The Differences Between Indexes and Scales. Retrieved from <https://www.thoughtco.com/indexes-and-scales-3026544>
- Davis, A. N., & Carlo, G. (2019). Toward an Integrative Conceptual Model on the Relations Between Discrimination and Prosocial Behaviors in US Latino/Latina Youth. In H. E. Fitzgerald, D. J. Johnson, D. B. Qin, F. A. Villarruel, & J. Norder (Eds.), *Handbook of*

- Children and Prejudice: Integrating Research, Practice, and Policy* (pp. 375–388). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-12228-7_21
- DeAngelo, L., Schuster, M. T., & Stebleton, M. J. (2016). California DREAMers: Activism, identity, and empowerment among undocumented college students. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 9(3), 216–230. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000023>
- DeBlaere, C., Brewster, M. E., Bertsch, K. N., DeCarlo, A. L., Kegel, K. A., & Presseau, C. D. (2014). The Protective Power of Collective Action for Sexual Minority Women of Color: An Investigation of Multiple Discrimination Experiences and Psychological Distress. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 38(1), 20–32. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313493252>
- Del Toro, J., & Hughes, D. (2020). Trajectories of discrimination across the college years: Associations with academic, psychological, and physical adjustment outcomes. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 49(4), 772–789. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-019-01147-3>
- Diemer, M. A., & Li, C.H. (2011). Critical Consciousness Development and Political Participation Among Marginalized Youth. *Child Development*, 82(6), 1815–1833. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2011.01650.x>
- Dixon, Z., Bessaha, M. L., & Post, M. (2018). Beyond the ballot: Immigrant integration through civic engagement and advocacy. *Race and Social Problems*, 10(4), 366–375. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-018-9237-1>
- Ekman, J., & Amnå, E. (2012). Political participation and civic engagement: Towards a new typology. *Human Affairs*, 22(3). <https://doi.org/10.2478/s13374-012-0024-1>

- Enriquez, L. E., & Millán, D. (2021). Situational triggers and protective locations: conceptualising the salience of deportability in everyday life. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 47(9), 2089–2108. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1694877>
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). Identity: Youth and crisis (No. 7). New York, NY: WW Norton & Company.
- Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A.-G., & Buchner, A. (2007). G*Power 3: A flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences. *Behavior Research Methods*, 39(2), 175–191. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03193146>
- Finlay, A., Wray-Lake, L., & Flanagan, C. (2010). Civic engagement during the transition to adulthood: Developmental opportunities and social policies at a critical juncture. In L. R. Sherrod, J. Torney-Purta, & C. A. Flanagan (Eds.), *Handbook of research on civic engagement in youth* (pp. 277–305). John Wiley & Sons, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470767603.ch11>
- Fish, J., Aguilera, R., Ogbeide, I. E., Ruzzicone, D. J., & Syed, M. (2021). When the personal is political: Ethnic identity, ally identity, and political engagement among Indigenous people and people of color. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 27(1), 18–36. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000341>
- Flanagan, C. A., Kefalas, M. J., & Carr, P. J. (2017). Connecting with the body politic: Civic engagement in young adulthood. In Swarts, T. T., Hartmann, D., & Rumbaut, R. G. (Eds.), *Crossings to adulthood: How diverse young Americans understand and navigate their lives* (pp.190-206). Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004345874_009
- Flanagan, C., & Levine, P. (2010). Civic engagement and the transition to adulthood. *The Future of children*, 20(1), 159–179. <https://doi.org/10.1353/foc.0.0043>

- French, B. H., Lewis, J. A., Mosley, D. V., Adames, H. Y., Chavez-Dueñas, N. Y., Chen, G. A., & Neville, H. A. (2020). Toward a Psychological Framework of Radical Healing in Communities of Color. *The Counseling Psychologist, 48*(1), 14–46.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000019843506>
- Gaby, S. (2017). The civic engagement gap(s): Youth participation and inequality from 1976 to 2009. *Youth & Society, 49*(7), 923–946. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X16678155>
- Garcini, L., Chen, N., Cantu, E., Sanchez, N., Ziauddin, K., Maza, V., & Molina, M. (2020). Protective Factors to the Wellbeing of Undocumented Latinx Immigrants in the United States: A Socio-Ecological Approach. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, 0*(0), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2020.1836300>
- Gee, G., & Ford, C. (2011). Structural racism and health inequities: Old issues, new directions. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race, 8*(1), 115–132.
[doi:10.1017/S1742058X11000130](https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X11000130)
- Gilster M. E. (2012). Comparing Neighborhood-Focused Activism and Volunteerism: Psychological Well-Being and Social Connectedness. *Journal of community psychology, 40*(7), 769–784. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20528>
- Ginwright, S. A. (2007). Black Youth Activism and the Role of Critical Social Capital in Black Community Organizations. *American Behavioral Scientist, 51*(3), 403–418.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764207306068>
- Godfrey, E. B., & Burson, E. (2018). Interrogating the intersections: How intersectional perspectives can inform developmental scholarship on critical consciousness. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 2018*(161), 17–38. <https://doi.org/10.1002/cad.20246>

- Gutiérrez, L. A. (2014). Youth Social Justice Engagement in the Face of Anti-Latina/o Immigrant Illegitimacy. *The Urban Review*, 46(2), 307–323.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-013-0269-y>
- Harrell, S. P. (2000). A multidimensional conceptualization of racism-related stress: Implications for the well-being of people of color. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 70(1), 42–57. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0087722>
- Hayes, A. F., & Rockwood, N. J. (2017). Regression-based statistical mediation and moderation analysis in clinical research: Observations, recommendations, and implementation. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 98, 39–57. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2016.11.001>
- Hooghe, M., & Wilkenfeld, B. (2008). The stability of political attitudes and behaviors across adolescence and early adulthood: A comparison of survey data on adolescents and young adults in eight countries. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 37(2), 155–167. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-007-9199-x>
- Hope, E. C., Gugwor, R., Riddick, K. N., & Pender, K. N. (2019). Engaged Against the Machine: Institutional and Cultural Racial Discrimination and Racial Identity as Predictors of Activism Orientation among Black Youth. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 63(1/2), 61–72. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12303>
- Hope, E. C., Keels, M., & Durkee, M. I. (2016). Participation in Black Lives Matter and Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals: Modern activism among Black and Latino college students. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 9(3), 203–215. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000032>

- Hope, E. C., Pender, K. N., & Riddick, K. N. (2019). Development and Validation of the Black Community Activism Orientation Scale. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 45(3), 185–214. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798419865416>
- Hope, E. C., Smith, C. D., Cryer-Coupet, Q. R., & Briggs, A. S. (2020). Relations between racial stress and critical consciousness for black adolescents. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 70, N.PAG. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2020.10118>
- Hope, E. C., & Spencer, M. B. (2017). Civic engagement as an adaptive coping response to conditions of inequality: An application of phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory (PVEST). In N. J. Cabrera & B. Leyendecker (Eds.), *Handbook of positive development of minority children and youth* (pp. 421–435). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-43645-6_25
- Hope, E. C., Velez, G., Offidani-Bertrand, C., Keels, M., & Durkee, M. I. (2018). Political activism and mental health among Black and Latinx college students. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 24(1), 26–39. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000144>
- Hope, E. C., Volpe, V. V., Briggs, A. S., & Benson, G. P. (2022). Anti-racism activism among Black adolescents and emerging adults: Understanding the roles of racism and anticipatory racism-related stress. *Child Development*, 93(3), 717–731. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13744>
- Ishizawa, H. (2015). Civic Participation through Volunteerism among Youth across Immigrant Generations. *Sociological Perspectives*, 58(2), 264–285. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44014704>

- Jaccard, J., Guilamo-Ramos, V., Johansson, M., & Bouris, A. (2006). Multiple Regression Analyses in Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology*, 35(3), 456–479. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15374424jccp3503_11
- Jensen, L. A. (2008). Immigrants' cultural identities as sources of civic engagement. *Applied Developmental Science*, 12(2), 74–83. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10888690801997069>
- Jones, C. P. (2000). Levels of racism: A theoretic framework and a gardener's tale. *American Journal of Public Health*, 90(8), 1212–1215. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.90.8.1212>
- Kennedy, H., Matyasic, S., Schofield Clark, L., Engle, C., Anyon, Y., Weber, M., Jimenez, C., Osiemo Mwirigi, M., & Nisle, S. (2020). Early Adolescent Critical Consciousness Development in the Age of Trump. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 35(3), 279–308. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558419852055>
- Kolano, L. Q., & Davila, L. T. (2019). Transformative learning of refugee girls within a community youth organization serving Southeast Asians in North Carolina. *Journal of Research in Childhood Education*, 33(1), 119–133. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02568543.2018.1531447>
- Krueger, N. T., Garba, R., Stone-Sabali, S., Cokley, K. O., & Bailey, M. (2022). African American Activism: The Predictive Role of Race Related Stress, Racial Identity, and Social Justice Beliefs. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 48(3–4), 273–308. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798420984660>
- Levine, P. (2008) The civic engagement of young immigrants: Why does it matter?, *Applied Development Science*, 12(2), 102-104. <http://doi.org/10.1080/10888690801997275>

- Lopez, M.H. & Marcelo, K.B. (2008) The civic engagement of immigrant youth: New evidence from the 2006 civic and political health of the nation survey, *Applied Developmental Science*, 12(2), 66-73. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10888690801997051>
- Maginot, K. B. (2021). Effects of deportation fear on Latinxs' civic and political participation. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, 44(2), 314–333. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1738516>
- Malin, H., Ballard, P. J., & Damon, W. (2015). Civic Purpose: An Integrated Construct for Understanding Civic Development in Adolescence. *Human Development*, 58(2), 103–130. <https://doi.org/10.1159/000381655>
- Marcia, J. (1980). Identity in adolescence. In J. Adelson (Ed.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (pp. 159–187). New York: Wiley
- Martinez, R. R., Jr., Dye, L., Gonzalez, L. M., & Rivas, J. (2021). Striving to thrive: Community cultural wealth and legal immigration status. *Journal of Latinx Psychology*, 9(4), 299–314. <https://doi.org/10.1037/lat0000191>
- Martinez, S. B., Pinetta, B. J., & Rivas, D. D. (2022). From home to the streets: Can cultural socialization foster Latinx youths' social responsibility? *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 70(3–4), 278–290. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12600>
- Mathews, C. J., Durkee, M., & Hope, E. C. (2022). Critical Action and Ethnic–Racial Identity: Tools of Racial Resistance at the College Transition. *Journal of Research on Adolescence (Wiley-Blackwell)*, 32(3), 1083–1097. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12790>
- Mathews, C. J., Medina, M. A., Bañales, J., Pinetta, B. J., Marchand, A. D., Agi, A. C., Miller, S. M., Hoffman, A. J., Diemer, M. A., & Rivas-Drake, D. (2020). Mapping the Intersections

- of Adolescents' Ethnic-Racial Identity and Critical Consciousness. *Adolescent Research Review*, 5, 363-379. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40894-019-00122-0>
- McWhirter, E. H., Gomez, D., & Rau, E. D. (2019). "Never give up. Fight for what you believe in": Perceptions of how Latina/o adolescents can make a difference. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 25(3), 403–412. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000254>
- Metzger, I. W., Anderson, R. E., Are, F., & Ritchwood, T. (2021). Healing interpersonal and racial trauma: Integrating racial socialization into trauma-focused cognitive behavioral therapy for African American youth. *Child maltreatment*, 26(1), 17-27.
- Mosley, D. V., Hargons, C. N., Meiller, C., Angyal, B., Wheeler, P., Davis, C., & Stevens-Watkins, D. (2020). Critical consciousness of anti-Black racism: A practical model to prevent and resist racial trauma. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000430>
- Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B.O. (2017). *Mplus user's guide* (8th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Muthén & Muthén.
- National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine. (2017). The root causes of health inequity. In Weinstein, J.N., Geller, A., Negussie, Y. & Baciu, A., (Eds.), *Communities in action: Pathways to health equity*. (pp. 99-184). National Academies Press.
<https://doi.org/10.17226/24624>
- Ortega-Williams, A., Wernick, L. J., DeBower, J., & Brathwaite, B. (2020). Finding relief in action: The intersection of youth-led community organizing and mental health in Brooklyn, New York City. *Youth & Society*, 52(4), 618–638.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X18758542>

Peraltilla, M.F., Arce, M.A., Perez-Ponce, Y. Morales, G. & Kuperminc, G. (2021, June).

Participation in Black Lives Matter and immigration-related activism among immigrant youth of color: Contributions of perceived immigration policy effects and sociopolitical efficacy [Poster presentation]. 18th Biennial Conference on Community Research and Action, virtual.

Perreira, K.M. & Pedroza, J.M. (2019). Policies of exclusion: Implications for the health of immigrants and their children. *Annual Review of Public Health*, 40(1), 147-166.

<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-publhealth-040218-044115>

Pinedo, A., Durkee, M. I., Diemer, M. A., & Hope, E. C. (2021). Disentangling longitudinal trajectories of racial discrimination and critical action among Black and Latinx college students: What role do peers play? *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*.

<https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000434>

Pinetta, B. J., Blanco Martinez, S., Cross, F. L., & Rivas, D. D. (2020). Inherently political? Associations of parent ethnic-racial socialization and sociopolitical discussions with Latinx youths' emergent civic engagement. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 66(1-2), 94-105. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12435>

Phinney, J. S. (1989). Stages of Ethnic Identity Development in Minority Group

Adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 9(1-2), 34-

49. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431689091004>

Phinney, J. S. (1992). The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A New Scale for Use with

Diverse Groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 7(2), 156-

176. <https://doi.org/10.1177/074355489272003>

- Phinney, J. S., & Ong, A. D. (2007). Conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity: Current status and future directions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*(3), 271–281.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.271>
- Prado, C., Cushing, K., Figueroa, E., Rodriguez, I., Pelagio, M., & Castro, M. 2021. The confidence to speak: Measuring impacts of a community leadership program on community leadership skills and self-identification. *Community Development*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15575330.2021.1943695>
- Pritzker, S. (2012). Pathways to Adolescent Political Participation across Race and Ethnicity. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 22*(7), 801–821.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2012.707893>
- Riley, T. N., DeLaney, E., Brown, D., Lozada, F. T., Williams, C. D., & Dick, D. M. (2021). The Associations Between African American Emerging Adults' Racial Discrimination and Civic Engagement via Emotion Regulation. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 27*(2), 169–175. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000335>
- Roberts, R. E., Phinney, J. S., Masse, L. C., Chen, Y. R., Roberts, C. R., & Romero, A. (1999). The Structure of Ethnic Identity of Young Adolescents from Diverse Ethnocultural Groups. *The Journal of Early Adolescence, 19*(3), 301–322.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431699019003001>
- Rosales, W. E., Enriquez, L. E., & Nájera, J. R. (2021). Politically Excluded, Undocu-Engaged: The Perceived Effect of Hostile Immigration Policies on Undocumented Student Political Engagement. *Journal of Latinos and Education, 0*(0), 1–16.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15348431.2021.1949991>

- Ruiz, S. A., & Ravitch, S.M. (2022). Influences of non(engagement) in volunteering: First-generation immigration perceptions of integration into US society. *International Society for Third-Sector Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-022-00469-4>
- Sánchez-Jankowski, M. (2002). Minority youth and civic engagement: The impact of group relations. *Applied Developmental Science*, 6(4), 237–245.
https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532480XADS0604_11
- Seaton, E. K., Yip, T., Morgan-Lopez, A., & Sellers, R. M. (2012). Racial discrimination and racial socialization as predictors of African American adolescents' racial identity development using latent transition analysis. *Developmental psychology*, 48(2), 448–458.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0025328>
- Schildkraut, D. J. (2005). The rise and fall of political engagement among Latinos: The role of identity and perceptions of discrimination. *Political Behavior*, 27(3), 285–312.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-005-4803-9>
- Schwartz, S., & Suyemoto, K. (2013). Creating Change from the Inside: Youth Development within a Youth Community Organizing Program. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 41(3), 341–358. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.21541>
- Smith, T. B., & Silva, L. (2011). Ethnic identity and personal well-being of people of color: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 58(1), 42–60.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021528>
- Stepick, A., & Stepick, C. D. (2002). Becoming American, constructing ethnicity: immigrant youth and civic engagement. *Applied Developmental Science*, 6(4), 246–257.
https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532480XADS0604_12

- Stepick, A., Stepick, C. D., & Labissiere, Y. (2008). South Florida's immigrant youth and civic engagement: Major engagement: Minor differences. *Applied Developmental Science, 12*(2), 57–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10888690801997036>
- Suárez-Orozco, C., Hernández, M. G., & Casanova, S. (2015). “It’s Sort of My Calling”: The Civic Engagement and Social Responsibility of Latino Immigrant-Origin Young Adults. *Research in Human Development, 12*(1–2), 84–99. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15427609.2015.1010350>
- Suyemoto, K. L., Day, S. C., & Schwartz, S. (2015). Exploring effects of social justice youth programming on racial and ethnic identities and activism for Asian American youth. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 6*(2), 125–135. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037789>
- Suzuki, S., Morris, S. L., & Johnson, S. K. (2022). Profiles of civic assets among youth of color: Relations with civic action. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 83*, N.PAG. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2022.101476>
- Szaflarski, M., & Bauldry, S. (2019). The Effects of Perceived Discrimination on Immigrant and Refugee Physical and Mental Health. *Advances in medical sociology, 19*, 173–204. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S1057-629020190000019009>
- Szymanski D. M., Lewis J. A. (2015). Race-related stress and racial identity as predictors of African American activism. *Journal of Black Psychology, 41*(2), 170-191. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798414520707>
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago, IL: Nelson Hall

- Tran, J., & Curtin, N. (2017). Not your model minority: Own-group activism among Asian Americans. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 23*(4), 499–507.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000145>
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization perspective*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Quintana, S. M., Lee, R. M., Cross, W. E., Rivas-Drake, D., Schwartz, S. J., Syed, M., Yip, T., & Seaton, E. (2014). Ethnic and Racial Identity During Adolescence and Into Young Adulthood: An Integrated Conceptualization. *Child Development, 85*(1), 21–39. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12196>
- U.S. Department of Homeland Security (2017). *2017 yearbook of immigration statistics*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics.
- U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. (2017). *Fiscal year 2017 ICE enforcement and removal operations report*. Washington, DC.
- Valdez, Z. (2011). Political participation among Latinos in the United States: The effect of group identity and consciousness. *Social Science Quarterly, 92*(2), 466–482.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6237.2011.00778.x>
- Vespa, J., Medina, L., & Armstrong, D. M. (2020, February). Demographic turning points for the United States: Population projections for 2020 to 2060. U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, D.C., 2020.
<https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2020/demo/p25-1144.pdf>

- Viruell-Fuentes, E. A., Miranda, P. Y., & Abdulrahim, S. (2012). More than culture: Structural racism, intersectionality theory, and immigrant health. *Social Science & Medicine*, 75(12), 2099–2106. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.12.037>
- Wang, K., Woo, B., & Maglalang, D. D. (2020). Ecological determinants of volunteerism among Asian and Latinx immigrants in California, US. *Journal of Civil Society*, 16(2), 158–173. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17448689.2020.1752022>
- Ward, N. & Batalova, J. (2023, March 14). *Frequently requested statistics on immigrants and immigration in the United States*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states#:~:text=How%20many%20immigrants%20reside%20in,census%20records%20have%20been%20kept>.
- Watts, R. J., & Flanagan, C. (2007). Pushing the envelope on youth civic engagement: A developmental and liberation psychology perspective. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 35(6), 779–792. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20178>
- Watts, R. J., & Hipolito-Delgado, C. P. (2015). Thinking ourselves to liberation?: Advancing sociopolitical action in critical consciousness. *The Urban Review*, 47(5), 847–867. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-015-0341-x>
- White-Johnson, R. L. (2012). Prosocial involvement among African American young adults: Considering racial discrimination and racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 38(3), 313–341. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798411420429>

- Wong, J., Ramakrishnan, S. K., Lee, T., & Junn, J. (2011). *Asian American political participation: emerging constituents and their political identities*. Russell Sage Foundation. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7758/9781610447553>
- Wilf, S., Maker Castro, E., Gupta, K. G., & Wray-Lake, L. (2022). Shifting culture and minds: Immigrant-origin youth building critical consciousness on social media. *Youth & Society, 0*(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X221103890>
- Wiley, S., Kenny, D. M., & Geer, S. (2021). Perceived personal discrimination, panethnic and national identification, and collective action to support immigrants' rights among US Latinas/os. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 85*, 204–212. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2021.09.016>
- Williams, M. T., Holmes, S., Zare, M., Haeny, A., & Faber, S. (2022). An evidence-based approach for treating stress and trauma due to racism. *Cognitive and Behavioral Practice*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cbpra.2022.07.001>
- Williams, D. R., Yan Yu, Jackson, J. S., & Anderson, N. B. (1997). Racial differences in physical and mental health: Socio-economic status, stress and discrimination. *Journal of Health Psychology, 2*(3), 335–351. <https://doi.org/10.1177/135910539700200305>
- Wray-Lake, L., & Abrams, L. S. (2020). Pathways to civic engagement among urban youth of color. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 85*(2), 7–154. <https://doi.org/10.1111/mono.12415>
- Wray-Lake, L., Arruda, E. H., & Schulenberg, J. E. (2020). Civic development across the transition to adulthood in a national U.S. sample: Variations by race/ethnicity, parent education, and gender. *Developmental Psychology, 56*(10), 1948–1967. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0001101>

- Wray-Lake, L., Shubert, J., Lin, L., & Starr, L. R. (2019). Examining associations between civic engagement and depressive symptoms from adolescence to young adulthood in a national U.S. sample. *Applied Developmental Science, 23*(2), 119–131.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10888691.2017.1326825>
- Wray-Lake, L., Tang, J., & Victorino, C. (2017). Are they political? Examining Asian American college students' civic engagement. *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 8*(1), 31–42.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/aap0000061>
- Wray-Lake, L., Wells, R., Alvis, L., Delgado, S., Syvertsen, A. K., & Metzger, A. (2018). Being a Latinx adolescent under a Trump presidency: Analysis of Latinx youth's reactions to immigration politics. *Children and Youth Services Review, 87*, 192–204.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.02.032>
- Yap, S. C. Y., Donnellan, M. B., Schwartz, S. J., Kim, S. Y., Castillo, L. G., Zamboanga, B. L., Weisskirch, R. S., Lee, R. M., Park, I. J. K., Whitbourne, S. K., & Vazsonyi, A. T. (2014). Investigating the structure and measurement invariance of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure in a multiethnic sample of college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 61*(3), 437–446. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0036253>
- Yip, T., Wang, Y., Mootoo, C., & Mirpuri, S. (2019). Moderating the association between discrimination and adjustment: A meta-analysis of ethnic/racial identity. *Developmental Psychology, 55*(6), 1274–1298. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000708>
- Zaff, J., Boyd, M., Li, Y., Lerner, J. V., & Lerner, R. M. (2010). Active and Engaged Citizenship: Multi-group and Longitudinal Factorial Analysis of an Integrated Construct of Civic Engagement. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 39*(7), 736–750.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-010-9541-6>