

**UCLA**

**UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations**

**Title**

Exploring the Predictors of Civic Engagement in Identity-Diverse Youth

**Permalink**

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5jm8f9dj>

**Author**

Dhillon Brar, Manpreet

**Publication Date**

2020

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Exploring the Predictors of Civic Engagement  
in Identity-Diverse Youth

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in Education

by

Manpreet Dhillon Brar

2020



## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Exploring the Predictors of Civic Engagement in Identity-Diverse Youth

by

Manpreet Dhillon Brar

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2020

Professor Sandra H. Graham, Chair

Existing work on youth civic engagement posits that civic involvement is beneficial for all youth who engage in it. More recent work has focused on articulating and measuring civic engagement as multidimensional, comprising of both civically and politically related behaviors as well as intentions by youth. Taking a multidimensional approach (i.e., measuring civic engagement as behaviors and intentions separately), the current dissertation aimed to add to the existing literature on youth engagement by longitudinally examining engagement among identity-diverse urban youth. Relying on survey data from a large longitudinal school-based study of ethnically diverse adolescents from California who participated in high school to one year post high school (2013-2019), this dissertation explored predictors of engagement across three studies. The first paper presents a multilevel analysis of the change in engagement over the four years of high school, descriptively finding gender, race/ethnicity, and subjective social status differences among behaviors and intentions of young people. The second paper explored the longitudinal

relationship between perceived racial/ethnic self- and group- mistreatment and civic behaviors over the first three years of high school. Using cross-lagged path analysis, it was found that perceiving group-based mistreatment predicted higher engagement during the subsequent year in high school, suggesting that perceiving mistreatment may be a communal predictor of civic engagement among urban, ethnically diverse youth. Finally, an exploration of a cataclysmic national event – that is, the 2016 U.S. Presidential election – was conducted in the third paper as a potential predictor of civic engagement among three age groups of youth. Results from the third study found that engagement declined for all youth, especially the oldest participants, at the second timepoint after the election compared to before the election. Taken together, this three-study dissertation highlights the importance of exploring personal as well as communal predictors of civic engagement through multiple indicators such as behaviors undertaken by youth along with their intentions for future civic-related actions. The findings advance our understanding of how youth are propelled to become civically involved throughout late adolescence.

The dissertation of Manpreet Dhillon Brar is approved.

Carola E. Suárez-Orozco

Jaana Helena Juvonen

John Rogers

Rashmita S. Mistry

Sandra H. Graham, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2020

## DEDICATION

To Joginder Singh Dhaliwal, my nanaji in heaven.

You called me “doctor saab” since I was five years old so this one is for you.

I hope to keep making you proud.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTENT	PAGE
I. General Introduction	1
II. Study 1: “A Longitudinal Multilevel Examination of Youth Civic Engagement and Demographic Predictors Across the High School Years”	11
A. Method	16
B. Results	31
C. Discussion	38
III. Study 2: “Longitudinal Links Between Perceived Group Mistreatment and Civic Engagement Among Diverse High Schoolers”	47
A. Method	54
B. Results	58
C. Discussion	63
IV. Study 3: “No Thanks to Trump: Youth Civic Engagement Before and After the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election”	68
A. Method	72
B. Results	76
C. Discussion	79
V. General Discussion	84
VI. Appendix	90
VII. References	98



## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
Figure 1-A: Geographic Spread of the Largest School Districts Attended by Participants.	18
Figure 1-B: Geographic Spread of the School Districts Attended by Participants.	19
Figure 1-C: Graph of LsMeans Estimates of Civic Behaviors from 9th to 12th Grade.	37
Figure 1-D: Graph of LsMeans of Civic Aspirations from 9th to 12th Grade.	38
Figure 2-A: Non-Significant Cross-Lagged Model of Self-Perceived Discrimination and Civic Engagement.	62
Figure 2-B: Cross-Lagged Path Model of Perceived Group Mistreatment and Civic Engagement.	62
Figure 3-A: Interaction Between T1 Civic Behaviors and T2 Loneliness Predicting T2 Civic Behaviors.	78

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
Table 1-A: Exploratory Factor Analysis Findings for Civic Behaviors.	25
Table 1-B: Standardized and Unstandardized Coefficients for CFA of Civic Behaviors.	26
Table 1-C: Exploratory Factor Analysis Findings for Civic Aspirations.	27
Table 1-D: Standardized and Unstandardized Coefficients for CFA of Civic Aspirations.	28
Table 1-E: ANCOVA Results with Ethnic Group Differences on Civic Behaviors Items.	32
Table 1-F: ANCOVA Results with Ethnic Group Differences on Civic Aspirations Items.	33
Table 1-G: Mean, standard deviations and intercorrelations among continuous variables.	34
Table 1-H: Effects of Unconditional and Conditional Models for Individual and School-Level Predictors on Civic Behaviors and Aspirations.	35
Table 2-A: Exploratory Factor Analysis Findings for Perceived Group Mistreatment.	59
Table 2-B: Means, standard deviations and intercorrelations among continuous variables.	61
Table 3-A: Mean, standard deviations and intercorrelations among continuous variables.	77
Table 3-B: Regression Coefficients for T2 Loneliness Moderator Analysis with T1 Civic Behaviors Predicting T2 Civic Behaviors.	78

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I remember walking into a research lab as a 19-year-old first-year transfer student at my dream institution, all dewy-eyed, not knowing the first thing about assisting on a large-scale research project. It was soon after that I had found my academic home and stayed with the Middle School and High School Diversity project for years to come. The research group has shaped who I have become as a school researcher. I have my accomplishments to attribute to the many undergraduate students I have worked alongside, the graduate colleagues who kept me sane in times of personal and professional crisis, and especially to the teachers, administrators, parents, and students at the various schools across California who have put up with my many asks and made the research project a success over many years that now I have been able to write this dissertation. Without the willingness, the flexibility, and the countless volunteer hours of the school personnel and our student participants, I would not have learned half of what I know about urban schools and what I have been able to learn from this dissertation.

Regardless of the many hours turning into years I have spent with the research project, I have two incredible mentors to thank the most for trusting me and for getting me to where I am today: Dr. Sandra Graham and Dr. Jaana Juvonen. As a first-generation college student, Dr. Juvonen saw something in me in her undergraduate class years ago to take me under her wing and introduce me to the life of research. I am immensely grateful for her continued support and guidance. From there, my biggest advocate and mentor has been Dr. Sandra Graham, whom I owe so much for just letting me find my own path but always holding out the light so I could reach the place of attaining the doctorate as I am today. Through the countless hours I have spent in Dr. Graham's office over the many personal and professional challenges I have faced over the last six years of this Ph.D. journey, Dr. Graham has always been there to let me find my way

back to what matters and supported me through countless tearful failures and many joyful successes. I cannot thank her enough for her trust, dedication, care, and encouragement.

Throughout my research career, I have had countless other mentors, including colleagues, who have made all of my achievements possible, continuously standing by me and encouraging me to keep going. My dissertation committee, Dr. Suárez-Orozco, Dr. Rogers, and Dr. Mistry are part of the long list of mentors who have taught me so much more than what it means to be a scholar. Dr. Mistry has been especially meaningful in my journey to support me as often times the only working class, immigrant, first generation Punjabi woman in academic spaces. Dr. Mistry has pushed me to achieve beyond the struggles during my doctoral career. I also have my ongoing mentor, Dr. Jerome Rabow, to especially thank for pushing me to even pursue higher education and always aim higher. I am eternally grateful for his constant encouragement and inspiration to achieve higher and do better while keeping my activist-scholar identity intact.

Finally, it is fair to say it took a village to earn this degree. My family are the reason I am earning this doctorate today and I have them to thank for their utmost unconditional love and support throughout my life. To my parents, thank you for believing in me to follow my dreams and make some of your come true along the way. To my dad, thank you for teaching me what it means to be an activist and to stand up for my beliefs. To my mom, thank you for instilling in me what it means to never give up regardless of what is thrown my way. And to the love of my life, Pardeep, you deserve this degree as much as I do, as you have been part of every step of this journey since we were sixteen years old. You have let me run after my wildest ideas and held your spot right beside me since the beginning without ever hesitating. You, my love, are the reason I keep having the power to reach higher and believe I can be the changemaker I dream to be. I can never thank you enough for being my rock until now, and for the rest of my life.

## VITA

### **EDUCATION**

- 2020 University of California, Los Angeles  
Ph.D. Candidate, Education (Focus: Human Development & Psychology)
- 2018 University of California, Los Angeles  
M.A., Education
- 2014 University of California, Los Angeles  
B.A., Psychology
- 2011 Taft College  
A.A., Social Sciences

### **RESEARCH INTERESTS**

Discrimination, intersectionality, civic engagement, prejudice reduction, intergroup relations, social identities, diversity and inclusion, marginalization.

### **SELECTED FELLOWSHIPS, AWARDS AND GRANTS**

- 2018 Merlin C. Wittrock Award
- 2017 Conrad N. Hilton Summer WORLD Policy Center Fellowship
- 2017 UCLA Bruin Excellence & Student Transformation Grant

### **SELECTED PUBLICATIONS**

Golshirazian, S., **Dhillon, M.**, Maltz, S., Payne, K. E., & Rabow, J. (2015). The Effect of Peer Groups on Gender Identity and Expression. *International Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Studies*, 2(10), 9-17.

Rabow, J., Vinieres, P. and **Dhillon, M.** (2013). *Ending Racism in America: One Microaggression at a Time*. Kendall Hunt Publishing Company.

**Dhillon, M.**, Rabow, J., Moore, J., & Vega, Y. M. (2013). First you stand out, then you stand up: Becoming an ally for the LGBT community. *Sociology Mind*, 3(04), 333.

Cochran, E., **Dhillon, M.**, Rabow, J., Vega M.Y., and Yeghnazar, P. (2012). Blind side: Colorism continues. *Humanity and Society*, 36(4).

### **SELECTED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

Ghavami, N., Graham, S. and **Dhillon Brar, M.** (March 2019). *Children's Self-Focused Essentialist Beliefs about Gender and Implications for Well-Being*. Poster presentation at the Society for Research in Child Development in Baltimore, Maryland.

Morales-Chicas, J. and **Dhillon Brar, M.** (March 2019). *The Role of Ethnic Context on Latinos' Ethnic Identity and School Belonging*. Symposium presentation at the Society for Research in Child Development in Baltimore, Maryland.

**Dhillon Brar, M.** and Elzein, K. (June 2017). *A Systematic Literature Review on Social Justice Evaluation Literature*. Poster presentation at the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues Conference in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

**Dhillon Brar, M.**, Elzein, K. and Camacho, S. (June 2017). *Reimagining campus climate interventions in the age of diversity management*. Talk given at the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues Conference in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Cannara, R. and **Dhillon, M.** (June 2016). *Intergroup dialogue with new teachers: a sustained social justice intervention*. Talk given at the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues Conference in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

**Dhillon, M.** and Graham, S. (April 2016). *Gender Atypicality and Perceived Gender Discrimination among Middle Schoolers: The Roles of Friendship Quality and Ethnic Context*. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence Conference, Baltimore, Maryland.

## **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

2018-2020                      Lecturer, California State University, Los Angeles

2019                              Lecturer, California State University, Northridge

2018-2019                      Teaching Associate Consultant, UCLA

2015-2020                      Teaching Assistant, Various Courses, UCLA

## **SELECTED RESEARCH EXPERIENCE**

2013-2020                      Project Manager and Graduate Student Researcher  
UCLA Middle School and High School Diversity Project

2017-2019                      Graduate Student Researcher and Project Coordinator  
UCLA & LMU Friendship Study

2016-2018                      Co-Founder & Program Coordinator  
UCLA Bruin Excellence & Student Transformation Grant Program

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

“Civic participation is not just voting, volunteering and civic education. It’s about leaving the community better than you found it.” — [Diana Katz](#)

Our working assumption historically has been that young people are not as civically engaged as adults, especially when using metrics such as voting patterns (Syvertsen, Wray-Lake, Flanagan, Osgood, & Briddell, 2011). Recent trends, however, show there may be an upsurge in student activism both online and off (CIRCLE, 2018). Such increases in youth activism have been indicated by the increase in protests and issue-based walkouts since the 2016 presidential election (CIRCLE, 2016), although not much change has been seen in voting patterns of 18-29-year-old voters. Contextually, opportunities for youth to be engaged have been diminished at the school level as there are ever lowered rates of structured forms of civic education. One study highlighted this decline by reporting that while most states require students to study civic education, just nine states require one year of government or civics classes in high school (Shapiro & Brown, 2018). Therefore, while the interest and appetite that young people have right now to be engaged may be on the rise, school educators and researchers have not caught up to providing systematic support for civic engagement and also for documenting the rise in civic participation by young people.

During arguably one of the most politically charged times in contemporary history of the United States, we need to better understand how youth engage in and develop themselves as political beings, especially as they reach the age of voting. With the very recent increase in student activism and young people exercising their civic and political voice, several questions remain less understood: What motivates youth to become involved in civic activities such as protesting, voting, or volunteering in the first place? Which youth are propelled to be civically engaged? What are the predictors of civic engagement for adolescent youth?

Through school and extracurricular engagements, urban youth are often presented with opportunities to get involved in civic activities, so understanding why youth *choose* to become involved politically and civically is critical to further understanding how youth can better alleviate negative experiences such as unfair treatment in educational contexts through their positive engagement. Until recently (e.g., Wray-Lake & Shubert, 2019), the studies on youth engagement have been more correlational and descriptive rather than longitudinal, lacking empirical support for civic development being another important aspect of human development for adolescents, especially those who may be marginalized (Wilkenfeld, Lauckhardt, & Torney-Purta, 2010). Building on prior literature, this three-study dissertation explored 1) who is engaged over the high school years, 2) whether perceived experiences with mistreatment can propel youth to become engaged over the high school years, and 3) how a critical national event can impact youth engagement. All studies drew on an ethnically diverse sample recruited from three cohorts of high schoolers in California from the years 2013 to 2019. Next, I will describe how civic engagement has been defined leading to the measurement used in this dissertation followed by a brief literature review of why civic engagement is important during adolescence.

### **Defining Civic Engagement**

While civic engagement (CE) often sparks voting intentions and behaviors among people, the concept actually entails a lot more than just voting. Broadly speaking, civic engagement is about social change. In their attempt to summarize the various forms of civic and political activities that comprise civic engagement, Barrett and Brunton-Smith (2014) reviewed the existing research literature on CE to highlight that engagement encompasses forms of conventional (e.g., voting) and non-conventional political participation (e.g., writing letters to public officials), as well as various forms of civic participation (e.g., volunteering) and civic and



political engagement (e.g., holding attitudes towards civic matters). In presenting the different forms of civic activities, Barrett and Brunton-Smith argued that understanding civic engagement requires taking multi-level complexity of the concept into account. Many scholars have agreed that civic engagement is multifaceted and includes civic knowledge, skills and attitudes, and behaviors in order for youth and any individual to become good participants in a civic society (Levinson, 2010).

### ***Knowledge***

Overall, in order for individuals to be good participants in their civic society, they need to be knowledgeable about history, government, politics, as well as current events (Levinson, 2010). A recent study released by the Brookings Institution's Brown Center on Education Policy concluded that over the past two decades, student performance in civics has improved, regardless of the gap in civic knowledge growing along class and racial lines during this time period (Hansen, Levesque, Valant, & Quintero, 2018). Historically, multiple elements of a conceptual model on civic engagement are described such as one by Watts and Flanagan (2007) which posits that knowledge specifically must include awareness of social injustices which therefore increases the likelihood of social activism.

### ***Skills and Attitudes***

While civic engagement requires awareness, it also entails individuals showing concern about the common good in addition to one's own self-interest (Levinson, 2010). Scholars have argued that for young people, being part of group activities through extracurricular involvement can make individuals skilled communicators, thinkers, deliberators, and actors – all skills required of good participants interested in making a difference through public action (Flanagan, 2013). Additionally, by participating in civic related activities and having knowledge of social

injustices, youth can form beliefs and attitudes about social issues and justice (Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002).

### ***Behaviors***

As the dimension most often focused on by practitioners and scholars, behaviors of civic engagement entail youth becoming involved in public or community affairs through a combination of “voting, protesting, contacting public officials, mobilizing others, contributing time or money to causes or campaigns, participating in community groups, and other appropriate actions” (Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, & Delli Carpini, 2006; Lopez, Levine, Both, Kiesa, Kirby, & Marcelo, 2006; all as cited in Levinson, 2010). Various specific definitions of civic engagement such as community service or volunteer service (Diller, 2001); collective action or influencing the larger society (Van Benschoten, 2001); political involvement or solving problems through the political process (Ronan, 2004); and critical consciousness or analyzing oppression to become an advocate for change (Seider et al., 2017) all highlight the three components above but lack sufficient empirical evidence to support youth civic involvement through multiple forms of engagement from volunteering to voting. Therefore, the studies in this dissertation aimed to address the gap in existing literature on youth civic engagement, herein referred to as YCE, by defining and examining civic engagement using a multidimensional measure.

### ***Defining Multidimensional Youth Civic Engagement***

Few scholars have theorized that CE is multifaceted and should be examined across multiple dimensions, especially when considering developmental outcomes and trajectories (Wray-Lake, Flanagan, Benavides, & Shubert, 2014). Even with the recognition that YCE should be multidimensional, good measurement is lacking and different modeling approaches are rarely compared, especially with diverse youth and longitudinal samples (Wray-Lake, Metzger, &

Syvvertsen, 2017). Since diverse youth often express commitments to society in many different ways, it is critical to conceptualize YCE as a multidimensional construct to fully understand youths' experiences (Amnå, 2012; Haste & Hogan, 2006; Sherrod & Lauckhardt, 2009).

Taking from this literature and in addressing the gaps in defining civic engagement in a way that fits all youth, especially for identity-diverse high school youth and those with marginalized identities, this dissertation used a multidimensional framework for YCE that captured civic behaviors such as political campaigning, protesting or boycotting, volunteering or community service, charitable giving, informal helping, among others. Therefore, for this dissertation, multidimensional civic engagement was conceptualized to include two independent measures: 1) civic engagement (including political activities, civic behaviors, community service and volunteering) and 2) civic intentions (or future civic aspirations).

### **Why Youth Civic Engagement is Important**

“Participation, your civic duty, is more than just voting...Only you can make sure the democracy you inherit is as good as we know it can be. But it requires your dedicated, and informed, and engaged citizenship. And that citizenship is a harder, higher road to take, but it leads to a better place. It’s how we built this country—together.” - President Obama (May, 2013)

Having defined civic engagement, it should be apparent why educators, researchers, and practitioners who work with adolescents should care about not only instilling civic knowledge among young people, but also encouraging civic values and behaviors as they are beneficial to youth development in a multitude of ways. Specifically, YCE builds strong communities, establishes life-long habits, benefits health and development, and cultivates character which is associated with academic success and well-being (Wray-Lake, Metzger, & Syvvertsen, 2017). The research is clear: civic action overall benefits all individuals who engage in it (Flanagan, 2013). The limited longitudinal research on specific types of civic activities such as volunteering or campaigning has also found links between civic activities and later civic outcomes like voting

behavior and social attitudes outcomes (e.g., Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, & Atkins, 2007; Verba et al., 1995). For adolescents, engaging in collective and public good affects their own developmental pathways by influencing adolescents' academic, psychosocial, and sociopolitical outcomes (Strobel, Osberg, & McLaughlin, 2006; Watts & Guessous, 2006).

### **Commitments to Civic Participation Among Adolescents: Gaps in the Literature**

*“Adolescence and the transition to adulthood are the developmental periods when civic values and commitments take shape” (Finlay et al., 2010 p.277).*

Civic identity takes shape during adolescence. In their review, Youniss and colleagues (1997) argued that civic participation in adolescence is critical for development and is also related to higher levels of civic engagement in adulthood. Moreover, students who participate in school government and community service activities during high school showed stronger relationships with civic engagement 15 years later or longer (Obradović & Masten, 2007) and were more likely to vote because of such activities being related to social competence.

One of education's goals that is well understood is to foster civic engagement through knowledge of and familiarity with democratic processes and institutions, while also nurturing a willingness to critically engage multiple perspectives around political and social issues (Rogers & Westheimer, 2017). Many public and private schools in the United States aim to increase civic knowledge through social studies curriculum or through minimal service learning and volunteering opportunities provided by the school. While there is vast agreement that civic engagement may benefit individuals who engage in it and an impressive body of research documenting young people's civic activity over time, there is a lack of consensus in the literature about the determinants of civic engagement for youth, targeting the extent to which civics and social studies instruction single-handedly affect students' civic participation (Rubin, 2007;

Wray-Lake et al., 2017). Therefore, a focus on non-course related or beyond school activities needs to be explored, further calling for a multidimensional understanding of civic engagement.

Although longitudinal evidence is limited on how and why youth engage in CE, some existing longitudinal studies have highlighted the long-term outcomes of YCE. For example, Ballard, Hoyt, and Pachucki (2019) examined the relationship between CE during adolescence and subsequent outcomes using a large dataset of over 9000 young people from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health. The study found that the adolescents and young adults who engaged in more civic activities had more income and higher education levels later in life; this finding was true across all forms of CE. Specifically, the results indicated more positive mental and physical health outcomes for individuals who engaged in CE forms of volunteering and voting; however, those adolescents who engaged in activism as a form of CE subsequently reported more health risk behaviors. Ballard and colleagues highlighted the importance of examining CE among young people not only over time but also across various forms of CE.

In studying the factors that may influence the development of commitments to civic participation, it makes sense to target late adolescence as high school is a critical period for development of sociopolitical orientations (e.g., Erikson, 1968) and is signified as a time of rapid growth with significant cognitive and emotional advances as well as formation of new social relationships. During the middle to late adolescence period (high school), youth are thinking about their lives as adults and are working to understand how they relate to the larger society (Atkins & Hart, 2003). CE research in fact started off as a way to understand dropping out of school; therefore, many studies exist covering CE among the adolescent years as this is the time

period when most dropout occurs (Finn, 1989). Therefore, in three studies, this dissertation examined the factors that propel youth to become engaged during the late adolescence period.

### **The Current Dissertation**

This dissertation built on previous literature in several important ways. Based on the vast field of youth civic engagement one conclusion is clear: YCE is beneficial for individuals and influences young people's psychosocial and sociopolitical developmental pathways (Mahatmya et al., 2012; Christens & Kirshner, 2011; Strobel, Osberg, & Mclaughlin, 2006; Watts & Guessous, 2006). What is less clearly defined by the research on YCE that has proliferated over the last few decades are the longitudinal predictors of multidimensional civic engagement during adolescence. I examined three sets of predictors of YCE for identity-diverse youth in order to provide a cohesive developmental framework to understand engagement across high school.

In three studies, I drew on a large and ethnically diverse sample that was initially recruited from 26 middle schools across Northern and Southern California. Youth in the larger study were recruited first as sixth graders and then re-recruited as high schoolers to continue their participation in once-a-year surveys about their experiences in and out of school throughout one year post high school. The survey included comprehensive measures of civic engagement and asked youth at each grade year to report (1) the behaviors they engaged in over the last 12 months not for school credit and (2) their aspirations for engaging in civic actions in the future as adults. Due to the multiple timepoints of data available on multidimensional civic engagement from an ethnically diverse sample of urban California youth, the dataset was most appropriate and well-suited to answer the questions of this dissertation across three studies.

### ***Study 1: Demographic Predictors of YCE***

As noted earlier, young people's participation in the electoral process has historically been shown to decline, even though young people have become actively involved in community service and other forms of engagement. Hence, the first study of my dissertation examined key demographic predictors of YCE over the high school years, this adding to existing literature and filling a gap on the specific forms of behavioral engagement (Appleton, Christenson, & Furlong, 2008; Rose-Krasnor, 2009) through using a multidimensional construct. Examining demographic indicators such as race/ethnicity (Pachi & Barrett, 2014), gender (Portney, Eichenberg, & Niemi, 2009), subjective social status (Barrett & Brunton-Smith, 2014), and immigration status (Jensen, 2010) are important because the mechanisms through which youth from these different backgrounds seek out and engage civically remains to be specified clearly with existing research with adolescents providing mixed findings.

### ***Study 2: Perceived Unfair Treatment as a Motivator of YCE***

For ethnic minority youth, experiences with discrimination and unfair treatment are reported to increase during the adolescent years, while the relationship between YCE and discrimination during adolescence is unclear. By examining the complex role of perceived mistreatment as a predictor of YCE during high school, the second study of this dissertation provided some guidance towards addressing the theoretical divide in the existing literature about whether discrimination is a barrier to civic participation or a motivator of engagement.

### ***Study 3: Can a National Event Precipitate YCE?***

In examining specific motivations as predictors of civic engagement, research has focused on the contexts such as family, school, and courses taken, as well as demographic factors that *contribute* to increases in CE among youth. However, limited research has addressed *why* such factors and contexts motivate youth to engage civically (Ballard, 2014). In addition to

perceived mistreatment as a predictor shedding some light on what compels youth to be active participants in a civic society, another factor worth exploring is whether a critical national event can push youth to become more engaged, at least on some indicators of YCE such as activism or future aspirations. The third study in this dissertation explored whether the 2016 U.S. Presidential election served as a catalyst for youth to become engaged during their adolescent years. This study assumed that focusing only on creating opportunities for youth to become engaged does not answer the question of why youth become involved, therefore, analyzing a national event as a catalyst can shed light on motivation factors.

Civic engagement is related to many developmental outcomes and specific factors have been shown to predict YCE. Recent work has shown both *agentic/personal* (advancing the self) and *communal* (serving others) as key predictors of YCE (Lawford & Ramey, 2017). While several factors such as school offerings of civic courses and stronger familial connections and community contexts (Duke, Skay, Pettingell, & Borowski, 2009) have been shown to promote CE, it is important to understand personal and communal factors that predict YCE such as demographic factors (e.g., race/ethnicity, social class), experiences with mistreatment, as well as national events that can serve as catalysts. Together, these three studies shed light on both agentic/personal and communal predictors of civic engagement during the critical period of adolescence in hopes of presenting information that can deepen our understanding of why and how young people become engaged.



## STUDY 1

### **A Longitudinal Multilevel Examination of Youth Civic Engagement and Demographic Predictors Across the High School Years**

Youth civic engagement – that is, the actions young people take for the betterment of their society – has been garnering increased attention over the past decades. Young people today exhibit mixed interest and varying levels of engagement in civic activities such as volunteering. An examination of their political engagement, however, shows that youth tend to be more interested and involved in apolitical forms of civic action rather than through political activities such as voting or campaigning (e.g., Syvertsen, Wray-Lake, Flanagan, Osgood, & Briddell, 2011). Given the evolving and politically divisive climate we are currently experiencing in the United States, one thing is clear: young people should exercise their political and civic voices to ensure their interests are capitalized on and part of the national democratic discourse. Therefore, the pathways that youth, especially those from urban areas, take to become and remain civically engaged are important to examine over the course of adolescence. To assess demographic differences in participation, the current study explored urban high school students' civic engagement using multiple indicators across four years of high school.

#### **Longitudinal Pathways of Youth Civic Engagement**

The ways in which young people choose to engage changes across development (Sherrod & Lauckhardt, 2009). While longitudinal evidence across the adolescent period is limited (Eckstein, Noack, & Gniewosz, 2012; Hooghe, Dassonville, & Marien, 2015; Wray-Lake, Syvertsen, & Flanagan, 2016; Zaff, Kawashima-Ginsberg, Lin, Lamb, Balsano, & Lerner, 2011), some earlier studies documented changes in civic engagement across the transition from early adolescence (middle school) to late adolescence (high school and early adulthood). Eccles and

Templeton (2002) noted a decline in engagement during the transition to middle school. Furthering such developmental civic engagement findings, Janosz and researchers (2008) found that while adolescents showed declines in engagement from early to middle adolescence, student engagement tended to be stable over the high school years. From the more recent and longitudinal *Roots of Engaged Citizenship* project's California data findings, the decline in political behaviors during middle school was confirmed (Wray-Lake, Metzger, & Syvertsen, 2016). The researchers attributed these findings to the difficult transition during middle school where civic engagement takes a back seat to other priorities. The same project found support for some political behaviors increasing across the high school years, specifically for voting intentions, following the news, and sharing opinions. This one of its kind longitudinal study found some support for a decline in political behaviors in the eleventh and twelfth grades.

Furthermore, in their review, Mahatmya, Lohman, Matjasko and Feldman (2012) posited that adolescents are more cognitively and socially engaged in high school, therefore, explaining why engagement may be more stable at lower levels during this time compared to middle school or even emerging adulthood. The various findings above demonstrate the rather unclear patterns of civic engagement during the high school years as the developmental research on youth engagement has focused on the transitions to and from middle school. Less understood is how the individual student trajectories of civic engagement look across the high school years.

One recent study tested longitudinal changes in the types of civic engagement among adolescents using latent transition analysis (Wray-Lake & Shubert, 2019). The same study also examined sociodemographic correlates of civic engagement typologies or categories among adolescents (in grades 8-12). The researchers found that adolescents' engagement patterns fell into four categories: *civic sympathizers* (relatively low on current and future behaviors),

*unengaged* (low across all indicators), *civic leaders* (high across all indicators), and *informed future voters* (high on reading the news and voting in the future but low on other indicators of civic engagement). The stability of these categories varied over time such that civic leaders and informed future voters were the most stable across time compared to civic sympathizer and unengaged youth who became somewhat less stable over time. Of importance were the mixed sociodemographic findings from this study that indicated civic engagement categories differed by gender and race/ethnicity of participants. Specifically, the study found that overall, girls were more likely to be unengaged compared to boys and ethnic minority youth (Latinx, Black, and Asian American) varied in their likelihood of fitting a civic engagement category compared to White youth. From a developmental perspective, it is possible that youth may have age or sociodemographic specific motivations for engaging in civic activities. What this one of its kind longitudinal study highlights is that not only do youth engagement patterns vary in stability during the adolescent years, they also vary by demographics. Therefore, demographic factors may predict differing levels of engagement amongst adolescents over time.

### **Demographic Factors as Predictors of Civic Engagement**

Research has shown that demographic factors may have dire consequences for civic engagement among youth. For example, a report by the Education Testing Service (Jensen, 2010) found a relationship between educational levels and income with civic activities like voting and volunteering. Using federal education and Census data, the study found that demographic indicators of age, affluence, and education were strong predictors of whether a person was civically engaged. Specifically, older individuals, those with advanced degrees, and high household incomes predicted higher voting compared to younger folks, high school dropouts, and those in the lowest-income households. Motivated by the 2012 presidential

election, the report also highlighted that weak civic knowledge among young people was linked to less voting and less volunteering. While this is just one study highlighting demographic factors as predictors of civic engagement (CE), a vast literature has documented other factors such as gender, race, and immigration status as predictors of CE.

Girls, for example, are generally more likely to volunteer than boys, but less likely to be involved in electoral activities. White Americans and African Americans (18- to 24-year-olds) are substantially more likely to vote than Asian Americans and Latinos, while Asian youth are the most likely to volunteer and Latinos (at least in recent surveys) are the most likely to be involved in protests (Marcelo, Lopez, & Kirby, 2007). Individuals from high socio-economic (SES) backgrounds are typically more involved in traditional forms of civic engagement (e.g., voting, campaigning, and volunteering; Levinson, 2010) compared to those from low SES backgrounds. Some research has found comparable or higher levels of issue-based participation in activism and local community organizing among immigrants and people of color, who tend to be from lower SES backgrounds (Ballard, Malin, Porter, Colby, & Damon, 2015; Jensen, 2010; Marcelo, Lopez, & Kirby, 2007; Stepick, Stepick, & Labissiere, 2008).

Moreover, CE may be especially important for immigrant youth, who may be socially or legally excluded from organized activities and formal political involvement (Roffman, Suárez-Orozco, & Rhodes, 2003; Sirin & Katsiaficas, 2011; Stepick, Stepick, & Labissiere, 2008). The reasons for these differences are unclear. People of color, for instance, may be less likely to participate in the political system because they were historically excluded from policies and politics (Watts & Flanagan, 2007). Additionally, while demographic disparities have been found, most studies have examined the relationships cross-sectionally, so less is known about the longitudinal links between CE and demographic indicators. All in all, the existing evidence on

how civic engagement, using different indicators such as behaviors and intentions, and demographic factors has presented mixed evidence.

### **The Current Study**

It is important to examine multiple forms of civic engagement, such as behavioral measures and intentions for future engagement. Because not all young people have the same opportunities for engagement (Levinson, 2010), youth from varying demographics may have differing motivations for civic behaviors (Ballard, 2014) and therefore, behavioral measures alone cannot capture young identity-diverse adolescents' engagement during the high school years (Voight & Torney-Purta, 2013). Hence, the aims of this study were three-fold: (a) to document the change in adolescents' civic engagement during the high school years through two measures of civic engagement (behaviors and future aspirations) of youth; (b) examine the role of individual level factors (e.g., demographic characteristics) and school-level factors to account for the context youth are residing in (e.g., racial/ethnic diversity of the schools youth attended) in predicting civic engagement; and (c) explore how engagement during the earlier years in high school compares to twelfth grade engagement. Examining demographic indicators such as race/ethnicity (Pachi & Barrett, 2014), gender (Portney, Eichenberg, & Niemi, 2009), subjective social status (Barrett & Brunton-Smith, 2014), and immigration status (Jensen, 2010) are important because the mechanisms through which youth from these different backgrounds seek out and engage civically remains to be specified clearly as existing research with adolescents has provided mixed findings. The research questions this study tackled were:

1. Do demographic factors, namely racial/ethnic identity, gender, immigration generational status, and subjective social class, predict youth civic engagement over the four years of high school?

2. How does engagement during 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, and 11<sup>th</sup> grades differ from engagement during the last year of high school?

## Method

### Participants

Participants for this study came from a larger longitudinal study called the UCLA Middle and High School Diversity Project (Principal Investigators: Sandra Graham and Jaana Juvonen). The larger study recruited 5991 urban youth from 26 middle schools in Northern and Southern California. Initially recruited in the sixth grade for the entire middle school period, students were re-recruited in the ninth grade from the 443 high schools to which they transitioned. Therefore, parental consent as well as student assent was received for all participants again as high schoolers (UCLA Institutional Review Board Approval Protocol number 11-002066).

Participants in the current dissertation were those who were surveyed in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades in three cohorts, with a one-year gap between each cohort starting in 2013. Each survey year will be referred to as different waves of data, for a total of four waves. Due to the longitudinal design, not all participants were retained at each wave such that, by the end of middle school, 79% of the original sample was retained and participation rates in grades 9, 10, 11, and 12 were 76%, 81%, 79%, and 74%, respectively of the eighth grade sample.

The analytic sample for this study included survey data for about 3900 participants from the three cohorts who attended 240 schools. The percentage of students in the participating schools that were English language learners (or speak English as a second language) was relatively small ( $M=7.49$ ,  $SD=5.74$ , Maximum = 49.2). From the ninth-grade data ( $M_{age}=15.10$ ,  $SD=.38$ ), the self-reported gender breakdown of the participants was as follows: 45% cisgender boys, 53% cisgender girls, 0.3% transgender, 0.3% gender nonconforming, 0.3% gender fluid,

0.9% questioning/not sure, and 0.5% different gender identity. Responses were later recoded to fit the following four categories: cisgender boy (45%), cisgender girl (52%), gender diverse (2%), and questioning (<0.9%). Gender was dummy coded such that cisgender girl (the largest group) was used as the reference group.

Participants self-reported their ethnicity in response to the question “*what is your ethnic group?*” as: 11.2% Black/African American, 23.7% White/Caucasian, 33.3% Latinx, 14.9% Asian (East/Southeast), 3.1% Filipino, 8.5% Multiethnic, and 5.3% Other (including Native American, Middle Eastern). The responses were later combined to fit a few larger categories (e.g., Black/African American and Black/other country of origin; East Asian and Southeast Asian; and Latino and Mexican/Mexican American). Preliminary t-tests conducted among the combined groups showed no significant differences on civic engagement outcomes, however, I acknowledge the heterogeneity within these categories. Due to the smaller sample sizes of other ethnic groups, especially when nested within schools for the multilevel analyses, only four of the largest ethnic groups were used in all analyses: African American/Black, East/Southeast Asian, Latinx, and White/Caucasian. Ethnicity was dummy coded such that Latinx (the largest group in the sample) were used as the reference group.

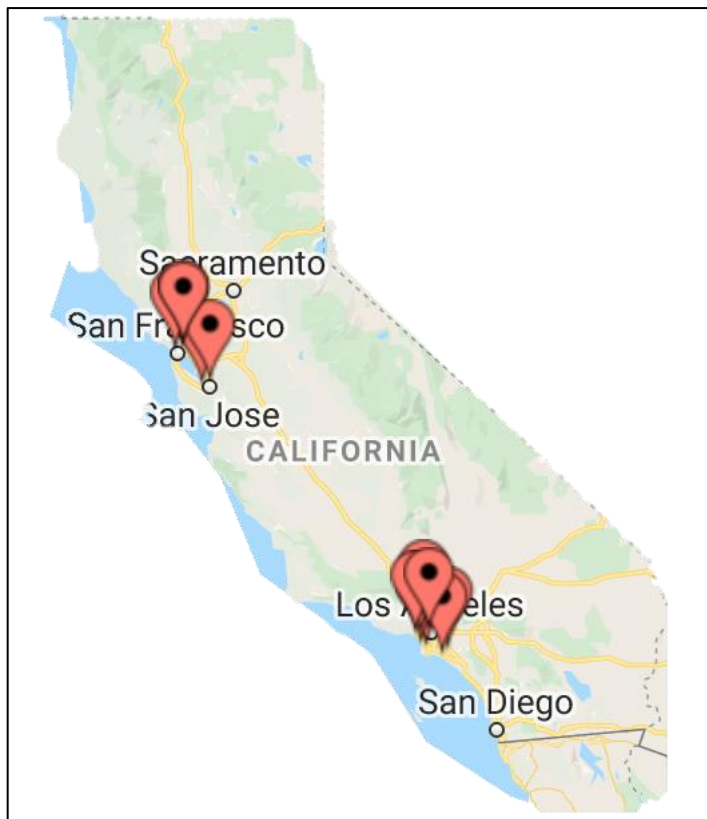
### **Study Context**

The majority of participants attended school districts (about 84%) in two geographical regions of California: near the Bay Area in Northern California and near the Greater Los Angeles area in Southern California (see Figure 1A). Some participants attended schools in districts across other areas of California (see Figure 1B), however, this represented districts with less than 8 participants and sometimes as few as 1 participant. Taking a look at the political party affiliations in the two areas of California where most participants attended schools, there was a

greater than 60% democratic party preferential rate indicating that the surrounding areas of most participants were largely liberal-leaning, democratic counties ([California Statewide Database](#)).

**Figure 1A**

*Geographic Spread of the School Districts with the Largest Number of Participants*

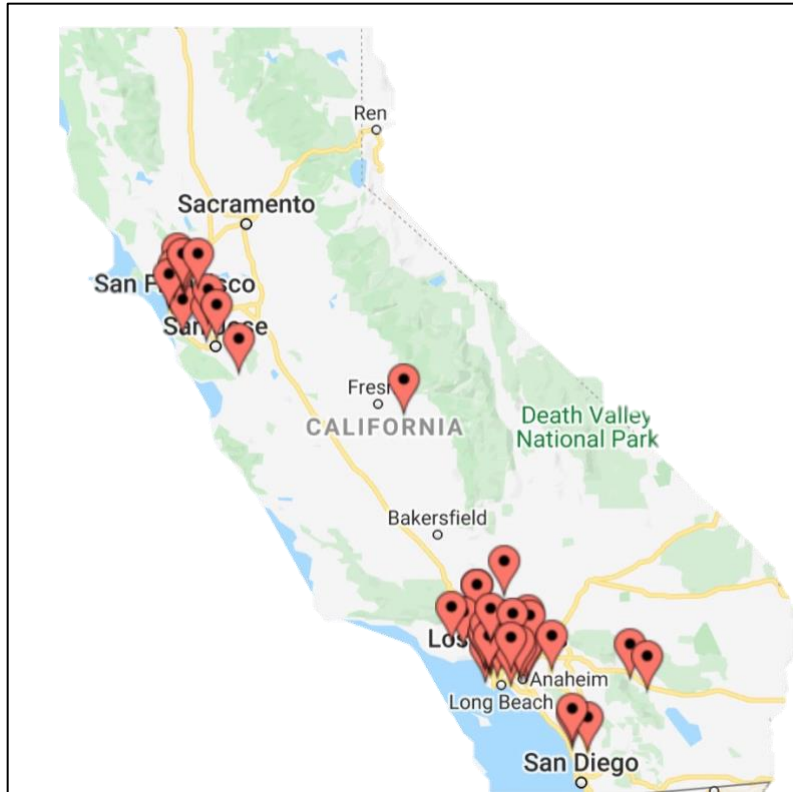


*Note.* Placeholders (red dots) represent school districts where the majority of the sample attended schools (about 84%), mostly clustered in Northern and Southern California.

**Figure 1B**

*Geographic Spread of the School Districts Attended by Participants*





*Note.* Placeholders (red dots) represent school districts where participants attended schools, mostly clustered in Northern and Southern California.

### **Procedure**

Participants were surveyed in non-academic courses in their high schools during the spring of each year. The surveys were administered on individual tablets and the instructions for completing the survey were audiotaped so that all students worked at their own pace. Each wave of the survey took about 45 minutes to one hour to complete. Several research assistants circulated around the room to assist individual students as needed during the administration of the surveys. About 81% of the ninth-grade sample completed tablet-based surveys in school. Online surveys (about 6% of ninth-grade surveys completed) or mailed paper surveys (6.5%) were used to collect data from participants at schools that were not visited due to enrollment of fewer than 8 participants at the school. The alternative survey options were also used if

participants were unavailable during the time of in-school data collection (about 6% of total survey completion rate in the ninth grade). The online surveys allowed participants to use their own devices for completion; participants completed the online or paper surveys in the privacy of their own homes and received audiotaped instructions or researcher’s instructions over the phone throughout the survey similar to the tablet form of the survey. Figure 1 below displays the timing for each survey by cohort and year. Students received a \$20 to \$50 honorarium for completing the survey each year, with the honorarium increasing as the students got older.

<b>Cohort 3</b>			Wave 1 9 <sup>th</sup> grade	Wave 2 10 <sup>th</sup> grade	Wave 3 11 <sup>th</sup> grade	Wave 4 12 <sup>th</sup> grade
<b>Cohort 2</b>		Wave 1 9 <sup>th</sup> grade	Wave 2 10 <sup>th</sup> grade	Wave 3 11 <sup>th</sup> grade	Wave 4 12 <sup>th</sup> grade	
<b>Cohort 1</b>	Wave 1 9 <sup>th</sup> grade	Wave 2 10 <sup>th</sup> grade	Wave 3 11 <sup>th</sup> grade	Wave 4 12 <sup>th</sup> grade		
	<i>Spring 2013</i>	<i>Spring 2014</i>	<i>Spring 2015</i>	<i>Spring 2016</i>	<i>Spring 2017</i>	<i>Spring 2018</i>

## Measures

The data for this dissertation were primarily drawn from self-reported surveys; some information was pulled from school data available from the California Department of Education (CDE).

### *Time-invariant Demographic Predictors*

Five demographic indicators were assessed as time-invariant predictor variables: gender, race/ethnicity, immigration generational status, parental level of education (as a proxy for socioeconomic status), and subjective social status. Responses from the tenth-grade year were used for all variables except gender for which most complete (i.e., beyond a gender binary of girl/boy) data were collected at the eleventh grade and were used for the analysis in this study.

**Generation status.** Consistent with the literature on immigration generational statuses of adolescents (e.g., Camacho & Fuligni, 2015), students’ generational status was determined by using participants’ self-report of their own and their parents’ country of origin to create the

following categories: *first generation* if students were born outside of the United States (10.3% of the sample), *second generation* if at least one parent was born outside of the United States (51.0% of the sample), and *third generation* if both parents and students were both in the United States (38.7% of the sample). Generation status was dummy coded such that second generation, being the largest generation group, was used as the reference group.

**Parental education status.** Parent educational attainment was used as a proxy for socioeconomic status. The parent or guardian who completed the informed consent at ninth grade also indicated their highest level of education on a 6-point scale ranging from 1= elementary/junior high school, 2=some high school, 3=high school diploma or GED, 4=some college, 5=four-year college degree, and 6=graduate degree.

**Subjective social status.** Subjective social status, or perception of rank on the social hierarchy, was measured at Waves 2 and 4 (Mistry, Brown, White, Chow & Gillen-O’Neal, 2015). Participants were shown three ladders, each asking different hierarchical question of which one ladder was shown with the following prompt: “*Imagine this ladder pictures how American Society is set up. At the top are the people that have the MOST MONEY and at the bottom are the people who have the LEAST MONEY. Now think about YOUR FAMILY. Where do you think they would be on this ladder? Use an X to indicate where YOUR FAMILY would be on this ladder.*” The measure is based on a 12-step continuous scale, whereby higher scores indicate greater perception of status ( $M=7.26$ ,  $SD=2.16$ ).

### ***Time-Invariant Contextual Predictors***

Several predictors were used to account for context. Specifically, given the ethnic diversity of the sample and its known associations with discrimination (Juvonen, Kogachi, & Graham, 2018), school-level diversity, eligibility for free-reduced-priced lunch, proportion same

ethnic peers at the school and school size were used as time-invariant context predictors. All of these variables used data on the schools that participants attended at the tenth-grade year of the survey as not much school mobility occurred within the sample. Data on the schools were collected through the California Department of Education (CDE) website that provides a publicly available repository of information about individual schools in the state (CDE.CA.gov).

**Simpson's index.** Data from CDE were used to compute a diversity indicator for all high schools on the probability of any two students chosen at random in a school being from different ethnic groups, with values ranging from 0 to 1 (higher values representing more diversity). This indicator is called Simpson's index (1949) and was created using the following formula in which  $D_c$  (diversity) was calculated by summing the squared proportion of students in the same grade at a school belonging to a given ethnic group ( $p$ ) and subtracting this squared proportion from one:

$$D_c = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^g p_i^2.$$

Simpson's index of diversity was calculated for all high schools in California within the sample and was used as a contextual indicator ( $M=.62$ ,  $SD=.12$ ).

**Free-reduced-priced lunch.** The percentage of students receiving free or reduced priced lunch is often used as a proxy measure for the percentage of students living in low-income families or in poverty. Also from CDE data, the percentage of students at the entire school for any given school who were eligible for free and reduced lunch was calculated. Higher percentage was a proxy indicator of how many students at a school were living in poverty while lower percentages indicated more privileged schools.

**Proportion same ethnic peers.** To represent the size of participants' ethnic group at their schools, the proportion of same ethnic peers in a given school was calculated using data from

CDE on school-level race/ethnicity makeup. Four primary categories were created using CDE data including Black/African American, Asian American, Latinx, and White. This variable reflects the proportion of students in the school that matched students' racial/ethnic category. Values ranged from 0 to .68 ( $M=.39$ ,  $SD=.22$ ), which indicated differences in the relative size of ethnic groups across schools.

**School size – control.** Because participants transitioned to over 240 high schools varying in size, the number of students at each school was used as a control variable in all analyses. For our sample, the smallest school had 1 participant while 244 participants were the largest group in our sample attending one school. The total size of students (not sample size) at each school was used as a covariate.

**Cohort as a covariate.** The cohort that participants were recruited in (1, 2, or 3) was also entered into the analyses as a covariate in order to control for any contextual variances due to the time period from which participants were recruited and completed each wave of the survey.

### ***Youth Civic Engagement Outcome Variables***

To assess youth civic engagement using multiple dimensions, two variables were measured: self-reported civic and political behaviors and civic oriented future aspirations. Both indicators were assessed at each wave in high school and modeled as such.

**Civic behaviors.** The ways in which young people choose to become civically involved varies depending on factors such as interest, skill, and opportunity. The frequency with which students engaged in eight activities was assessed: (1) helping the community, (2) volunteering for an environmental group, (3) volunteering for an organized group targeting inequality, (4) working to reduce prejudice, (5) volunteer tutoring, (6) collecting funds or signatures, (7) participating in a walk or run, and (8) rallying. Eight items were asked across all five waves of

the survey with the following instructions: “*We know that as high school students your schedules are very busy – with homework, extracurricular activities, sports, and for some of you, part time jobs. Even with those busy schedules, we are interested in whether you had time to volunteer or work in your community without pay and not for school credit.*” Participants rated specific behaviors they engaged in over the past year on a 5-point scale from 1 (Never) to 5 (more than once a month) ( $\alpha = .87$ ). A sample item included: “During the past year, how often have you participated in a community or political rally?” The eight items on this scale were adapted from the civic duty, civic skills, and civic participation subscales of the Active and Engagement Citizenship (AEC) questionnaire (Bobek, Zaff, Li, & Lerner, 2009).

**Civic orientated future aspirations.** Adapted from Furco, Muller, & Ammon (1998), 11 items assessed the extent of participants’ intentions for future civic behaviors. Items were assessed using a 5-point scale that asked participants to rate each future civic behavior from 1 (very important) to 5 (not at all important). Sample items include: “helping my community” and “working to stop prejudice”.

## **Analytic Plan**

### **Exploratory and Confirmatory Factor Analysis and Results on Outcome Variables**

Before conducting any analyses using the two outcome variables of interest in this study (civic behaviors and civic aspirations), exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the items for each measure separately to understand the factor structures. The analyses were conducted using principal component analysis with varimax (orthogonal) rotation as the primary purpose was to identify and create composite scores (Yong & Pearce, 2013). The resulting components were then confirmed by conducting confirmatory factor analysis for each measure.

### ***Civic Behaviors***

Eight questions related to the behaviors youth engaged in over the previous 12 months were factor analyzed. Factor analysis was conducted using the responses from the first timepoint (9<sup>th</sup> grade) and then confirmed using the third timepoint (11<sup>th</sup> grade) to conclude the final component(s). All eight items were correlated at least .25 with one other item, suggesting reasonable factorability. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy was above the recommended value of .6 at .89 and Barlett’s test of sphericity was significant [ $\chi^2$  (28) = 9698.95,  $p < .01$ ] additionally indicating that the set of items were adequately related for factor analysis. The results of the analysis are reported in Table 1A. A total of 50.25% variance for the entire set of items was explained by the analysis yielding one component. Therefore, it can be deduced that the items identified one clear pattern of response among the participants ( $\alpha=.85$ ).

**Table 1A.**  
*Exploratory Factor Analysis Findings for Civic Behaviors*

Item	Component Loadings	Communality
1. Volunteered your time to help people in your community?	.606	.368
2. Helped collect money or signatures for a social cause?	.707	.500
3. Participated in a walk or run for a cause (e.g., to cure an illness)?	.728	.531
4. Volunteered for an environmental group (e.g., to recycle or stop pollution)?	.779	.606
5. Volunteered for a group to help feed the homeless or care for the elderly or handicapped?	.740	.547
6. Participated in a community or political rally (in person or on social media like Facebook/Twitter)?	.674	.455
7. Volunteered for a group that worked to reduce prejudice?	.732	.536
8. Volunteered for a group that provided tutoring for a child in the community?	.691	.478
	Eigenvalue	4.020
	Total Variance	50.25%

Wave 3 (eleventh grade) data were used to conduct a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) in Mplus version 8 (Muthen & Muthen, 2010) on the civic behaviors items. Items were specified such that error variances covary in the model. The default method of data estimation was used: maximum likelihood estimation. Coefficient for the first item was fixed to a number to minimize the number of parameters estimated in the model. The fit indices were as follows: comparative fit

index (CFI) = .99, the Tucker-Lewis fit index (TLI) = .99, and the RMSEA = .029, CI (0.017, 0.043). Those values indicate a good fit between the model and the observed data. Standardized and unstandardized parameter estimates are provided in Table 1B. The CFA confirmed factor structure found in the exploratory factor analysis where all items loaded onto one latent construct of civic behaviors.

**Table 1B.**

*Standardized and Unstandardized Coefficients for CFA of Civic Behaviors*

Observed Item	Latent Construct	$\beta$	B	SE
1. Volunteered your time to help people in your community?	Civic behaviors	0.55	1.00	
2. Helped collect money or signatures for a social cause?	Civic behaviors	0.69	0.97	0.04
3. Participated in a walk or run for a cause (e.g., to cure an illness)?	Civic behaviors	0.66	0.82	0.03
4. Volunteered for an environmental group (e.g., to recycle or stop pollution)?	Civic behaviors	0.69	0.98	0.04
5. Volunteered for a group to help feed the homeless or care for the elderly or handicapped?	Civic behaviors	0.69	0.96	0.04
6. Participated in a community or political rally (in person or on social media like Facebook/Twitter)?	Civic behaviors	0.66	0.83	0.04
7. Volunteered for a group that worked to reduce prejudice?	Civic behaviors	0.73	0.80	0.03
8. Volunteered for a group that provided tutoring for a child in the community?	Civic behaviors	0.58	0.88	0.04

*Note.* CFA = confirmatory factor analysis.

***Civic Aspirations***

Participants' intentions for future civic aspirations were factor analyzed using 11 questions. The set of items were adequately related for factor analysis: all items were correlated at least 0.33 with one other item; the KMO value was 0.86; and Barlett's test of sphericity was significant [ $\chi^2 (55) = 16786.23, p < .01$ ]. Factor analysis was first conducted using Wave 1 responses and two components were found. However, when the analysis was conducted for subsequent waves, three components were found that explained 45%, 18%, and 9% for a total of 72% of the variance. Results from the component matrix using the varimax with Kaiser normalization rotation method using Waves 3 and 4 responses are presented in Table 1C. Component 1, made up of 6-items, was used as an indicator of civic aspirations ( $\alpha=.85$ ) for all following analyses as it was most representative of civic-oriented future intentions of participants



while the other two components were more personal (e.g., living in a big house) or country (e.g., serving my country) oriented. The selection of one component for further analysis is consistent with recommendations of principal component analysis in the social sciences where at least 45% of variance is explained (UCLA: Statistical Consulting Group).

**Table 1C.**  
*Exploratory Factor Analysis Findings for Civic Aspirations*

Item	Component Loadings			Communality
	1	2	3	
1. Helping my community.	<b>.779</b>			.659
2. Making a lot of money.		.916		.848
3. Working to stop prejudice.	<b>.837</b>			.732
4. Serving my country.			.900	.871
5. Helping society.	<b>.818</b>			.727
6. Having a well-paying job.		.858		.781
7. Helping people who are less fortunate.	<b>.834</b>			.732
8. Living in a big house.		.757		.638
9. Helping my country.			.785	.824
10. Helping people of different ethnic groups get along better.	<b>.826</b>			.727
11. Voting in an election.	<b>.607</b>			.390
	Eigenvalue	4.949	1.948	1.032
	% of Total Variance	44.993	17.707	9.380
	Total Variance		72%	

Wave 3 (11<sup>th</sup> grade) data were then used to conduct a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) in Mplus version 8 (Muthen & Muthen, 2010). Items were specified such that error variances covary in the model. The default method of data estimation was used: maximum likelihood estimation (specifically, full information maximum likelihood, or FIML, which is robust to data that have values missing at random). Coefficients for the first items in each factor were fixed to a number to minimize the number of parameters estimated in the model. The comparative fit indices indicated an adequate fit between the model and the observed data: comparative fit index (CFI) = .97, the Tucker-Lewis fit index (TLI) = .95, and the RMSEA = .067, CI (0.062, 0.071). Standardized and unstandardized parameter estimates are provided in Table 1D. The significant

correlation between factors 1 and 2 is 0.10, 0.17 between factors 2 and 3, and 0.40 between factors 1 and 3. The CFA confirmed factor structure found in the exploratory factor analysis.

**Table 1D.**

*Standardized and Unstandardized Coefficients for CFA of Civic Aspirations*

Observed Item	Latent Construct	$\beta$	B	SE
1. Helping my community.	Civic aspirations	0.72	1.00	
3. Working to stop prejudice.	Civic aspirations	0.75	1.04	0.03
5. Helping society.	Civic aspirations	0.81	1.02	0.03
7. Helping people who are less fortunate.	Civic aspirations	0.74	0.91	0.02
10. Helping people of different ethnic groups get along better.	Civic aspirations	0.83	1.18	0.03
11. Voting in an election.	Civic aspirations	0.46	0.72	0.03
2. Making a lot of money.	Personal aspirations	0.90	1.00	
6. Having a well-paying job.	Personal aspirations	0.78	0.73	0.02
8. Living in a big house.	Personal aspirations	0.62	0.90	0.03
4. Serving my country.	Patriotic aspirations	0.78	1.00	
9. Helping my country.	Patriotic aspirations	0.94	1.13	0.03

*Note.* CFA = confirmatory factor analysis.

## Main Analyses

### *Research Question 1*

A series of 3-level multilevel random intercepts models were conducted using the PROC Mixed procedure in SAS 9.4 (SAS Institute Inc., 2013) to examine the change in civic engagement over the four years in high school. Civic behaviors and civic aspirations were modeled as separate outcome variables with time (4 waves of data) modeled at level 1, individual students modeled at level 2 nested within schools modeled at level 3. Since participants in the current sample attended over 240 schools, multilevel modeling was used to account for the presumed similarities between students who attended the same school. Multilevel analysis can account for the nesting of participants within schools and correct for dependencies between individuals that come from the same schools (Bryk & Raudenbush, 2002). In order to examine the growth of civic behaviors and aspirations over the four years of high school, random intercepts and random slopes were analyzed which can help attribute the variation in values of

the outcome variables to the relevant levels of the individual level as well as school level predictors (Monsalves, Bangdiwala, Thabane, & Bandiwala, 2020).

For each of the outcome variables, unconditional means models were first tested including only the outcome variables without any level 2 or 3 predictors. Time was modeled as a continuous level 1 variable. Next, conditional means models were examined with fixed effects of individual-level predictors (i.e., cohort and demographics including race/ethnicity, gender, immigration generation status, and subjective social status) as well as school-level predictors (i.e., school size, Simpson's diversity index, perceived same ethnic peers, and proportion of free and reduced priced lunch receivers). Model fit for both the unconditional and conditional models was evaluated using two comparative fit indices available in SAS: Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC). A chi-square ratio test was calculated using each index while accounting for the sample size and the number of parameters in the model; for AIC and BIC indices, better fit is reflected by smaller fit indices.

### ***Research Question 2***

To begin to address the non-linear pattern in civic engagement over time, the second research question assessed was: how does engagement earlier in high school differ from twelfth grade engagement as youth are preparing to transition into young adulthood? A final 3-level unconditional model was conducted (separately for behaviors and aspirations) to examine the fixed effects for change in time relevant to the final timepoint (twelfth grade) by modeling time as categorical at level 1, with an examination of least-squares means (LSMEANS estimate the marginal means over a balanced population).

### ***Regarding missing data***

All models were tested using the restricted maximum likelihood (REML) default approach in SAS that is used as a method for fitting linear mixed models. REML can produce unbiased estimates of the covariance parameters and variances (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). Due to the longitudinal design, there was missing data present and there was no specific evidence to suggest that the missing data on the variables was systematically related to the constructs themselves. Therefore, as the data missingness was unintentional, it is more similar to a missing at random (MAR) mechanism, although there is no empirical confirmation of this suggestion. Given that data collection took place across four years and was mostly conducted in schools during non-academic periods, students may have been absent during data collection, skipped certain measures given preference or time constraints, and/or transferred to new schools (this occurred rarely among the sample). Hence, missing data were presumed to be missing at random. Independent samples t-test were conducted to compare the retained sample of twelfth grade students to those who did not participate at twelfth grade on both outcome variables assessed at each grade level. Students without twelfth grade data did not differ in their reports of civic behaviors in the ninth [ $t(1097.15) = .04, p = .97$ ], tenth [ $t(1022.14) = -1.53, p = .13$ ], or eleventh [ $t(806.32) = -.93, p = .35$ ] grades. Similarly, students who responded on the civic aspirations items in the ninth [ $t(1103.55) = -.67, p = .50$ ], tenth [ $t(1034.91) = .78, p = .44$ ], and eleventh [ $t(779.15) = .94, p = .35$ ] grades did not differ from students who were not retained at the twelfth grade. The PROC mixed procedure in SAS analyzes all present data and does not delete missing data listwise, therefore, an important required assumption is that the data are missing at random (UCLA: Statistical Consulting Group). Using REML, the data were not imputed but the model was estimated making use of the incomplete data so that it does not bias estimates under certain conditions (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002).

## Results

The purpose of this study was to model growth in civic engagement, using two distinct variables of civic behaviors and civic aspirations, over the four years of high school.

Additionally, I examined whether the growth in civic engagement was predicted by demographic variables (i.e., gender, ethnicity, immigration generation status, and subjective social status) and by school-level (i.e., school-size, Simpson's diversity index, proportion of same ethnic peers, and percentage of free-and-reduced price lunch) predictors, while controlling for cohort.

### Descriptives

To better understand the reports on civic behaviors and aspirations at an item-level by different ethnic groups, a series of analyses of covariances (ANCOVAs) were conducted with gender and immigrant generation status as covariates. The results for the item-level analysis along with the means and standard deviations are presented in Table 1E for civic behaviors items and in Table 1F for the civic aspirations items.

The bivariate correlations among the continuous study variables, along with the means and standard deviations are reported in Table 1G. I will first describe the results for the unconditional and conditional models of civic behaviors as the outcome followed by the results for two models of civic aspirations as the outcome variable. The coefficients, standard errors, and model fits for these models are presented in Table 1H.

### Research Question 1 Findings

#### *Civic Behaviors Over-Time*

The convergence criteria were met for both the unconditional ( $\chi^2(6) = 3174.55, p < 0.01$ ) and conditional models ( $\chi^2(6) = 2297.21, p < 0.01$ ). To estimate the growth in civic behaviors over time, the unconditional model was fit and presented fixed effects where the estimate of the

**Table 1E.**  
ANCOVA Results with Ethnic Group Differences on Civic Behaviors Items

Item	ANCOVA Results	Overall Mean (SD)	Black/African American	East/Southeast Asian	European American/White	Latinx	Multi-ethnic	Ethnic Differences
1. Volunteered your time to help people in your community?	F (4, 2552) = 15.23, p < 0.01	2.56 (1.28)	2.42 (1.19)	2.94 (1.32)**	2.62 (1.25)**	2.39 (1.23)	2.58 (1.36)	Asian youth reported highest compared to all other ethnic groups followed by White youth.
2. Helped collect money or signatures for a social cause?	F (4, 2550) = 1.10, p > 0.05	1.69 (1.00)	1.67 (0.99)	1.77 (1.11)	1.62 (0.93)	1.71 (0.99)	1.62 (0.99)	No ethnic differences
3. Participated in a walk or run for a cause (e.g., to cure an illness)?	F (4, 2552) = 2.93, p < 0.05	1.66 (0.92)	1.70 (1.01)	1.74 (0.98)*	1.66 (0.85)	1.60 (0.91)	1.59 (0.84)	Asian youth reported highest participation compared to all other ethnic groups.
4. Volunteered for an environmental group (e.g., to recycle or stop pollution)?	F (4, 2546) = 3.06, p < 0.05	1.66 (1.01)	1.61 (0.96)	1.78 (1.15)*	1.68 (0.98)	1.62 (0.98)	1.53 (0.88)	Asian youth reported highest participation than all other groups except for White.
5. Volunteered for a group to help feed the homeless or care for the elderly or handicapped?	F (4, 2549) = 6.96, p < 0.01	1.71 (1.00)	1.83 (1.06)*	1.90 (1.07)**	1.64 (0.93)	1.64 (0.98)	1.64 (1.01)	Black and Asian youth reported highest participation than all other ethnic groups.
6. Participated in a community or political rally (in person or on social media like Facebook/Twitter)?	F (4, 2552) = 1.69, p > 0.05	1.54 (0.92)	1.59 (0.94)	1.57 (0.97)	1.56 (0.86)	1.47 (0.90)	1.60 (1.00)	No ethnic differences
7. Volunteered for a group that worked to reduce prejudice?	F (4, 2546) = 1.29, p > 0.05	1.36 (0.78)	1.42 (0.80)	1.34 (0.78)	1.34 (0.77)	1.33 (0.75)	1.33 (0.83)	No ethnic differences
8. Volunteered for a group that provided tutoring for a child in the community?	F (4, 2546) = 1.46, p > 0.05	1.56 (1.02)	1.58 (0.97)	1.65 (1.16)	1.47 (0.92)	1.58 (1.02)	1.49 (0.95)	No ethnic differences

Note. \*\*p<0.01, \*p<0.05

**Table 1F.****ANCOVA Results with Ethnic Group Differences on Items of Civic Aspirations Measure**

Item	Overall Mean (SD)	ANCOVA Results	Black/African American	East/Southeast Asian	European American/White	Latinx	Multi-ethnic	Ethnic Differences
1. Helping my community.	3.80 (0.96)	F (4, 2552) = 2.19, p > .05	3.87 (1.00)	3.89 (0.96)*	3.74 (0.93)	3.78 (0.96)	3.75 (0.97)	Asian youth reported higher importance than White youth
3. Working to stop prejudice.	3.69 (0.96)	F (4, 2539) = 13.94, p < .01	4.00 (0.92)**	3.66 (0.94)	3.52 (1.02)**	3.70 (0.91)	3.77 (0.93)	Black youth indicated higher importance than all other ethnic groups and White youth reported lowest importance compared to all other ethnic groups.
5. Helping society.	3.94 (0.86)	F (4, 2532) = 1.03, p > .05	3.93 (0.95)	3.96 (0.86)	3.91 (0.83)	3.92 (0.86)	4.05 (0.83)	No ethnic differences
7. Helping people who are less fortunate.	4.04 (0.84)	F (4, 2547) = 5.16, p < .01	4.14 (0.84)**	4.00 (0.85)	3.92 (0.86)	4.10 (0.82)**	4.05 (0.82)	Black and Latinx youth indicated higher importance than Asian and White youth.
10. Helping people of different ethnic groups get along better.	3.80 (0.95)	F (4, 2544) = 11.05, p < .01	4.00 (0.94)**	3.70 (0.99)	3.64 (0.97)	3.89 (0.91)**	3.79 (0.94)	Black youth reported highest importance than all other ethnic groups followed by Latinx youth
11. Voting in an election.	3.77 (1.07)	F (4, 2547) = 12.53, p < .01	3.94 (1.12)**	3.44 (1.09)	3.93 (1.00)*	3.77 (1.05)	3.77 (1.07)	Black youth reported higher importance compared to Asian and Latinx youth, followed by White youth.

Note. \*\*p<0.01, \*p<0.05

**Table 1G.***Mean, standard deviations and intercorrelations among continuous variables.*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Civic Behaviors 9th grade	--												
2. Civic Behaviors 10th grade	.51**	--											
3. Civic Behaviors 11th grade	.41**	.51**	--										
4. Civic Behaviors 12th grade	.37**	.45**	.52**	--									
5. Civic Aspirations 9th grade	.24**	.23**	.20**	.20**	--								
6. Civic Aspirations 10th grade	.19**	.24**	.22**	.21**	.54**	--							
7. Civic Aspirations 11th grade	.16**	.19**	.23**	.23**	.48**	.58**	--						
8. Civic Aspirations 12th grade	.11**	.14**	.16**	.22**	.42**	.49**	.56**	--					
9. Subjective Social Status	.10**	.11**	.07**	.09**	.05**	.05**	.01	.00	--				
10. School Size	.05**	.04**	.06**	-.00	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.03	.09**	--			
11. Simpson's Diversity Index	.01	.02	.05**	.02	-.01	-.02	-.04	.00	.10**	.40**	--		
12. Proportion Same Ethnicity	-.05*	-.02	-.08**	-.03	.00	-.01	.01	-.00	-.04	-.20	-.48	--	
13. Free-Reduced-Priced Lunch	-.01	-0.29	-.02	-.00	.03	.02	.05**	.04*	-.15**	-.49**	-.63**	.29**	--
M	1.61	1.74	1.72	1.70	3.87	3.85	3.98	3.99	7.26	2391	.62	.39	45.07
SD	.66	.74	.72	.72	.72	.72	.72	.74	2.16	819.32	.12	.22	22.16
Range	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-12	0-4273	0-1%	0-1%	0-100%

*Note.* \*\* $p < 0.01$ . \* $p < 0.05$

average intercept across persons was significant ( $B=1.67$ ) along with the average slope across persons ( $B=0.02$ ). Next, to explore the variation in intercepts and slopes related to person-level (demographics) and school-level (school characteristics) predictors, a conditional model was fit, estimating change in civic behaviors over the four years of high school. There were significant effects only on the individual level with gender (cisgender girls experienced greater change over time for participation in civic behaviors compared to cisgender boys), ethnicity (Latinx youth were less engaged over time compared to East/Southeast Asian youth), and subjective social status (youth who perceived higher status engaged in more civic behaviors over time). There were no differences found on the socioeconomic status proxy variable (parental educational status), therefore, it was removed from the final unconditional and conditional models for both civic behaviors and aspirations.



**Table 1H***Effects of Unconditional and Conditional Models for Individual and School-Level Predictors on Civic Behaviors and Aspirations*

Predictors	Unconditional Models				Conditional Models			
	Civic Engagement		Civic Aspirations		Civic Engagement		Civic Aspirations	
	Estimate ( <i>B</i> )	SE	Estimate ( <i>B</i> )	SE	Estimate ( <i>B</i> )	SE	Estimate ( <i>B</i> )	SE
Intercept	1.67***	0.02	3.86***	0.02	1.38***	0.23	3.32***	0.23
Level 1: Time	0.02***	0.01	0.05***	0.01	0.02*	0.01	0.05***	0.01
Level 2: Individual level								
Cohort								
Cohort 1					-0.02	0.06	-0.01	0.06
Cohort 2					-0.01	0.05	-0.03	0.05
Gender								
Cisgender Boys					0.08**	0.02	0.25***	0.02
Gender Diverse					0.15	0.08	0.16	0.08
Questioning					-0.00	0.13	-0.02	0.14
Ethnicity								
African American/Black					-0.05	0.04	-0.11**	0.04
East/Southeast Asian					-0.08*	0.03	0.13***	0.03
White/Caucasian					0.02	0.03	0.13***	0.03
Immigration Generations								
First Generation					-0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04
Third Generation					0.02	0.03	0.04	0.03
Subjective Social Status					0.04***	0.01	0.02***	0.01
Level 3: School level								
School Size					4.55	0.00	6.72	0.00
Simpson's Diversity Index					0.04	0.16	-0.10	0.16
Proportion Same Ethnic Peers					-0.07	0.07	-0.01	0.06
Free & Reduced-Price Lunch					-0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00
	AIC	25604.8		25512.4		18894.1		18882.6
	BIC	25629.2		25536.8		18902.9		18891.5

*Note.* \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$

### ***Civic Aspirations Over-Time***

For both the unconditional model ( $\chi^2(6) = 3892.22, p < 0.01$ ) and conditional model ( $\chi^2(6) = 2693.63, p < 0.01$ ), convergence criteria were met. The fixed effects showed a significant intercept ( $B=3.86$ ) and slope ( $B=0.05$ ) indicating growth in civic aspirations over time.

Additionally, with the individual level and school level predictors estimating the conditional model, only individual level predictors were found to be significantly predicting growth in civic aspirations over time. Specifically, significant effects were found for gender (cisgender girls aspired to be civically engaged in the future over time compared to cisgender boys), ethnicity (Latinx youth reported greater growth in civic aspirations over time compared to both East/Southeast Asian and White/Caucasian youth but less so compared to African/American Black youth) and subjective social status (higher perceived status indicated greater growth in civic aspirations).

### **Research Question 2 Findings**

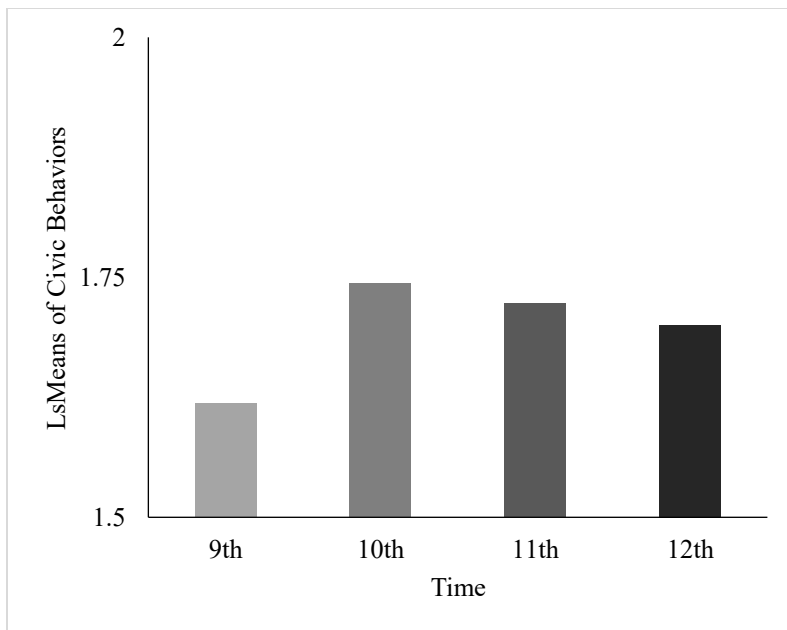
#### ***Civic Behaviors and Aspirations Compared to 12<sup>th</sup> Grade Timepoint***

As most youth begin their transition into young adulthood after the 12<sup>th</sup> grade year, youth civic behaviors during this timepoint were compared to the engagement during the earlier years in high school. Findings from the unconditional model for civic behaviors indicated that 9<sup>th</sup> grade ( $B=-.08, SE=.01$ ) and 10<sup>th</sup> grade ( $B=.04, SE=.01$ ) engagement varied significantly from 12<sup>th</sup> grade ( $p$ -values $<.01$ ). Specifically, 9<sup>th</sup> grade actions were lower than 12<sup>th</sup> grade engagement whereas youth engaged in civic behaviors more often in the 10<sup>th</sup> grade compared to the 12<sup>th</sup> grade. Moreover, 11<sup>th</sup> grade ( $B=.02, SE=.01$ ) engagement was not significantly different from 12<sup>th</sup> grade ( $p$ -value=0.08). The least-squares means (i.e., fixed-effect parameter estimates) of these findings are displayed in Figure 1C.

Alternatively, 9<sup>th</sup> ( $B=-.12, SE=.01$ ) and 10<sup>th</sup> ( $B=-.13, SE=.01$ ) grade responses on civic aspirations differed significantly from 12<sup>th</sup> grade aspirations such that youth reported higher aspirations in the 12<sup>th</sup> grade ( $p\text{-values}<.01$ ). No significant differences were found among 11<sup>th</sup> grade ( $B=-.01, SE=.01$ ) and 12<sup>th</sup> grade responses ( $p\text{-value}=.65$ ). Therefore, these findings indicate while civic behaviors see an increase in the 10<sup>th</sup> grade, youth aspire to be more engaged in the future overall compared to 12<sup>th</sup> grade (with higher coefficients) and that something unique is taking place in the 11<sup>th</sup> grade where youths' civic engagement is similar to their engagement in the 12<sup>th</sup> grade. Figure 1D displays the estimates of civic aspirations over time.

**Figure 1C**

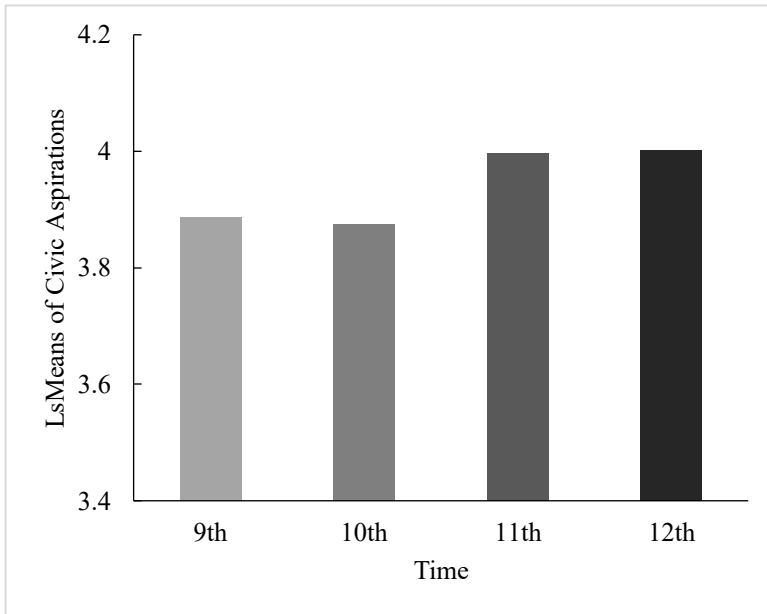
*Graph of LsMeans Estimates of Civic Behaviors from 9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> Grade*



*Note.* Least-squares-means of the civic behaviors measure (range 1-5) plotted at each grade over four timepoints showing the trends in behaviors compared to the 12<sup>th</sup> grade year.

**Figure 1D**

*Graph of LsMeans of Civic Aspirations from 9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> Grade*



*Note.* Least-squares-means of the civic aspirations measure (range 1-5) plotted at each grade over four timepoints showing the trends in behaviors compared to the 12<sup>th</sup> grade year.

### **Discussion**

This first study in my dissertation set out to descriptively understand civic engagement among identity-diverse adolescents across four-years of high school. Consistent with multidimensionality that implies numerous parts under the same conceptual umbrella (Wray-Lake, Metzger, & Syvertsen, 2016), civic engagement was longitudinally examined using two distinct measures: behaviors (actions) and future aspirations (intentions). Additionally, demographic factors were examined as potential predictors of change in civic engagement over time to shed light on the mixed evidence currently present in the literature on demographic differences in engagement of young people. The high school period was examined as civic engagement during adolescence has been shown to promote better civic, social, and behavioral

outcomes in emerging adulthood (Chan, Ou, & Reynolds, 2014) when youth have opportunities to participate in formal civic and political activities such as voting (when eligible).

### **Demographic Predictors of Engagement Over-Time**

Though relatively small, the significant slopes for both civic behaviors and aspirations showed that engagement for youth in this study went up over time. Several demographic differences in youth civic engagement, using both the behaviors and aspirations measures, were found that replicated existing research as well as presented nuanced findings. Specifically, for gender differences, this study found that overall, cisgender girls participated in and aspired to be more civically engaged in the future more so compared to cisgender boys over time. While the research with adults shows prevailing evidence that men are more politically and civically engaged than women (Burns, 2007; Dalton, 2008), the research with adolescents is mixed. By examining engagement over time, this study provides support for existing cross-sectional work that found girls to have higher intentions to be engaged (Hooghe & Stolle, 2004) and be less civically disengaged (CIRCLE, 2010) compared to boys. Perhaps the findings also shed some light on changing trends in civic engagement that are yet to be fully captured by empirical research. After the 2016 U.S. Presidential results, for example, a large push for women to be engaged could be felt across the national rhetoric that conceivably led to the greater number of women running for and being elected to offices in the 2018 midterm elections (CIRCLE, 2018). As this study measured behaviors and future aspirations of young women across several indicators, from volunteering to political campaigning, there is support that when engagement is captured using multidimensional gauges and not just traditional measures such as voting, we are able to apprehend the changing patterns for urban young people in the current changing times.

Regarding racial/ethnic differences, the data used in this study provided unique opportunities to clarify some mixed evidence on ethnic differences in engagement among youth, due to utilizing a diverse urban sample. It was found that, over time, youth participate in civic activities at differing levels than their intentions for future engagement (i.e., aspirations). Particularly for Latinx youth, who were used as the reference group in this study, civic behaviors over time were lower than only one other ethnic group, East/Southeast Asian youth. While the existing research on racial/ethnic differences in engagement has also presented a mixed picture, some work has shown that White youth are most likely to engage in community service compared to ethnic minoritized youth (Dávila & Mora, 2007; Foster-Bey, 2008). Moreover, with Latinx youth, some evidence has suggested that they may protest at higher rates although they may feel left out of other formal civic spaces (Lopez et al., 2006). The findings reported here present a somewhat different picture stating that Asian youth are more civically engaged over the high school years compared to Latinx youth, whereas research has mostly documented Asian youth to be less civically engaged (with the exception of Wray-Lake et al., 2017). These findings were also mostly confirmed by examining the individual items of civic behaviors.

The racial/ethnic findings were even more nuanced for civic aspirations as Latinx youth reported higher levels of intentions over time compared to both White and Asian youth but less so compared to African American youth. Malin, Han, and Liauw (2017) can help explicate these findings with support that African American and Latinx participants in their study were more likely to sustain their involvement in political activities compared to other groups, suggesting that while Latinx and African American youth may have had less opportunities to participate in civic activities (Levinson, 2010), they are more likely to intend to be involved and sustain their future involvements. Some scholars have called attention to the *civic empowerment gap* to

highlight racial/ethnic gaps in civic engagement where ethnic minoritized youth often have less opportunities to be active, therefore, explaining their lowered levels of engagement (Levinson, 2010). While I was unable to account for availability for civic engagement opportunities in this study, the findings indicate that when young people are given the option to report their engagement across multiple indicators, we may be more likely to capture engagement among White and ethnic minoritized youth at a broader level. Therefore, future studies should not only focus on asking young people to report their civic involvement using multidimensional measures, but should also take a qualitative approach so that we may capture a wide range of civic behaviors and intentions, especially those of youth of color, to further extend the findings reported here that indicate White youth were not more engaged as previous studies have shown. Addressing the civic empowerment gap is critical to not only providing young people with more opportunities to be civically engaged but also to empower young people from all backgrounds to use their voice in taking civic and political action.

Finally, the current study also found support for subjective social status of youth as a predictor of engagement over time. While differences by immigrant generational status were also expected, the absence of such findings may have been due to the lack of a contextual variable in this study such as neighborhood connectivity which has been found to be linked to engagement for immigrant youth (Wray-Lake et al., 2015). Somewhat more consistent with the existing work on socioeconomic status (SES) and income inequality differences among youth civic engagement, it was found that youth who perceived higher social status (i.e., reported perceiving their family to have more money comparative to American society or subjective social status) were more engaged overtime in civic behaviors and aspired to do more in the future. While SES disparities on engagement have been more consistently evident in the adult literature (Hart &

Atkins, 2002; Schlozman et al., 2012), the results reported here add to our understanding of youth engagement by finding that youths' self-perceptions, regardless of their true SES, impact civic engagement over time (Wray-Lake & Hart, 2012). Specifically, the findings here found support for youths' subjective perceptions making a difference in civic behaviors and aspirations over time while parental education status (as a proxy for SES) did not yield significant results. Youths' perceptions of their social status have been associated with subsequent outcomes (Goodman et al., 2001), therefore, indicating the importance of subjective social status on young people's future participation as well. While research has also shown disparities among young people attending low-income school districts and those at well-resourced schools (Atkins & Hart, 2003), this study did not find any school-level impact on youth participation. Therefore, the SES disparity in engagement may be due in part to how young people perceive their social status relative to society. Hence, simply providing more opportunities for youth from lower-SES backgrounds to be engaged may not be enough to bridge the civic engagement gap. Given evidence from short-term longitudinal studies across adolescence that show participation predicts higher intentions to be civically engaged in adulthood (Metz & Youniss, 2005), youth from all backgrounds must be given a variety of activities to participate in and such participation should be supported at the school and neighborhood levels.

### **Patterns of Engagement Over the High School Period**

To better understand how engagement during the first three years of high school compares to the twelfth-grade year that is closest to young people having more autonomy in emerging adulthood, distinct patterns in engagement were found. It was found that compared to civic behaviors in twelfth grade, participation was lower in the ninth grade, higher in the tenth, and no different in the eleventh grade. While these patterns of participation were examined



across the entire sample, a cross-sectional study by Hart and Atkins (2011) had found that civic participation as well as interest plateau around age 16. Cross-sectional data may offer important insights into civic engagement during the adolescent period, but the findings here provide a longitudinal view into how civic behaviors among urban identity-diverse youth differ over the four years of high school. Perhaps during the tenth grade when youth have adjusted to high school, there is more opportunity and desire to participate in civic actions, compared to again in the eleventh and twelfth grades when other priorities take center stage such as college preparation, jobs for pay, or in-school extracurricular involvement. Adolescents during high school often have more opportunities for structured civic engagement (e.g., extracurriculars or activities for school credit) and therefore more time to capitalize on engagement that is then predictive of later engagement in early adulthood (Finlay, Wray-Lake, & Flanagan, 2010). Therefore, one key strength of the current study is that civic behaviors completed not for school credit and outside of school were examined, so the actions youth in this study engaged in may be somewhat more indicative of their later engagement after formal high school.

In their study of 30-year trends (1996-2005) using cross-sectional data, Syvertsen and colleagues (2011) showed that overall, participation was lower among twelfth graders in more recent cohorts. The study also found that while engagement in more conventional and alternative forms was lowered, the majority of youth in the study intended to be more politically involved (e.g., voting when eligible) in the future. The latter was also true in the current study where overall, youth reported higher levels of future aspirations for engagement, regardless of the low rates of civic behaviors. Specifically, it was found that youth reported higher aspirations in the eleventh and twelfth grades compared to both ninth and tenth grades. To my knowledge, one other study has examined longitudinal patterns in engagement during adolescence using data

collected in the 2000s. Similar to Zaff and colleagues' (2011) approach, while quadratic time terms were initially considered in the modeling process, they were dropped because there was no theoretical reason to believe the patterns of engagement would be non-linear during a four-year period in adolescence. However, as nuanced patterns during each year in high school are apparent from the results presented here, future work should examine non-linear trajectories in youth civic engagement (such as in Wray-Lake, Rote, Victorino, & Benavides, 2014).

Taken together, these results provide further clarity on the diverse civic pathways youth experience across adolescence. While empirical evidence has focused on how engagement during adolescence is predictive of adult outcomes, we still know fairly little about what engagement looks like for youth during the period right before they enter emerging adulthood: the high school years. The empirical work on civic engagement across adulthood has shown growth, decline, and episodic ups and downs (e.g., Boehnke & Boehnke, 2005; Jennings & Stoker, 2004; Neundorf, Smets, & García-Albacete, 2013), the current study showed these differing engagement patterns at each year of high school, especially with behaviors declining by the end of high school while intentions to be engaged in civic and political activities in the future increased by the twelfth grade. Given the limited existing evidence on longitudinal civic engagement, other than two recent studies that have taken a typology, person-centered approach (both studies used a sample collected from 1988-1994; Wray-Lake, Rote, Benavides, & Victorino, 2014; Wray-Lake & Shubert, 2019), the current study scratches the surface with evidence for change in civic engagement among urban identity-diverse youth over four timepoints in late adolescence.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

Although the present study used comprehensive longitudinal data on youth civic engagement among an urban and racially diverse sample, the study also had limitations. First, due to the lower rates of civic behaviors overall, the study could have benefitted from examining an additional indicator of civic actions through extracurricular involvement at the school as youth from diverse backgrounds may have more equal opportunities at the school level than on their own in the community. Additionally, an examination of intersections among demographic variables (e.g., racial minoritized youth who are cisgender girls) was not done in the current study due to the complexity of the three-level analytic model that made such exploration difficult to interpret. Therefore, future studies should examine how youth who hold multiple identities often seen as less engaged are taking part in their society by employing an intersectional approach (Cole, 2009).

Moreover, as the results in this study provide a more nuanced picture of civic engagement among urban youth, future studies should explore how engagement opportunities vary and the impact of context (urban vs. rural) on youth engagement over the high school years. The results of this study should be understood within the context that participants attended schools in – urban areas of Northern and Southern California within mostly democratic and liberal leaning communities. While the current study included school contextual variables, more neighborhood or societal context should be examined by future studies especially when examining participation in civic behaviors outside of the school context. Finally, this study did not disaggregate participation by type of civic activity (volunteering vs. political action) in the longitudinal analyses due to the factor analysis conducted and therefore could not decipher whether there were higher rates of participation over time in a subset of civic behaviors. As the cross-sectional item-by-item analyses of the civic behaviors and aspirations measures indicated,

some ethnic differences existed in participants' reports of civic engagement. Hence, future studies should further break down the multiple subsets of civic behavior to examine whether engagement varies over time by developmental contexts or demographic factors. Although further longitudinal research is needed on youth civic engagement, practitioners, schools, and individuals who work with youth should recognize the multiple components of civic engagement in adolescence and how they impact youth from varying demographic background to provide more compelling and meaningful opportunities for young people to be engaged.

## STUDY 2

### **Longitudinal Links Between Perceived Group Mistreatment and Civic Engagement Among Diverse High Schoolers**

Experiences of discrimination (Hughes, Del Toro, Harding, Way, & Rarick, 2016) and civic engagement (Watts & Flanagan, 2007) are two salient occurrences during adolescence. Despite growing evidence of the costs and benefits of these experiences, little is known about how they may influence each other. Discrimination has been linked to many psychosocial problems such as lower self-esteem, more psychological distress, and more physical symptoms along with lower academic performance (e.g., Benner et al., 2018). While discrimination is a common experience among ethnic minority youth in the United States (Umaña-Taylor, 2016), few studies have explored how discrimination relates to civic behavior among diverse youth. Scholars have theorized that experiences with discrimination, especially race or ethnicity based, play a pivotal role in predicting civic behavior (Jensen, 2008; Stepick & Stepick, 2002). However, two contrasting theoretical positions suggest (1) that discrimination creates a barrier to civic participation or (2) that discrimination motivates civic engagement. The current study set out to examine an exploratory hypothesis to unpack the direction of the relationship between perceived ethnic-group mistreatment and civic behaviors during the adolescent years.

#### **Experiences with Personal and Group Discrimination During Adolescence**

Ethnic-racial discrimination – that is the unfair treatment on the basis of race or ethnicity – has been linked to numerous developmental maladjustment outcomes (e.g., Benner, 2017). During adolescence specifically, young people become capable of recognizing and reporting overt as well as covert discriminatory actions (Brown & Bigler, 2005). In addition to reporting poorer mental health as a result of experiencing ethnic-racial discrimination (Umaña-Taylor,

2016), the link between discrimination and maladjustment has been well-documented in longitudinal studies across racial/ethnic groups. The patterns of discriminatory experiences, however, have not always been clear. For example, Niwa, Way and Hughes (2014) longitudinally examined distinct patterns of experiences with ethnic-racial discrimination among adolescents. While the existing literature reveals that experiences with discrimination increase during adolescence (after age 10) (e.g., Quintana, 1998), Niwa and colleagues found three patterns of racial-ethnic discrimination from sixth grade to eighth grade, all decreasing across middle school. Other research has documented that as young people age, they are more likely to perceive discriminatory treatment (Benner & Graham, 2011; Brody et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor, 2016). Such evidence shows that longitudinal studies on the experiences of ethnic-racial discrimination over time for adolescents have reported inconsistent patterns: increasing, decreasing or stability of discrimination over time.

What else is unclear about the result of experiencing discrimination among adolescents is the impact of the different sources and varying types of discrimination. Ethnic-racial discrimination may occur interpersonally, or youth may perceive it as embedded within institutions that maintain social norms (Bonilla-Silva, 1997). Additionally, previous research has found that adolescents can recognize and may be more likely to report discrimination directed at the larger racial/ethnic group, rather than themselves as members of that group (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004; Seaton & Yip, 2009), which may help us understand the inconsistent patterns of discrimination reported in longitudinal studies.

### ***Perceived Group Mistreatment***

Limited studies have examined the differentiating impact of interpersonal (self-perceived) discrimination, group-level, and institutional discrimination. For example, Seaton and

Yip (2009) studied varying types of discriminatory experiences amongst adolescents and found that institutional discrimination predicted worsening mental health outcomes. Additionally, studies have also reported that the source of discrimination, whether received from peers versus adults, has differential impacts on psychosocial outcomes (Benner & Graham, 2013; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010). In their study of high school students from Latino, African American, and Asian ethnic backgrounds, Benner and Graham (2013) found that discrimination from adults at the school was associated with poorer school outcomes but did not impact adolescents' psychological adjustment in the way that peer discrimination did. The same study also examined societal discrimination (i.e., towards the larger racial/ethnic group) and reported associations with youths' racial views rather than with their adjustment. Moreover, Benner and Graham reported additional impacts of societal discrimination as raising youths' racial awareness – that is their mistrust towards institutions. What these studies highlight is that the source of the discrimination, as well as the type of discrimination has varying impact on adolescents. Additionally, youth may report mistreatment at different levels as they perceive it towards their large racial/ethnic group versus towards themselves. Therefore, in this study, I examined self-perceived racial ethnic discrimination from peers as well as perceived group mistreatment to examine the relationship between discrimination and a positive youth development outcome: civic engagement.

Perceived group mistreatment has been examined through a construct called cultural mistrust, or the sense of suspicion towards mainstream culture due to experiences of discrimination (Terrel & Terrel, 1981). Originally articulated as a construct specific to African American individuals in clinical practices, cultural mistrust has now been widely examined with other ethnic minority youth given that ethnic-racial discrimination also exists towards other

ethnic minority groups (e.g., Cooper & Sánchez, 2016; Kim, Kendall, & Cheon, 2017). Cultural mistrust, a concept also examined in Benner and Graham (2013) as previously cited, has been conceptualized as a response to the experiences of ethnic-racial discrimination and distrust towards the institutional and social contexts (Irving & Hudley, 2008). Researchers have posited that cultural mistrust is a consequence of ethnic-racial discrimination (Benner & Graham, 2013; Cooper & Sanchez, 2016). Therefore, in the current study, cultural mistrust is operationalized as perceived mistreatment towards one's racial/ethnic group.

Taken together, from these findings presented by prior research on the impact of self-perceived ethnic-racial discrimination as well as perceived group mistreatment, one storyline is clear: discriminatory experiences result in increased psychological distress and maladjustment among adolescents, especially for those from ethnic minority groups. However, can discrimination promote positive youth development outcomes among youth? Could it be possible that perceptions of discrimination may propel youth to take action towards making their society better? Some evidence has examined this question. For example, for ethnic minority youth who experience ethnic-racial discrimination, activism may function as a strategy to combat the societal mistreatment and mitigate psychological consequences of future discriminatory instances (Ginwright, 2010; Hope & Spencer, 2017). At least among college students, studies have reported that for Black youth, experiences of ethnic-racial discrimination (Szymanski & Lewis, 2015) are related to more engagement and recognition of institutional racism against their racial group. Therefore, discrimination may encourage Black youth to participate in civic activities (Hope & Jagers, 2014). In the next section, I first describe what engagement among adolescents looks like before building on the findings linking discrimination and engagement.

### **Motivators of Civic Engagement During High School**



Many differing motivations of civic engagement have been examined. Youth may become activated due to personal/intrinsic motivators, such as volunteering to receive school credit, or young people may engage in civic behaviors due to external motivators of wanting to simply help others. For some adolescents, however, civic responsibility may be influenced by understanding racial marginalization within the broader sociopolitical context (Anyiwo, Bañales, Rowley, Watkins, & Richards-Schuster, 2018). Specifically, some evidence suggests that negative experiences of exclusion, traditionally thought of as barriers to civic engagement, may in fact motivate certain forms of civic participation among young people such as expressing opinions or protesting injustice. To better understand how and if negative experiences can serve as motivators of youth engagement, literature on two competing hypotheses is presented below.

### **Competing Hypotheses of the Relationship Between Discrimination and Civic Behaviors**

On the one hand, perceiving discrimination or collective exclusion of one's racial/ethnic group has been shown to have negative consequences for the well-being of youth (e.g., Romero & Roberts, 2003) and may damage sense of belonging among youth of color (Wray-Lake, Syvertsen, & Flanagan, 2008). On the other hand, perceiving exclusion and a sense of injustice towards one's racial/ethnic group may motivate young people to engage in prosocial behavior, take civic action, and display collective resistance (Watts & Flanagan, 2007; Oosterhoff, Kaplow, Layne, & Pynoos, 2018). Existing evidence suggests that (1) experiences of discrimination create a barrier to civic participation whereas other researchers have found that (2) discrimination motivates civic engagement. In support of the first theoretical position, Ballard and colleagues (2018) posited that experiencing discrimination can alienate adolescents from civic life. Specifically, the researchers argued that discriminatory experiences create mental health challenges, leading to youth being unable to cope in positive ways. In a longitudinal study

with 400 Latino and Asian adolescents ( $M_{age}=17.34$ ), Ballard (2016) found that youth who were engaged in civic activism (e.g., protesting) were more likely to perceive discrimination over time. This study, being one of its kind testing longitudinal links between discrimination and civic activism, posited that engaging in civic action can make youth more aware of the injustices towards racial/ethnic groups and therefore, subsequently increase their perceptions of discriminatory acts towards them.

Meanwhile, in support of the latter theoretical position, studies of responses to anti-immigration events (Okamoto & Ebert, 2010) point to increased collective protests and political participation among immigrant adults as a result of the exclusionary contexts characterized by threats to one's group. One working paper that examined patterns of engagement among Latino immigrants as related to discrimination reported that individual-level discrimination increased the likelihood of immigrants to participate in political activities compared to no impact seen from perceptions of discrimination against one's group (DeSipio, 2002). A motivator for civic action that researchers have examined is feelings of anger at those responsible for creating systems of power (e.g., Anyiwo et al., 2018; Hope & Spencer, 2017). Therefore, in order to cope with discriminatory experiences, and in recognizing systemic forces that create exclusion towards some racial/ethnic groups, young people may be motivated to take political and civic action (Jensen, 2010).

Given what we know thus far about the relationship between discrimination and civic engagement, whether discrimination is a barrier to engagement or whether civic participation can be a coping mechanism against discriminatory experiences, several gaps remain. First, existing work has not clearly distinguished between perceptions of discrimination towards oneself (i.e., self-perceived discrimination) and discrimination against one's group (i.e., perceived group

mistreatment) while there is evidence to show that the two types of discrimination may yield differing outcomes. There may be some indicators that group interest is more powerful than self-interest, at least through public opinion research (e.g., Sears & Funk, 1990). However, the impact of extrinsic motivators such as group-based mistreatment on behavior compared to self-interest remains to be understood. Second, with just one longitudinal study (Ballard, 2016) to my knowledge examining the links between discrimination and engagement, more work on the late-adolescent years needs to be done to better understand the direction of links between self-perceived and group-based discrimination and civic participation. Finally, the existing works, cross-sectional, longitudinal, as well as qualitative, have examined discrimination and civic engagement among specific ethnic minority groups (e.g., among Black youth by Hope, Gugwor, Riddick, & Pender, 2019; among Latino and Asian youth by Ballard, 2016; among Latinos by Schildkraut, 2005).

### **The Current Study**

To address limitations in the existing literature, the current study longitudinally examined the links between ethnic-racial perceived discrimination and group mistreatment (also referred to as cultural mistrust) and civic engagement during the first three years of high school. Following from the evidence highlighted above, two competing hypotheses were tested: (1) longitudinally, perceiving more mistreatment towards one's racial/ethnic group will predict higher subsequent civic engagement and (2) participating in civic behaviors will longitudinally predict higher levels of perceived mistreatment in the subsequent years. Given the varying experiences of young people from different ethnic groups in the United States, especially when considering the larger group's mistreatment by authority or societal members, differences in the experiences of youth from diverse ethnic groups in perceiving mistreatment and in engagement were also examined at

the start of high school. By addressing the two research questions below, this study aimed to provide new insights into whether perceived mistreatment is a motivator or inhibitor of youth civic engagement.

1. How do young people from different ethnic groups feel about perceived group mistreatment (i.e., cultural mistrust) and engage in civic behaviors in the ninth grade?
2. What is the direction of the relationship between self-perceived ethnic-racial discrimination and perceived group mistreatment, separately, with civic behaviors across ninth, tenth, and eleventh grades in high school?

## **Methods**

### **Participants**

Participants were a subset of youth ( $n=3078$ ) from the larger longitudinal study called the UCLA Middle and High School Diversity Project (Principal Investigators: Sandra Graham and Jaana Juvonen), who were surveyed in three cohorts in the ninth (T1), tenth (T2) and eleventh (T3) grades from the year 2013 to 2017. The larger study followed 5991 California youth from 26 urban middle schools across the three years of middle school and then re-recruited these youth to continue participating in the high school phase of the study (UCLA Institutional Review Board Approval Protocol number 11-002066). Due to the longitudinal nature of the larger study, about 79% of the original sample was retained throughout middle school and of those, 76% participated in the ninth grade, 81% in the tenth grade, and 79% in the eleventh grade.

Participants self-reported their ethnicity (13% Black/African American, 16% East/Southeast Asian American, 26% European American/White, 36% Latinx, and 9% Multiethnic) and gender (45% cisgender boys, 52% cisgender girls, 2% gender diverse, and 1% questioning).

### **Procedure**

Students in the study completed a tablet-based survey either in non-academic courses in their high schools or on their own devices at home during the spring of their ninth, tenth, and eleventh grade years. The survey with audiotaped instructions allowed for students to work at their own pace and completion of the survey took about 45 minutes to an hour to complete. Participants were provided a \$20 to \$50 honorarium for completing the survey each year, with the honorarium amount increasing as the students got older.

## **Measures**

### ***Civic Behaviors***

Adapted from the Active and Engagement Citizenship (AEC) questionnaire (Bobek, Zaff, Li, & Lerner, 2009), the civic behaviors measure was a composite ( $\alpha = .87$ ) of eight items (e.g., “During the past year, how often have you participated in a community or political rally?”) that asked participants to report the frequency to which (1=never to 5=more than once a month) they participated in civic (e.g., volunteering) and political behaviors (collecting signatures for a cause) over the course of the previous year, without pay and not for school credit.

### ***Self-Perceived Ethnic-Racial Discrimination***

Adult-initiated discrimination was measured using four items adapted from Fisher, Wallace, and Fenton (2000). Items assessed the frequency of unfair treatment (ethnic-racial discrimination) by adults at school (e.g., “How often were you treated disrespectfully by adults in your school because of your race/ethnic group?”) since the beginning of that year in school using a 5-point scale (1 = never, 5 = a whole lot). Responses were averaged across the four items to assess perceived racial discrimination from adults ( $\alpha = .82$ ) at each timepoint.

### ***Perceived Ethnic-Racial Group Mistreatment (Cultural Mistrust)***

Adapted from the Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI; Terrel & Terrel, 1981), the cultural mistrust measure assessed how students perceived the way society or authorities treated their ethnic group (e.g., “Teachers present materials in class on purpose to make people like me look dumb”; 5-point scale with 1=for sure and 5=no way). Items were recoded so that higher values indicated more mistrust and a composite score was created for each wave averaging the responses across nine items ( $\alpha = .86$ ).

### ***Covariates***

**Gender.** Participants were asked to self-report their gender by selecting from the following categories: boy/man, girl/woman, transgender, gender nonconforming, gender fluid, questioning/not sure, different identity, gender queer, or other. Responses were later recoded to fit the following four categories: cisgender boy (45%), cisgender girl (52%), gender diverse (2%; including transgender and gender nonconforming), and questioning (<0.9%).

**Race/ethnicity.** Students self-reported their race/ethnicity at each wave selecting from 11 ethnic categories or could provide an open-ended answer if they identified as multi-ethnic or if their ethnicity did not fit any of the categories listed. The responses were later combined to fit a few larger categories (e.g., Black/African American and Black/other country of origin; East Asian and Southeast Asian; and Latino and Mexican/Mexican American). Due to the smaller sample sizes of other ethnic groups, especially when clustering within schools were acknowledged in the analyses, only five of the largest ethnic groups were used in all analyses: African American/Black, East/Southeast Asian, Latinx, White/Caucasian, and Multiethnic/Biracial.

**Subjective social status.** Subjective social status, or perception of rank on the social hierarchy, was measured at tenth grade using an adaptation from Mistry, Brown, White, Chow,

and Gillen-O’Neal (2015). Participants ranked their family’s perceived social status using a ladder with 12-steps where the highest rank indicated “people that have the most money” and the lowest rank represented “people who have the least money.” Higher scores on this continuous measure indicated greater perception of status ( $M=7.26$ ,  $SD=2.16$ ).

**Generation status.** Participants’ self-report of their own and their parents’ country of origin was used to create the following categories indicative of immigrant generational strategies: *first generation* if students were born outside of the United States (10.3% of the sample), *second generation* if at least one parent was born outside of the United States (51.0% of the sample), and *third generation* if both parents and students were both in the United States (38.7% of the sample). Generation status was used as a covariate for descriptive analyses.

### **Analytic Plan**

Prior to conducting analysis for the main research question of this study, an exploratory factor analysis was conducted, using principal component analysis with varimax (orthogonal rotation), to identify the components structure of the ethnic-racial perceived group mistreatment (cultural mistrust) items. Once the perceived group mistreatment measure was confirmed, descriptive analysis was conducted to understand how ethnic groups responded to the two variables of interest in this study, perceived group mistreatment and civic behaviors (research question 1). Finally, to understand the longitudinal relationship across three timepoints (from ninth grade to eleventh grade) between self-perceived discrimination and civic behaviors as well as perceived group mistreatment and civic behaviors, two separate cross-lagged path models were analyzed using Mplus version 7.4 (Muthen & Muthen, 2010). The analyses included cohort, gender, ethnicity, and subjective social status as covariates. The CLUSTER function was used given that participants were nested within school; the model also used maximum log-

likelihood for missing data ( $n=3078$ ; missing on x variable=542). Model fit was evaluated using the three fit indices: the comparative fit index (CFI; Bentler, 1990), standardized root mean square residual (SRMR; Hu & Bentler, 1999), and root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA; Steiger, 1998). The cross-lagged analysis allows for the directional influences between variables to be tested over time (Kenny, 2014). The model in this analysis is considered crossed as it estimated the relationship from perceived group mistreatment to civic behaviors, for example, and vice versa. The model is lagged because it estimated the relationship across three different time points. This type of model was best suited to examine the stability and relationship between discrimination and civic behaviors as well as perceived group mistreatment and behaviors over time to better understand how each of these variables influenced each other.

## **Results**

### **Exploratory Factor Analysis on Ethnic-Racial Perceived Group Mistreatment Items**

Students were asked to report their perceptions of the ways society or authorities treat people of their racial/ethnic group on 11 items. Factor analysis was conducted using the responses from the first timepoint (ninth grade) and then confirmed using the third timepoint (eleventh grade) to conclude the final component. The set of items were adequately related for factor analysis: the KMO value was 0.88; and Barlett's test of sphericity was significant [ $\chi^2(55) = 13917.36, p < .01$ ]. Initial eigenvalues indicated two components that explained 41% and 15% for a total of 56% of the variance. Results from the component matrix using the varimax with Kaiser normalization rotation method are presented in Table 2A. Component one, made up of nine items, was used as an indicator of perceived group mistreatment ( $\alpha=.86$ ) for the following analysis as it explained the most variance.

### **Descriptives and Differences Amongst Ethnic Groups**



Table 2B contains the means, standard deviations, and correlations for all study variables. In general, perceived group mistreatment increased over time, with the lowest mean values in ninth grade and the highest values in eleventh grade. Average responses on civic behaviors increased from ninth to tenth grade and then did not increase from tenth grade to eleventh grade. As the purpose of this study was to examine an exploratory hypothesis about the relationship between perceived group mistreatment and civic behaviors over time, it was first important to understand how responses on these variables varied by ethnic groups.

**Table 2A.**  
*Exploratory Factor Analysis Findings for Perceived Group Mistreatment*

Item	Component Loadings		Communality
	1	2	
1. Others are usually fair to everyone including people like me.		.599	.359
2. Even if people like me work hard to make a lot of money, others will just take it away from us. *	<b>.725</b>		.537
3. Teachers present materials in class on purpose to make people like me look dumb. *	<b>.796</b>		.651
4. Policemen will change a story to make people like me look guilty. *	<b>.759</b>		.622
5. Store owners try to cheat people like me whenever they can. *	<b>.810</b>		.688
6. People like me should not deal with other groups because they cannot be trusted. *	<b>.766</b>		.605
7. Teachers ask people like me difficult questions so that we will fail. *	<b>.741</b>		.568
8. Policemen will really try to protect people like me.		.716	.533
9. It is best for people like me to be on our guard when we are around others. *	<b>.659</b>		.434
10. Others are usually honest with people like me.	<b>.162</b>		.612
11. Teachers will give people like me the grade we deserve as long as we really try hard in class.	<b>.193</b>		.545
	Eigenvalue	4.521	1.634
	% of Total Variance	41.104	14.851
	Total Variance	55.955%	

*Note. \*indicates items that were recoded for higher values to indicate more mistrust.*

Using responses from ninth grade, a series of one-way analysis of covariances (ANCOVAs) were conducted with perceived group mistreatment and civic behaviors as outcomes, separately, with ethnicity as the independent variable along with gender and

immigration generational status as covariates. As participants responded to the perceived group mistreatment items according to their ethnic group, differences were expected and found among ethnic group reports. Specifically, Black/African American youth reported higher levels of perceived group mistreatment ( $M=2.45$ ,  $SD=.70$ ), compared to all other ethnic groups, followed by Latinx youth ( $M=2.26$ ,  $SD=.64$ ) and European American/White youth reported the least amount of mistreatment towards their ethnic group ( $M=1.87$ ,  $SD=.61$ ) compared to all other ethnic groups ( $F(4, 3111) = 80.21$ ,  $p<.001$ ).

On civic behaviors, East/Southeast Asian youth reported highest engagement ( $M=1.72$ ,  $SD=.70$ ) compared to European American/White, Latinx and Multiethnic/Biracial youth in the ninth grade and no other ethnic group differences were found ( $F(4, 3078) = 6.59$ ,  $p<.001$ ). These ethnic group differences indicated that high school youth, at least in the ninth grade, not only feel differing levels of perceived mistreatment towards their racial/ethnic group but also engaged in civic behaviors at different levels. Therefore, ethnicity was included as a covariate in the cross-lagged path analysis.

### **Cross-Lagged Path Models**

This study explored the following research question: what is the direction of the relationship between self-perceived racial/ethnic discrimination and civic behaviors as well as between perceived group mistreatment and civic behaviors across three timepoints in high school? The cross-lagged model for self-perceived discrimination resulted in none of the crossed-paths as significant (see Figure 2A). While self-perceived discrimination and behaviors were significantly correlated at each time point, the paths of interest to understand the directionality of the relationship were the crossed paths to and from self-perceived discrimination. These paths were non-significant regardless of a good model fit.

**Table 2B.***Means, standard deviations and intercorrelations among continuous variables.*

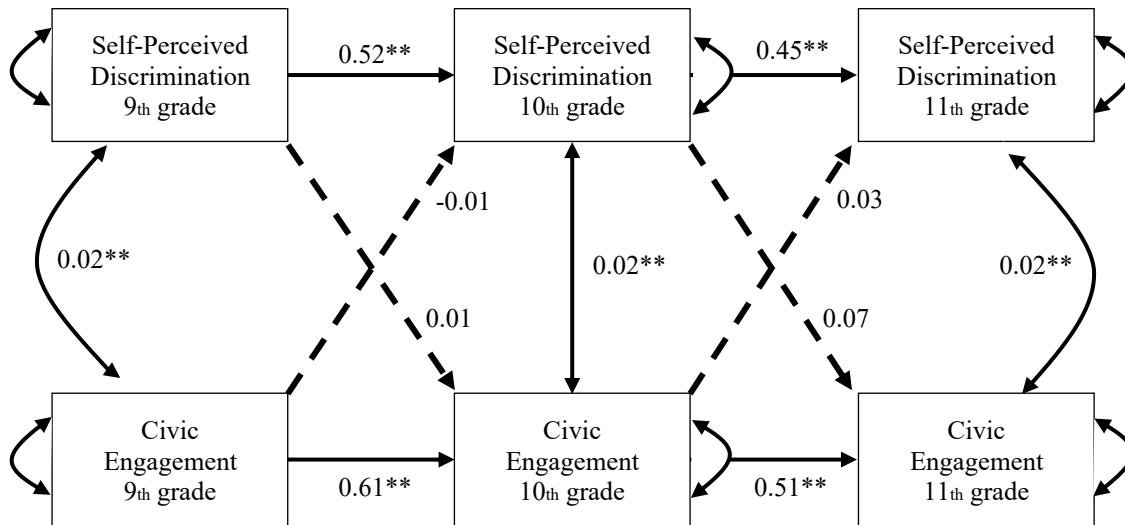
Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Perceived group mistreatment 9th grade	--								
2. Perceived discrimination 9th grade	.25**	--							
3. Civic behaviors 9th grade	.05**	.07**	--						
4. Perceived group mistreatment 10th grade	.62**	.20**	.06**	--					
5. Perceived discrimination 10th grade	.23**	.53**	.08**	.29**	--				
6. Civic behaviors 10th grade	.08**	.07**	.52**	.09**	.07**	--			
7. Perceived group mistreatment 11th grade	.57**	.19**	.06**	.66**	.23**	.06**	--		
8. Perceived discrimination 11th grade	.20**	.41**	.09**	.25**	.48**	.08**	.26**	--	
9. Civic behaviors 11th grade	.04*	.04*	.42**	.07**	.06**	.51**	.07**	.11**	--
M (SD)	2.10 (.66)	1.26 (.46)	1.60 (.66)	2.13 (.64)	1.25 (.46)	1.72 (.74)	2.16 (.63)	1.23 (.46)	1.70 (.72)

*Note.*  $p < .01$ \*\*,  $p < .05$ \*

In contrast, results displayed in Figure 2B showcase that perceived group mistreatment at ninth grade positively predicted higher civic behaviors during tenth grade. The same was true for the relationship between perceived group mistreatment at tenth grade predicting higher engagement during eleventh grade. The non-significant paths from civic behaviors to perceived group mistreatment at all three time-points indicates some longitudinal directionality from ninth grade to eleventh grade where perceiving mistreatment towards one's racial/ethnic group may have led participants to be more involved in civic activities during the following year. As only the path model for perceived group mistreatment was significant, something unique is taking place about perceiving mistreatment towards the larger group that may civically activate youth, that is not activated by self-perception of mistreatment directed towards oneself. The data fit the model well according to two fit indices (CFI and SRMR) but showed poor fit using the RMSEA index which may have been due to the lack of correlation among the two variables of interest at each time point.

**Figure 2A**

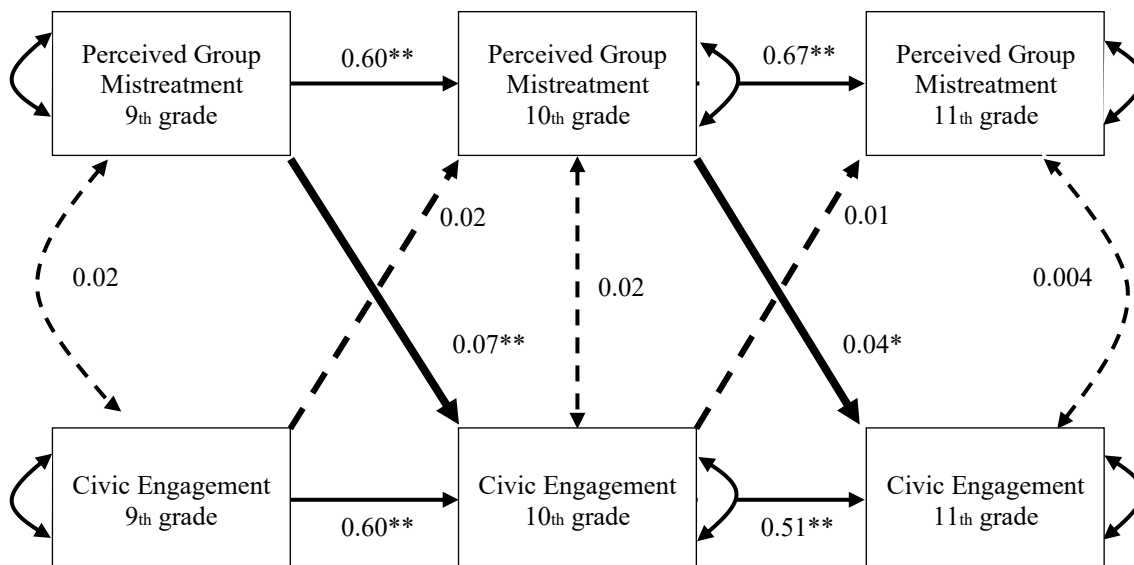
*Non-Significant Cross-Lagged Model of Self-Perceived Discrimination and Civic Engagement*



*Note.* Final cross-lagged model predicting non-significant longitudinal relations between self-perceived discrimination and civic engagement, with controls of cohort, gender, ethnicity and subjective social status. The model fit the data well: CFI = .975, SRMR = 0.026, RMSEA = 0.066, 90% CI (0.051, 0.081). Standardized coefficients reported. \* $p < 0.05$ . \*\* $p < 0.01$ .

**Figure 2B**

*Cross-Lagged Path Model of Perceived Group Mistreatment and Civic Engagement*



*Note.* Final cross-lagged models predicting longitudinal reciprocal relations between perceived group mistreatment and civic engagement. All models control for cohort along with participants' self-reported gender, ethnicity and subjective social status. The model fit the data marginally well: CFI = .939, SRMR = 0.029, RMSEA = 0.138, 90% CI (0.124, 0.154). Standardized coefficients reported. \* $p < 0.05$ . \*\* $p < 0.01$ .

## **Discussion**

Previous studies have examined links between perceptions of discrimination against oneself and/or one's racial/ethnic group and civic engagement among specific ethnic groups, most often amongst ethnic minorities (e.g., Ballard, 2016; Schildkraut, 2005). Additionally, the limited evidence supporting the hypothesis that perceptions of discrimination or mistreatment can promote youth to take civic action has been issue-based (e.g., immigration study by Okamoto & Elbert, 2010) or towards gaining rights (e.g., Sanchez-Jankowski, 2002). The current study found support that perceiving mistreatment towards one's racial/ethnic group can compel youth to be more civically engaged in the following year, even though no cross-sectional differences were found. Specifically, this study examined the directionality of mistreatment to engagement amongst urban youth from ethnically diverse backgrounds, furthering the literature on discrimination and civic engagement in a meaningful way.

While the existing literature has presented competing hypotheses regarding the relationship between discrimination and civic engagement, the current study furthered our understanding by presenting evidence on another form of mistreatment adolescents may perceive towards their larger racial/ethnic group from society and authority figures. On the one hand, scholars have posited that engagement may lead to increases in critical consciousness (Bañales, Mathews, Hayat, Anyiwo, & Diemer, 2019) thus allowing youth to recognize discriminatory

instances as such. Or, being engaged may put youth in places where they are discriminated against (such as during protests). Therefore, experiences with discrimination may lead youth to withdraw from civic participation as they may feel alienated from society (Flanagan et al., 2009; Padilla, 2008 as cited in Ballard, 2016). On the other hand, civic engagement may serve as a coping strategy towards systems of inequality (Hope & Spencer, 2017) and this may be especially true if the perceived mistreatment is toward one's larger racial/ethnic group rather than oneself. For example, in one cross-sectional survey study, Black youth (ages 15-25) who perceived institutional discrimination also reported higher levels of civic engagement in the forms of campaigning and volunteer community work (Hope & Jagers, 2014). Moreover, on a larger scope, the well-documented infamous civil rights and women's rights movements indicated that group-based oppression may have catalyzed civic involvement (Ballard, 2016).

Cross-lagged models provide an added contribution since they are able to capture the links between earlier experiences as they may predict later consequences. While the limited empirical evidence presented above has been cross-sectional in nature, it provides support for the findings from the current study that experiences of perceived mistreatment may lead to a positive coping response through civic engagement. When it comes to reports of discrimination during adolescence, even those from racial/ethnic minoritized backgrounds who are more likely to be subjected to discrimination, individuals may be more likely to report experiences at a group level or from society rather than those they were subjected to on an individual level (e.g., Crosby; 1982; Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam, & Lalonde, 1990 as cited in Major, Quinton, McCoy, 2002, pp. 276-277). The non-significant findings on self-perceived ethnic-racial discrimination may be due to the low frequency of reports by the sample overall. Otherwise, these findings may be due to the measurement which asked for personal experiences that youth were less likely to report.

Future research should examine different levels of discrimination among ethnically diverse youth to further elaborate on the findings here and examine whether engagement is in fact a coping strategy used by young people to mitigate experiences of discrimination.

### **Agency as a Connecting Mechanism Between Mistreatment and Engagement**

Efficacy, defined as the shared belief of resolving one's group's grievances through collective action (Bandura, 1995), has been posited as a predictor of collective action (Mummendey et al., 1999). Related to the concept of efficacy is the sociological construct of agency. Agency refers to the belief that individual actions have the potential to share and change social structures and therefore, is focused on giving a voice to those most marginalized (e.g., Gergen, 1999). Drury and Reicher (2005) defined empowerment as a "social-psychological state of confidence in one's ability to challenge existing relations of domination." Considering these previous definitions, one possible mechanism through which the link between mistreatment and civic participation was found may be due to agency. Specifically, for youth to positively react to and civically engage beyond experiences of mistreatment youth must feel a sense of agency. Said differently, young people may feel that they can make a difference in the social structures and dominance leading to their experiences with mistreatment so that they can engage in social action through civic engagement as a response. The type of and extent of civic engagement is also determined by the level to which youth feel they have a voice and can make a difference – that is, agency. For example, even when old enough to vote, if young people lack confidence that their voting will make a difference, they will be less likely to engage in civic actions such as voting. Therefore, agency may help explain the relationship between mistreatment and civic engagement and this is something future research should try to systematically unpack to better

understand the link between mistreatment and participation in civic activities reported in the current study.

### **Implications, Limitations, and Future Directions**

There were also some group level differences found in the cross-sectional reports of perceived group mistreatment as well as with reports on civic engagement, using the ninth-grade data. While it is clear that youth from minoritized backgrounds are more likely to be subjected to and perceive mistreatment, it is important to explore positive ways for young people to cope with the prejudicial treatment they may experience or perceive on a societal level. The findings here showed that young people were also civically engaged at different levels. Somewhat surprising given prior mixed reports on Asian American youths' lack of civic involvement, youth in the current study who self-identified as East/Southeast Asian reported higher levels of engagement in the ninth grade compared to other racial/ethnic groups. In their paper examining Asian American college students' engagement, Wray-Lake, Tang, and Victorino (2016) found that considerable heterogeneity exists among Asian Americans' civic involvement. Therefore, future research should examine how the heterogeneity in civic behaviors (e.g., volunteering versus protesting) can serve as positive coping mechanisms managing discriminatory experiences of youth. Finally, adding to the existing literature, the findings presented here highlight that although experiences with discrimination can subject youth to negative social, mental, and even academic adjustment (Benner et al., 2018), on the other hand, civic engagement can promote many positive developmental outcomes among youth. Therefore, as adolescents spend a lot of time in schools and within their neighborhoods, schools, municipalities and local community, authorities should consider implementing structured ways for including young people in local civic activities.



Although students reported experiences with both self-perceived discrimination and group-level mistreatment low in frequency, group mistreatment was associated in important ways with youths' behavioral engagement in the three year of high school. This study had a number of strengths, including a longitudinal design that covered three years of high school, a multiethnic sample, and reports of group-level mistreatment as well as self-perceived discrimination. The study also had limitations, however, that limit the types of conclusions that can be drawn. All measures were self-reported therefore, it is unclear the extent to which the experiences of discrimination directly and truly impacted young people's civic behaviors. Additionally, the smaller coefficients and moderate accuracy on model fit indices indicate other factors may have impacted youths' civic behaviors during the subsequent years of high school. Therefore, future research must examine mechanisms through which becoming aware of mistreatment towards one's group results in increased activism (e.g., such as through racial socialization and racial awareness as described in Anyiwo, Bañales, Rowley, Watkins, & Richards-Schuster, 2018). It is important to remember, however, that the civic engagement measure in this study asked youth to report their civic actions over a 12-month period and not for school credit. Perhaps asking youth to openly report all civic behaviors they have engaged in and directly asking whether any of their behaviors resulted from perceptions of mistreatment may help us better understand the links between mistreatment and civic engagement. This study is a first start to understanding how perceiving mistreatment can motivate youth to engage in civic action over the course of three-years in high school.

## STUDY 3

### **No Thanks to Trump: Youth Civic Engagement Before and After the 2016 U.S.**

#### **Presidential Election**

On November 8th, 2016, after the election results were apparent and Donald Trump had won the presidency, several high schools, colleges, and universities across the nation experienced walkouts, with young people silently protesting the election results. Since those results, as a nation, we have witnessed numerous student-led actions (e.g. the *March for Our Lives* movement). These student-led civic events have garnered vast news and social media coverage. While the larger rhetoric would indicate that young people have become more engaged as a result of the 2016 election, empirical evidence on the engagement of high school youth after that election remains limited. In the research reported here, I examined whether a nation-wide event, specifically, the 2016 presidential election, triggered an increase in youth engagement.

Historically, the story of youth civic engagement has been that of overwhelming declines in young people's civic commitments and engagement (Flanagan & Levine, 2010; Putnam, 2000). As a nation, our civic health has been severely declining since the 1970s, from metrics such as membership in civic groups to newspaper readings (Liu, March 8th, 2017). However, since the election of Donald Trump and throughout his presidency, we are witnessing millions of Americans participating in mass marches (e.g., Women's March), packing congressional town halls, and taking a vocal stance for address growing inequalities as evidenced, for example, by the increased membership in the American Civil Liberties Union. Whether the sentiments of increased engagement are true for our youth remains unclear. Therefore, documenting the civic behavioral reactions of young people to the dramatic changes in the political landscape is crucial.

#### **Youth Civic Engagement**

Broadly speaking, civic engagement (CE) is about social change. In their attempt to summarize the various forms of civic and political activities that comprise CE, Barret and Brunton-Smith (2014) reviewed the existing research literature on CE to highlight that engagement encompasses forms of conventional (e.g., voting) and non-conventional political participation (e.g., writing letters to public officials), as well as various forms of civic participation (e.g., volunteering) and civic and political engagement (e.g., holding attitudes towards civic matters). Other scholars have also argued that civic engagement is multifaceted and includes civic knowledge, skills and attitudes, and behaviors in order for youth and any individual to become good participants in civic society (Levinson, 2010). Civic involvement in society – or being civically engaged (Snyder & Omoto, 2007) – can take many forms for young people and can be motivated by acting not only for one’s personal benefit but also to help others. Specific civic activities can vary from being explicitly political, such as voting, working on a campaign, or lobbying and participating in social movements. Other forms of civic engagement are not necessarily political, but rather are more about helping others through volunteering or via participating in community service programs.

Civic engagement is related to many developmental outcomes (Wray-Lake, 2019) and recent work has shown both agentic/personal (advancing the self) and communal (serving others) predictors of youth civic engagement (Lawford & Ramey, 2017; Ballard, 2014). Some researchers have suggested that connecting with others through civic activities that encourage discussion and collaboration may even help address the loneliness (subjective state of feeling alone) crisis we are facing as a nation (Williams & Braun, 2019). Given what we know about the health, safety, and psychological effects of Trump’s policies and messaging (Sulkowski, 2017 as cited in Wray-Lake, Wells, Alvis, Delgado, Sylversten, & Metzger, 2018), a factor worth

exploring to shed some light on what compels youth to be active participants in a civic society is whether a critical national event can push youth to become more engaged. Study 3 of this dissertation therefore, explored whether the 2016 presidential election served as a catalyst for youth to become engaged during their adolescent years.

### **Impact of Historical Events on Youth Civic Engagement**

Despite the proliferation of evidence on low voter turnout among 18-29-year-olds, elections have been shown in the literature to influence participation in both national and international contexts (Longo, Drury, Battistoni, 2006; Sears & Valentino, 1997; Seongyi & Woo-Young, 2011; Wong & Tseng, 2008). For example, in the 2016 general election for the president, only about 46.1% of the eligible 18-29-year-olds voted compared to the general voter turnout of about 58% (CIRCLE, 2016). The voting turnout among this younger age group is even lower for midterms and non-presidential elections with the 2018 midterm election as an anomaly in the patterns among 18-29-year-old voters where a higher number of young people used their voice by casting a vote compared to ever before (CIRCLE, 2019). Presidential elections, which provide information-rich events for the discussion of politics with parents, friends, and teachers, have consistently been shown to shape political actions and viewpoints among young people (Longo, Drury, & Battistoni, 2006; Sears & Valentino, 1997; Seongyi & Woo-Young, 2011; Wong & Tseng, 2008). Young people can come to conceive of themselves as civic actors in the context of political elections. The election of Trump is historic and had elevated consequences for people of color and immigrants (Kennedy et al., 2019). Little is known, however, about how young people with diverse identities experienced the potentially cataclysmic event.

Researchers have begun to understand the impact of the 2016 presidential election, as a communal predictor, specifically focusing on adjustment and academic outcomes. Based on

teachers' retrospective reports, a recent national survey study found that about 21% of students' participation in civic related activities increased after the election (Rogers et al. 2017).

Additionally, a set of representative survey-series reported that the number of youths who are using their voices in the forms of protesting, marching and offline and online interactions, especially during college since 2016 (CIRCLE, 2018), has tripled. Alternatively, another study examining Latinx urban youths' reaction to the election found that for some youth, Trump's immigration politics sparked more civic engagement since the 2016 election. Although these findings suggest that the election may not have been a catalyst for engagement for all youth, the likelihood of participating in civic activities increased and the Latinx youth in the sample even reported having heightened interest in politics or current events (Wray-Lake et al., 2018). Based on more qualitative evidence, yet another study reported mixed support for the 2016 election serving as a catalyst for youth engagement. Based on a semi-structured youth participatory action research program, Kennedy and colleagues (2019) found that critical action occurred somewhat infrequently post-election. The scholars noted that while civic action-taking may not have boomed, the impact of the limited actions taken by some individuals were seen as significant by the larger group. These civic actions were often part of the youths' daily conversations. More is yet to be learned about impact of the election past engagement on adjustment outcomes such as loneliness among adolescent youth.

Non-election-based research has found other-focused or communal motivation predicting engagement (Ballard & Syme, 2015; Omoto & Packard, 2016). For example, a study examining AIDS activism found that engagement was related to greater communal orientation and empathic concern for others. Additional mediational analyses for the same study conducted by Omoto, Snyder, and Hackett (2010) found evidence that other-focused motivation led to specific

activism and in turn encouraged broader civic engagement. Accordingly, we hypothesized that youth civic engagement would increase as a result of the 2016 presidential election for urban, ethnically diverse youth, showing support for external catalysts as communal motivators.

### **The Current Study**

To better understand how young people's civic engagement changed as a function of the 2016 presidential election, the current study examined two indicators of engagement (i.e., civic behaviors and future civic intentions) before (T1) and after (T2) the election. It was hypothesized that young people would more frequently participate in civic behaviors after the election compared to before the election, showing support for the election as a communal predictor of civic engagement. Additionally, to further unpack the potential increase or decrease in participation on civic actions among urban ethnically diverse youth, age differences as well as the impact on an adjustment indicator of subjective social isolation were examined. Specifically, subjective social isolation can provide some direction towards how a national event may have led youth to feel a lack of community and in turn, may provide some insight into how improving a sense of community can address isolation felt by the youth. By addressing the research questions below, this study aimed to better understand the impact of a potentially cataclysmic event on urban adolescents of three different age groups:

1. Does a nation-wide critical event trigger increases in youth civic engagement? Are there cohort (as a proxy for age) effects?
2. How did subjective social isolation factor into the decline in engagement from T1 to T2?

### **Methods**

#### **Participants**

The current study sample comes from a larger longitudinal study of 5991 urban youth recruited from 26 middle schools in Northern and Southern California. Initially recruited in the sixth grade for the entire middle school period, students were re-recruited in the ninth grade from the 443 high schools to which they transitioned. Parental consent as well as student assent were received for all participants again as high schoolers. Data for the current study were collected during two time points: the spring of 2016 during the presidential campaign (T1); and the spring of 2017 after Trump's inauguration (T2). The ethnically diverse participants ( $n=2,410$ ) in this study came from three cohorts (cohort 1  $N=981$ , cohort 2  $N=1458$ , and cohort 3  $N=408$ ), each recruited one year apart; cohort was used as a proxy for age in this study. During T1, participants were in the 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, and 12<sup>th</sup> grades in high school and were surveyed again during the next grade year (i.e., 11<sup>th</sup> grade, 12<sup>th</sup> grade, one year post high school) at T2.

### **Procedure and Design**

Participants were surveyed in non-academic courses in their high schools during the spring of each year. The surveys were administered on individual tablets and the instructions for completing the survey were audiotaped so that all students worked at their own pace. Each wave of the survey took about 45 minutes to one hour to complete. As the surveys collected during the time points used in the current study were administered without knowledge of who the winner or let alone the nominees of the presidential election would be, this study demonstrates a comparison of a pre- and post- of two timepoints, similar to a quasi-experimental design without claiming causation.

### **Measures**

Each of the following measures used in this study was assessed during both timepoints.

#### **Demographic variables**

### ***Race/Ethnicity***

Students self-reported their race/ethnicity and were asked “what is your ethnic group?” along with a definition of ethnicity. In response to this question, participants could choose from 13 ethnic categories or could provide an open-ended answer if they identified as multi-ethnic or if their ethnicity did not fit any of the categories listed. The responses were later recoded to fit a few larger categories: Black/African American (12%), East/Southeast Asian (15%), European American/White (24%), Filipino/Pacific Islander (3%), Latinx (33%), Middle Eastern (2%), Native American (<1%), Multiethnic/Biracial (8%), and South Asian (2%).

### ***Gender***

Participants were asked to self-report their gender at each wave of data collection by selecting from the following categories: boy/man, girl/woman, transgender, gender nonconforming, gender fluid, questioning/not sure, different identity, gender queer, or other. These broader categories were later recoded into four gender identities: cisgender boy (45%), cisgender girl (52%), gender diverse (2%), and questioning (<1%).

### ***Socioeconomic Status***

Parent educational attainment was used as a proxy for socioeconomic status. The parent or guardian who completed the informed consent at ninth grade also indicated their highest level of education on a 6-point scale ranging from 1= elementary/junior high school, 2=some high school, 3=high school diploma or GED, 4=some college, 5=four-year college degree, and 6=graduate degree.

### ***Generation Status***

Consistent with the literature on immigration (e.g., Camacho & Fuligni, 2015), students’ generational status was determined by using participants self-report of their own and their



parents' country of origin to create the following categories: first generation was classified if students were born outside of the United States (10% of the sample), second generation if at least one parent was born outside of the United States (51% of the sample), and third generation if both parents and students were both born in the United States (39% of the sample).

## **Civic Variables**

### ***Civic Behaviors***

A composite measure of the frequency with which students engaged in eight activities was created: (1) helping the community, (2) volunteering for an environmental group, (3) volunteering for an organized group targeting inequality, (4) working to reduce prejudice, (5) volunteer tutoring, (6) collecting funds or signatures, (7) participating in a walk or run, and (8) rallying. Eight items were asked across all waves of the survey with the following instructions: “We know that as high school students your schedules are very busy – with homework, extracurricular activities, sports, and for some of you, part time jobs. Even with those busy schedules, we are interested in whether you had time to volunteer or work in your community without pay and not for school credit.” Participants rated specific behaviors they engaged in over the past year on a 5-point scale (1=Never to 5=more than once a month) ( $\alpha = .87$ ). The eight items on this scale were adapted from the civic duty, civic skills, and civic participation subscales of the AEC questionnaire (Bobek, Zaff, Li, & Lerner, 2009).

### ***Community Orientated Future Aspirations***

Adapted from Furco, Muller and Ammon (1998), 6 items (e.g., “helping my community,” “working to stop prejudice”) assessed the extent of participants’ intentions for future civic behaviors. Items were assessed using a 5-point scale to rate each future civic behavior in terms of

importance (1=very important to 5=not at all important). Items were re-coded so that higher values indicated higher aspirations ( $\alpha = .85$ ).

### **Adjustment Variable: Loneliness**

A five-item version of the Asher and Wheeler's (1985) Loneliness Scale was used to measure feelings of loneliness at school (e.g., "I have nobody to talk to"). Participants rated the items on a 5-point scale (1=always true to 5=not true at all). Items were coded such that higher scores indicated more loneliness ( $\alpha = .84$ ). This measure is used as an indicator of subjective social isolation in this study.

### **Analysis and Results**

Using the 2016 presidential election as an indicator of a quasi-experimental design, a set of ANCOVAs (analysis of covariance) and paired samples t-tests were run to examine whether engagement and aspirations during Time 2 (after the presidential inauguration) differed than engagement and aspirations during Time 1 (before the election), accounting for participants' self-reported gender, ethnicity, immigration status, and socio-economic status. Data descriptives along with correlations amongst all variables are presented Table 3A.

Disproving my hypothesis, overall, youth engagement decreased from T1 ( $M=1.71$ ,  $SD=0.71$ ) to T2 ( $M=1.58$ ,  $SD=0.69$ ),  $t(2846) = 9.11$ ,  $p<0.001$ . The oldest participants or cohort 1 significantly lowered in their civic behaviors from T1 ( $M=1.69$ ,  $SD=0.72$ ) to T2 ( $M=1.43$ ,  $SD=0.61$ ), compared to both Cohort 2 (T1  $M=1.71$ ,  $SD=0.72$ ; T2  $M=1.66$ ,  $SD=0.72$ ) and Cohort 3 (T1  $M=1.84$ ,  $SD=0.76$ ; T2  $M=1.78$ ,  $SD=0.73$ ),  $F(2, 2409) = 29.74$ ,  $p < .001$ . This was true across ethnic groups, gender identities, immigrant generation, and socioeconomic status. While engagement went down for all youth, accounting for demographics, civic aspirations increased from T1 to T2 across all three cohorts (from  $M = 3.90$  to  $M = 4.01$ ). Further post-hoc analyses

**Table 3A.***Mean, standard deviations and intercorrelations among continuous variables.*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Civic Behaviors T1	--					
2. Civic Behaviors T2	0.52**	--				
3. Civic Aspirations T1	0.22**	0.18**	--			
4. Civic Aspirations T2	0.20**	0.20**	0.56**	--		
5. Loneliness T1	-0.002	-0.03	-0.11**	-0.07**	--	
6. Loneliness T2	-0.002	-0.12**	-0.03	-0.03	0.29**	--
M	1.71	1.58	3.90	4.01	1.95	2.60
SD	0.71	0.69	0.73	0.73	0.89	1.24

*Note: \*\* $p < 0.01$* 

indicated that this was driven by Cohort 3 where aspirations during T2 ( $M=4.00$ ,  $SD=0.68$ ) for this group of youngest participants increased significantly compared to T1 ( $M=3.89$ ,  $SD=0.67$ ),  $t(409) = -3.13$ ,  $p < 0.01$ .

To test how subjective social isolation, measured by loneliness, may have factored into the decline in engagement from T1 to T2, first, a paired-samples t-test was conducted to compare loneliness during T1 and T2. Loneliness was higher for all youth during T2 after the 2016 election ( $M=2.6$ ,  $SD=1.23$ ) compared to T1 ( $M=1.94$ ,  $SD=0.89$ );  $t(2918) = -26.36$ ,  $p < 0.001$ . Next, a linear regression analysis was conducted with engagement at T1 as the predictor, loneliness at T2 as the moderator, and engagement at T2 as the outcome, controlling for the loneliness at T1, along with participants' demographics, to better understand the impact of T2 loneliness together with engagement at T1 predicting engagement at T2. All continuous variables were centered at the mean. The results showed that civic behaviors at T1,  $b = 0.51$ , 95% CI [0.48, 0.55],  $t = 29.37$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , loneliness at T2,  $b = -0.08$ , 95% CI [-0.10, -0.05],  $t = -7.06$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , as well as the interaction between civic behaviors at T1 and loneliness at T2,  $b = -0.38$ , 95% CI [-0.06, -0.01],  $t = -2.76$ ,  $p = 0.005$ , all significantly predicted engagement at T2 ( $R^2 = 0.30$ ). These results, displayed in Table 3B and Figure 3A, show that participants' civic behaviors during T2 depended on their feelings of social isolation as well as their behaviors during T1: the lonelier

the participants reported feeling along with lower behaviors during T1 predicted lower engagement during T2. Subjective social isolation during T2, therefore, played a significant role in predicting T2 engagement on its own as well as alongside engagement during T1.

**Table 3B.**

*Regression Coefficients for T2 Loneliness Moderator Analysis with T1 Civic Behaviors Predicting T2 Civic Behaviors*

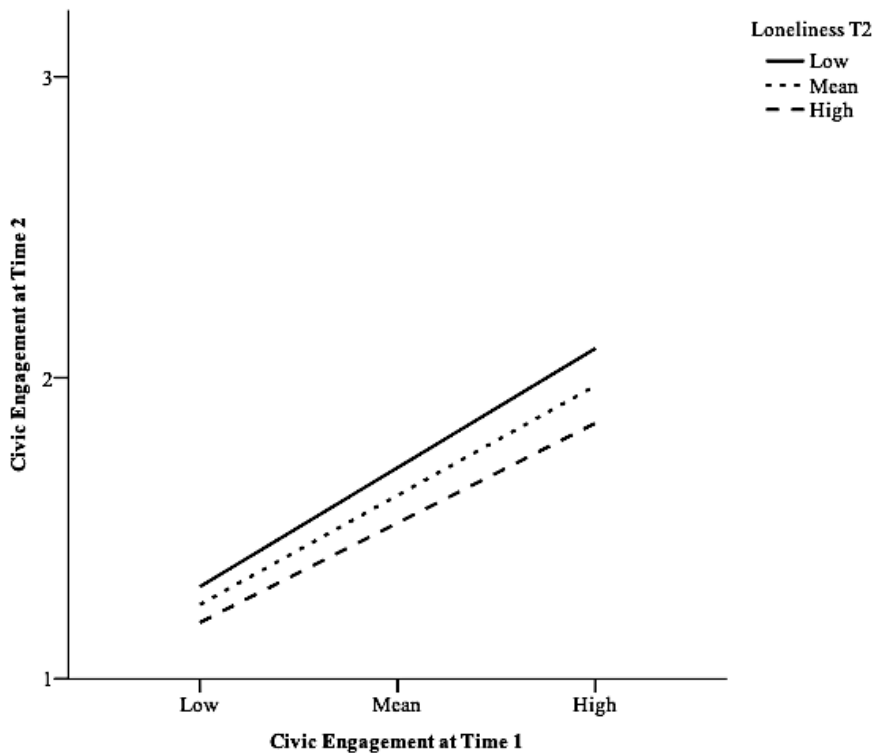
Variable	Estimate	SE	95% CI	
			LL	UL
T1 Civic Behaviors	.51**	.02	.48	.55
T2 Loneliness	-.08**	.01	-.10	-.05
T1 Civic Behaviors x T2 Loneliness	-.04*	.01	-.06	-.01
Covariates				
Gender	.04	.02	.00	.08
Ethnicity	-.01	.01	-.02	.002
Generation Status	.01	.02	-.03	.05
Parental Education	.02	.01	.00	.03
T1 Loneliness	.01	.01	-.02	.04

R<sub>2</sub> = .300, R<sub>2</sub> change = .002

Note. \*\*p<0.001, \*p<0.01. All continuous variables were centered at the mean for the regression analyses.

**Figure 3A**

*Interaction Between T1 Civic Behaviors and T2 Loneliness Predicting T2 Civic Behaviors*



## Discussion

“The number of hate crimes reached a five-year high in 2016, taking a noticeable uptick toward the end of the year around Donald Trump’s surprise electoral college victory” (Barrouquere, 2017).

As captured by the opening excerpt from the *Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC)*, the surprising election of Donald Trump as the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States sparked the climax of a changing sociopolitical time where questions around the existence of racism, sexism, homophobia, xenophobia, ageism, and many other isms were no longer in doubt (Baum-Baicker, 2020). In their attempts to explain the atrocity of Trump winning the 2016 election and defying all projected polls, many pundits and political scientists broke down the data of who weighed in with election votes. One such analysis conducted by *CNN* indicated that the voting patterns differed drastically, as expected, by social identities such as race, gender, and income, but also significantly by age. Specifically, the *CNN* exit polls (“2016 election results,” CNN) found that the 18 to 29-year-olds (millennial electorate) overwhelmingly voted for Hillary Clinton (55%) at a higher rate than for Trump (39%) and this pattern held up compared to all other age groups of voters. What these exit polls also highlight is that only about 50% of the millennial electorate casted votes. Such voting patterns and the ongoing question of youth civic engagement in the political discourse spark questions about youths’ participation in the civic society as active political and civic agents.

Given the changing patterns of voting among the youth-voters, it was hypothesized that youths’ patterns of civic behaviors would differ as a function of a high impact event such as the 2016 presidential election. Even for the youth who may not yet be eligible to vote, the high impact event may have led young people to find communal motivators for being engaged. Contrary to our hypothesis and building on the prior mixed evidence, the research conducted here showed that engagement, measured by behaviors across eight activities youth at different

age groups reported as participating in before and after the 2016 presidential election, declined for the California urban youth one year after the election in the spring of 2017 (T2). The decline in engagement was most true for the oldest youth in the study, indicating some developmental differences in engagement. The oldest youth were also transitioning out of high school during the time of this study, therefore, may have been more focused on other factors such as planning the next phase of their life post-high school than being concerned with civically participating. Perhaps if these students were followed into early adulthood, we may see an increase in civic behaviors as prior research has documented college-aged youth begin participating at higher rates due to more available opportunities (Bowman, 2011), while this increase in engagement is somewhat predicted by pre-college engagement (e.g., Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, & Atkins, 2007).

The somewhat dim picture of lowered engagement after the election was further elaborated through the findings that youth reported feeling higher levels of loneliness the year after the election compared to the spring of 2016 (T1). Furthermore, youth who felt higher levels of loneliness during T2 and were least engaged prior to the election reported the lowest levels of engagement after the election. Researchers have begun to empirically document the psychological distress among adults during the 2016 election (American Psychological Association, 2017; McCarthy & Saks, 2019); however, less is known about how this major political event affected adolescents. Even though young people may not have been able to actively participate in the election process through voting, some youth from minoritized identities may have experienced unique stressors during and following the results of the election (Zeiders, Nair, Hoyt, Pace, & Cruze, 2019). One qualitative study interviewed 80 youth (ages 14 to 24) before and after the 2016 election and found that about 86% of youth reported emotional symptoms and 20% of youth reported physical symptoms before the election and that these

symptoms carried true four months after the election (DeJonckheere, Fisher, & Chang, 2018). While the preliminary evidence in these studies indicated that the 2016 election was likely a stressor in adolescents' lives, the researchers focused exclusively on the psychological well-being of young people as a result of the election. The current study findings provided preliminary evidence that feelings of loneliness may have worsened the civic engagement of youth in the spring after the presidential inauguration.

Somewhat bettering the dim reality of urban diverse youths' decline in engagement after the election was the examination of young people's intentions for participating in civic related items in the future (i.e., civic aspirations). Given that the youngest participants reported the highest levels of importance on future civic aspirations after the election compared to before the election, there may be hope yet for how these youth will become empowered and more engaged in the years following the drastic 2016 election process. Context is salient for the examination of civic development and engagement of young people. Although I was unable to critically examine context in this study, perhaps for the youngest youth, who were yet to be of voting age, hope was crucial for getting through the political divisiveness that the 2016 Presidential election results brought. As of 2020, four years after the 2016 presidential election results, in the western world we are celebrating young activists such as Greta Thunberg (climate change movement) and Emili Gonzalez (anti-gun violence movement). Meanwhile, people in other countries are unable to protest because of the major hindrances placed by their own governments. Therefore, future longitudinal analyses are necessary, while taking context into account, to better understand the impact of critical national events, such as elections, on youths' civic and political engagement. Furthermore, a more detailed analysis of how political issues relevant to youth during an election process relate to youths' interest and participation in civic engagement needs to be better

understood by future research. Perhaps if youth have interest in and close comrades who participate in civic activities, they may be more likely to become engaged themselves. This remains to be better understood.

### **Limitations and Implications**

The study reported here began with the premise that focusing only on creating opportunities for youth to become engaged does not answer the question of why youth become involved. Therefore, analyzing a national event as a naturally occurring catalyst can shed some light on motivating factors for youth. While our sample is restrictive to California urban youth, it is important to remember that not all youth experienced the election in the same way. The data used here are representative of urban diverse youth in large school districts around the country and may shed some light on powerful indicators especially because California has the largest immigrant populations. Important caveats to the findings reported here are that the data do not account for political ideology or other important identity markers such as religious identity. It is important to remember that young people can be civically engaged with right-winged or liberal leaning political beliefs. Because our questions did not directly ask about youths' involvement immediately before and after the election, we are assuming that the dip in engagement may be in some part due to the election results. However, precisely because this research was conducted without knowing the election results during T1 or that our nation would experience what some are calling the "Trump stress effect" (Baum-Baicker, 2020), our findings provide insight into how a divisive election can impact youth engagement.

Some important implication for practitioners can be derived from our findings regarding the need to push for greater community engagement and awareness amongst our youth. While many schools may provide service-learning programs, these may not encourage greater political



awareness and benefit student involvement in civic activities (e.g., Yates & Youniss, 1999).

Therefore, we cannot simply assume that high stakes such as during the time of a divisive national election, will get our youth to take action; instead, we should promote other influences, such as boosting opportunities for engagement and instilling agency, that can foster engagement amongst young people.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

“When you’re out there voting, it’s not just about yourself. We have to become the messengers of peace and justice. We have to be the gardeners that are out there sowing the seeds of justice.”  
– Dolores Huerta

The patterns of lower than desirable levels of civic engagement among youth have been well documented in the literature (e.g., Galston, 2001). While there is vast agreement on the benefits of civic participation and robust evidence has documented youths’ civic achievement over time (e.g., Flanagan, 2013), there is a lack of consensus in the literature over the determinants of civic engagement for youth (Wray-Lake, Metzger, & Syvertsen, 2017). In studying the factors that may influence the development of commitments to civic participation, it makes sense to target late adolescence – a critical period for development of sociopolitical orientations (e.g., Erikson, 1968). During the late adolescence period, youth are thinking about their lives as adults and are working to understand how they relate to the larger society (Atkins & Hart, 2003). Argued by many developmental theorists, civic engagement is proposed to be informed through multiple developmental processes across adolescence and this process is rooted in the prospects youth have to learn about the various civic activities (Sherrod & Lauckhardt, 2009; Zaff, Hart, Flanagan, Youniss, & Levine, 2010). Yet, there is much more to be learned about the types of motivations for youth to engage in civic action. By understanding the many motivations as well as how civic engagement can serve as a positive response to negative experiences such as with discrimination, we may gain valuable insights into youths’ developing understanding of civic engagement (Metzger, Syvertsen, Oosterhoff, Babskie, & Wray-Lake, 2016). This dissertation was a starting point to unpacking personal (Studies 1 and 2) and communal (Study 3) predictors of civic engagement among identity-diverse adolescents.

The current dissertation took a longitudinal approach to investigate the patterns of civic engagement along with the predictors over the course of late adolescence. I employed two distinct measures of multidimensional civic engagement that captured actual behaviors youth participated in as well as the future aspirations for engagement of youth. Few studies have examined civic engagement over time and its demographic predictors, relation to perceived mistreatment, and a national cataclysmic event.

In the first study, I found that civic engagement measured by behaviors (actions) and aspirations (intentions) changed over the four years of high school and that gender, subjective social status, and race/ethnicity all predicted the growth in engagement over time. Specifically, adding some clarity to the existing mixed evidence on demographic differences in engagement through the longitudinal approach, my first study found that cisgender girls were more engaged over time compared to cisgender boys and that youth who perceived higher social status (i.e., subjective indicator of social class) participated in more civic actions over the course of high school and planned to be more engaged in the future. Additionally, nuanced racial/ethnic differences along with different patterns of participation at each year in high school pointed to the fact that engagement does not look the same for all urban diverse youth and therefore, can impact young people in different ways.

Multiple policy frameworks targeting young people – at the national and international levels such as by the United Nations Agencies – have identified youth civic and political engagement as important goals and have promoted youth civic engagement as contributing factors to both youth development and broader change (Chaskin, McGregor, & Brady, 2018). Engaging marginalized urban youth, however, is a challenging and complex matter and there is still relatively little empirical longitudinal evidence about specific contexts, strategies, and

mechanisms through which urban youth are engaged and the effects such engagement have on youth development as well as long term political circumstances such as voting. By employing a longitudinal cross-lagged path model analysis with identity-diverse urban youth, the second study of this dissertation shed light on how perceiving group mistreatment can be a motivating factor for youth in high school to participate in civic actions. Adding to our understanding of communal (towards helping others) rather than just personal (advancing oneself) predictors of civic engagement, the third study in this dissertation found that, contrary to my hypothesis, the 2016 U.S. Presidential election did not increase civic engagement among urban youth one year after the election. In an attempt to unpack the lowered engagement after the election compared to right before the election, Study 3 also found that young people felt higher levels of loneliness the year after the election, yet the youngest group of students also intended to be more engaged.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

Taken together, the dissertation findings elaborate on our understanding of youth civic engagement over a critical developmental period of late adolescence and suggest many directions for future research. Some important limitations must be considered: 1) this dissertation did not explicitly unpack engagement for minoritized youth while oversampling of marginalized youth may unpack how their unique experiences can help bridge the civic empowerment gap (Levinson, 2010); 2) while the focus of this dissertation was on civic engagement of youth outside of school and not for school credit (i.e., on a volunteer basis), there was a lack of an indicator of opportunities available to youth so it is difficult to understand whether youth who were more engaged (e.g., those who perceived higher social status) were engaged because of more opportunities being available; and 3) given the changing times, this dissertation did not adequately measure civic participation in an online space that has been on the rise in more recent

years and may be more available to young people today (Boulianne & Theocharis, 2020). Finally, all of these key limitations are in light of not knowing much about the school/environment context that the students resided in. Specifically, the studies in this dissertation lacked a clear understanding of the political climate of the schools as well as the extracurricular and civic activities available to students at their school.

Given the findings of the current dissertation and the above limitations, I am outlining three suggestions for future research to tackle in examining civic engagement among youth and in promoting multidimensional civic engagement. First, future research should continue conceptualizing political and civic participation broadly, not focusing only on formal processes (e.g., voting) but also informal aspects of civic engagement as multidimensional including various forms of action, communication, discussions, and debates in multiple contexts (e.g., on the internet). Specifically, the current sociopolitical climate in the U.S. in 2020 has brought on significant challenges for organizers from both the left and right sides of the political spectrum and has pushed activists to adopt online platforms for engaging young people in important ongoing societal issues (e.g., <https://nextgenamerica.org/2020-plan/>). Therefore, empirical scholars must adapt methodologies to not only acknowledge multidimensionality in the measurement of youth civic engagement but also capture online platforms through which young people are activating their political and civic voices (e.g., posting on social media).

Second, taking a developmental perspective is critical to understanding the emergence of a civic engagement identity over time through ongoing socialization. As organizers are preparing to engage the youngest cohort of voters in the 2020 Presidential election, many recognize that the low-youth-voter-turnout must be tackled for significant change to be made in youth voting patterns. As a plethora of empirical research has documented, engagement during adolescence is

predictive of later civic behaviors (e.g., Obradović & Masten, 2007), scholars must acknowledge engagement during late adolescence when making conclusions regarding emerging adulthood.

Third, scholars should view youth as active agents in understanding the construction of civic engagement in everyday life, in varying contexts including the home, the school, neighborhoods, media, and communication technologies. Particularly allowing youth to describe their own engagement and choose the types of civic and political activities that are meaningful for them may permit for not only increases in engagement but also address the civic empowerment gap. For example, some young people may choose to participate in protests to display their political voice while other youth may instead choose art or graffiti as ways of spreading political messages and engage their broader society in the greater good. All in all, researchers can further elaborate on the changing patterns in youth civic engagement by measuring engagement in varying contexts (e.g., online), taking a developmental approach, and viewing youth as active agents in the development of civic identity.

## **Conclusion**

Given the far-reaching negative consequences for society as a whole due to the unprecedented levels of inequality in the U.S., ongoing civic participation in different contexts can serve as a long-term partial solution to eradicating inequality. Many deterrents of social stressors have been studied in adolescence (e.g., negative psychological and academic outcomes). However, by promoting civic engagement from a multidimensional approach as a response to distress, we can encourage youth to be agents of change. By addressing institutional barriers, civic engagement can serve to alleviate distress. We know that not all youth have the same trajectory of civic involvement (Wray-Lake, Rote, Victorino, & Benavides, 2014 as cited in Wray-Lake, 2019), as some youth show increases in engagement over time during the

adolescent years while others may show consistent disengagement. Therefore, utilizing a multidimensional approach to civic engagement, and encouraging youth to be agents of change, can help us meet the youth where they are in their civic identity development.

In addition to an increase in hate crimes, the 2016 presidential election seemed to have prompted Americans to make their voices heard at a general population level. Activists on both the right and the left sides of the political spectrum became fired up as they joined civil society organizations, protested, and engaged with political debates via social media. A similar need for engagement can be found in youth who as adolescents are beginning to develop their political identities and therefore, this is a moment to be seized by organizers, scholars, educators, and policy makers to engage young people in sustainable and multidimensional civic engagement.

While our working assumption historically has been that young people are not civically engaged, recent trends, especially among more marginalized youth, show there may be an upsurge of student activism (CIRCLE Poll, 2018). Such increases in youth activism have been indicated vividly by the increases in protests and issue-based walkouts. While the interest and appetite that young people have right now to being engaged is on the rise, school educators and researchers have not caught up to providing systematic support for civic engagement and also for documenting the rise in civic participation by young people. Using the findings presented in this dissertation about the nuanced patterns of engagement, how perceiving group mistreatment can increase engagement, and when a national event does not promote higher engagement, interventionists can focus on increasing agency among young people from diverse backgrounds so that they will become civically engaged and feel that they have the power to make change.

“When we get active in civic life, we grasp hold of our own power. Young people have an especially important role to play – we need them at the table to truly move this country forward.”  
– Michelle Obama (May, 2020)

## Appendix

All dissertation measures are included below in order of mention.

### *Gender Identity Measure*

#### **MY GENDER**

We just asked you about what your ethnic or racial identity. We are also interested in learning about your gender identity. This question is specifically about what gender you personally identify with (not who you are attracted to). If there are any terms or labels that you are not familiar with, don't worry about it.

1. How would YOU describe your gender? You can mark as many responses as you need. You can also write a different gender identity for the "Different identity" option. (Please mark only one circle)

- Boy 1
- Girl 2
- Transgender 3
- Gender Nonconforming 4
- Gender Fluid 5
- Questioning/Not Sure 6
- Different Identity 7
- If you wish, please specify what different identity you describe yourself as

---



## Students In My School

Now that you have told us about your ethnic group, we want to know what **OTHER** students think your ethnic group is.

### 1. Most students in my school think I am...

- American Indian 1
- Black/African-American 2
- Black/other country of origin (e.g., Belizean, Guyanain, Caribbean, West Indian) 3
- East Asian (e.g., Chinese, Korean, Japanese) 4
- Latino/other country of origin (e.g. Guatemalan, Argentinean, Caribbean, Puerto Rican, Dominican) 5
- Mexican/Mexican-American 6
- Middle Eastern (e.g., Persian) 7
- Pacific Islander (e.g., Samoan, Filipino) 8
- South Asian (e.g., Indian, Pakistani) 9
- Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian, Thai, Laotian)  $\frac{1}{n}$
- White/Caucasian  $\frac{1}{1}$
- Multiethnic/Biracial Please specify  $\frac{1}{2}$  \_\_\_\_\_
- Other Please specify  $\frac{1}{2}$  \_\_\_\_\_

### 2. Which is the biggest ethnic group at your school? (i.e., which group has the most students?) (Please mark only ONE circle)

- African American/Black 1
- Asian/Pacific Islander 2
- Caucasian/White 3
- Latino/Mexican American 4
- None. There is no biggest group at this school. 5

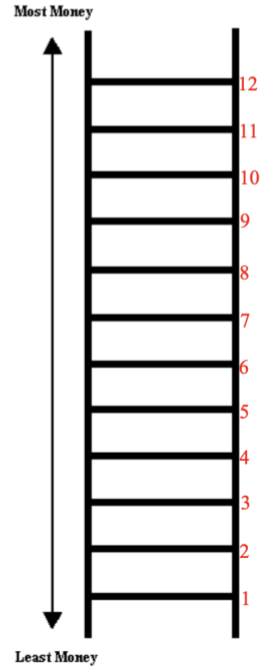
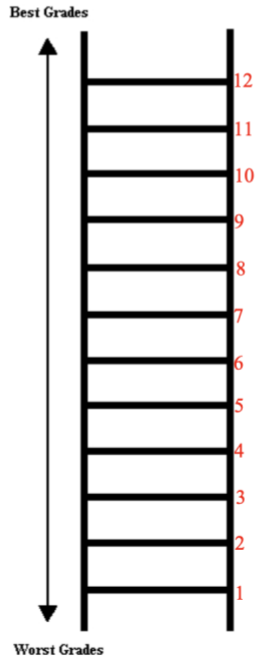
*Subjective Social Status Measure (Third Ladder)*

**The Ladders of Life**

Imagine that this ladder pictures all the kids in America who are in the 10th grade. At the top of the ladder are the COOLEST KIDS and at the bottom are the KIDS WHO ARE NOT COOL AT ALL. Where do you think you would be on this ladder? Mark an X on the space to indicate where YOU would be on this ladder.

Imagine that this ladder pictures all the kids in the 10th grade at your school. At the top of the ladder are the kids who get the BEST GRADES and at the bottom are the kids who get the WORST GRADES. Where do you think YOU would be on this ladder? Mark an X on the space to indicate where YOU would be on this ladder.

Imagine this ladder pictures how American Society is set up. At the top are the people that have the MOST MONEY and at the bottom are the people who have the LEAST MONEY. Now think about YOUR FAMILY. Where do you think they would be on this ladder? Mark an X on a space to indicate where YOUR FAMILY would be on this ladder.



## IN YOUR COMMUNITY

We know that as a high school student your schedules are very busy – with homework, extracurricular activities, sports, and for some of you, part-time jobs. Even with those busy schedules, we are interested in whether you have had time to volunteer or work in your community without pay and not for school credit.

	1	2	3	4	5
<i><b>During the past year, how often have you...</b></i>	<b>Never</b>	<b>Once or Twice</b>	<b>A Few Times</b>	<b>About Once a Month</b>	<b>More than Once a Month</b>
1. Volunteered your time to help people in your community?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Helped collect money or signatures for a social cause?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Participated in a walk or run for a cause (e.g. to cure an illness)?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Volunteered for an environmental group (e.g. to recycle or stop pollution)?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Volunteered for a group to help feed the homeless or care for the elderly or handicapped?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Participated in a community or a political rally (in person or on a social media website like Facebook or Twitter)?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Volunteered for a group that worked to reduce prejudice?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Volunteered for groups that provided tutoring for a child in the community?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

## WHEN YOU THINK ABOUT THE FUTURE

When you think about your life and what you will be doing after you grow up and finish school, how important is each of the following to you personally:

	<b>Very Important</b> 1	<b>Important</b> 2	<b>Sort of Important</b> 3	<b>Not so Important</b> 4	<b>Not Important at All</b> 5
1. Helping my community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Making a lot of money.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Working to stop prejudice.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Serving my country.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Helping society.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Having a stable job.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Helping people who are less fortunate.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Living in a big house.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. Helping my country.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. Helping people of different ethnic groups get along better.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. Voting in an election.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

## Since You Started High School

Sometimes people are treated unfairly. This could happen for many reasons. But a lot of times when high school students feel that they are treated unfairly it's because of the things about them that are visible to everyone - such as their gender (being a boy or girl), their race/ethnic group, their body size, like their weight, or their sexual orientation- like whether they are straight, gay, lesbian, bisexual, or something else.

Below are some situations where other high school students have said they were treated unfairly because of their gender, race/ethnic group, their body weight, or sexual orientation. We want to know if any of these things have happened to you since you started high school.

### How often...

5. Were you disciplined unfairly at school because of your...					
	Never	Once or Twice	A Few Times	A Lot	A Whole Lot
[REDACTED]					
Race/Ethnic Group?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Were you given a lower grade than you deserved because of your...					
	Never	Once or Twice	A Few Times	A Lot	A Whole Lot
[REDACTED]					
Race/Ethnic Group?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Did adults at school act as if they thought you were not smart because of your...					
	Never	Once or Twice	A Few Times	A Lot	A Whole Lot
[REDACTED]					
Race/Ethnic Group?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Were you treated disrespectfully by adults in your school because of your...					
	Never	Once or Twice	A Few Times	A Lot	A Whole Lot
[REDACTED]					
Race/Ethnic Group?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*Perceived Racial/Ethnic Group Mistreatment*

### In My Opinion

The following questions are about how people of YOUR ETHNIC GROUP are treated by others.  
How much do you agree with each statement?

	FOR SURE YES!	Yes	Sort Of	No	NO WAY!
1. Others are usually fair to everyone including people like me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Even if people like me work hard to make a lot of money, others will just take it away from us.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Policemen will change a story to make people like me look guilty.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Teachers present materials in class on purpose to make people like me look dumb.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Store owners try to cheat people like me whenever they can.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. People like me should not deal with other groups because they cannot be trusted.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Teachers ask people like me difficult questions so that we will fail.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Policemen will really try to protect people like me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. It is best for people like me to be on our guard when we are around others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. Others are usually honest with people like me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. Teachers will give people like me the grade we deserve as long as we really try hard in class.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

## How Do You Feel At School?

Now we are interested in the feelings you have while at school.

When at school, how often are the following feelings true for you?	Always true	True most of the time	Sometimes true	Hardly ever true	Not true at all
1. I have nobody to talk to.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. I feel alone.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. I feel left out of things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. There's nobody I can go to when I need help.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. I'm lonely at school.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

## References

- American Psychological Association. (2017). Stress in America: Coping with change. Stress in America Survey. Retrieved from <https://www.apa.org/news/press/releases/stress/2016/coping-with-change.pdf>
- Amná, E. (2012). How is civic engagement developed over time? Emerging answers from a multidisciplinary field. *Journal of Adolescence*, 35(3), 611-627. Doi: 10.1016/j.adolescence.2012.04.011
- Anyiwo, N., Bañales, J., Rowley, S. J., Watkins, D. C., & Richards-Schuster, K. (2018). Sociocultural influences on the sociopolitical development of African American youth. *Child Development Perspectives*, 12(3), 165-170.
- Appleton, J. J., Christenson, S. L., & Furlong, M. J. (2008). Student engagement with school: Critical conceptual and methodological issues of the construct. *Psychology in the Schools*, 45(5), 369-386.
- Asher, S. R., & Wheeler, V. A. (1985). Children's loneliness: A comparison of rejected and neglected peer status. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 53(4), 500.
- Atkins, R., & Hart, D. (2003). Neighborhoods, adults, and the development of civic identity in urban youth. *Applied Developmental Science*, 7(3), 156-164.
- Ballard, P. J. (2014). What motivates youth civic involvement?. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 29(4), 439-463.
- 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.



- Ballard, P. J., & Syme, S. L. (2016). Engaging youth in communities: A framework for promoting adolescent and community health. *J Epidemiol Community Health, 70*(2), 202-206.
- 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.
- 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.
- Bañales, J., Mathews, C., Hayat, N., Anyiwo, N., & Diemer, M. A. (2019). Latinx and Black young adults' pathways to civic/political engagement. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology.*
- Barrett, M., & Brunton-Smith, I. (2014). Political and civic engagement and participation: Towards an integrative perspective. *Journal of Civil Society, 10*(1), 5-28.
- Baum-Baicker, C. (2020). Not fake news: Toxic consequences of the Trump stress effect. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 0022167820911757.*
- Benner, A. (2017). The toll of racial/ethnic discrimination on adolescents' adjustment. *Child Development Perspectives.* DOI: 10.1111/cdep.12241
- Benner, A. D., & Graham, S. (2011). Latino adolescents' experiences of discrimination across the first 2 years of high school: Correlates and influences on educational outcomes. *Child Development, 82*(2), 508-519.

- Benner, A. D., & Graham, S. (2013). The antecedents and consequences of racial/ethnic discrimination during adolescence: Does the source of discrimination matter?. *Developmental Psychology, 49*(8), 1602.
- Benner, A. D., Wang, Y., Shen, Y., Boyle, A. E., Polk, R., & Cheng, Y. P. (2018). What is the impact of racial and ethnic discrimination on adolescents' well-being?. *PRC Research Brief Series*.
- Bentler, P. M. (1990). Comparative fit indexes in structural models. *Psychological Bulletin, 107*(2), 238.
- 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.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (1997). Rethinking racism: Toward a structural interpretation. *American Sociological Review, 465-480*.
- Boulianne, S., & Theocharis, Y. (2020). Young people, digital media, and engagement: A meta-analysis of research. *Social Science Computer Review, 38*(2), 111–127.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439318814190>
- Bowman, N.A. (2011). Promoting participation in a diverse democracy: A meta-analysis of college diversity experiences and civic engagement. *Review of Educational Research, 81*, 29-68. doi: 10.3102/0034654310383047
- Brody, G. H., Chen, Y. F., Murry, V. M., Ge, X., Simons, R. L., Gibbons, F. X., Gerrard, M., & Cutrona, C. E. (2006). Perceived discrimination and the adjustment of African American youths: A five-year longitudinal analysis with contextual moderation effects. *Child Development, 77*(5), 1170-1189.

- Burns, D. (2007). *Systemic action research: A strategy for whole system change*. Policy Press.
- California Statewide Database. (Accessed June 5, 2020). California's political geography. Public Policy Institute of California. Retrieved from <https://www.ppic.org/publication/californias-political-geography/>
- Camacho, D. E., & Fuligni, A. J. (2015). Extracurricular participation among adolescents from immigrant families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 44(6), 1251-1262.
- Chan, W. Y., Ou, S. R., & Reynolds, A. J. (2014). Adolescent civic engagement and adult outcomes: An examination among urban racial minorities. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 43(11), 1829-1843.
- Chaskin, R. J., McGregor, C., & Brady, B. (2018). Supporting youth civic and political engagement: Supranational and national policy frameworks in comparative perspective. *Young*, 2014-2020.
- Christens, B. D., & Kirshner, B. (2011). Taking stock of youth organizing: An interdisciplinary perspective. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 2011(134), 27-41.
- CIRCLE. (2016). Millennials after 2016: Post-election poll analysis: Analysis of youth attitudes, tendencies, and prospects for future engagement. Tufts University Tisch College. Retrieved from [https://circle.tufts.edu/sites/default/files/2019-12/millennials\\_after\\_2016\\_0.pdf](https://circle.tufts.edu/sites/default/files/2019-12/millennials_after_2016_0.pdf)
- CIRCLE. (2018). Activism on the rise. *Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement*. Retrieved from <https://circle.tufts.edu/our-research/youth-activism-and-community-change#activism-on-the-rise>

- CIRCLE. (2018). Youth activism and community change. Tufts University Tisch College. Retrieved from <https://circle.tufts.edu/our-research/youth-activism-and-community-change#activism-on-the-rise>
- CIRCLE. (2019). Young People Voted in 2018. Tufts University Tisch College. Retrieved from <https://circle.tufts.edu/latest-research/28-young-people-voted-2018>
- Cole, E. R. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. *American Psychologist*, 64(3), 170.
- Cooper, A. C., & Sánchez, B. (2016). The roles of racial discrimination, cultural mistrust, and gender in Latina/o youth's school attitudes and academic achievement. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 26(4), 1036-1047.
- Dalton, R. J. (2008). Citizenship norms and the expansion of political participation. *Political Studies*, 56(1), 76-98.
- Davila, A., & Mora, M. T. (2007). Civic engagement and high school academic progress: An analysis using NELS data. [Part I of an assessment of civic engagement and high school academic progress]. CIRCLE Working Paper 52. *Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE)*, University of Maryland.
- DeJonckheere, M., Fisher, A., & Chang, T. (2018). How has the presidential election affected young Americans?. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Mental Health*, 12(1), 8.
- DeSipio, L. (2002). Sending money home... for now. *Sending money home: Hispanic remittances and community development*, 157-87.
- Diller, E. C. (2001). Citizens in service: The challenge of delivering civic engagement training to national service programs. *Washington, DC: Corporation for National and Community Service*.

- Duke, N. N., Borowsky, I. W., Pettingell, S. L., Skay, C. L., & McMorris, B. J. (2011). Adolescent early death perception: Links to behavioral and life outcomes in young adulthood. *Journal of Pediatric Health Care, 25*(4), 224-234.
- Eccles, J. S., & Templeton, J. (2002). Chapter 4: Extracurricular and other after-school activities for youth. *Review of Research in Education, 26*(1), 113-180.
- Eckstein, K., Noack, P., & Gniewosz, B. (2012). Attitudes toward political engagement and willingness to participate in politics: Trajectories throughout adolescence. *Journal of Adolescence, 35*(3), 485-495.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis* (No. 7). WW Norton & Company.
- Finlay, A., Wray-Lake, L., & Flanagan, C. (2010). Civic engagement during the transition to adulthood: Developmental opportunities and social policies at a critical juncture. *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth, 277-305*.
- Finn, J. D. (1989). Withdrawing from school. *Review of Educational Research, 59*(2), 117-142.
- Fisher, C. B., Wallace, S. A., & Fenton, R. E. (2000). Discrimination distress during adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 29*(6), 679-695.
- Flanagan, C. A. (2013). *Teenage citizens: The political theories of the young*. Harvard University Press.
- Flanagan, C., & Levine, P. (2010). Civic engagement and the transition to adulthood. *The Future of Children, 159-179*.
- Foster-Bey, J. (2008). Do race, ethnicity, citizenship and socio-economic status determine civic engagement. *CIRCLE WP, 62*.
- Furco, A., Muller, P., & Ammon, M. S. (1998). The civic responsibility survey. *Service-Learning Research Center, University of California, Berkley*.

- Furco, A., Muller, P., & Ammon, M. S. (1998). The civic responsibility survey. *Service-Learning Research Center*, University of California, Berkley.
- Galston, W. A. (2001). Political knowledge, political engagement, and civic education. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4(1), 217-234.
- Ginwright, S. A. (2010). *Black youth rising: Activism and radical healing in urban America* (p. 8). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Hansen, M., Levesque, E., Valant, J., & Quintero, D. (2018). The 2018 Brown Center report on American education: How well are American students learning. *Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution*.
- Hart, D., & Atkins, R. (2002). Civic development in urban youth. *Applied Developmental Science*, 6(4), 227-236.
- Hart, D., Donnelly, T. M., Youniss, J., & Atkins, R. (2007). High school community service as a predictor of adult voting and volunteering. *American Educational Research Journal*, 44(1), 197-219.
- Haste, H., & Hogan, A. (2006). Beyond conventional civic participation, beyond the moral-political divide: Young people and contemporary debates about citizenship. *Journal of Moral Education*, 35(4), 473-493.
- Hooghe, M., & Stolle, D. (2004). Good girls go to the polling booth, bad boys go everywhere: Gender differences in anticipated political participation among American fourteen-year-olds. *Women & Politics*, 26(3-4), 1-23.
- Hooghe, M., Dassonneville, R., & Marien, S. (2015). The impact of education on the development of political trust: Results from a five-year panel study among late adolescents and young adults in Belgium. *Political Studies*, 63(1), 123-141.

- Hope, E. C., & Jagers, R. J. (2014). The role of sociopolitical attitudes and civic education in the civic engagement of black youth. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 24*(3), 460-470.
- 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 *Handbook on Positive Development of Minority Children and Youth* (pp. 421-435). Springer, Cham.
- 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.
- Hu, L. T., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural equation modeling: a multidisciplinary journal, 6*(1), 1-55.
- Hughes, D., Del Toro, J., Harding, J. F., Way, N., & Rarick, J. R. (2016). Trajectories of discrimination across adolescence: Associations with academic, psychological, and behavioral outcomes. *Child Development, 87*(5), 1337-1351.
- Huynh, V. W., & Fuligni, A. J. (2010). Discrimination hurts: The academic, psychological, and physical well-being of adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 20*(4), 916-941.
- Irving, M. A., & Hudley, C. (2008). Cultural identification and academic achievement among African American males. *Journal of Advanced Academics, 19*(4), 676-698.
- Janosz, M., Archambault, I., Morizot, J., & Pagani, L. S. (2008). School engagement trajectories and their differential predictive relations to dropout. *Journal of Social Issues, 64*(1), 21-40.

- Jennings, M. K., & Stoker, L. (2004). Social trust and civic engagement across time and generations. *Acta Politica*, 39(4), 342-379.
- Jensen, L. A. (2008). Immigrants' cultural identities as sources of civic engagement. *Applied Development Science*, 12(2), 74-83.
- Jensen, L. A. (2010). Immigrant youth in the United States: Coming of age among diverse civic cultures. In L. R. Sherrod, J. Torney-Purta, & C. A. Flanagan (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth* (pp. 425–443). John Wiley & Sons, Inc.  
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470767603.ch16>
- Juvonen, J., Kogachi, K., & Graham, S. (2018). When and how do students benefit from ethnic diversity in middle school?. *Child Development*, 89(4), 1268-1282.
- Kennedy, H., Matyasic, S., Schofield Clark, L., Engle, C., Anyon, Y., Weber, M., Jimenez, C., Mwirigi, M. O., & Nisle, S. (2019). Early adolescent critical consciousness development in the age of Trump. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 0743558419852055.
- Kenny, D. A. (2014). Cross-lagged panel design. *Wiley StatsRef: Statistics Reference Online*.
- Kim, P. Y., Kendall, D. L., & Cheon, H. S. (2017). Racial microaggressions, cultural mistrust, and mental health outcomes among Asian American college students. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 87(6), 663.
- Lawford, H. L., & Ramey, H. L. (2017). Predictors of early community involvement: Advancing the self and caring for others. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 59(1-2), 133-143.
- Lerner, R. M. (2004). *Liberty: Thriving and civic engagement among America's youth*. Sage.
- Levinson, M. (2010). The civic empowerment gap: Defining the problem and locating solutions. In L. R. Sherrod, J. Torney-Purta, & C. A. Flanagan (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on*



- Civic Engagement in Youth* (pp. 331–361). John Wiley & Sons, Inc.  
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470767603.ch13>
- Liu, E. (2017). “How Donald Trump is reviving American democracy” in *The Atlantic*.  
Retrieved from <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/03/how-donald-trump-is-reviving-our-democracy/518928/>
- Longo, N. V., Drury, C., & Battistoni, R. M. (2006). Catalyzing political engagement: Lessons for civic educators from the voices of students. *Journal of Political Science Education*, 2(3), 313-329.
- Lopez, M. H., Levine, P., Both, D., Kiesa, A., Kirby, E., Marcelo, K., & Williams, D. (2006). The 2006 civic and political health of the nation. Retrieved from <https://www.issuelab.org/resources/929/929.pdf>.
- Mahatmya, D., Lohman, B. J., Matjasko, J. L., & Farb, A. F. (2012). Engagement across developmental periods. In *Handbook of Research on Student Engagement* (pp. 45-63). Springer, Boston, MA.
- Major, B., Quinton, W. J., & McCoy, S. K. (2002). Antecedents and consequences of attributions to discrimination: Theoretical and empirical advances. In Zanna, P. (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (pp. 251-330). Academic Press.
- Malin, H., Han, H., & Liauw, I. (2017). Civic purpose in late adolescence: Factors that prevent decline in civic engagement after high school. *Developmental Psychology*, 53(7), 1384.
- Marcelo, K. B., Lopez, M. H., & Kirby, E. H. (2007). Civic engagement among minority youth. *Fact sheet, Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, Medford, MA.*

- McCarthy, K. S., & Saks, J. V. (2019). Postelection stress: Symptoms, relationships, and counseling service utilization in clients before and after the 2016 U.S. national election. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 66*(6), 726–735. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000378>
- Metz, E. C., & Youniss, J. (2005). Longitudinal gains in civic development through school-based required service. *Political Psychology, 26*(3), 413-437.
- Metzger, A., Syvertsen, A. K., Oosterhoff, B., Babskie, E., & Wray-Lake, L. (2016). How children understand civic actions: A mixed methods perspective. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 31*(5), 507–535.
- Mistry, R. S., Brown, C. S., White, E. S., Chow, K. A., & Gillen-O'Neel, C. (2015). Elementary school children's reasoning about social class: A mixed-methods study. *Child Development, 86*(5), 1653-1671.
- Monsalves, M. J., Bangdiwala, A. S., Thabane, A., & Bangdiwala, S. I. (2020). LEVEL (logical explanations & visualizations of estimates in linear mixed models): recommendations for reporting multilevel data and analyses. *BMC Medical Research Methodology, 20*(1), 1-9.
- Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (2004). *Mplus user's guide: Statistical analysis with latent variables: User's guide*. Muthén & Muthén.
- Neundorf, A., Smets, K., & García-Albacete, G. M. (2013). Homemade citizens: The development of political interest during adolescence and young adulthood. *Acta Politica, 48*(1), 92-116.
- Niwa, E. Y., Way, N., & Hughes, D. L. (2014). Trajectories of ethnic-racial discrimination among ethnically diverse early adolescents: Associations with psychological and social adjustment. *Child Development, 85*(6), 2339-2354.

- Obradović, J., & Masten, A. S. (2007). Developmental antecedents of young adult civic engagement. *Applied Developmental Science, 11*(1), 2-19.
- Okamoto, D., & Ebert, K. (2010). Beyond the ballot: Immigrant collective action in gateways and new destinations in the United States. *Social Problems, 57*(4), 529-558.
- Omoto, A. M., & Packard, C. D. (2016). The power of connections: Psychological sense of community as a predictor of volunteerism. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 156*(3), 272-290.
- Omoto, A. M., Snyder, M., & Hackett, J. D. (2010). Personality and motivational antecedents of activism and civic engagement. *Journal of Personality, 78*(6), 1703-1734.
- Oosterhoff, B., Kaplow, J. B., Layne, C. M., & Pynoos, R. S. (2018). Civilization and its discontented: Links between youth victimization, beliefs about government, and political participation across seven American presidencies. *American Psychologist, 73*(3), 230.
- Pachi, D., & Barrett, M. (2014). Civic and political engagement among ethnic minority and immigrant youth. In *Global Perspectives on Well-Being in Immigrant Families* (pp. 189-211). Springer, New York, NY.
- Portney, K. E., Niemi, R. G., & Eichenberg, R. C. (2009). Gender differences in political and civic engagement among young people. In *APSA 2009 Toronto Meeting Paper*.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone*. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc.
- Raudenbush, S. W., & Bryk, A. S. (2002). *Hierarchical linear models: Applications and data analysis methods* (Vol. 1). Sage.
- Roffman, J., Suarez-Orozco, C., & Rhodes, J. (2003). Facilitating positive development in immigrant youth: The role of mentors and community organizations. *Positive Youth Development: Creating a Positive Tomorrow, 90-117*.

- Rogers, J., & Westheimer, J. (2017). Teaching about economic inequality in a diverse democracy: Politics, ideology, and difference. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 50(4), 1049-1055.
- Rogers, J., Franke, M., Yun, J. E. E., Ishimoto, M., Diera, C., Geller, R. C., Berryman, A., & Brenes, T. (2017). Teaching and learning in the age of Trump: Increasing stress and hostility in America's high schools. *UCLA IDEA*.
- Romero, A. J., & Roberts, R. E. (2003). The impact of multiple dimensions of ethnic identity on discrimination and adolescents' self-esteem. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 33(11), 2288-2305.
- Ronan, B. (2004). Testimony at the white house conference on aging public forum on civic engagement in an older America. Phoenix, Arizona, 25.
- Rose-Krasnor, L. (2009). Future directions in youth involvement research. *Social Development*, 18(2), 497-509.
- Rosenbloom, S. R., & Way, N. (2004). Experiences of discrimination among African American, Asian American, and Latino adolescents in an urban high school. *Youth & Society*, 35(4), 420-451.
- Rubin, B. C. (2007). There's still not justice": Youth civic identity development amid distinct school and community contexts. *Teachers College Record*, 449-481.
- Sánchez-Jankowski, M. (2002). Minority youth and civic engagement: The impact of group relations. *Applied Developmental Science*, 6(4), 237-245.
- SAS Institute Inc 2013. SAS/ACCESS® 9.4 Interface to ADABAS: Reference. Cary, NC: SAS Institute Inc.

- 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.
- Schmid, C. (2012). The value “social responsibility” as a motivating factor for adolescents' readiness to participate in different types of political actions, and its socialization in parent and peer contexts. *Journal of Adolescence*, 35(3), 533-547.
- Sears, D. O., & Funk, C. L. (1990). Self-interest in Americans' political opinions. In Mansbridge, J.J. (Ed.), *Beyond Self-Interest* (pp. 147-170). University of Chicago Press.
- Sears, D. O., & Valentino, N. A. (1997). Politics matters: Political events as catalysts for preadult socialization. *American Political Science Review*, 91(1), 45-65.
- Seaton, E. K., & Yip, T. (2009). School and neighborhood contexts, perceptions of racial discrimination, and psychological well-being among African American adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 38(2), 153-163.
- Seider, S., Graves, D., El-Amin, A., Soutter, M., Tamerat, J., Jennett, P., Clark, S., Malhotra, S., & Johannsen, J. (2017). Developing sociopolitical consciousness of race and social class inequality in adolescents attending progressive and no excuses urban secondary schools. *Applied Developmental Science*, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10888691.2016.1254557>
- Seongyi, Y., & Woo-Young, C. (2011). Political participation of teenagers in the information era. *Social Science Computer Review*, 29(2), 242-249.
- Shapiro, S., & Brown, C. (2018). The state of civics education. Retrieved January 9, 2019, from <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/education-k-12/reports/2018/02/21/446857/state-civics-education/>

- Sherrod, L. R., & Lauckhardt, J. (2009). The development of citizenship. In R. M. Lerner & L. Steinberg (Eds.), *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology: Contextual Influences on Adolescent Development* (p. 372–407). John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Sherrod, L. R., Flanagan, C., & Youniss, J. (2002). Dimensions of citizenship and opportunities for youth development: The what, why, when, where, and who of citizenship development. *Applied Developmental Science*, 6(4), 264–272.  
[https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532480XADS0604\\_14](https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532480XADS0604_14)
- Sherrod, L. R., Torney-Purta, J., & Flanagan, C. A. (2010). *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Sirin, S. R., & Katsiaficas, D. (2011). Religiosity, discrimination, and community engagement: Gendered pathways of Muslim American emerging adults. *Youth & Society*, 43(4), 1528-1546.
- Snyder, M., & Omoto, A. M. (2007). Social action: A handbook of basic principles. In *Social Psychology: A Handbook of Basic Principles* (pp. 940-961). Guilford.
- Steiger, J. H. (1998). A note on multiple sample extensions of the RMSEA fit index. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 5(4), 411-419.
- Stepick, A., & Stepick, C. D. (2002). Becoming American, constructing ethnicity: Immigrant youth and civic engagement. *Applied Developmental Science*, 6(4), 246-257.
- Stepick, A., Stepick, C. D., & Labissiere, Y. (2008). South Florida's immigrant youth and civic engagement: Major engagement: Minor differences. *Applied Development Science*, 12(2), 57-65.

- Strobel, K., Osberg, J., & McLaughlin, M. (2006). Participation in social change: Shifting adolescents' developmental pathways. In S. Ginwright, P. Noguera & J. Cammarota (Eds.), *Beyond*.
- Syvertsen, A. K., Wray-Lake, L., Flanagan, C. A., Osgood, D. W., & Briddell, L. (2011). Thirty-year trends in U.S. adolescents' civic engagement: A story of changing participation and educational differences. *Journal of Research on Adolescence: The Official Journal of the Society for Research on Adolescence*, 21(3), 586–594. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00706.x>
- 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.
- Terrell, F., & Terrell, S. (1981). An inventory to measure cultural mistrust among Blacks. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, 5(3), 180.
- UCLA: Statistical Consulting Group. (Accessed April 24, 2020). How can I minimize loss of data due to missing observations in a repeated measures ANOVA? SAS FAQ. Retrieved from <https://stats.idre.ucla.edu/sas/faq/how-can-i-minimize-loss-of-data-due-to-missing-observations-in-a-repeated-measures-anova/>
- UCLA: Statistical Consulting Group. (Accessed May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2020). Principal components (PCA) and exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with SPSS. Retrieved from <https://stats.idre.ucla.edu/spss/seminars/efa-spss/>
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2016). A post-racial society in which ethnic-racial discrimination still exists and has significant consequences for youths' adjustment. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 25(2), 111-118.

- Van Benschoten, E. (2001). Civic engagement for people of all ages through national service. Unpublished manuscript.
- Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., & Brady, H. E. (1995). Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics. *Harvard University Press*.
- Voight, A., & Torney-Purta, J. (2013). A typology of youth civic engagement in urban middle schools. *Applied Developmental Science, 17*(4), 198-212.
- 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.
- Watts, R. J., & Guessous, O. (2006). Civil rights activists in the information age: The development of math literacy workers. CIRCLE Working Paper 50. *Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE)*, University of Maryland.
- Wilkenfeld, B., Lauckhardt, J., & Torney-Purta, J. (2010). The relation between developmental theory and measures of civic engagement in research on adolescents. In L. R. Sherrod, J. Torney-Purta, & C. A. Flanagan (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth* (pp. 193–219). Hoboken, NJ, USA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.  
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470767603.ch8>
- Williams, S. E., & Braun, B. (2019). Loneliness and social isolation--a private problem, a public issue. *Journal of Family & Consumer Sciences, 111*(1).
- Wong, J., & Tseng, V. (2008). Political socialisation in immigrant families: Challenging top-down parental socialisation models. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 34*(1), 151-168.



- Wray-Lake, L., & Hart, D. (2012). Growing social inequalities in youth civic engagement? Evidence from the National Election Study. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 45(3), 456-461.
- Wray-Lake, L., & Shubert, J. (2019). Understanding stability and change in civic engagement across adolescence: A typology approach. *Developmental Psychology*, 55(10), 2169–2180. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000772>
- Wray-Lake, L., Metzger, A., & Syvertsen, A. K. (2017). Examining Political Behaviors. *Roots of Engaged Citizenship Project*.  
[http://www.civicroots.org/sites/default/files/a/CA\\_School\\_Report-2016\\_0.pdf](http://www.civicroots.org/sites/default/files/a/CA_School_Report-2016_0.pdf)
- Wray-Lake, L., Metzger, A., & Syvertsen, A. K. (2017). Testing multidimensional models of youth civic engagement: Model comparisons, measurement invariance, and age differences. *Applied Developmental Science*, 21(4), 266–284.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10888691.2016.1205495>
- Wray-Lake, L., Rote, W. M., Benavides, C. M., & Victorino, C. (2014). Examining developmental transitions in civic engagement across adolescence: Evidence from a national US sample. *International Journal of Developmental Science*, 8(3-4), 95-104.
- Wray-Lake, L., Syvertsen, A. K., & Flanagan, C. A. (2008). Contested citizenship and social exclusion: Adolescent Arab American immigrants' views of the social contract. *Applied Development Science*, 12(2), 84-92.
- Wray-Lake, L., Syvertsen, A. K., & Flanagan, C. A. (2016). Developmental change in social responsibility during adolescence: An ecological perspective. *Developmental Psychology*, 52(1), 130.

- 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.
- 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.
- Wray-Lake, L. (2019). How do young people become politically engaged?. *Child Development Perspectives, 13*(2), 127-132.
- Wray-Lake, L., Flanagan, C. A., Benavides, C. M., & Shubert, J. (2014). A mixed methods examination of adolescents' reports of the values emphasized in their families. *Social Development, 23*(3), 573-592.
- Yates, M., & Youniss, J. (Eds.). (1999). *Roots of civic identity: International perspectives on community service and activism in youth*. Cambridge University Press.
- Yong, A. G., & Pearce, S. (2013). A beginner's guide to factor analysis: Focusing on exploratory factor analysis. *Tutorials in Quantitative Methods for Psychology, 9*(2), 79-94. Retrieved from <http://www.tqmp.org/RegularArticles/vol09-2/p079/p079.pdf>
- Youniss, J., McLellan, J. A., & Yates, M. (1997). What we know about engendering civic identity. *American Behavioral Scientist, 40*(5), 620–631.
- Zaff, J. F., Hart, D., Flanagan, C. A., Youniss, J., & Levine, P. (2010). Developing civic engagement within a civic context. *The Handbook of Life-Span Development*.
- Zaff, J. F., Kawashima-Ginsberg, K., Lin, E. S., Lamb, M., Balsano, A., & Lerner, R. M. (2011). Developmental trajectories of civic engagement across adolescence: Disaggregation of an integrated construct. *Journal of Adolescence, 34*(6), 1207–1220.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2011.07.005>

Zeiders, K. H., Nair, R. L., Hoyt, L. T., Pace, T. W., & Cruze, A. (2019). Latino early adolescents' psychological and physiological responses during the 2016 US presidential election. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*.