Race and Racial Identity as Developmental Contexts for African-American Adolescents

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Presidential Address
SRA
Baltimore, March 2004

Why this topic?

- Spent much of my career interested in the impact of gender as a social identity on human development
- Began my career interested in why women and men make such different educational and occupational choices for themselves
 - Gender and Math
- Soon realized this is part of a more fundamental question
 - WHY DOES ANYONE DO ANYTHING?
- Also realized how complex and multi-determined the issue was

In the last ten years, I have expanded my interest to other social as well as personal identities. WHY?

- The process of identity formation is one of the most central developmental tasks of adolescence
- Given the diversity of our society, understanding the ways in which the social identities are linked to racial and ethnic diversity and how they develop and function is critical

 Thus, I felt it was both personally and professionally important to devote my Presidential Address to this topic

 I am also delighted by the number of other sessions focused on this topic

Other Sessions

- I planned to list the related sessions at the conference devoted either to social and personal identities and their relation to other aspects of adolescent development or to the impact of social group membership on adolescences' experiences.
- BUT there were too many to list. I counted
 25 still remaining in the conference.

I want to thank the many people in this organization whose work has influenced my thinking about personal and social identities

- Brian Barber
- Margaret Beale Spencer
- Jeanne Brooks-Gunn
- Andrew Collins
- Catherine Cooper
- Glen Elder
- Michelle Fine
- Janet Helms
- Jari Erik Nurmi
- Frank Furstenberg
- Hal Grotevant
- Betty Hamburg
- Susan Harter
- Stewart Hauser
- Diane Scott Jones

- Jane Kroger
- Richard Lerner
- Harriet McAdoo
- David Magnusson
- Vonnie McLoyd
- Anne Petersen
- Jean Phinney
- Janet Swim
- Margaret Beale Spencer
- Haken Stattin
- Howard Stevenson
- Beverly Tatum
- Ronald Taylor
- Niobe Way
- James Youniss

There are also many other people who have influenced my thinking about personal and social identities

- Joshua Aronson
- Richard Ashmore
- Wade Boykin
- Cynthia Garcia Cole
- William Cross
- Kay Deaux
- W.E.B. DuBois
- Erik Erikson
- Susan Gelman
- Sandra Graham
- Fordham and Ogbu

- Deborah Johnson
- James Jones
- Hazel Markus
- James Marcia
- Daphna Oyserman
- Patricia Phelan
- Diane Ruble
- Michael Rutter
- Robert Sellers
- Claude Steele
- Barrie Thorne
- Marta Tienda

As Well As My Own Students and Colleagues - 1

- Corrine Alfeld
- Bonnie Barber
- Elaine Belansky
- Phyllis Blumenfeld
- Christy Buchanan
- Lisa Colarossi
- Tabbye Chavous
- Amanda Durik
- Pam Davis-Kean
- Diane Early
- Harriet Feldlaufer
- Kari Fraser

- Jennifer Fredricks
- Carol Freedman-Doan
- Andrew Fuligni
- Leslie Gutman
- Rena Harold
- Janis Jacobs
- Justin Jagar
- Katie Jodl
- Deborah Jozefowicz
- Lee Jussim
- Carol Kaczala
- Ariel Kalil

As Well As My Own Students and Colleagues - 2

- Valerie Lee
- Miriam Linver
- Sarah Lord
- Karen McCarthy
- Douglas Mac Iver
- Oksana Malanchuk
- Jennifer McGuire
- Laurie Meschke
- Emily Messersmith
- Carol Midgley
- Elizabeth Moje
- Suzie O'Neill
- Wayne Osgood
- Steve Peck

- Suzanne Perkins-Hart
- David Reuman
- Robert Roeser
- Arnold Sameroff
- Margaret Stone
- Janice Templeton
- Corinna Jenkins Tucker
- Mina Vida
- Cynthia Winston
- Helen Watt
- Allan Wigfield
- Carol Wong
- Doris Yee
- Nicole Zarrett

Goals of my talk

- Look at social group membership as a broader social context for development and identity formation
- Focus in particular on the role racial identity plays in helping African-American youth cope with discriminatory experiences in school
- Present findings from our longitudinal study of African-American youth living near Washington DC

Part 1

Ethnicity, Race, Gender and Other Socially-Defined Groups as Developmental Contexts

Social Group Membership can Affect the Ways in Which People Respond to You

 Experiences related to daily experiences of discrimination and racism (Boykin; Cross; Essed; Feagin; Jackson; Spencer; Thorne)

Social Group Membership can Affect the Opportunities and Barriers You are Likely to Confront

 More pervasive structural forms of racism and inequality (Boykin; Cross; Jackson; McLoyd; Ogbu; Omi & Winant)

Group Membership Can Affect Self Processes Linked to Stereotypes and Stereotyping

- Incorporating stereotypes into one's personal identity can lead to stereotypic perceptions of one's skills and opportunities and stereotypic goals and aspirations (Ashmore; Crocker; Deaux; Eccles; Ruble)
- Knowledge of stereotypes can lead to stereotype-threat effects (Steele & Aronson)
- Stereotypes about future discrimination can lead to oppositional identity formation (Fordham & Ogbu)

Group Membership and Identity Formation

- Social group salience can influence social identity formation (Aboud; Cooper; Cross; Garcia-Cole; McGuire; Phinney; Omi & Winant; Sellers; Thorne)
- Social identities can influence goals and aspirations, as well as behavioral style and friendship networks, which, in turn can influence behavior (Chavous; Cross; Eccles; Gurin; Fordham & Ogbu; Fuligni; Kao; Mickelson; Moje; O'Connor; Oyserman; Rotherman & Phinney; Spencer; Sellers; Taylor; Thorne; Ruble)
- Social identities can help adolescents make meaning of experiences of racism and discrimination (Boykin; Cross; Deaux; Phelan; Phinney; Sellers; Spencer)

Our research goal is to explore these aspects of social group membership as a developmental context

Today I will focus on the impact of being African American on adolescent development

Focus on Two Aspects

Racial Identity as a Social Identity

Experiences of Racism

 And How These Two Aspects Interrelate in Helping Us Understand School Achievement

Broad Educational Issue

- African-American youth continue to do less well academically in school than European-American youth
 - High school grades
 - High school completion rates
 - Standardized test scores
 - College attendance rates

Two Popular Psychological Explanations

Oppositional Identity – Fordham & Ogbu

Stereotype Threat – Steele & Aronson

- The first explanation suggests that African-American students (and other stigmatized ethnic minority groups) develop oppositional ethnic identities in response to their belief in a glass ceiling (Fordham, 1988; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 1987).
 - That is, many African Americans perceive doing well in school as being rewarded by future job status attainment only among White students
 - As a consequence, in an attempt to sustain a positive African-American identity, these youth disengage from school-achievement related attitudes and behaviors to avoid being accused of "acting white."

The second explanation - Stereotype Threat - (Claude Steele) argues that:

- African American youth believe that others think they are not as smart as European-American youth
- This belief raises their anxiety
- To cope with these anxieties, African-American youth will detach their self-esteem from academic achievement
- Leading to a lowering of the personal importance placed on academic achievement
- Although there is no explicit reference to racial identity, one might suggest that the higher one's racial identity the more likely one would be affected by stereotype threat

Both of these theories call attention to the role of social identities in the context of marginalization, stigmatization, discrimination, and cultural stereotypes

- The evidence linking African-American identity to achievement is mixed
- Some studies have indicated that ethnic identity and achievement are unrelated, others have indicated a positive relation and others have found the predicted negative relation (e.g., Arroyo & Zigler, 1995; Fordham, 1988; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Hemmings, 1996; O'Connor, 1998; Taylor et al., 1994).
- Most have found either no relation or a positive relation

• Furthermore, the limited research on the content of African American adolescents' notions of "acting Black" or "acting White" indicates that these beliefs are seldom related to achievement attitudes, behaviors, and performance (Carter, 1999).

But

- Both of these approaches stress the integration of powerful psychological, social and cultural forces that operate together to explain identity formation in the context of marginalization, discrimination, and cultural stereotypes
- Both have strong intuitive appeal
- Can we look at these central elements in a broader perspective?
- A perspective that integrates ideas about both social identities and racial experiences

First I need to say a little more about social identities.

What is social identity and why do we think it is important?

Social identity refers to that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his/her knowledge of and attitudes toward membership in a social group coupled with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. Unlike personal identities, which distinguish a person from other individuals, social identities are that part of the collective self that defines the individual in terms of his/her shared similarities with members of certain social groups. Social identities include those that are socially ascribed (race and gender) as well as those that emanate from group memberships of choice. Different social identities may vary in salience in time and as a function of various social situations.

"...in discussing identity ...we cannot separate personal growth and communal change, nor can we separate the identity crisis in individual life and contemporary crises in historical development because the two help to define each other and are truly relative to one another. In fact, the whole interplay between the psychological and the social, the developmental and the historical, for which identity formation is of prototypal significance, could be conceptualized as a kind of psychosocial relativity."

(Erikson, Identity. Youth and Crisis, 1968; pg. 23)

"A child has many opportunities to identify himself, more or less experimentally, with real or fictitious people of either sex and with habits, traits, occupations, and ideas However, the historical era in which he lives offers only a limited number of socially meaningful models for workable combinations of identity fragments. Their usefulness depends on the way in which they simultaneously meet the requirements of the organism's maturational stage, the ego's style of synthesis, and the demands of the culture."

(Erikson, 1968, *Identity, Youth and Crisis, pp 53-54*)

• How Might Social and Personal Identities Influence Behavior and Achievement?

- Through Their Influence of Individuals'
 - Expectancies/ Ability Self-Concepts
 - Values and Goals

Personal Experiences

Subcultural Beliefs, Images, Stereotypes

Societal Beliefs, Images, Ideology, Stereotypes • Personal
Identities
Self-concepts
Self-schema
Future possible
selves
Values
Goals, Aspirations

Social Identities

Salience
Content
Perception of
barriers
and opportunities
linked to category
membership

Expectations Personal Efficacy Behavior Patterns & Choices Perceived Value of Specific Activities

Social Identities

 Also provide an interpretative frame for understanding experiences related to one's membership in the social group

 Thus, they may also help one cope with experiences of discrimination, marginalization, and stigmatization

Three sets of analyses

- Look for evidence to support either the oppositional identity or stereotype threat hypotheses
- Look at the role of African-American identity as a buffer against the impact of discriminatory experiences
- Look at qualitative data for a more complex picture of African-American identity

Contributors to the Maryland Adolescent Development in Context Study (MADICS)

- Jacquelynne Eccles, PI
- Arnold Sameroff, PI
- W. Todd Bartko
- Elaine Belansky
- Diane Early
- Kari Fraser
- Leslie Gutman
- Yael Harlap
- Katie Jodl
- Ariel Kalil

- Linda Kuhn
- Alice Michael
- Melanie Overby
- Stephen Peck
- Katherine Rosenblum
- Robert Roeser
- Sherri Steele
- Erika Taylor
- Cynthia Winston
- Carol Wong

Funders

- MacArthur Research Network on Successful Pathways Through Adolescence:
 - Chair Richard Jessor
- NICHD
- W.T. Grant
- Spencer Foundation
- University of Colorado
- University of Michigan

Sample

Respondent characteristics:

- African-American
- N = 625
- Average age = 11 at
 Wave 1
- Seventh grade at W 1
- 53 % male
- Data presented today were collected in Fall of 7th grade and Summer following 8th grade

Family background:

- Median Family Income(1993): \$50-55,000
- Highest Education: 38%
 College Degree
- Highest Occupation;
 - 44% Skilled
 - 30% Professional

Longitudinal Mixed Methods

- Face-to-face, in home interviews with youth and their parents which included both close-ended and quite open-ended questions
- Self-administered questionnaires with youth and their parents
- Open-ended phone interviews with youth and their parents
- Repeated intensive interviews with a subset of the youth

Data Collection

- Fall of 7th Grade
- Summer following 8th Grade
- Fall and Winter of 11th Grade
- Fall after 12th Grade
- Three Years after High School

Study 1: The Association of Race, Racial Identity and Perceived Racial Discrimination with Adolescents' School Achievement and Motivation during JHS

Study One looks at two issues

 The relation of racial group membership and racial identity to the importance attached to school success

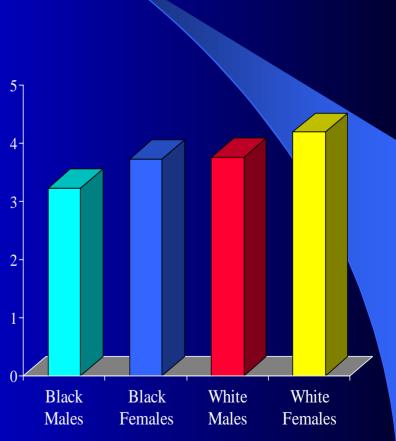
 The impact of beliefs about discrimination on school achievement

Main Collaborators

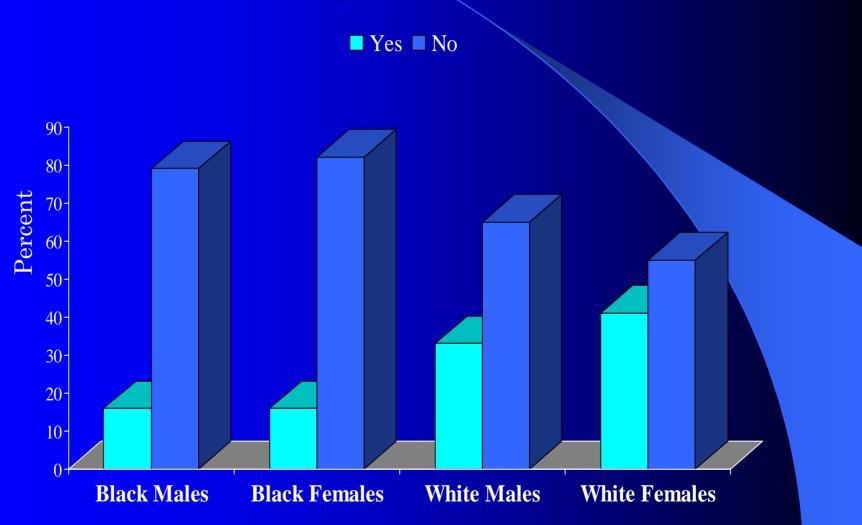
- Elaine Belansky University of Colorado
- Diane Early University of North Carolina
- Kari Fraser Boulder, CO
- Karen McCarthy Boulder, CO
- Carol Wong University of Delaware
- Cynthia Winston Howard University

Grade Point Averages in JHS

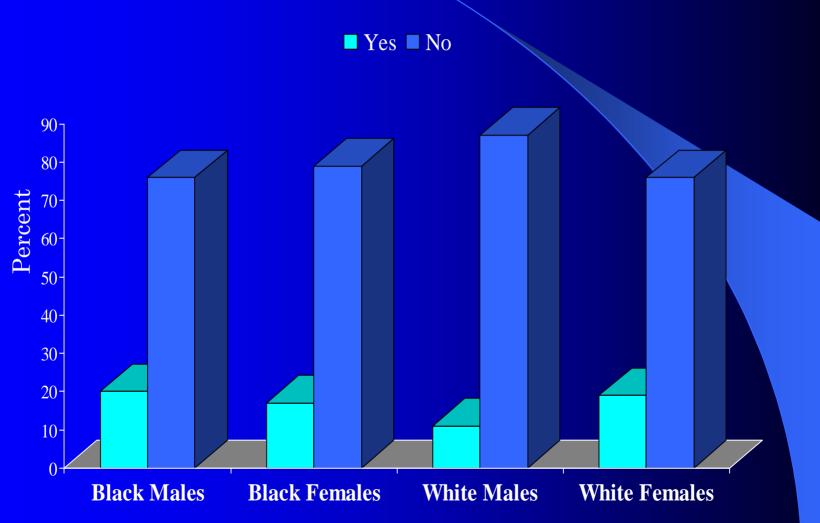




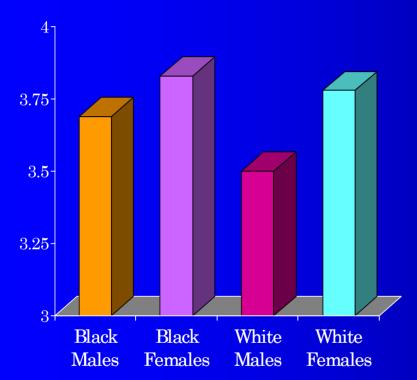
Is Getting Good Grades Part of Acting White? (7TH Grade)



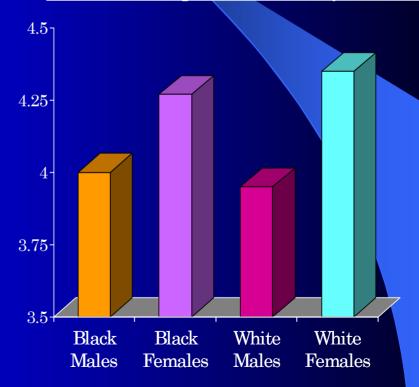
Is Getting Good Grades Part of Acting Black?



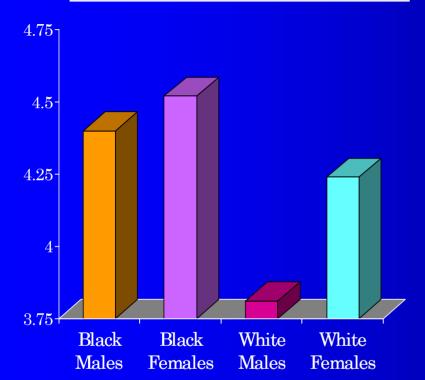
School is a Priority

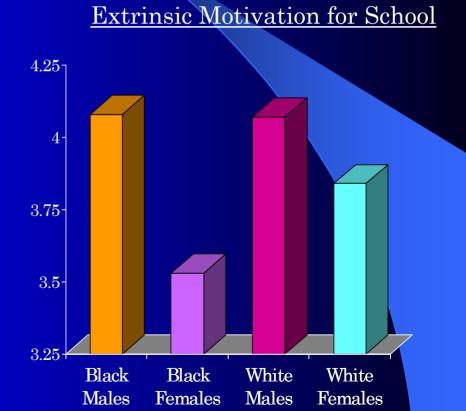


School is Important for My Future

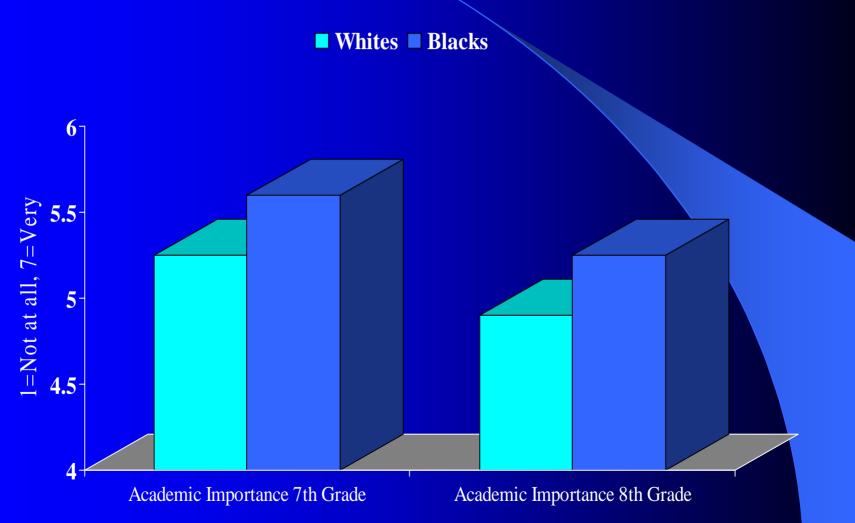


Intrinsic Motivation for School

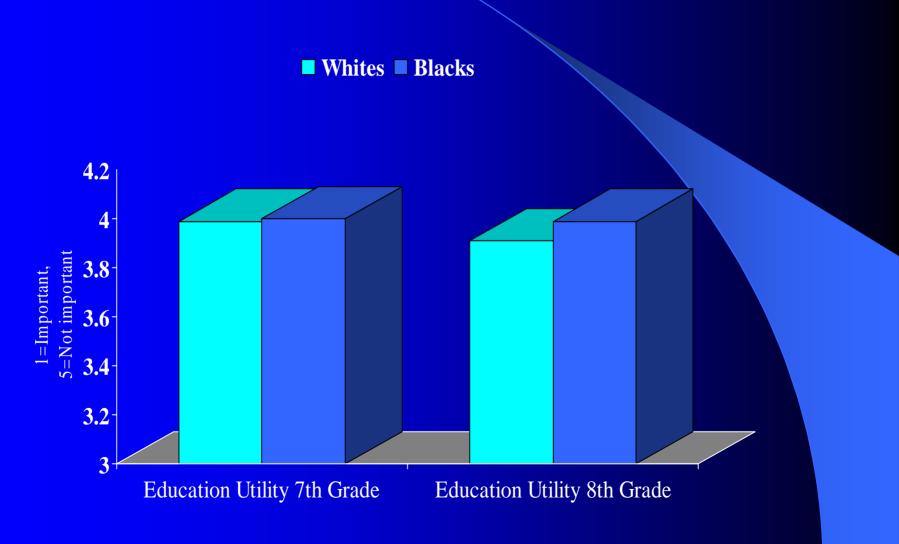




Academic Importance Beliefs By Race Controlling for SES

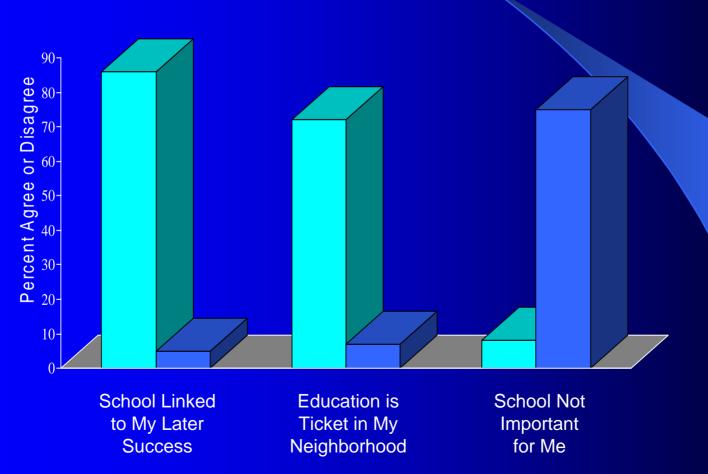


Instrumental Value of Education by Race Controlling for SES



Educational Beliefs and Adolescents' Personal Identity





Adolescents' Top Five Hopes by Race and Gender

	Black Males	Black Females	White Males	White Females
Academic Competence	77.9	82.8	76.6	81.8
Interpersonal Competence (e.g. positive behavior to others)	49.9	64.6	62.7	77.8
Personal Competence (e.g. interesting personality)	20.0	27.1	22.2	25.6
Sports Competence	31.0	9.3	34.2	8.0
Instrumental Competence (e.g. responsible, talented)	19.4	25.4	10.8	17.6

Adolescents' Top Five Fears by Race and Gender

	Black Males	Black Females	White Males	White Females	
Interpersonal Incompetence (e.g. positive behavior to others)	62.4	68.7	62.7	77.8	
Academic Incompetence	60.9	56.4	58.9	52.8	
Drug Addicted	37.9	23.0	36.1	30.1	
Instrumental Incompetence (e.g. irresponsible, lazy)	27.5	28.9	21.5	28.4	
Problem Behavior (e.g. drug dealer, gang member)	20.0	8.9	13.3	7.4	

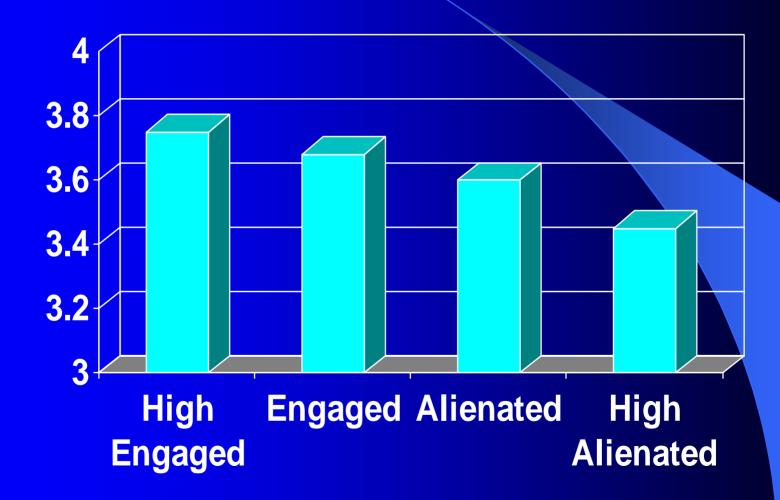
Conclusion

- No evidence that African-American youth place less importance on education than do European-American youth
- In other analyses linking importance to strength of African-American identity, we found that higher ethnic identity was linked to even greater importance of education

Racial Identity and School Engagement

- Robert Roeser created a global measure of school engagement based on performance, motivation and behavior
 - Highly Engaged
 - Normal Levels of Engagement
 - Beginning Alienation
 - Highly Alienated

Personal Importance of Racial Group Membership and School Engagement

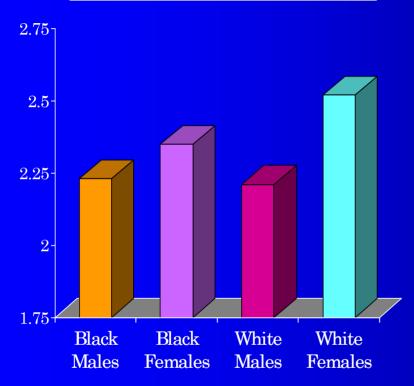


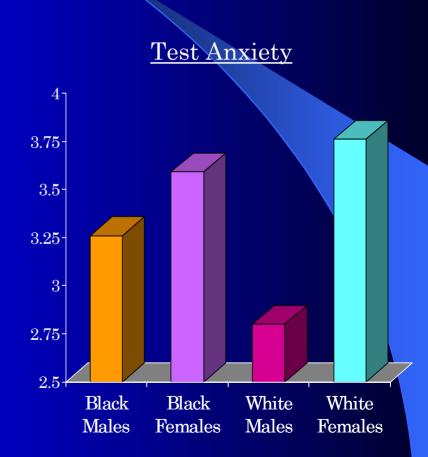
Import. 4 = Very

What about stereotype threat?

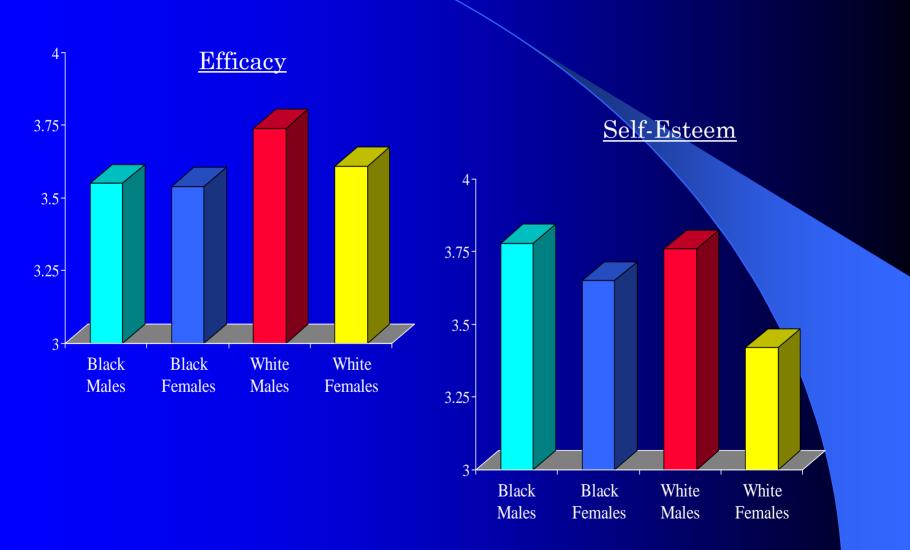
- These African-American youth do not appear to attach less importance to education than do the European-American youth
- But--are they more anxious and worried in school achievement settings and are their school selfconcepts disconnected from their self-esteem?







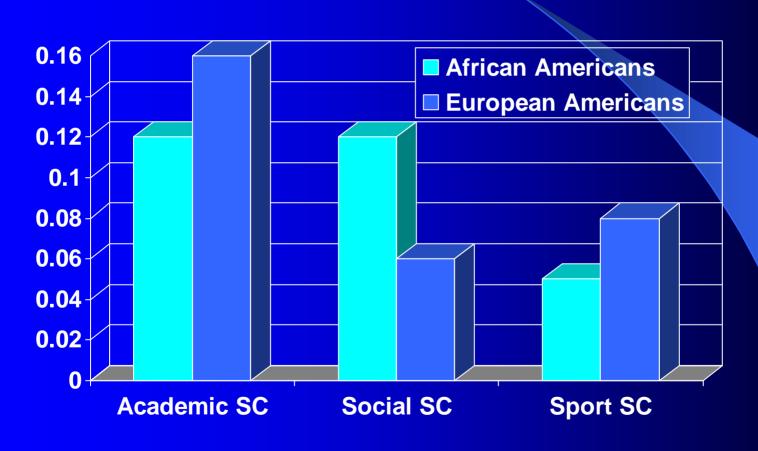
Adolescents' Psychological Adjustment



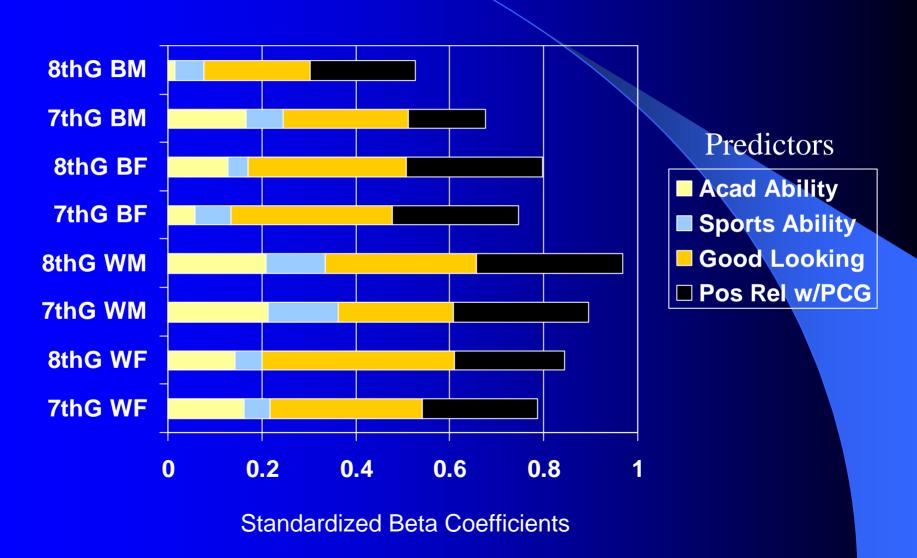
 Some support for greater school-related anxieties for Black Males compared to White Males

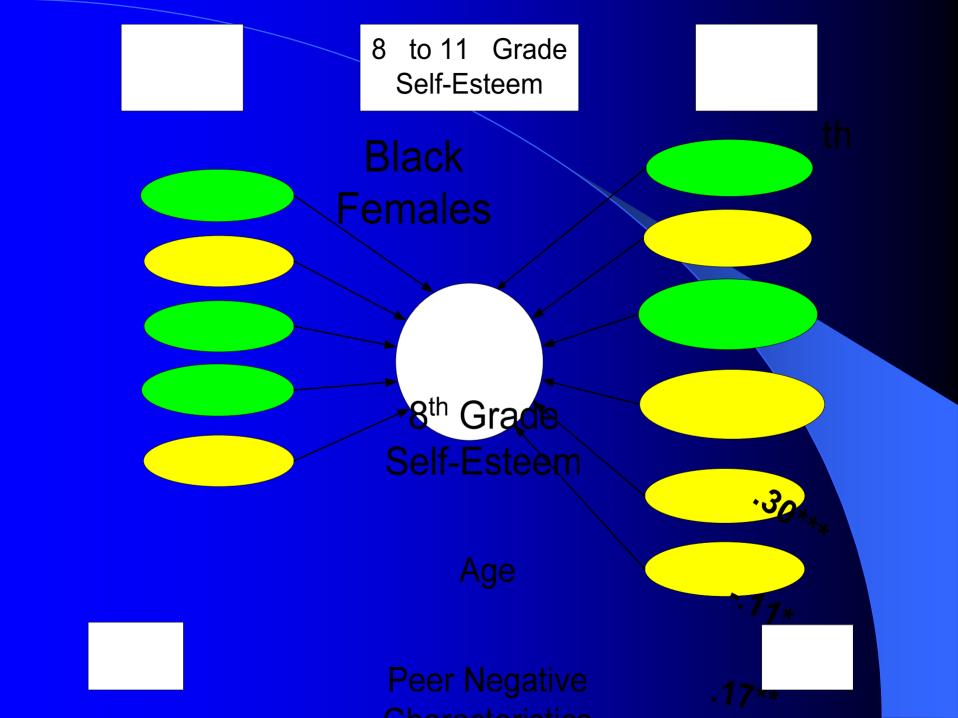
• How are academic self concepts related to self esteem?

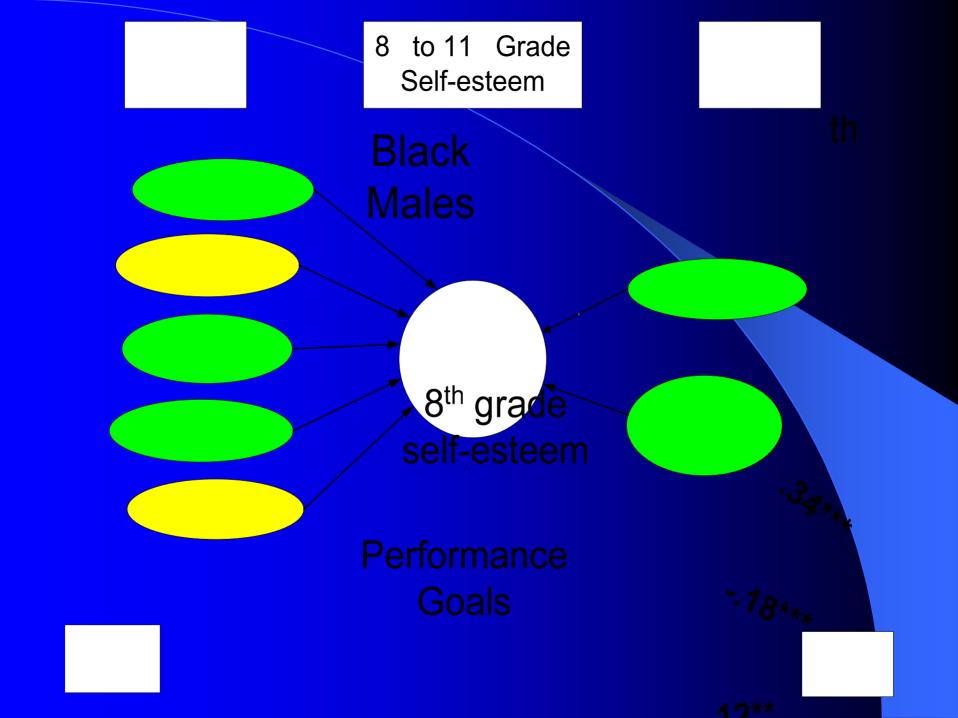
Ability Self Concepts Predicting Global Self Esteem



Effect of Domain-Specific Self-Concepts on Global Self-Esteem at 7th & 8th Grade









Blacks (n = 508)



T1 Esteem

.63 (.58)

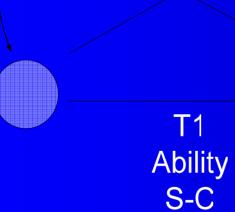
Esteem

.03 (.15)



Black Males

(n = 257)



Black Females

(n = 243)

.50 (.38)

/T3 Ability S-C

.02 (.22)

.43 (*1*1)

00 / 00



White Males

(n = 124)



White Females

(n = 142)

.53 (.43)

Ability S-C

-.01 (.28)

.59 (.56)

.12 (.46)

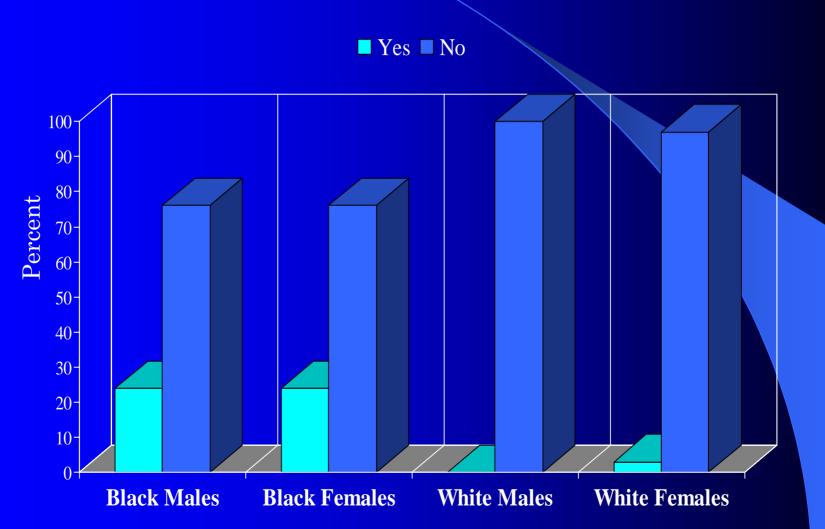
Thus the support for hypotheses derived from Stereotype Threat Theory is pretty weak as well in that the associations between academic self concepts and self esteem are quite similar across the four groups and self esteem is not very highly related to academic performance and academic selfconcepts for any of the groups.

BUT

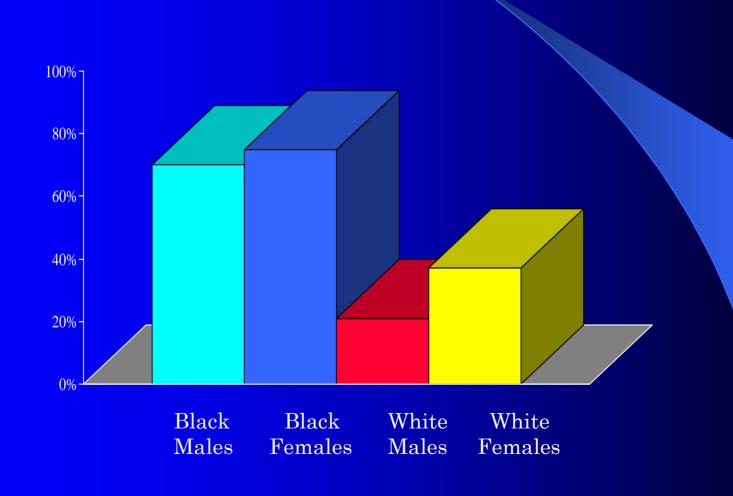
Laboratory findings are quite robust.

Now lets turn to the role of discrimination

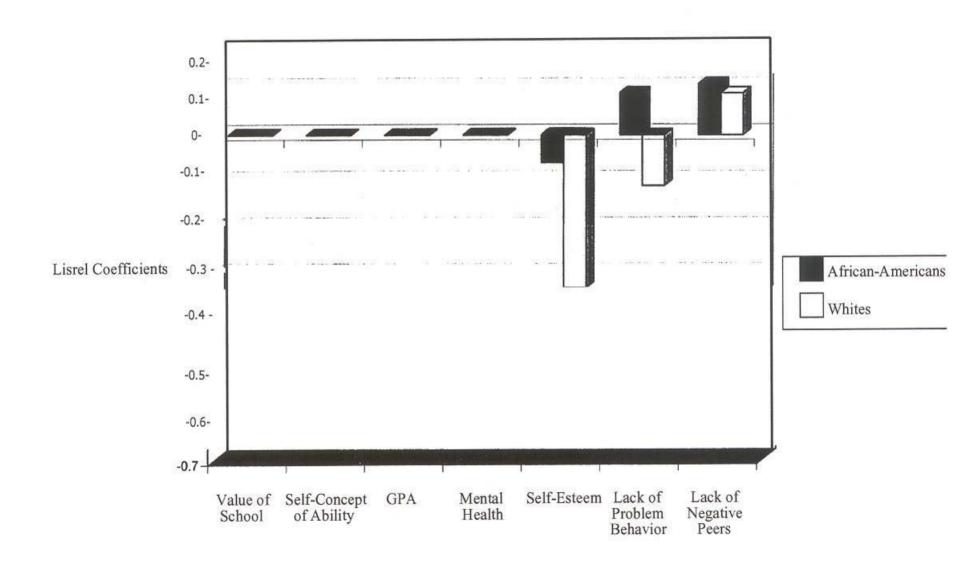
Is Getting Ahead in Life Difficult Because of Your Race?

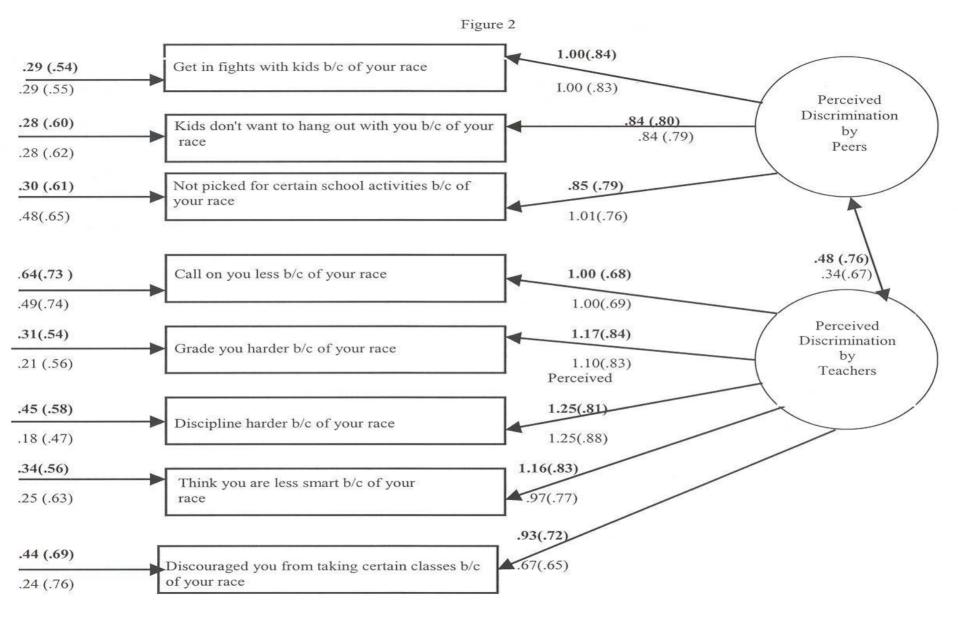


Percent of Adolescents Who Perceive a 'Glass Ceiling" to Attaining Their Desired Education and Occupation



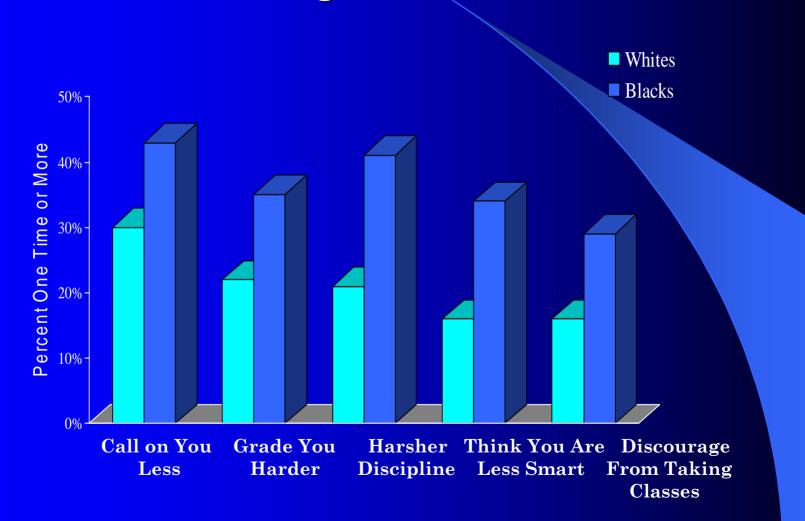
Net Impact of Glass Ceiling



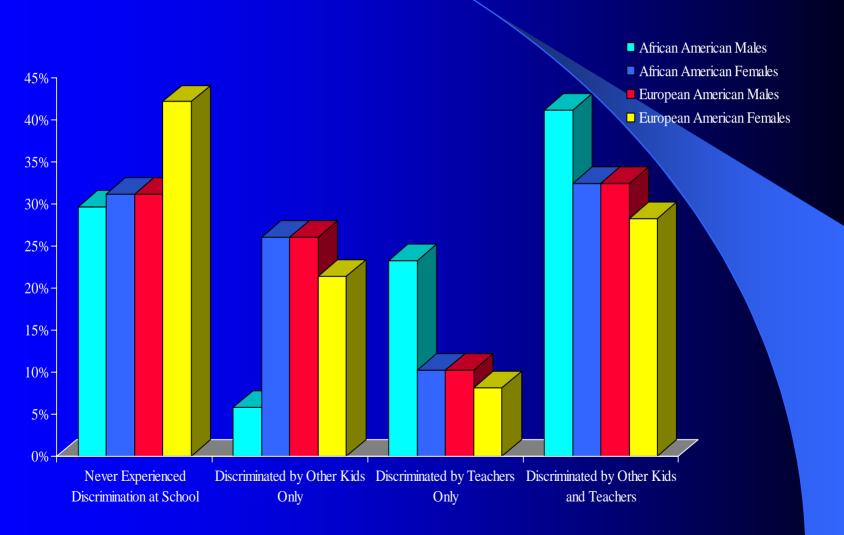


Note. Coefficients for African-Americans are reported above the paths (in bold) and coefficients for Whites are reported below the paths. Unstandardized coefficients for each ethnic group arc reported outside the parentheses, and

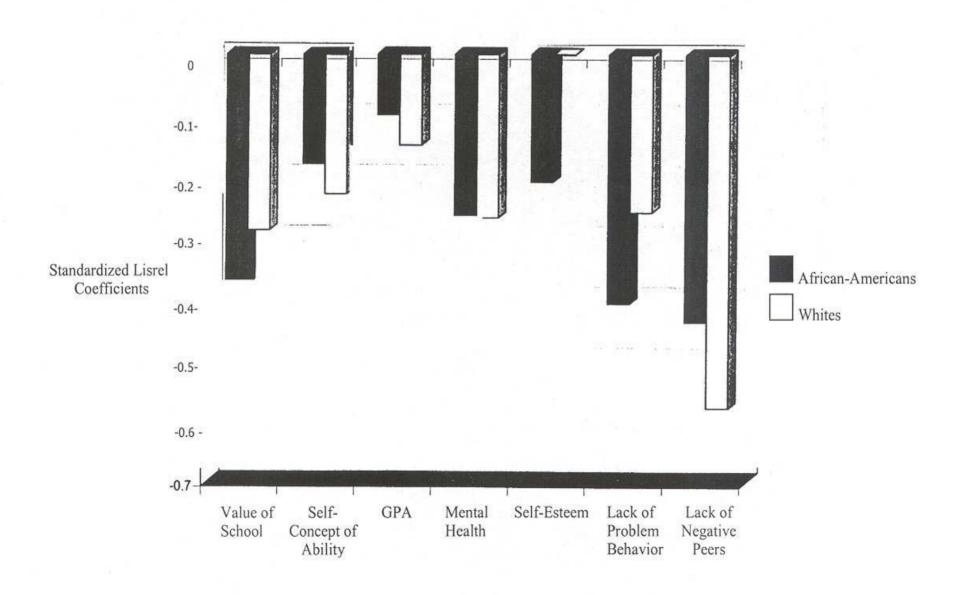
Adolescents' Race-Related Experiences in School Eighth Grade



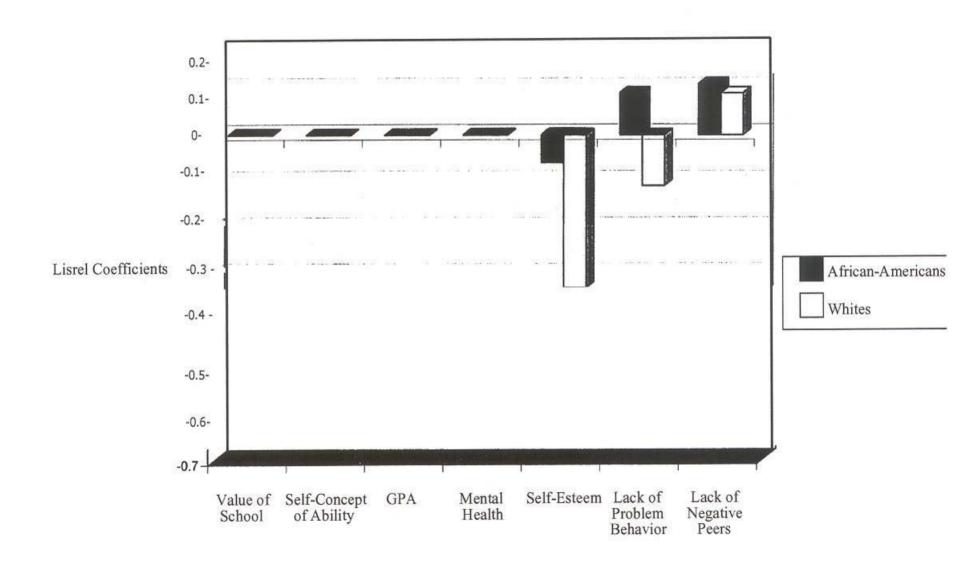
Percent of Adolescents Experiencing Racial Discrimination at School



Net Impact of Discrimination



Net Impact of Glass Ceiling



Conclusion

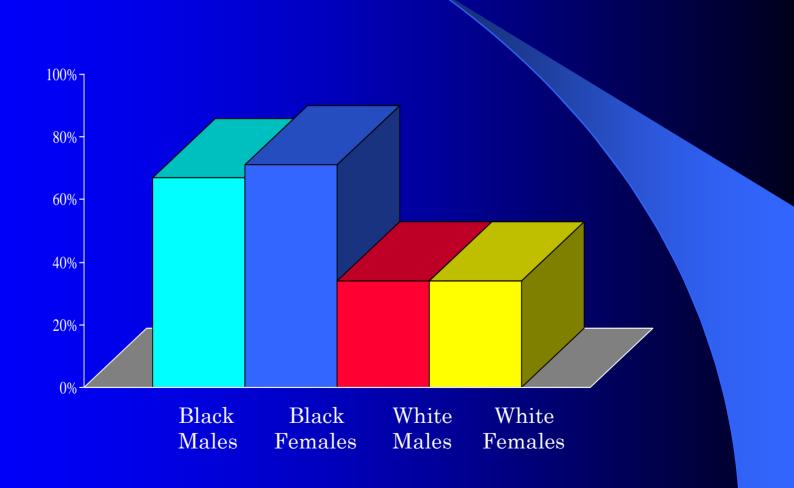
- Daily experiences of perceived racial discrimination appear to undermine many aspects of the healthy development of African American JHS youth.
- In contrast, anticipated future racial discrimination has very little impact

Modeling Developmental Associations

 Next we used SEM to model these effects on school achievement in a more theoretically driven manner

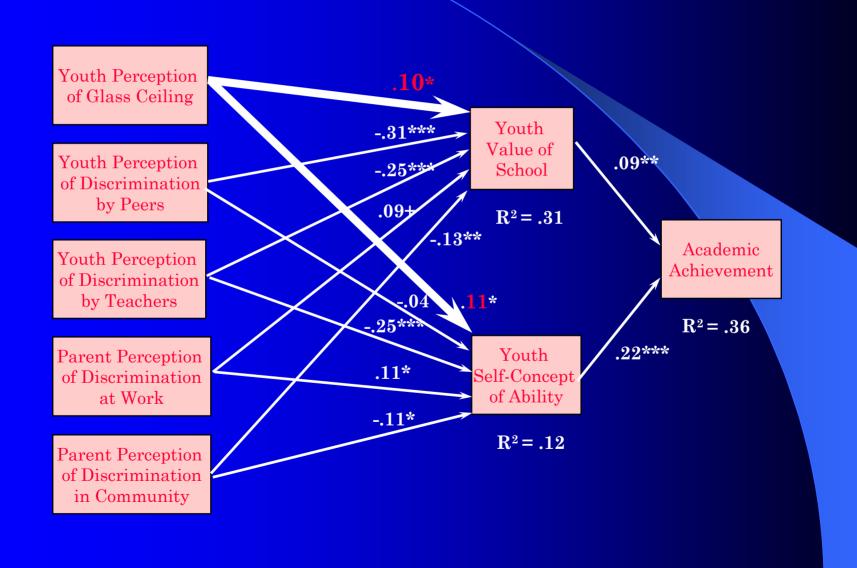
 We included the perceived racial discrimination experienced by parents

Percent of Adolescents' Parents Experiencing Racial Discrimination in Their Communities



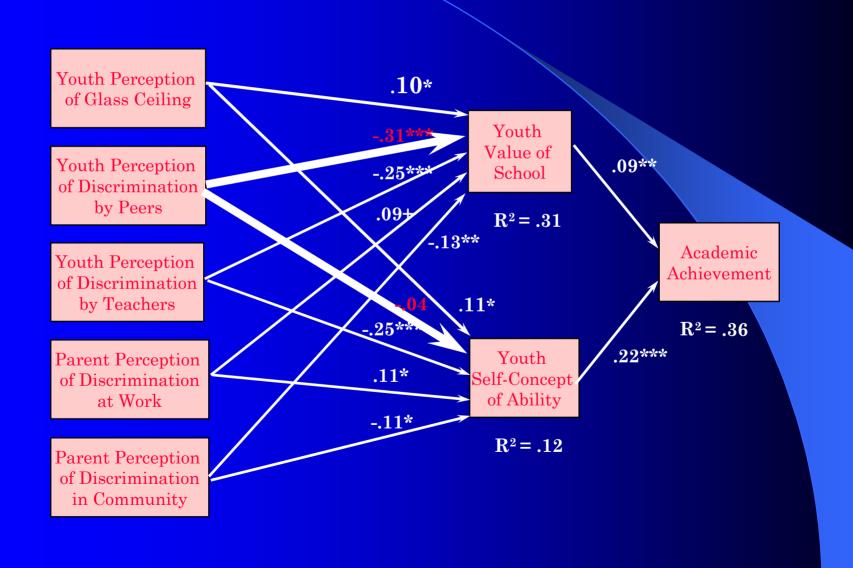
Relation of Different Types of Racial Discrimination

to African American Adolescents' Academic Motivation and Achievement



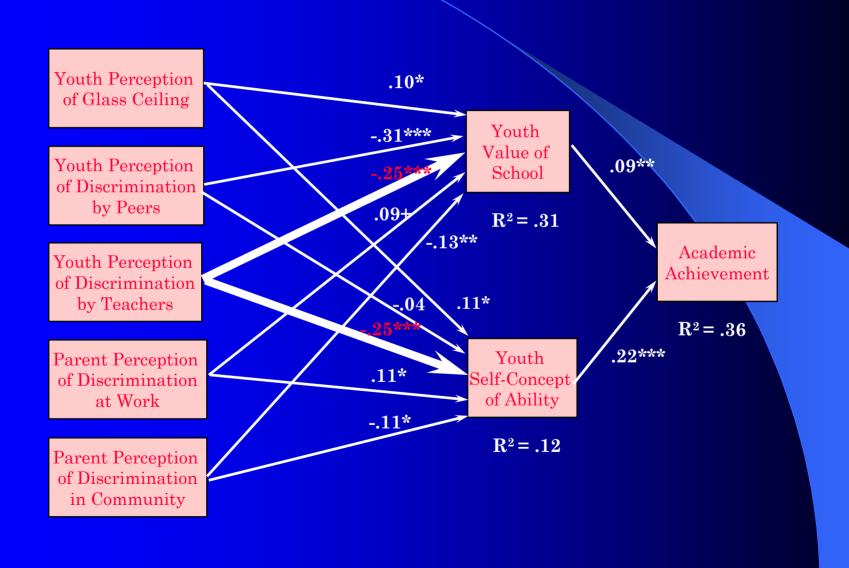
Relation of Different Types of Racial Discrimination

to African American Adolescents' Academic Motivation and Achievement



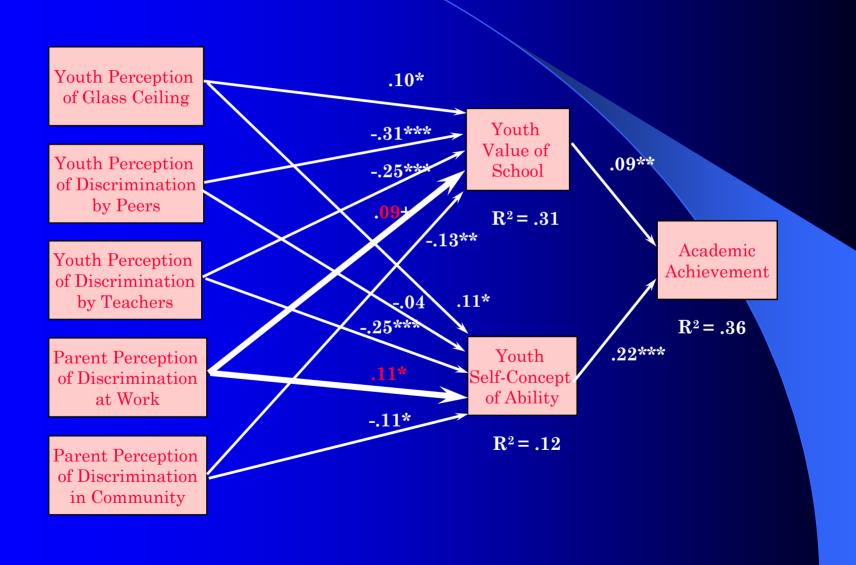
Relation of Different Types of Racial Discrimination

to African American Adolescents' Academic Motivation and Achievement



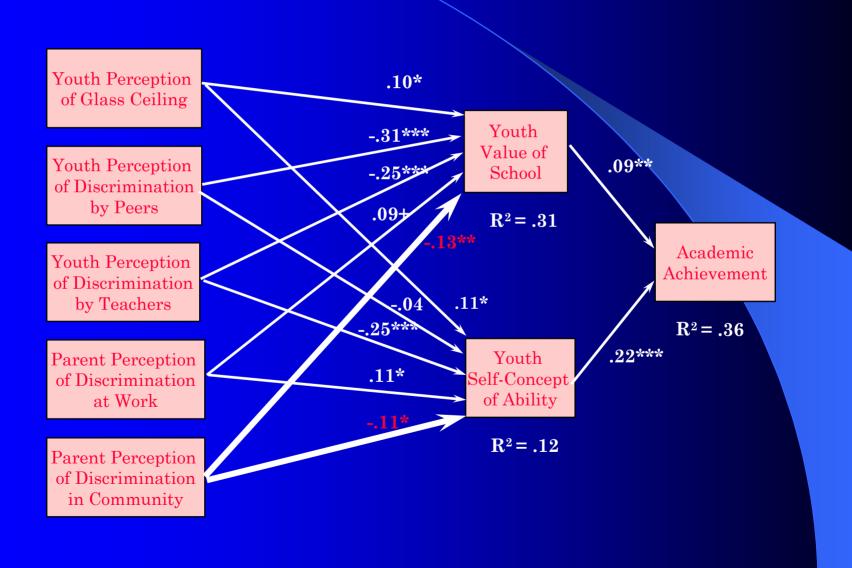
Effects of Different Types of Racial Discrimination

on African American Adolescents' Academic Motivation and Achievement



Effects of Different Types of Racial Discrimination

on African American Adolescents' Academic Motivation and Achievement



Thus, there is strong support for the undermining impact of daily experiences of discrimination in school on school achievement as well as on other indicators of healthy adolescent development.

There is no support in this sample for the idea that believing in a glass ceiling on average undermines school performance and motivation.

We still need to explore whether this is true for some sub-groups.

Study 2:

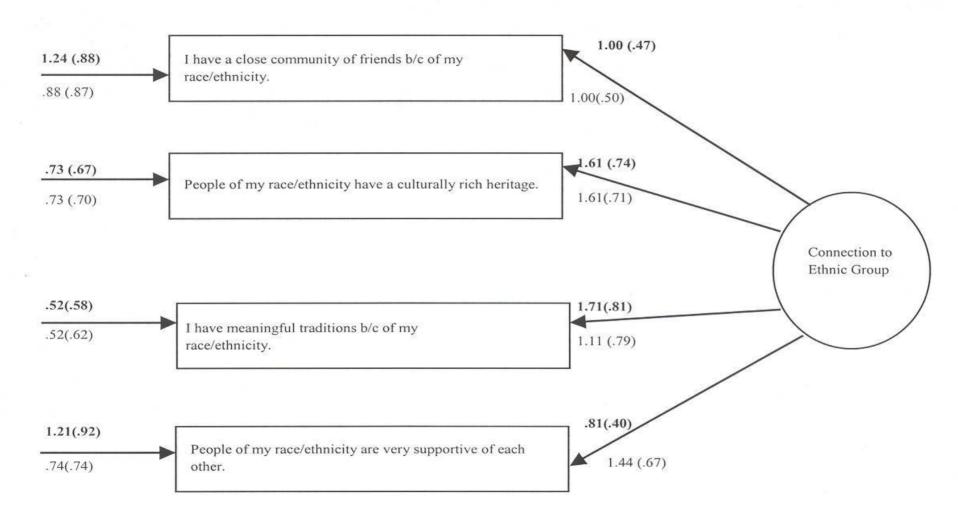
What role does African-American Identity play in helping African-American youth cope with daily experiences of discrimination?

Analyses during JHS

Main Collaborator

Carol Wong, University of Delaware

Figure 3



Note. Coefficients for African-Americans are reported above the paths (in bold) and coefficients for Whites are reported below the paths.

Unstandardized coefficients for each ethnic group are reported outside the parentheses, and standardized coefficients are reported in parentheses.

General Analysis

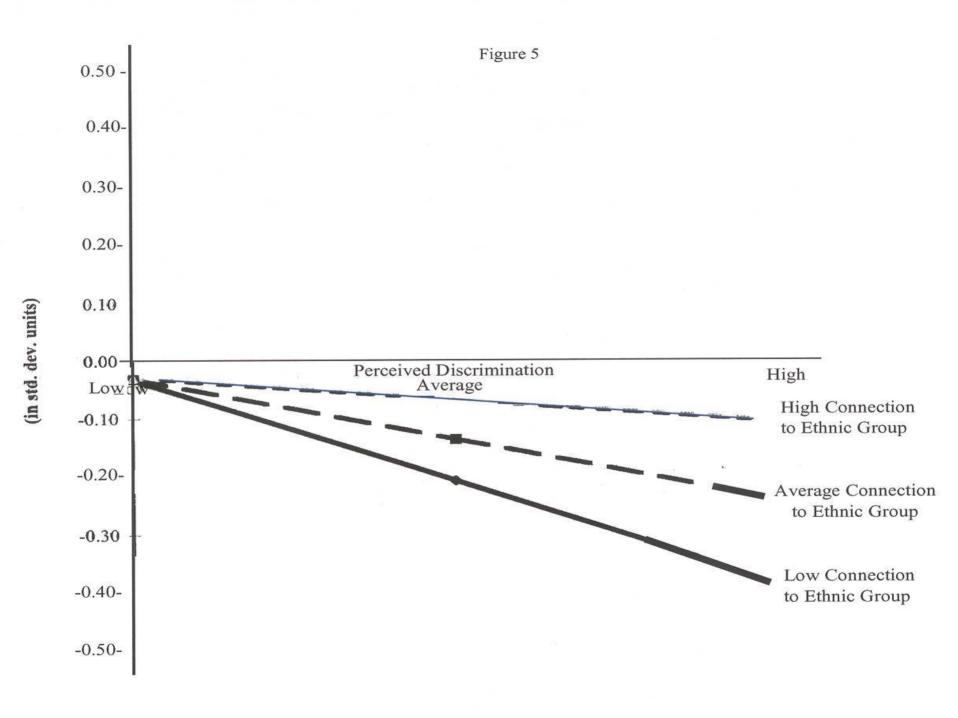
- Regressions Predicting Various Indicators of Adjustment at Wave 2
 - Family and Individual Demographics
 - School Disengagement in Wave 1 as Control
 - Perceived Discrimination Wave 1 as Control
 - Adjustment Indicator at Wave 1
 - Perceived Discrimination at Wave 2
 - Cultural Connection to Ethnic Group
 - Interaction of Previous 2

Table 10

Hierarchical regression results of perceived discrimination connection to ethnic group, and their interaction on school achievement, self-esteem, and group ethnic esteem for African Americans

	School Achievement (GPA)			Self-Esteem			Ethnic Group Esteem		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Gender	.10**	.10**	.10**	04	04	04	06	06	06
Socioeconomic status	.08*	.07*	.07*	.02	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01
Elem Sch Acad Comp	.08*	.07	.07	.02	.02	.02	.15*	.15*	.15*
School Disengagement (WI)	.00	.00	.01	02	02	02	07	07`	07
Perc. discrimination (W1)	05	05	04	03	03	03	05	05	05
Prior adjustment @ W 1	.67***	.68***	.67***	.47***	.47***	.47***	.21***	.21***	.21***
Perceived sch. discrimination (W2)	06	07*	11*	14***	14***	14***	04	05	05
Connection to ethnic group		.07*	.09*		.01	.01		.02	.02
Interaction			.08*			.02			.01
∆ R2	.63***	.004*	.004*	.27***	.00	.00	.11***	.00	.00
△ in F-value for step 1	<u>F</u> (7, 402) =	94.05***		<u>F</u> (7,470)=25.	54***		<u>F</u> (7,389)	=6.73***	
△ in F-value for step 2	<u>F</u> (1, 401) =	4.38*		<u>F</u> (1,469)=.03	Ü		<u>F</u> (1,388)	=.24	
△ in F-value for step 3	<u>F</u> (1,400)=4	.59*		<u>F</u> (1,468)=.00)		<u>F</u> (1,387)	=.01	
	Total Adj. R2 = .63***			Total Adj. R2 = .27***			Total Adj. R2=.09***		
	F(9, 400) = 75.45***			<u>F</u> (9, 468) = 19.78***			<u>F(9,387)=5.24***</u>		

Note. All predictor variables were centered. * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.



Hierarchical regression results of perceived discrimination, connection to ethnic group, and their interaction on perceived importance of school, perceived utility value, and self-competency beliefs for African Americans

	Impo	Utili	ty Value of	School	Self Competency Beliefs				
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Gender	07	07	07	01	01	01	01	01	01
Socioeconomic status	.00	.00	.00	05	05	05	06	06	06
Elem Sch Acad Comp	.04	.04	.04	.12**	.11**	.11**	.15**	.15**	.15**
School Disengagement (WI)	24***	24***	24***	15***	15***	16***	17***	17***	17**
Perc. discrimination (W1)	.08*	.08*	.09*	01	.00	.00	.05	.05	.06
Prior adjustment @ W 1	.16***	.17***	.16***	.18***	.18***	.18***	.31***	.31***	.30***
Perceived sch. discrimination (W2)	20***	21***	23***	37***	38***	40***	15***	16***	22***
Connection to ethnic group		.03	.04		.03	.04		.04	.07
Interaction			.07			.05			.12**
R2	.17***	.00	.00	.29***	.00	.00	.24***	.00	.01*
△F-value for step 1 in	\underline{F} (7, 464) =	= 13.72***		F (7, 469) = 27.41**	e ale	<u>F</u> (7, 46	(1) = 20.97	fe she she
Δ F-value for step 2 in	$\underline{\mathbf{F}}$ (1, 463) = .37			\underline{F} (1, 468) = .42			<u>F</u> (1, 460)81		
∧F-value for step 3	<u>F</u> (1, 462) =	= 1.66		<u>F</u> (1, 467) = 1.18			<u>F</u> (1, 459) = 7.65**		
	Total Adj.	k	Total Adj. R = . ***			Total Adj. R = .24***			
F(9, 462) = 10.82***				E (0. 467) = 21.47**	s s c	<u>F</u> (9, 459) = 17.48***		

Note. All predictor variables were centered. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Figure 4

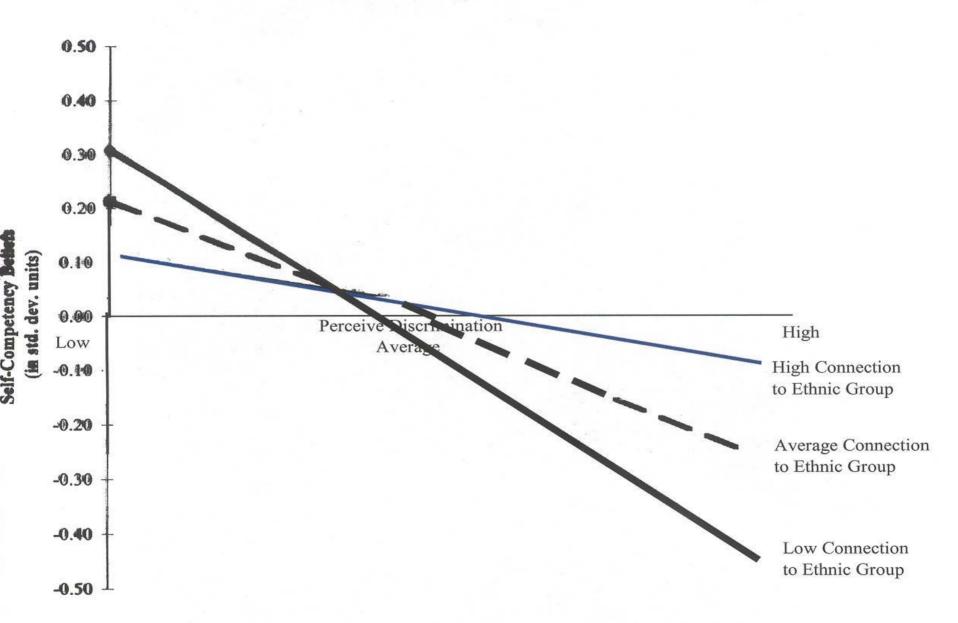


Table 12

Hierarchical regression results of perceived discrimination, connection to ethnic group, and their interaction on perceptions of friends' positive characteristics, perceptions of friends' negative characteristics, and problem behaviors for African Americans

	Perc. F	riends' Po	s. Chars.	Perc. Frie	nds' Neg.	Problem Behaviors			
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Gender	.12**	.12**	.12**	.09*	.09*	.09*	04	04	04
Socioeconomic status	.02	.00	.01	01	01	01	01	01	01
Elem Sch Acad Comp	.13**	.11*	.11*	02	02	02	.03	.03	.04
School Disengagement (WI)	19***	19***	19***	.13**	.13**	.13**	.08	.08	.08
Perc. discrimination (WI)	05	05	04	01	01	01	.00	.01	.00
Prior adjustment @ W1	.18***	.17***	.17***	.27***	.27***	.27***	.33***	.33***	.32***
Perceived sch. discrimination (W2)	06	11*	17***	.35***	.35***	.36***	.28***	.28***	.33***
Connection to ethnic group		.16***	.19***		02	02		.01	03
Interaction			.14**			01			13*
R2	.15***	.02***	.02**	.25***	.00	.00	.27***	.00	.01*
in F-value for step 1	<u>F</u> (7,470)=11.87***			<u>F</u> (7,467)=22.22***			<u>F</u> (7,343)=19.32***		
in F-value for step 2	<u>F</u> (1,469)=12.22***			<u>F</u> (1,466	5)=.13	<u>F</u> (1,342)=.01			
in F-value for step 3	<u>F</u> (1,468)=8.91**			<u>F</u> (1,465	5)=.04	<u>F</u> (1,341)=5.75*			
	Total Adj. R2 = .18***			Total Adj. R2=.24***			Total Adj. R2=.28*** <u>F(9,341)=15.83***</u>		
F(9, 468) = 12.04***				<u>F</u> (9,465)	=17.23**				

Note. All predictor variables were centered. * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.

Figure 6

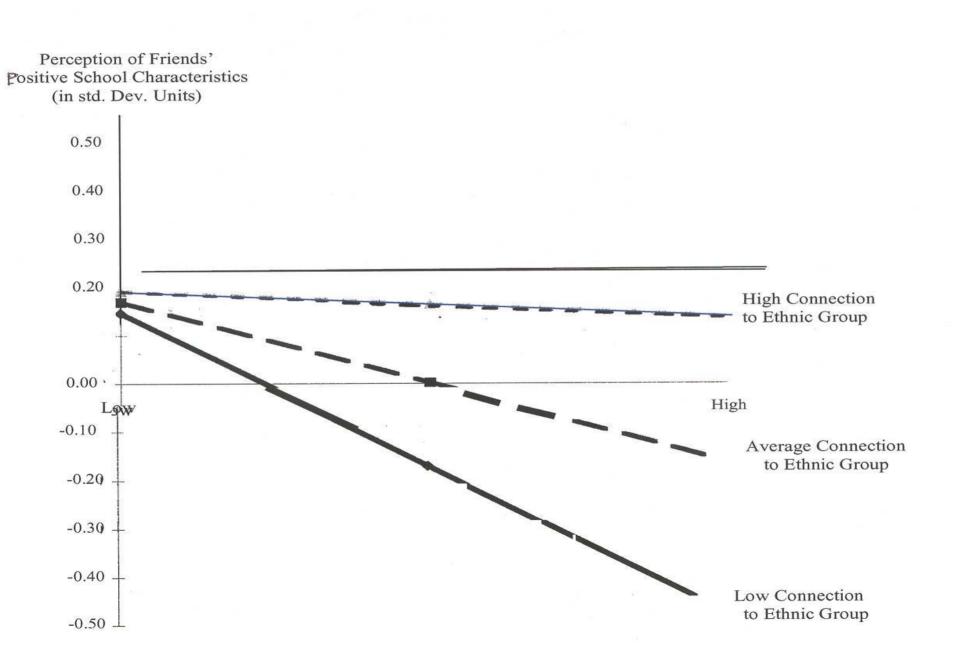
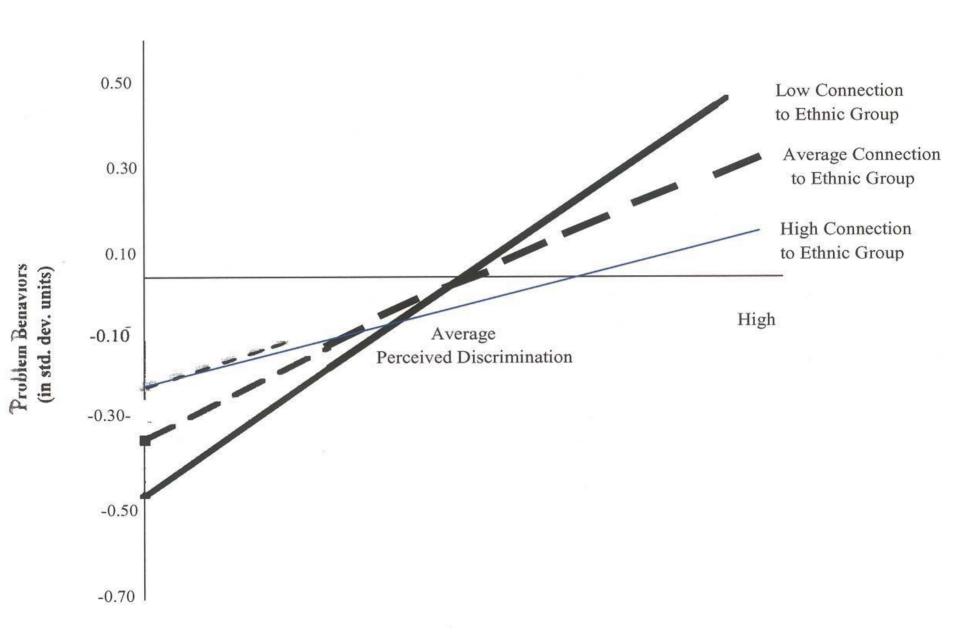


Figure 7



Ethnic Identity as Buffer against Experiences of Racial Discrimination: Conclusions from Studies 1 and 2

- Daily experiences of racial discrimination at school, although not frequent, undermine positive development in several domains
- Ethnic Identity (measured as strong positive cultural connections due to race) reduces this negative impact for African-American youth in several domains

Study 3: Background and rationale

"There is no one way to be black."

--William Cross, in Shades of Black, 1991

Main Collaborators

- Celina Chatman
- Oksana Malenchuk

Research Objectives

Person oriented approach to studying ethnic identity

- "Naturally occurring" patterns of ethnic identity defined in multiple, historically and culturally situated concepts
- Relation of ethnic identity group type to social and academic functioning

Measures of Ethnic Identity

Importance

How important is it for you to know about your racial background?

Pride

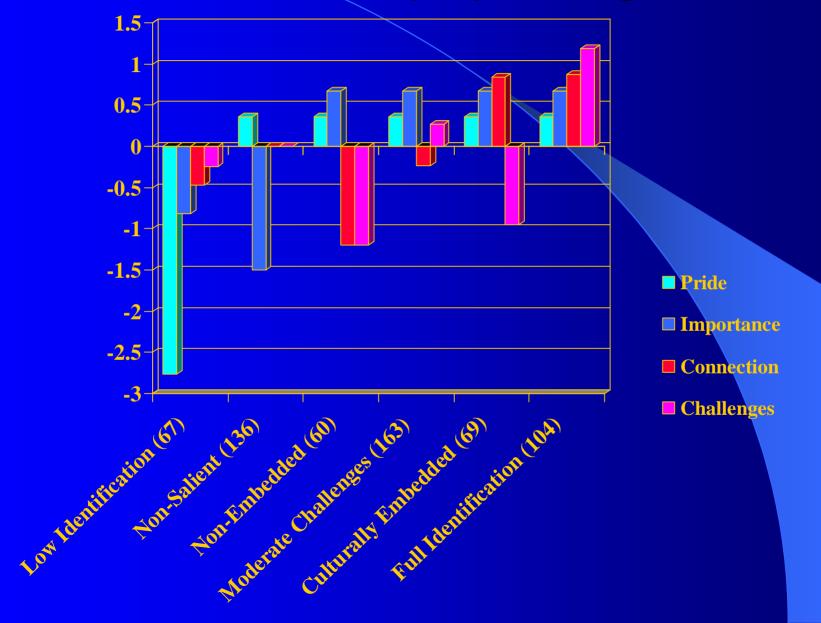
- How proud are you of your racial background?
- Connection to Ethnic Heritage (alpha=.72)
 - I have a close community of friends because of my race/ethnicity.
 - People of my race/ethnicity have a culturally rich heritage.
 - I have meaningful traditions because of my race/ethnicity.
 - People of my race/ethnicity are very supportive of each other.
- Expectation of Race-based Challenges (alpha=.83)
 - Because of your race, no matter how hard you work, you will always have to work harder than others to prove yourself.
 - Because of your race, it is important that you do better than other kids at school in order to get ahead.

Cluster analysis

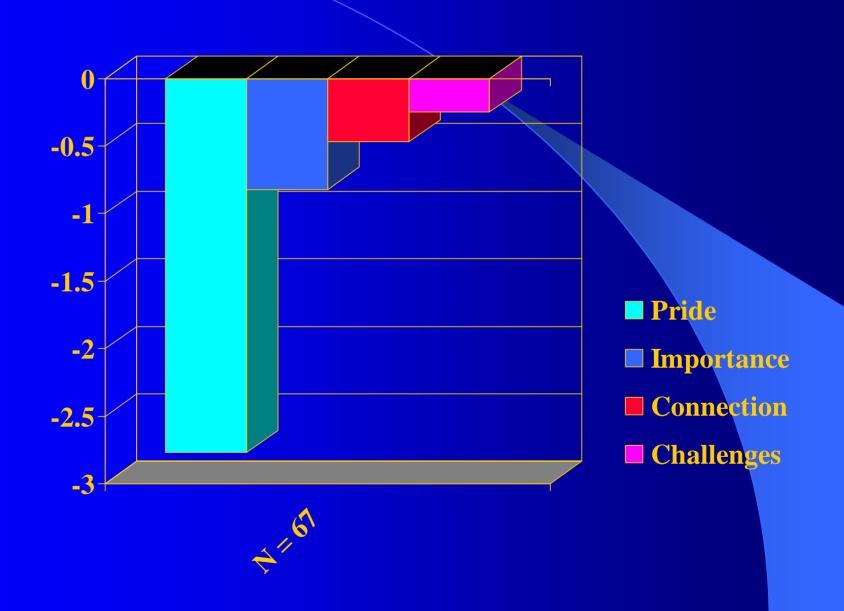
- Ward's method, based on squared
 Euclidian distances on Wave 2 data
 - (after 8th grade)

- Clustered individual cases (n=599)
 based on:
 - Ethnic pride
 - Ethnic importance
 - Connection to ethnic heritage
 - Race-based social challenges

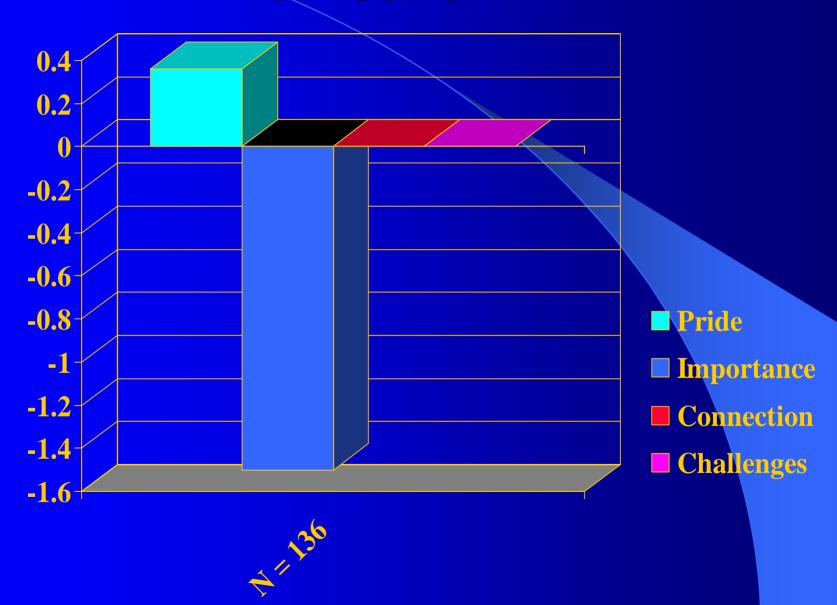
Ethnic identity typologies



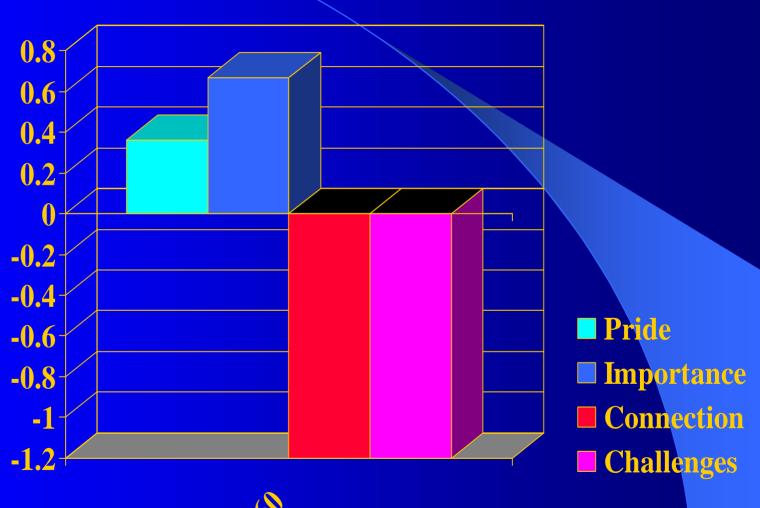
Low Identification



Non-salient

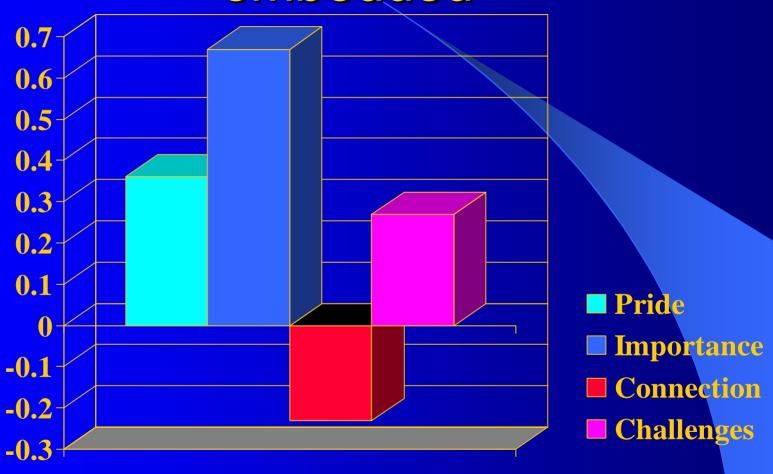


Non-embedded identify

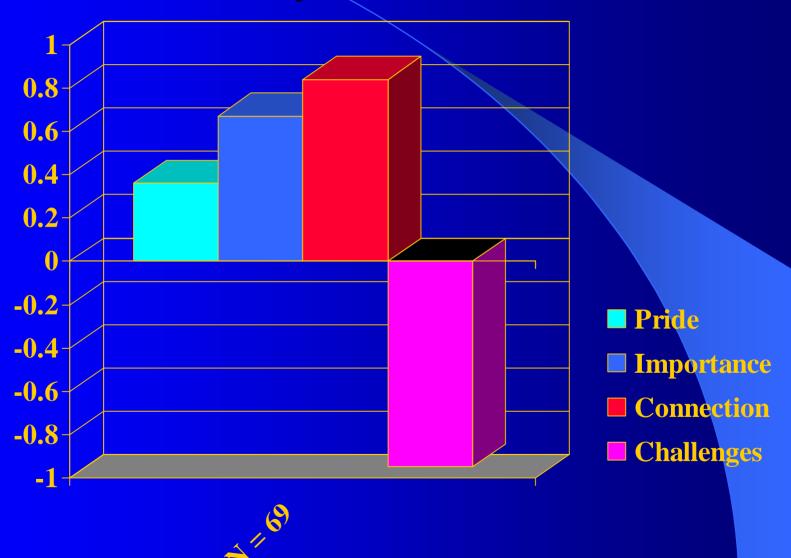




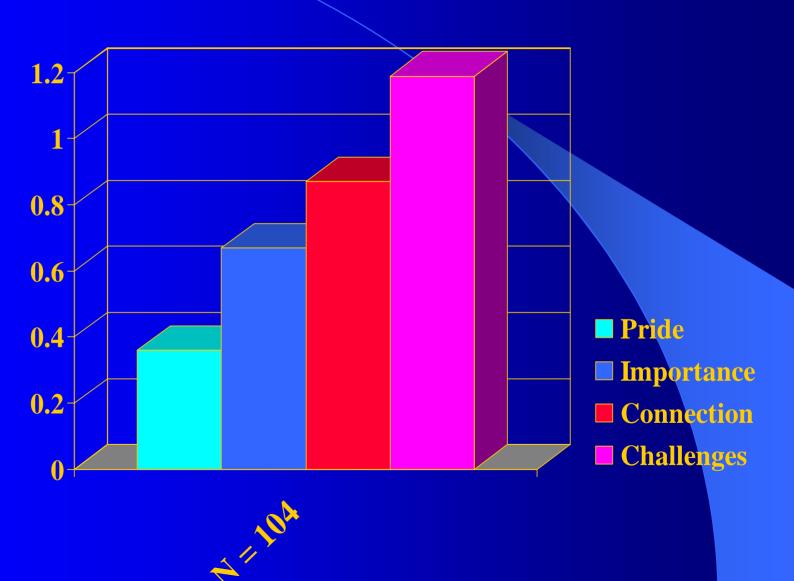
Moderately socio-politically embedded



Culturally embedded



Fully embedded



Summary of cluster results

 Clusters consistent with developmental perspectives on ethnic identity formation

 Many fit into the weakly embedded ethnic identity types – we expect that a sizeable number of these are actively seeking information about their race

Fewer are fully identified

Differences on traditional measures of adjustment

Measures: Outcomes

- Achievement (alpha=.86)
 - Standardized Composite Grade in: English/Science/Math/Health & Maryland Functional Test Math Score
- Psychological Adjustment (alpha=.80)

Standardized Composite Score for:

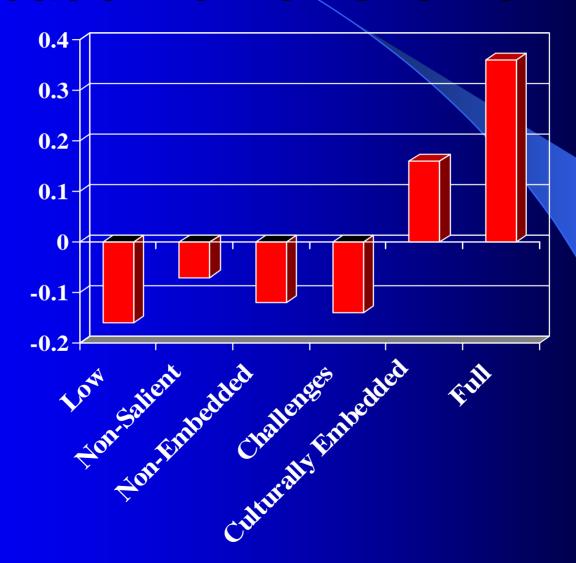
- Resiliency
- Self-esteem
- Satisfaction with Self & Relationships
- Preference for Improvement-Based Coping Strategies
- Depression (R)
- Anger (R)
- General Confusion (R)
- Problem Paying Attention (R)
- Social Self-Consciousness (R)

Problem Behaviors

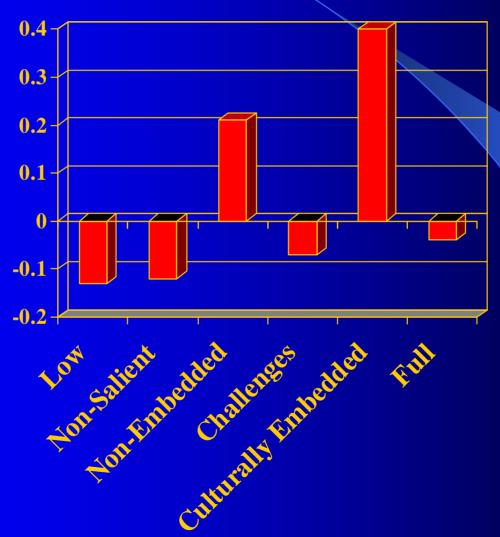
Examples from summed score of problem behaviors participated in (out of 24):

- skipping class without a valid excuse
- lying to your parents
- cheating on tests or exams
- damaging public or private property just for fun
- hitting someone because you didn't like what they said or did
- being involved in a gang fight
- being suspended from school
- bringing alcohol or drugs to school
- being a member of a gang
- stealing or trying to steal a motor vehicle
- using crack in last six months
- being involved with the police

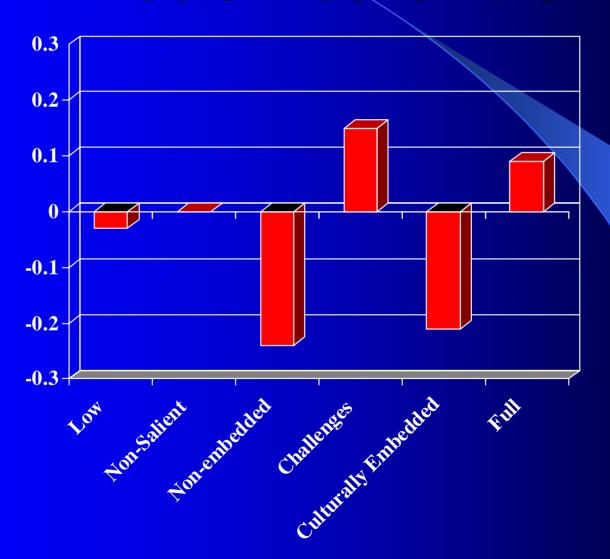
Academic Achievement



Psychological adjustment



Problem behaviors



Summary & Discussion

- Retention of ethnic identity complexity is important
- Cultural and Social Embeddedness associated with:
 - Better academic performance
- Cultural Embeddedness associated with:
 - Higher than average mental health
 - Lower than average problem behaviors
- Full Embeddedness associated with:
 - High academic performance
 - Average levels of psychological adjustment and problem behaviors

Conclusions

- It is not clear why the Fully Embedded score lower than the Culturally Embedded on Psychological Adjustment and higher than the Culturally Embedded in Problem Behavior.
- Although these differences are significant, the Fully Embedded adolescents' scores are NOT in the problematic range.
- Perhaps they reflect the challenge of dealing with the socio-political reality these youth have incorporated into their ethnic identity. It makes sense that they would be angrier and more likely to engage in some acting out than the Culturally Embedded youth who do not believe that their goals may be impeded by future racial discrimination.
- We plan to study the long term consequences of these feelings and behaviors, as well as the longitudinal changes in the nature of these African-American adolescents' ethnic identities.

Thank you

Web Address: www.rcgd.isr.umich.edu/garp

Developmental Changes

- Longitudinal study of typologies
 - Typologies at later age
 - Individual movement across time

Figure 1b: Ethnic identity profiles - 11th grade

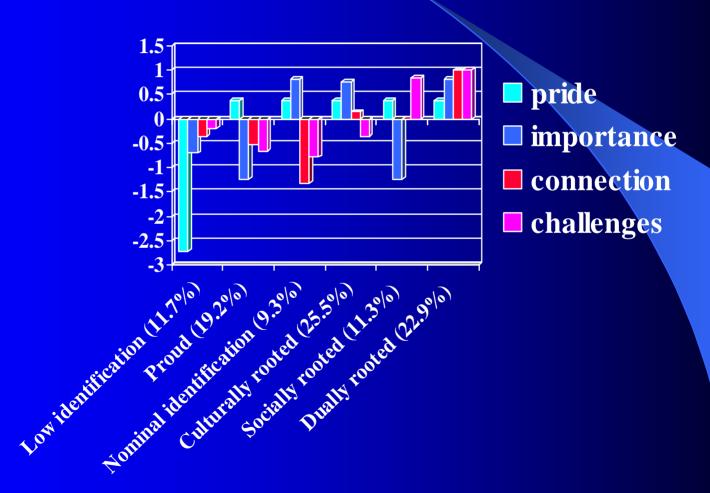


Table 2: Individual movement toward/away from embeddedness

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Stably low id/pride	92	15.4	23.5	23.5
	Moving away from embeddedness	60	10.0	15.3	38.9
	Moving toward embeddedness	81	13.5	20.7	59.6
	Stably embedded	158	26.4	40.4	100.0
	Total	391	65.3	100.0	
Missing	System	208	34.7		
Total		599	100.0		

Conclusions

Several different ethnic and racial identity profiles, differentiated mostly by the meaning systems in which group pride and importance are rooted, can be identified among African American youth

Ethnic and racial identities are subject to substantial individual change over time among adolescents (as indicated by low indices of stability for each of the six profiles when cross-tabulated over time)

CONCLUSIONS

Adolescents appear to be actively exploring and constantly renegotiating the meaning of race and ethnicity for their sense of self (as indicated by individual movement away and toward embeddedness over time, and individual stability within the embedded vs. non-embedded groups)

Future Directions

 Investigate the social and psychological correlates of developmental changes in ethnic identity profile

 Investigate consequences of developmental changes in ethnic identity profile

Conclusions

Retention of ethnic identity complexity is important

 Race and ethnicity are socially constructed meaning systems

Directions for future research:

- Different dimensions, different samples
- Longitudinal studies of typologies
 - Typologies across time
 - Individual trajectories

Measures: Ethnicity

- Same Ethnicity Peer Preferences (alpha=.78)
 - E.g., In general, you prefer to hang out with kids of your own race.
- Family Involvement in Own-ethnicity Activities (alpha=.67)
 - E.g., How often do you celebrate any special days connected to your racial background?
- Salience of Discrimination in the Family (alpha=.71)
 - E.g., How often do you talk in the family about discrimination you may face because of your race?
- Perceived Racial Discrimination at School (alpha=.89)
 - E.g., How often do you feel that kids do not want to hang out with you because of your race?
- Psychological Salience of Race and Ethnicity
 - Frequency count of multiple open-ended survey questions unrelated to race for instances of spontaneously-mentioned race or ethnicity.

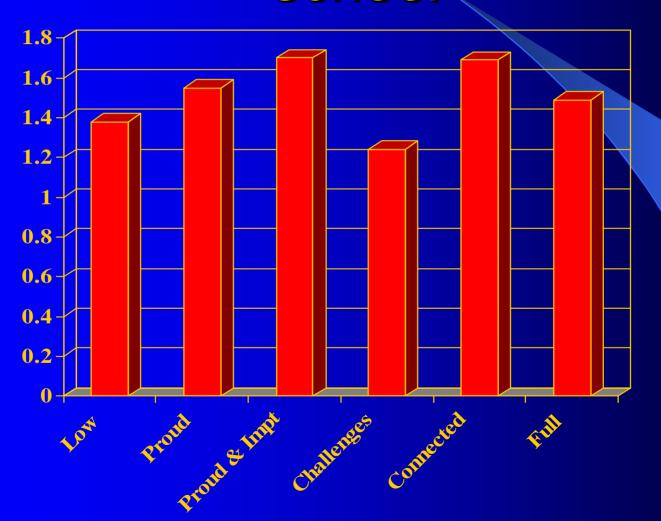
Limitations

Small overall effect sizes

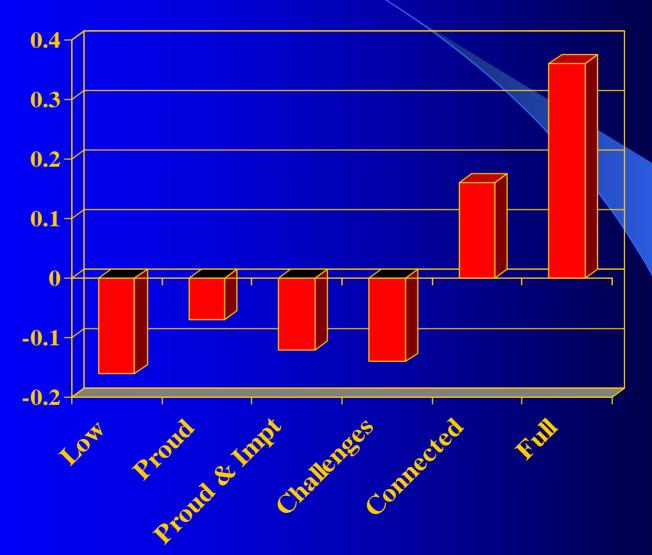
The use of single-item indicators

Biased interpretation of clusters

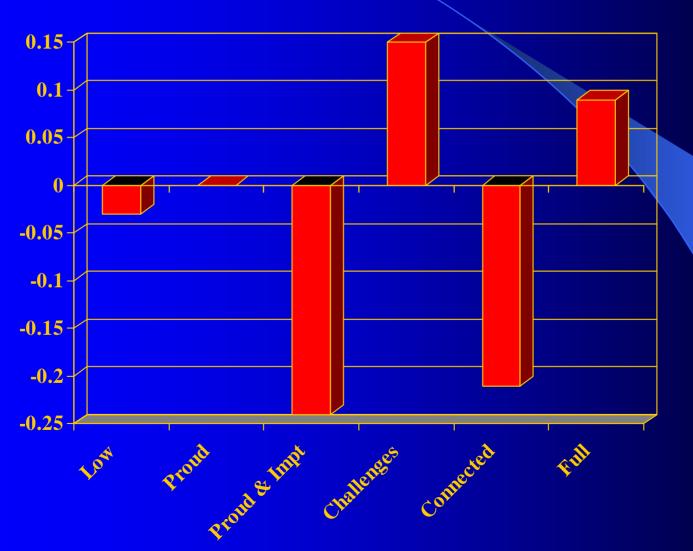
Perceived discrimination at school



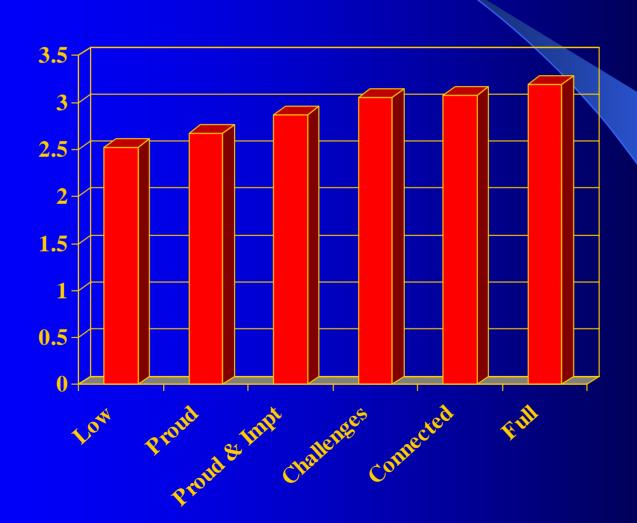
Academic Achievement



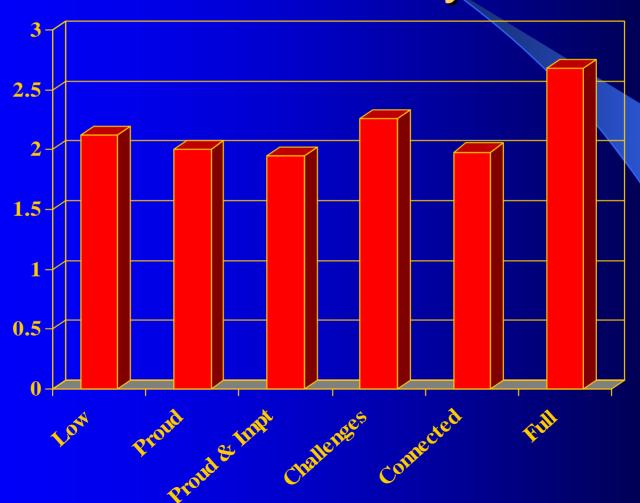
Problem behaviors



Family involvement in ownethnicity related activities



Salience of discrimination in the family



Ethnic Identity Configurations Among African-American Early Adolescents

Celina M. Chatman, Oksana Malanchuk, & Jacquelynne S. Eccles
University of Michigan

- Based on our previous, qualitative work:
 - Diverse meanings of black identity
 - Complex patterns of multiple meanings

 "Classic" ethnic identity versus culturally and/or socially embedded identities