

THE RESEARCH BEHIND PEEKAPAK’S PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Peekapak’s Middle School Program was designed to support educators in developing the social emotional skills of children in middle school. By participating in an SEL program, students are better prepared to learn in a classroom setting, have more positive self-perceptions, social behaviors, academic achievement, and decrease in conduct problems and emotional distress (Durlak et al., 2011; Mahoney & Weissberg, 2018). To ensure the effectiveness of Peekapak in reaching these goals, research has been incorporated into each element and phase of Peekapak’s program design.

The following document describes the research behind Peekapak’s program as well as the research underway to assess its efficacy.

Key Findings Summarizer:

- Identity exploration, empathy, self-regulation, decision-making, and relationship skills are foundational concepts explored in the program.
- Literacy and storytelling support social emotional learning as well as multicultural education.
- Social emotional learning should incorporate culturally responsive pedagogy.
- Evidence-informed SEL design includes curriculum that has sequenced, active, focused, and explicit activities.

RESEARCH-INFORMED SKILLS

Our program is aligned with CASEL’s evidence-based competencies (self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, responsible decision-making, & relationship skills). Within each CASEL competency, we have narrowed down specific skills and mapped them to our scope and sequence based on focus groups with educators, in-depth interviews with industry-leading experts, and insight from adolescent development research. An example of the explained importance of our self awareness unit is included below:

Why is this important? ▼

We begin by focusing on identity formation because exploring identity is the key developmental task of this age group (Erikson, 1994; Marcia, 1980). We will provide students with strategies and tools to reflect on their identity while encouraging them to explore their individuality and uniqueness. “As youth identify with multiple social groups, their social self-definition can become increasingly complex” (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014). “Adolescents benefit from having a more complex, multifaceted identity that goes beyond stereotypical expectations of social groups norms, especially when it comes to inclusive beliefs” (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014). Identities are formed by considering race, ethnicity, gender, age, ability status, interests and much more.

Figure 1: Example of research supporting unit topics

This program is specifically designed for children ages 10 to 14. Early adolescence marks the onset of puberty as transformations take place in the body, brain, and in turn, behavior (Backes & Bonnie, 2019). Our curriculum reflects the developmental stages of this time period by supporting skills such as decision-making, self-control, and self-esteem (Backes & Bonnie, 2019). According to research done on developmental tasks of middle school students, key competencies include relationship-building, independence, transitions, determining values, and preparing for future roles (Denham, 2015). Children at this age are becoming increasingly independent while also navigating peer influence and diverse social situations (Larson & Richards, 1991; Smetana, 1996; Laursen & Hartl, 2013; Kroger, 2004). Our program balances the interpersonal and intrapersonal skills necessary to build identity and form community.

Middle school is ripe with opportunities for children, but it is also a time of risk-taking, increased reward seeking, and heightened peer influence (Steinberg, 2008). Many programs in middle school focus specifically on risk-prevention, but at the detriment of what is known as positive youth development or 'PYD'. "Successful development is viewed not as the absence of risk behavior but as the presence of positive attributes that enable youth to reach their full potential as productive and engaged adults" (Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008). We use Guerra & Bradshaw's research and competencies to address both the opportunities for middle school students and the potential risks in a prosocial and strengths-based framework. Competencies include: positive sense of self, self-control, decision-making, moral system of beliefs, and prosocial connectedness (Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008). "The overarching goal is to articulate a set of core social and emotional competencies that capture what it means to be a healthy youth and to examine how these competencies are linked to specific risk behaviors and related preventive interventions and positive youth development programs" (Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008). The stories in our curriculum contain content that is relevant to middle school students, but each story focuses on understanding the 'why' behind the behavior and connecting it to a prosocial skill by providing strategies to add to their toolbox. "While often thought of as a time of turmoil and risk for young people, adolescence is more accurately viewed as a developmental period rich with opportunity for youth to learn and grow" (Backes & Bonnie, 2019).

Peekapak's middle school unit skills were informed by a review of Guerra and Bradshaw's empirically designed adolescent social-emotional model, the CASEL framework, adolescent development research, and teacher as well as student insight. We believe this has resulted in a research-informed, relevant, and developmentally appropriate set of skills to support students' well-being. Below is a breakdown of our skills and their alignment.

Overview of skills:

- **Unit 1: Identity and Self-awareness**
 - **Essential Question: Who am I? How do I see myself?**
 - CASEL alignment: Self-awareness
 - Guerra and Bradshaw's model: Positive sense of self
- **Unit 2: Stress Management and Regulation**
 - **Essential Question: How do I manage stress? How do I cope?**

- CASEL alignment: Self-management
- Guerra and Bradshaw’s model: Self-control
- **Unit 3: Decision-making**
 - **Essential Question: How do I decide? What is the best choice for me?**
 - CASEL alignment: Responsible decision-making
 - Guerra and Bradshaw’s model: Decision-making skills
- **Unit 4: Belonging and Peer Influence**
 - **Essential Question: How do I get along with others? How do I fit in?**
 - CASEL alignment: Relationship skills
 - Guerra and Bradshaw’s model: Prosocial connectedness
- **Unit 5: Empathy & Conflict Resolution**
 - **Essential Question: How do I see other perspectives? How do I resolve differences?**
 - CASEL alignment: Social awareness
 - Guerra and Bradshaw’s model: Moral system of belief

The figure displays three curriculum unit cards arranged horizontally. Each card features an illustration at the top, a title, a brief description, and an 'EXPLORE' button with a right-pointing arrow.

- Card 1:** Illustration of two children (one with blonde hair, one with dark skin) hugging. Title: **Welcome to Peekapak**. Description: Overview of CASEL and how to use Peekapak to support middle school students, a critical time for students to explore their identity, make decisions, regulate emotions, resolve conflicts and manage stress and anxiety.
- Card 2:** Illustration of a girl looking into a magnifying glass over a question mark. Title: **Identity & Self-Awareness**. Description: Identity is how we see ourselves and tell our life story. Identity formation or identity development is the process of understanding one’s self. Students reflect on the essential identity questions...
- Card 3:** Illustration of a boy covering his eyes with his hands. Title: **Stress & Regulation**. Description: Emotional regulation is the ability to manage and express emotions in healthy, constructive ways. Emotional regulation builds upon self-awareness and involves the application of strategies...

Figure 2: Current Units offered in Middle School Curriculum

SCOPE AND SEQUENCE

We begin our scope and sequence by discussing identity formation in Unit 1 because exploring identity is the key developmental task of this age group (Erikson, 1994; Marcia, 1980). We start with identity and self-awareness before moving onto skills like empathy (Unit 5) because studies show that the more self-aware, the greater cognitive empathy (Eckland et al., 2018).

After identity and self-awareness, all grades move onto stress management and regulation. Our teacher and administrator interviews have revealed the need to discuss the increasing stressors that middle school students face, this was paired with self-regulation (a cornerstone of Peekapak) to help students use strategies to self-regulate their behavior and emotions. “Self-regulation and coping rely on multiple processes—attention control, working memory, inhibitory control, delay of gratification, and planning—that can be directly compromised by chronic stress (Blair, 2010; Blair & Raver, 2012). We put stress management and regulation early on to give students the strategies and tools to cope with stress before the school year gets into full swing.

Student Learning Objectives for this unit ▼

- I can identify the types of stress responses.
- I can use self-regulation strategies to cope.
- I can use coping strategies when I feel stressed/anxious.
- I can control my own thoughts and actions.

Figure 3: Example of learning objectives from the Stress Management & Regulation unit

Self-regulation and coping strategies provide a foundation for decision-making skills, which is why decision-making skills are featured in Unit 3. “Effective decision-making draws on the capacity for self-regulation (Eisenberg & Spinrad, 2004; Zhou, Chen, & Main, 2012). As a result, competent decision-making is underpinned by adaptive, flexible, and coherent emotion regulation and coping skills that are matched to environmental demands” (Modecki et al., 2017).

Unit 4 focuses on peer influence and belonging. As students are about halfway through the school year, it is an ideal time to reflect on their peer choices and the influence that their peers have on them. Students will reflect back from Unit 1 on their identity in the context of different communities and how supportive relationships are fundamental to their well-being.

Unit 5 culminates in one of Peekapak’s foundational skills: empathy. Students have now discussed and engaged with essential skills like identity, self-awareness, and self-regulation and will be applying them to empathize with others and resolve conflicts. Conflict resolution is in the last unit because it develops

later in adolescence. “Research suggests that conflict resolution skills improve with age, and that adolescence is marked by a shift from coercive strategies to more constructive ones (Laursen, 1996; Laursen et al., 2001 in De Wied et al., 2007). Studies show that “higher levels of dispositional empathy are associated with more successful conflict management, dispositional affective empathy was found to be positively linked to problem solving and negatively linked to conflict engagement among adolescent boys and girls” (De Wied et al., 2007). Students will use empathy to resolve conflicts and find common ground.

The last lesson of every unit is a return to ideas learned earlier. Cognitive psychologists argue that teachers should “create opportunities to revisit information throughout the semester or within one lesson” (Weinstein et al., 2018). “Evidence for the benefit of spaced study is found not only in the domain of declarative learning but in conceptual understanding and cognitive skill acquisition (Carpenter, Cepeda, Rohrer, Kang, & Pashler, 2012), and spacing manipulations have been shown to be effective in the classroom” (Sobel et al., 2011 in Khajah et al., 2014). Lesson 7 supports students and teachers as they return to SEL skills and concepts from previous units instead of seeing the lessons and units as isolated topics. By returning to previous concepts and units, students can more effectively store the information in their memory and retrieve it when necessary (Weinstein, 2018).

7 Return

In this lesson, students will integrate the unit skill with overarching SEL concepts, and reflect on changes and new insights. Students will take the post SELf-assessment.

- ✎ Revisiting Identity and Self Awareness
- 🕒 Post: SELf-Assessment

Figure 4: Lesson 7 ‘Return’ in action on Peekapak

LITERACY, STORYTELLING, AND IDENTITY

Literacy and storytelling is at the heart of Peekapak. We believe that storytelling has the power to build empathy, explore diverse life experiences, and provide opportunities to reflect on our own identity. In addition, cross-curricular connections are an important way to integrate social emotional learning into the school day. Mark Greenberg (2003) suggests that school-based Social and Emotional Learning programs yield the most successful outcomes when they are embedded into the day-to-day curriculum and connected with other school activities.

Peekapak’s emphasis on literacy and storytelling to teach social emotional skills is supported by numerous studies. When children connect with a story emotionally, it can improve their attitude towards

books and reading, especially for struggling readers (Triplett & Buchanan, 2005). Our stories are human-centered, emotionally-tinged, and written especially for our program in order to connect with relevant middle school topics, foster empathy and reflection, and support literacy skills. Literacy and social emotional learning have a symbiotic relationship and so integrating SEL into literacy can lead to more positive student outcomes.

Narrative transportation theory is the idea that engaging stories with a narrative will trigger empathy (Green & Brock, 2002). Psychologists Geoff Kaufman and Lisa Libby explain that “through experience-taking, readers lose themselves and assume the identity of the character, adopting the character’s thoughts, emotions, goals, traits, and actions and experiencing the narrative as though they were that character” (2012). We believe that through our stories, the social emotional skills will be brought to life as students engage with and analyze the narrative.

Every unit is centered around this series of human interest stories. These compelling stories tell real-life struggles, triumphs, regrets, and reckonings all aligned to the unit skill. Stories feature a variety of perspectives from individuals with diverse backgrounds and life experiences. “Multicultural literature can provide opportunities for meeting many goals of multicultural education, where voices interact and students reflect, think creatively and critically, increase cultural awareness, decrease ethnocentrism, and create a global perspective” (Cliff & Miller, 1997). Research shows that multicultural literature can act as both a mirror and window for students (Glazier & Seo, 2005). By hearing stories from individuals with diverse abilities, beliefs, and backgrounds, students are able to reflect on experiences that both mirror their own lives and are distinctly different from what they know.



Mayaan's Story

Figure 5: An example human interest story from the Self Awareness Unit

Through a guided reflection process, children then explore their own identities with each unit ending in a project-based activity where they craft their own story centered around the unit skill. Our program

provides students with the strategies and tools to reflect on their identity while encouraging them to explore their individuality and uniqueness. “As youth identify with multiple social groups, their social self-definition can become increasingly complex” (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014). “Adolescents benefit from having a more complex, multifaceted identity that goes beyond stereotypical expectations of social groups norms, especially when it comes to inclusive beliefs” (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014). Our program specifically focuses on identity formation because exploring identity is the key developmental task of this age group (Erikson, 1994; Marcia, 1980). Identities are formed by considering race, ethnicity, gender, age, ability status, interests and much more. By hearing stories that tell complex stories instead of a single story, we support students in developing their unique sense of self with the understanding that identities are multifaceted and evolving.

CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE CONTENT

Social emotional learning occurs within the context of culture (Durlak, 2015). Cultures around the world value and promote different social and emotional skills (e.g. individualist cultures and collectivist cultures promote and practice different social skills) (Durlak, 2015). “One might even argue that culture defines SEL” (Hecht & Shin, 2015).

Because culture heavily influences SEL competencies, it is necessary to frame your classroom’s SEL practices within an understanding that students may demonstrate social emotional skills in unique ways based on their background. In addition, culture is evolving and we must be cautious to not oversimplify, generalize, or stereotype any culture.

To this end, our curriculum is designed to honor differences and diverse cultural practices by 1) providing a wide range of experiences for children to learn from through our stories and 2) offering various strategies and tips for both teachers and students based on diverse learning styles, cultural backgrounds, and student needs.

Culturally Responsive Teaching ▼

While students may experience similar stressful situations in their lives, their stress responses are unique. A myriad of factors will determine how an individual reacts to a situation including their disposition, prior experiences, family factors etc. Understanding that we all react and cope in unique ways is an important first step. "Cultures may differ in both their preferred means of emotion-focused coping as well as problem-focused coping, Shek and Cheung (1990) have argued that cultures may be divided into those that place greater reliance on the self (internal locus of coping) and those that rely more on others (external locus of coping). Differences in emotion-focused coping center around issues of emotional control versus emotional expression, as well as patterning of emotional expression" (Aldwin, 2004). Aldwin also notes that "trying to cope in ways that run contrary to the general cultural ethos may increase stress, even though those same strategies used by members of a different culture may be efficacious in reducing emotional stress" (Adwin, 2004). Our coping styles differ by individual, culture, context and many other factors which makes personalization imperative. "Every coping method is potentially adaptive, but its effectiveness depends on being appropriate for the nature of the stressor, and congruent with culturally-based values and beliefs. Thus, both coping knowledge and cultural knowledge contribute to effective coping" (Yeh et al., 2006). During this unit, help students identify and use coping strategies that work for them.

Tips:

- ✓ Focus on stress responses and how each student may have a different stress response based on their experience and personality.
- ✓ Ask students how their families' cope with stress.
- ✓ Discuss the importance of finding your own coping strategies that work for you.

Figure 6: An example of culturally responsive teaching practices and tips for Unit 2: Stress Management and Regulation

EVIDENCE-INFORMED DESIGN

A meta-analysis of school-based universal SEL interventions found that programs that have sequenced activities, active learning opportunities, occur during focused time, and teach explicit skills yield greater student outcomes (Jones et al., 2017; Durlak et al., 2011). These evidence-based approaches are referred to by the acronym S.A.F.E. In 2021, CASEL updated their SEL definition as well as their program guide, which provides a systematic framework for evaluating the quality of social and emotional programs. Updates included how 'SEL affirms identities', importance of adult SEL practices, and incorporating culturally relevant practices.

Upon reviewing the S.A.F.E. approach and the latest updates to CASEL, we have created an intentionally designed program that includes culturally responsive teacher training, evidence-informed scope and sequence, and uses storytelling to foster diverse and multifaceted identities with an emphasis on student voice and agency.

Design features:

- S.A.F.E programming:
 - Our sequenced lessons follow a scope and sequence
 - Active learning occurs with project-based activities and challenges for connecting content to out of school time
 - Focused time is honored and made more achievable by incorporating cross-curricular activities (literacy-based)
 - Explicit skills are taught with various tools and ranging strategies to support strengths-based and identity affirming, culturally responsive practices

According to a report about evidence-based SEL instruction, “The most effective lessons provide explicit instruction *and* promote generalization by including opportunities for practicing skills beyond the lesson and throughout the day, or through connections during academic lessons” (Dusenbury et al., 2015). Our units begin by introducing the skill and giving background knowledge of its importance, and then learning strategies or tools that support the skill. Students then engage with human-interest stories that feature the unit skill and provide opportunities for the students to see this skill in diverse contexts. Students complete challenges during out of school time to apply the skill in a real-world context and also do a project-based activity (e.g. writing) to make the skill personal and applicable to their experiences.

Unit Overview:

- **Lesson 1: Introduce**
 - Students take pre SELf-assessment based on unit skill.
 - Students complete an interactive activity with their peers as they begin to learn about the unit skill.
- **Lesson 2: Learn**
 - Teacher leads a discussion with slides that introduces them to the unit.
 - Students complete an activity.
 - Students are assigned a challenge to complete during out of class time.
- **Lesson 3: Discuss**
 - Students read the featured unit story and engage in class discussion, connecting the skill to the story. Students answer both comprehension and reflection questions.
 - Students are assigned a challenge to complete during out of class time.
- **Lesson 4: Empathize**
 - Students are assigned additional stories and answer comprehension and reflection questions.
 - Students are assigned a challenge to complete during out of class time.
- **Lesson 5: Reflect**
 - Students craft their own story focusing on the unit skill.
 - Students are assigned a challenge to complete during out of class time.
- **Lesson 6: Connect**
 - Teacher invites voluntary storytellers to share their story.
 - Students make ‘text-to-text’, ‘text-to-world’, text-to-self’ connections with stories.
- **Lesson 7: Return**

- Return to unit concepts and find connections with previous units, and reflect on personal changes and new insights.
- Students take post self-assessment and notice any changes from pre to post.

For more information on Peekapak's research, methodologies, resources or references, please contact hello@peekapak.com.

References

- Agosto, D. E., & Hughes-Hassell, S. (2005). People, places, and questions: An investigation of the everyday life information-seeking behaviors of urban young adults. *Library & information science research*, 27(2), 141-163.
- Backes, E. P., & Bonnie, R. J. (2019). *The Promise of Adolescence: Realizing Opportunity for All Youth*.
- Bandura, A., Adams, N. E., & Beyer, J. (1977). Cognitive processes mediating behavioral change. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 35(3), 125.
- Benson, P. L., Scales, P. C., Hamilton, S. F., & Sesma Jr, A. (2007). Positive youth development: Theory, research, and applications. *Handbook of child psychology*, 1.
- Bowden, W. R. (2015). Collaboration, Pedagogy, and Media: Short-Term Summer Programs Emphasize Project Based and Social Emotional Learning. *Journal of Media Literacy Education*, 7(1), 72-76.
- Brackett, M. A., Bailey, C. S., Hoffmann, J. D., & Simmons, D. N. (2019). RULER: A theory-driven, systemic approach to social, emotional, and academic learning. *Educational Psychologist*, 54(3), 144-161
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American psychologist*, 32(7), 513.
- Buck Institute for Education. (2015). Gold standard PBL: Essential project design elements. Retrieved from https://www.bie.org/object/document/gold_standard_pbl_essential_project_design_elements
- Chen, S. F. (2009, June). Performance prediction for exponential language models. In *Proceedings of Human Language Technologies: The 2009 Annual Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics* (pp. 450-458).
- Cliff, C., & Miller, S. (1997). *Multicultural dialogue in literature-history classes: The dance of creative and critical thinking (Report Series 7.9)*. National Research Center on Literature Teaching and Learning, State University of New York, University at Albany.
- Coelho, V. A., & Sousa, V. (2018). Differential effectiveness of a middle school social and emotional learning program: does setting matter?. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, 47(9), 1978-1991.
- Davidow, J. Y., Foerde, K., Galván, A., & Shohamy, D. (2016). An upside to reward sensitivity: the hippocampus supports enhanced reinforcement learning in adolescence. *Neuron*, 92(1), 93-99.
- Denham, S. (2015). Assessment of social and emotional learning in educational contexts. In J. A. Durlak, C. E. Domitrovich, R. P. Weissberg, & T. P. Gullotta (Eds.), *Handbook of social and emotional learning: Research and practice* (pp. 285-300). Guilford.
- Domitrovich, C. E., Staley, K., Durlak, J. A., & Weissberg, R. P. (2016). *Social and emotional learning: The importance of social-emotional competencies and school climate in fostering positive student outcomes*. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Durlak, J. A., Weissberg, R. P., Dymnicki, A. B., Taylor, R. D., & Schellinger, K. B. (2011). The impact of enhancing students' social and emotional learning: A meta-analysis of school-based universal interventions. *Child Development*, 82(1), 405–432. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01564.x>

Durlak, J. A. (Ed.). (2015). *Handbook of social and emotional learning: Research and practice*. Guilford Publications.

Durlak, J., Weissberg, R., Dymnicki, A., Taylor, R., & Schellinger, K. (2011). The impact of enhancing students' social and emotional learning: A meta-analysis of school-based universal interventions. *Child Development*, 82, 405–432. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01564.x>.

Dusenbury, L., Calin, S., Domitrovich, C., & Weissberg, R. P. (2015). What Does Evidence-Based Instruction in Social and Emotional Learning Actually Look Like in Practice? A Brief on Findings from CASEL's Program Reviews. Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning.

Erikson, E. H. (1994). *Identity and the life cycle*. WW Norton & Company.

Galotti, K.M. (2005). Setting goals and making plans: How children and adolescents frame their decisions. In J.E. Jacobs & P.A. Klaczynski (Eds.), *The Development of Judgment and Decision Making in Children and Adolescents* (pp. 303-326). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum

Glazier, J., & Seo, J. A. (2005). Multicultural literature and discussion as mirror and window?. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 48(8), 686-700.

Green, M. C., & Brock, T. C. (2002). In the mind's eye: Transportation-imagery model of narrative persuasion.

Greenberg, M., Weissberg, R., O'Brien, M., Zins, J., Fredericks, L., & Resnik, H., et al. (2003). Enhancing school-based prevention and youth development through coordinated social, emotional, and academic learning. *American Psychologist*, 58, 466–474. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.58.6-7.466>.

Guerra, N. G., & Bradshaw, C. P. (2008). Linking the prevention of problem behaviors and positive youth development: Core competencies for positive youth development and risk prevention. *New directions for child and adolescent development*, 2008(122), 1-17.

Harden, R. M. (1999). What is a spiral curriculum?. *Medical teacher*, 21(2), 141-143.

Hecht, M. L., & Shin, Y. (2015). *Culture and social and emotional competencies*.

Henderson, A. T., & Mapp, K. L. (2002). *A new wave of evidence. The impact of school, family, and community connections on student achievement*. Austin [Texas]: National Center for Family & Community: Connections with Schools.

Jennings, P. A., & Greenberg, M. T. (2009). The prosocial classroom: Teacher social and emotional competence in relation to student and classroom outcomes. *Review of educational research*, 79(1), 491-525.

Jones, S. M., Brush, K., Bailey, R., Brion-Meisels, G., McIntyre, J., Kahn, J., ... & Stickle, L. (2017). Navigating social and emotional learning from the inside out; Looking inside and across 25 leading SEL programs: A practical resource for schools and OST providers (elementary school focus). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Graduate School of Education, Harvard University. Retrieved from www.wallacefoundation.org/knowledge-center/pages/navigating-social-and-emotional-learning-from-the-inside-out. Aspx.

Jolls, T. (2008). The impact of technology on character education. USA [United States of America]: Center for Media Literacy. Available online also at: <http://www.medialit.org/sites/default/files> [accessed in Serang City, Indonesia: April 15, 2017].

Kataoka, S., & Vandell, D.L. (2013). Quality of afterschool activities and relative change in adolescent functioning over two years. *Applied Developmental Science*, 17, 123–34. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10888691.2013.804375>.

Kaufman, G. F., & Libby, L. K. (2012). Changing beliefs and behavior through experience-taking. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 103(1), 1.

Knifsend, C. A., & Juvonen, J. (2014). Social identity complexity, cross-ethnic friendships, and intergroup attitudes in urban middle schools. *Child development*, 85(2), 709-721.

Kroger, J. (2004). Identity in formation. In K. Hoover (Ed.), *The future of identity: Centennial reflections on the legacy of Erik Erikson*. Lexington Books.

Larson, R., & Richards, M. H. (1991). Daily companionship in late childhood and early adolescence: Changing developmental contexts. *Child development*, 62(2), 284-300.

Laursen, B., & Hartl, A. C. (2013). Understanding loneliness during adolescence: Developmental changes that increase the risk of perceived social isolation. *Journal of Adolescence*, 36(6), 1261-1268.

Mahoney, J. L., & Weissberg, R. P. (2018). SEL: What the Research Says. *Educational Leadership*, 76(2), 34-35.

Marcia, J. E. (1980). Identity in adolescence. *Handbook of adolescent psychology*, 9(11), 159-187.

McAdams, D. P. (2013). The psychological self as actor, agent, and author. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 8(3), 272-295.

McClelland, M.M., Tominey, S.L., Schmitt, S.A., & Duncan, R. (2017). SEL interventions in early childhood. *The Future of Children*, 27(1), 33–47. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44219020>

McCreary, J. J., & Marchant, G. J. (2017). Reading and empathy. *Reading Psychology*, 38(2), 182-202.

National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. (2019). *The promise of adolescence: Realizing opportunity for all youth*. National Academies Press.

Robert J. Jagers, Deborah Rivas-Drake & Brittney Williams (2019) Transformative Social and Emotional Learning (SEL): Toward SEL in Service of Educational Equity and Excellence, *Educational Psychologist*, 54:3, 162-184, DOI: 10.1080/00461520.2019.1623032

Sklad, M., Diekstra, R., DeRitter, M., Ben, J., & Gravesteyn, C. (2012). Effectiveness of school-based universal social, emotional, and behavioral programs: Do they enhance students' development in the area of skill, behavior and adjustment? *Psychology in the Schools*, 49, 892–909. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.21641>.

Smetana, J. G. (1996). Adolescent–parent conflict: Implications for adaptive and maladaptive development. In D. Cicchetti & S. L. Toth (Eds.), *Rochester symposium on developmental psychopathology*, Vol. 7. *Adolescence: Opportunities and challenges* (p. 1–46). University of Rochester Press.

Smetana, J. G., & Villalobos, M. (2009). Social-cognitive development during adolescence. In R. L. Lerner & L. Steinberg (Eds.) *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*, 3rd Ed., Vol. 1 (pp. 187–208). New York: Wiley

Steinberg, L. (2007). Risk taking in adolescence: New perspectives from brain and behavioral science. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 16(2), 55–59.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8721.2007.00475.x>

Steinberg L. (2008). A Social Neuroscience Perspective on Adolescent Risk-Taking. *Developmental review* : DR, 28(1), 78–106. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2007.08.002>

Tajfel, H. (Ed.). (2010). *Social identity and intergroup relations* (Vol. 7). Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, R.D., Oberle, E., Durlak, J.A., & Weissberg, R.P. (2017). Promoting positive youth development through school-based social and emotional learning interventions: A meta-analysis of follow-up Effects. *Child Development*, 88, 1156–1171. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12864>.

Triplett, C. F., & Buchanan, A. (2005). Book talk: Continuing to rouse minds and hearts to life. *Reading Horizons: A Journal of Literacy and Language Arts*, 46(2), 2.

Weinstein, Y., Sumeracki, M., & Caviglioli, O. (2018). *Understanding how we learn: A visual guide*. Routledge.

Weissberg, R. P., Durlak, J. A., Domitrovich, C. E., & Gullotta, T. P. (2015). *Social and emotional learning: Past, present, and future*.

Wigelsworth, M., Humphrey, N., Kalambouka, A., & Lendrum, A. (2010). A review of key issues in the measurement of children's social and emotional skills. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 26(2), 173–186. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02667361003768526>.

Wigelsworth, M., Humphrey, N., & Lendrum, A. (2013). Evaluation of a school-wide preventive intervention for adolescents: The secondary Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL) programme. *School Mental Health*, 5, 96–109. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12310-012-9085-x>.

Wigelsworth, M., Lendrum, A., Oldfield, J., Scott, A., ten Bokkel, I., Tate, K., & Emery, C. (2016). The impact of trial stage, developer involvement and international transferability on universal social and

emotional learning programme outcomes: a meta-analysis. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 46, 347–376. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0305764X.2016.1195791>.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Quintana, S. M., Lee, R. M., Cross Jr, W. E., Rivas-Drake, D., Schwartz, S. J., ... & Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century Study Group. (2014). Ethnic and racial identity during adolescence and into young adulthood: An integrated conceptualization. *Child development*, 85(1), 21-39.