
**CONTESTING STEREOTYPES
AND CREATING IDENTITIES**

SOCIAL CATEGORIES, SOCIAL IDENTITIES,
AND EDUCATIONAL PARTICIPATION

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Chapter 4

Racial-Ethnic Identity: Content and Consequences for African American, Latino, and Latina Youths

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A large number of sociologists and psychologists have argued that racial-ethnic identity is a central part of self-concept for racial-ethnic minority adolescents. While these scholars have proposed that positive racial-ethnic identity should be related to general positive self-regard as well as specific positive outcomes, such as academic attainment (for example, Akbar 1991; Asante 1987; Asante 1988; Cross 1991; Gibson and Ogbu 1991; McAdoo 1988; Parham 1989; Phinney 1996; Porter and Washington 1989). Research to date more consistently provides empirical evidence of a link between racial-ethnic identity and self-esteem than evidence of a link between racial-ethnic identity and academic outcomes. In the current chapter, we conceptualize racial-ethnic identity within a self-schema formulation. We then address when and how racial-ethnic identity is associated with and predictive of positive academic outcomes.

We define self-concept as a set of knowledge structures that provide working answers to basic identity questions about meaning ("Who am I?" and "Where do I belong?") and process ("What am I trying to achieve?") and self-schemas as cognitive structures that organize experience as well as structure motivation and behavior by identifying goals as either relevant or irrelevant to how the self is defined. Using this framework, we focus on how racial-ethnic identity may bolster academic attainment and promote well-being for racial-ethnic minority

youths. We propose that social identities, including racial-ethnic identity, influence behavior both by providing information about the norms, expectations, and behaviors relevant to group membership and by influencing the sense made of social and contextual feedback (Oyserman 2007). Thus, racial-ethnic identity serves to parse experience and create sense and meaning from the flow of everyday life by (1) making sense of the self as a group member; (2) lending meaning to current and historical racism and the limited opportunities and successes of racial-ethnic in-group members; and (3) organizing self-relevant knowledge about personal effort and its meaning to oneself and members of one's racial-ethnic in-group.

Thus, racial-ethnic identity is likely to matter because it serves to protect youths from negative social contextual influences and motivates persistent pursuit of important goals. Because academic attainment is both a central focus of adolescence and a key pathway to attaining future adult success, we are particularly interested in what distinguishes the content of the racial-ethnic identities of adolescent youths who are more and less successful at school. In subsequent sections, we outline our model of racial-ethnic identity and the nature of empirical support for the proposition that racial-ethnic identity has a positive effect on school outcomes, concluding with a more general theoretical model of adolescent racial-ethnic identity as a self-schema.

The Social Context of Racial-Ethnic Identity

Even young children are aware of race and ethnicity as social groups (see Patterson and Bigler, chapter 3, this volume; Hirscheid 1996; Brown and Bigler 2005) and may include membership in social groups within their self-concepts (Harter 1997). During adolescence, when individuals wrestle with critical identity questions that impact subsequent life choices (Erikson 1950), racial-ethnic identity is likely to take on new meaning. Adolescence is a time when teens' attention turns outside the home to peer and other social groups (for example, racial-ethnic groups) and the larger world (Brown 2004). These social contexts provide feedback about how others see one's racial-ethnic group and role models for engagement in the world ("What others like me can do, I can do too"). Indeed, youth actively seek to make sense of their lives and share their created meaning with their peers (Corsaro and Eder 1990). In the following sections we consider two features of the broader social context that are likely to influence adolescent identity development for racial-ethnic minority youths: demographic racial concentration and school contexts that communicate negative academic stereo-

types. We propose that as youths face these contexts, content of racial-ethnic identity is likely to importantly influence their responses and behavior.

Racial-Ethnic Concentration

In spite of gains in integration and increased representation of African Americans and Hispanic Americans in the middle and upper classes, social contexts are not randomly distributed across racial-ethnic groups. About 87 percent of African Americans lived in metropolitan areas in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau 2000), such that African Americans are most concentrated within urban, as opposed to rural or suburban, areas and when African Americans live in rural areas, they are likely to be southern. Hispanic Americans are also concentrated in particular social contexts; although the population of Hispanics in other parts of the country is increasing rapidly, over half of all Hispanics live in California and Texas (Population Resource Center 2001). This racial-ethnic concentration means that racial-ethnic minority youth rarely experience being a lone member of their racial or ethnic group. The consequences of racial-ethnic concentration for the racial composition of neighborhoods, schools, and peer groups is that racial-ethnic in-group members are likely to form the local majority within the schools and neighborhoods of low- and moderate-income African American and Hispanic American youths (see discussion regarding the importance of "home fronts" in Moje and Martinez, chapter 9, this volume). As youths seek out connections beyond the family, the peer groups with which they are likely to engage will, for the most part, contain racial-ethnic in-group members. Therefore, developing a sense of connection to racial-ethnic in-groups and wrestling with how in-groups relate to broader society are important identity-development tasks for racial-ethnic minority adolescents.

School as Social Context

School is an important social context for many youths throughout adolescence. Teens are required by law to attend school until age sixteen and are commonly expected to remain in school until at least age eighteen. Given the nature of these requirements and expectations, issues related to school will likely be central to teens' identities, whether they are in school or not, and whether they are high or low achieving. In support of the proposal that school remains important to adolescent identity even for youths who disengage from academic contexts, in our own work with low-income African American and Hispanic youth we find that students not attending school are unlikely to claim an identity

of "dropout." Rather, even if youths are currently not attending school, they often imagine themselves to be potentially going to school, and will self-identify as high school students. By the time their peers are completing high school, most nonattending students still see school as a potential identity.

Academic Engagement and Racial-Ethnic Stereotypes The social context of school is a place to create a self separate from family (Chavous et al. 2004). School is an important context for identity development during adolescence, yet creating a positive school identity may be more challenging for African American and Hispanic youths, who must cope with negative academic stereotypes about their racial-ethnic groups (see examples in Galletta and Cross, chapter 1, this volume). Research in moderate-to-low-income middle and high school contexts demonstrates that academic stereotypes about African Americans (for a review see Oyserman, Gant, and Ager 1995) and Mexican Americans (Conchas 2001; Gonzales et al. 2004; Hudley and Graham 2001; Kao 2000; Secada 1999) are common. For both groups, these negative academic stereotypes focus on inability, laziness, and lack of interest and curiosity.

There is consistent evidence that negative academic stereotypes can undermine academic attainment. Simply bringing these stereotypes to mind leads to decreased attainment for African American (Spencer, Steele et al. 1999; Steele 1997) and Hispanic American (Gonzales, Blanton, and Williams 2002; McKown and Weinstein 2003; Schmader and Johns 2003) students. These negative effects of salient stereotypes have been termed "stereotype threat," with the implied threat being the possibility that one might behave in a stereotype confirming way, and the assessed consequence being lower academic performance. The impact of stereotype-threat effects is not dependent on one's personally accepting the stereotype as self-defining, though the negative effects may be stronger when the relevant stereotype is incorporated into self-definition. Unfortunately, middle and high school students are at risk of doing just that—incorporating stereotypes about their group as self-defining and thus relevant to their future possibilities. Thus, the psychologists Cynthia Hudley and Sandra Graham (2001) report that youths from diverse racial-ethnic groups rated Latino and African American males as least likely to succeed. Students also rated Latino and African American males (in that order) as least likely to work hard, follow school rules, and attain good grades (Graham 2001).

Other research also supports the proposal that middle school and high school students internalize negative stereotypes about academic attainment as in-group defining. Hudley and Graham's (2001) results suggest that Latino and African American boys' assessment of their

own chances for future success matched their low assessment of their racial-ethnic group as a whole. They also report that Latino and African American middle school boys' role models are boys of their own racial-ethnic group that don't try hard, don't follow school rules, and receive poor grades (Graham 2001). Effects for girls appear to be less severe: African American and Latina girls choose role models who are girls of their race-ethnicity who are moderately high (though not very high) performing. Moreover, compared with African American boys, African American girls are more likely to view academic attainment as a status marker, whereas African American boys are more likely to view some degree of aggressive or delinquent behavior as a means to achieve popularity (LaFontana and Cillessen 2002).

Taken together, these data suggest that African American and Latino adolescents, especially boys, are at risk of incorporating negative academic stereotypes into their racial-ethnic identity. Youths face the challenge of coping with these negative contexts as they seek answers to critical identity development questions ("Who am I?" and "Who can I become?"). Despite these challenges, many racial-ethnic minority youths succeed in developing positive school-focused identities and achieving academically (see Galletta and Cross, chapter 1, this volume; Moje and Martinez, chapter 9, this volume). Feeling a strong sense of connection to racial-ethnic in-groups appears to be an important element of school engagement. For example, African American and Latino boys living in high-poverty neighborhoods are less at risk of disengagement from school (as evidenced by low grades and behavior problems) when they feel they look like members of their own racial group (Oyserman et al. 2006). We propose that the content and structure of racial-ethnic identity are key determinants of how youths respond to or cope with the contextual challenges described, with important consequences for their academic attainment. In the following sections, we outline relevant content of racial-ethnic identity and suggest how this content is likely to influence youths' responses to their contexts.

Content of Racial-Ethnic Identity in Adolescence

Racial-ethnic identity serves to help youths organize experiences related to race, guides their behavior within important domains, and may be critical to predicting how they will respond to the challenges they face in schools. Much of the previous research on racial-ethnic identity has focused on two broad components of identity: the importance of race-ethnicity to an individual's self-concept and an awareness of societal racism. While these two components are important to consider when describing the role of race-ethnicity within the self-concept, nei-

they specifies how racial-ethnic identity may facilitate, or impede, academic engagement. Therefore, social scientists Daphna Oyserman, Larry Gant, and Joel Ager (1995) suggested that a third component be added to models of racial-ethnic identity, "Embedded Achievement." Embedded Achievement describes the inclusion of positive beliefs about academic engagement within the conceptualization of racial-ethnic identity.

Believing that academic achievement is an in-group goal and that members of one's racial-ethnic group have an expectation for group members to succeed makes engaging in school-related behaviors part of being an in-group member. Embedded Achievement is thought to be helpful for youths in conjunction with awareness of racism and strong feelings of connection to racial-ethnic in-group. Indeed, Daphna Oyserman and her colleagues hypothesized an interaction model such that individuals who are high in in-group connection and aware of racism but also see academic achievement as in-group defining would do better in school than would individuals whose racial-ethnic identity does not include all three components (Oyserman et al. 1995). Before summarizing the empirical work testing this interaction model against simpler main-effects models, we define each component of racial-ethnic identity and briefly provide a rationale for including the component as part of racial-ethnic identity and for hypothesizing a "value-added" interaction model, such that positive impact on school outcomes occurs when youths include all three components within their racial-ethnic identity.

Connectedness

Connectedness describes the extent to which individuals feel a positive sense of connection to their racial-ethnic in-group. In our own field work, we find that youths frequently describe their racial-ethnic identity as involving a strong sense of connection. For example, when asked what it means to be African American, youths commonly say things like "To be black is wonderful. I am a member of my community" (Oyserman, Bybee, and Terry 2003).

If membership in a social group is to move beyond a social fact and become a social identity, one must feel connected with the social group; groups that one feels positively connected with are posited to contribute to positive feelings of self-worth (Tajfel and Turner 1986). Indeed, in their review, Dena Swanson, Margaret Spencer, and Vinay Harpalani (2003) find that measures of racial-ethnic identity that assess feelings of connection consistently yield positive correlations between racial-ethnic identity and self-esteem. Feeling of positive connection to the in-group has been described using multiple terms; these include feeling that one

is part of a group's history (Quintana and Segura-Herrera 2003), "centrality" and "private regard" (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, and Broadnax 1994; Sellers et al. 1997), and feelings of belonging (Phinney 1996). With respect specifically to African American racial identity, Connectedness to the in-group has been described as including a sense of self as a member of an African American community, heir to a tradition of communalism, familialism, and kin support (Akbar 1991; Asante 1987, 1988), and as endorsing a worldview focused on spiritualism and connection with the social environment (Akbar 1991; Parham 1989).

Broadly defined, the Connectedness component of racial-ethnic identity focuses on positive valence, feeling good about being an in-group member. Connectedness may provide motivation to engage in behaviors that are associated with belonging to the in-group; however, the Connectedness component of racial-ethnic identity does not provide specific direction for appropriate in-group behavior or motivation. While racial-ethnic Connectedness and related racial-ethnic identity constructs have been consistently associated with self-esteem, this component of racial-ethnic identity has not been consistently associated with academic outcomes. Feeling a strong sense of connection alone does not guide youths toward engaging in school.

Awareness of Racism

Awareness of racism is a second important element of racial-ethnic identity that is common across diverse models. This aspect of racial-ethnic identity involves the need to grapple with how out-group members view the in-group (Oyserman, Gant, and Ager 1995). Awareness of racism provides a framework for understanding others' negative responses, suggesting that others do not see the self in an individualized fashion, but rather through a lens of low or negative expectations. A number of authors have described awareness of racism as central to racial-ethnic identity (for example, Stevenson 1995), using terms such as awareness of others' prejudice (Quintana and Segura-Herrera 2003), or public regard (for example, Chavous, Bernat, and Schmeelk-Cone 2003; Crocker et al. 1994; Sellers et al. 1997). Similarly, African American identity has been described as involving a sense of self as subject to prejudice, racism, and exclusion from opportunities by white society (Gibson and Ogbu 1991; Tripp 1991). Youths commonly describe their racial-ethnic identity as containing elements of awareness of racism. In our own field work, we find that when asked what it means to be African American, youth generate statements such as "Being African American means that there are no easy way outs, one should be ready for each obstacle."

Broadly defined, the awareness-of-racism component of racial-

ethnic identity focuses on deflecting negative assumptions that otherwise may be cued by negative experiences. That is, when racial-ethnic identity contains an awareness of racism, youths are posited to be less likely to simply incorporate negative feedback as self-relevant and more likely to be able to defend their self-esteem from failure feedback because such feedback may be viewed with skepticism, depending on the source and nature of the feedback. Awareness of racism is important, but it does not identify the specific goals, behaviors, or strategies relevant to the in-group; with regard to academic engagement specifically, awareness of racism does not in itself imply that focus on school is in-group relevant. Thus, although we hypothesize that the awareness-of-racism component of racial-ethnic identity is necessary for maintaining engagement with school, it is not sufficient. Just as with the Connectedness component of racial-ethnic identity, the Awareness of Racism component does not by itself guide individuals toward engagement in academic behaviors.

Embedded Achievement

The Connectedness and Awareness of Racism components of racial-ethnic identity may motivate youths to act in ways that allow them to express their positive sense of identity as group members, but neither of these components specifies what behaviors are appropriate means to enact this positive sense of in-group identity. Therefore, predicting particular types of behaviors from these two components is difficult because neither Connectedness nor Awareness of Racism identifies particular goals as targets for the motivation derived from group membership. To address this problem, Oyserman and her colleagues (Oyserman, Gant, and Ager 1995; Oyserman and Harrison 1998), described a third component of racial-ethnic identity, which they termed "embedded achievement," which comprises beliefs that achievement is a goal that is valued by the in-group and therefore provides a specific goal (such as doing well in school) for motivation derived from the desire to enact group identity. For individuals who believe that doing well in school is part of being a good group member, engaging in pro-school behaviors becomes an avenue for enacting racial-ethnic identity. In our own field work, we find that youths do describe their racial-ethnic identity in terms of the in-group relevance of achievement. For example, when asked what it means to be African American, youths say things like "To be an African American means to me being strong, intelligent and very proud of where I came from. Many African Americans have been successful and I plan to be the same way."

Although an embedded-achievement component of racial-ethnic

identity has not been directly articulated within other racial-ethnic identity formulations, the idea that achievement may be in-group defining is itself not new. Such an element of racial-ethnic identity is referred to by Anne Galletta and William E. Cross Jr. (chapter 1, this volume) in their description of an African American legacy of value education, and has been alluded to by research describing some groups as "model minorities" for whom academic achievement is assumed to be an in-group marker (for a review, see Oyserman and Sakamoto 1997). Moreover, research on stereotypes and stereotype threat is predicated on the idea that it is easy to create conditions in which a group is tagged with a nonachieving identity (for example, Steele 1997).

Structure of Racial-Ethnic Identity: An Interaction Model Oyserman, Gant, and Ager (1995) proposed a tripartite model of racial-ethnic identity, whereby three components of racial-ethnic identity—Connectedness, Awareness of Racism, and Embedded Achievement—interact to promote well-being and academic achievement. Specifically, they hypothesized that youths who strongly endorse all three racial-ethnic identity components would be better equipped to succeed in school over time than those who didn't. They proposed that defining one's racial-ethnic identity in terms of any one of these components alone was insufficient to maintain the focused effort that school success requires and that defining one's racial-ethnic identity as composed of all three components was necessary for school success over time.

Sense of Connectedness to the racial-ethnic in-group was assumed to be critical if youths are to be motivated to engage in group-relevant behaviors. However, connectedness alone does not provide information about what in-group members do. This behavioral-guide function is served by the Embedded Achievement component of racial-ethnic identity, which focuses attention on school engagement as a way to enact one's in-group identity. Especially to the extent that race-based unfair treatment may be part of youths' social context, but even if only as a way to make sense of their group's history, the third component of racial-ethnic identity, an awareness of racism, is necessary to help youths maintain persistence in the face of failures, obstacles, and implicit or explicit negative expectations. Thus, the positive impact of the Embedded Achievement component of racial-ethnic identity should occur only in the presence of the Connectedness and Awareness of Racism components of racial-ethnic identity. Evidence for this model is summarized in the next section. The appendix provides information on how these components are measured, on scale reliability, and on construct validity.

The Relationship Between Racial-Ethnic Identity and Academic Outcomes in Adolescence

As described in the previous section, the tripartite interactive model of racial-ethnic identity posits that adolescents whose racial-ethnic identity simultaneously contains feelings of in-group connectedness, an awareness of racism, and a belief that achievement is embedded in in-group membership will attain better academic outcomes. An initial test of this hypothesis was conducted by experimentally priming racial-ethnic identity among eighth-grade African American students. They were asked to respond, either before or after working on a math task, to (open-ended) questions about what it means to be black or African American. Racial-ethnic identity was expected to have a positive influence on effort on the subsequent math task only when racial-ethnic identity was brought to mind before doing the math task and when the racial-ethnic identity brought to mind included all three components of racial-ethnic identity (Connectedness, Awareness of Racism, and Embedded Achievement). Indeed, youths who wrote about their racial-ethnic identity before the math task and described their racial-ethnic identity in terms of all three identity components performed better on the math task than youths in all other conditions (Oyserman, Gant, and Ager 1995). None of the identity components alone had a significant effect.

This initial test focused on an immediate effect of salient racial-ethnic identity on a school task. Subsequent tests focused on more ecologically valid questions about the effects of racial-ethnic identity in classroom contexts over time, using the brief close-ended rating scales included in table 4A.1. In a series of one-year longitudinal studies that included controls for prior school grades, Oyserman and colleagues found that over the course of the school year, African American eighth grade youth high in all three elements of racial-ethnic identity became more concerned about school (Oyserman, Bybee, and Terry 2003) and did not experience decline in school efficacy (Oyserman, Harrison, and Bybee 2001). Not all effects supported the full three-way interaction model. The authors also found gendered effects of racial-ethnic identity. The Connectedness component had positive effects for boys (predicting improved grades, increased study time, better attendance, and more numerous strategies to attain academic possible selves), and the Embedded Achievement component had positive effects for girls (predicting improved grades) (Oyserman, Bybee, and Terry 2003). A two-year longitudinal study focused on stability of the relationship between the three components of racial-ethnic identity and grades (from school report card) (Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee 2006). This study included

both African American and Latino youths and showed that youths high in Connectedness and Embedded Achievement had better grades at each point in time and that this relationship was stable across gender, race-ethnicity, and time (from the beginning of eighth grade to the end of ninth grade).

Racial-Ethnic Identity as a Socially Contextualized Self-Schema

The program of research described above underscores the utility of conceptualizing racial-ethnic identity in terms of Connectedness, Embedded Achievement, and Awareness of Racism when the goal is to predict the role of racial-ethnic identity in promoting academic attainment and persistence. Oyserman and her colleagues have recently attempted to broaden their conceptualization of the content of racial-ethnic identity (Oyserman et al. 2003). How might responses to the “Who am I, where do I belong, and what am I trying to achieve?” questions be understood more broadly, outside the specific context of school?

Following a social-identity approach (for instance, Tajfel and Turner 1986) a first assumption is that though race-ethnicity is usually a part of self-concept or identity, it is not necessarily a part of self-concept or identity. Thus a basic issue minority youths must resolve is whether race-ethnicity is part of identity—something that frames who they are, where they belong, and what they are trying to achieve. In their reconceptualization, Oyserman and colleagues first asked the basic question of whether race-ethnicity is part of self-definition for all youths. Then, as outlined below, they asked how in-group connection, difficulties integrating into larger society, and valuation of the same goals as the larger society might be differentially combined in various types of racial-ethnic self-schemas.

A first question is whether all youths do in fact incorporate race-ethnicity into identity. Although race-ethnicity, like gender and weight, is commonly used by others to define the self, not everyone self-defines in terms of their race, gender, or weight (Oyserman et al. 2003). When information about the self is incorporated into the self-concept, it may become part of an organized cognitive structure, or self-schema (Markus 1977). Self-schemas are likely to develop in domains that are contextually valued or made salient (Oyserman and Markus 1993). Therefore, though racial-ethnic self-schemas are likely to be common, literature following a self-schema approach suggests that not all youths will incorporate race-ethnicity into identity and that some youths will be aschematic for race-ethnicity while other youth will have a race-ethnicity self-schema (RES).

Being Aschematic for Race-Ethnicity

When asked what it means to be African American or Latino, youth sometimes say things like "Doesn't matter. I was born in America so it doesn't really matter to me," or "It doesn't mean anything to me" (Latino youth). African American male teenagers said: "Really, my race does not matter to me"; "Nothing"; "It means nothing to me. I think it does not matter how you feel about your ethnic group" (see Oyserman et al. 2003). Oyserman operationalized these responses as being aschematic for race-ethnicity, meaning that these individuals are aware of their racial-ethnic group membership and their membership in larger society but see these as simply social "facts" rather than as self-defining and meaningful information. They are likely to consider themselves simply as individuals or as members of other kinds of groups and have not formed a coherent cognitive structure integrating thoughts, feelings, and beliefs about these memberships as part of self-concept.

In segregated contexts in which one's racial-ethnic group is the local majority, being aschematic may mean not feeling connected to one's racial-ethnic in-group, which can be socially isolating, increasing risk of various adjustment problems (see also Cross 1991). In heterogeneous contexts, others are likely to use race-ethnicity to make predictions about the kind of person one is now and is likely to become. Because those who are aschematic for race-ethnicity have not developed a cognitive structure organized around racial-ethnic group membership, they cannot automatically fend off negative implications of racially tinged feedback or social information, which makes them more vulnerable to incorporating negative feedback as self-defining. Given the nature of racial-ethnic stereotypes and race-based unfair treatment, individuals who are aschematic for race-ethnicity are hypothesized to be at risk of simply incorporating negative feedback as self-defining. This is likely to lead to self-blame, increased stress, worse mental health, and reduced effort and engagement with school. Therefore, being aschematic for race-ethnicity is hypothesized to increase risk of academic disengagement and vulnerability to stress and depression among minority youths.

Being Schematic for Race-Ethnicity but Focused Only on One's Racial-Ethnic In-Group

Incorporating the in-group in a racial-ethnic self-schema (RES) without wrestling with the connection between one's racial-ethnic in-group and broader society does not itself resolve the problem of vulnerability to responding to stereotypes by disengaging from school. Youth whose RES focuses solely on in-group membership have a positive focus on

their in-group but do not recognize that an aspect of their racial-ethnic identity is their connection to broader society. This racial-ethnic self-schema was termed "in group RES" and is relatively common (almost 60 percent of responses in a middle school sample) (Oyserman et al. 2003). When asked what it means to be African American (or Latino), such youths say things like "It means the world to me. I'm glad of my ethnicity. I wouldn't want to be anything else." A number of separate models draw identical conclusions about the risky nature of simply incorporating the in-group into identity (see Oyserman et al. 2003 for a review).

Being in-group RES can increase risk of vulnerability to stereotypes and disengagement from school. From a social-identity perspective (Tajfel and Turner 1986), out-group stereotypes motivate minorities to devalue and disengage from stereotyped domains and find alternative domains in which to positively self-define (for example, Lemaire 1974; Mummendey et al. 1999; for reviews see Blanton, Christie, and Dye 2002 and Branscombe and Ellemers 1998). Because the stereotyped domain is school, this tendency to disengage from stereotyped domains has the unfortunate consequence of leading youths who feel strongly connected to their in-group but disconnected from broader society to disengage from school and tacitly accept the notion that certain positive attributes such as academic success "belong" to majority- not minority-group members. Thus, we hypothesize that having an In-group RES makes individuals vulnerable to disengagement from school and other mainstream institutions they view as not self-defining. This disengagement is hypothesized to lead to academic difficulties.

Moreover, we suspect that as youths disengage from important social institutions and future goals, they are more likely to sense that the future holds limited opportunities, leading to increased risk for mental health problems. Our formulation is consistent with proposals made by Cross (1991) and research reported by Carlton Pyant and Barbara Yanico (1991)—all of them social scientists—indicating that when individuals are fully immersed in their own culture and are isolated from broader society, they have increased risk for mental health problems. Thus, having an in-group-only racial-ethnic self-schema is hypothesized to be associated with increased risk for both academic and mental health difficulties.

Being Schematic for Race-Ethnicity and Making Connections Between the In-Group and the Larger Society

Given that being either aschematic for race-ethnicity or in-group-only schematic is hypothesized to increase risk of disengagement from

school and vulnerability to negative stereotypes about in-group academic ability, what alternatives remain? Oyserman and her colleagues posited that including both the connection to the in-group and the relation between the in-group and broader society within one's racial-ethnic self-schema, termed "Bridging RES," will reduce vulnerability to negative academic stereotypes and reduce the risk of disengagement from school (Oyserman et al. 2003; see LaFramboise, Colman, and Ger-ton 1993 for another description of the benefits of feeling connected to both the in-group and broader society). Individuals who are Bridging RES focus on both positive connection to the in-group and the connection with the larger society—so that they have a feeling that they are either members of both the in-group and of larger society (Dual RES) or members of an in-group that must struggle to overcome obstacles and barriers to success in larger society (Minority RES).

Dual RES A person who has a Dual RES focuses attention on his or her status as both an in-group member and a member of the larger society and focuses on the positive consequences of this Dual status (this conceptualization resonates with prior work of Gaertner et al. 1999 and Moran et al. 1999). When asked what it means to be a member of their racial-ethnic group, youths sometimes make statements describing a Dual RES such as "To me, being Latino means that I'm not only part of American culture but that I also belong to another group."

We hypothesize that the Dual RES provides a buffer against the negative effects of stereotypes about the in-group by connecting individuals to positive larger societal roles and values as well as in-group roles and values. Because those with Dual RES define them selves as members of larger society, they can dismiss stereotypes about the in-group as not self-relevant because the self is a member of larger society for which these stereotypes do not apply (see Hornsey and Hogg 2000). Moreover, eager focus on the attainment of goals and a belief in membership in the larger society should be energizing for individuals with Dual RES, reducing the risk of depression.

Minority RES Individuals with Minority RES focus attention on their status as members of both the in-group and a group that is discriminated against or obstructed by larger society and they focus on ways to prevent or avoid the negative consequences of minority status within the larger society. When asked what it means to be a member of their racial-ethnic group, youths who are Minority RES sometimes make statements such as "To me being an African American is great because I'm part of a generation that overcame so many obstacles."

We hypothesize that the Minority RES provides a buffer against the negative effects of stereotypes about the in-group by means of auto-

mated strategies for noticing and handling stereotypic and prejudicial responses while remaining engaged in the larger society. Both the Dual and Minority RESs promote a focus on school, but they were posited to have different emotional effects. In individuals with Minority RES, vigilance regarding possible prejudicial responses and heightened awareness of discrimination is likely to be emotionally draining, together increasing risk of depression for these youths.

Evidence for the RES Approach

To examine the effect of RES on academic outcomes, initial studies operationalized each of the four RES types (In-group, Minority, Dual, and Aschematic) from content-coded responses to open-ended questions (Oyserman et al. 2003), allowing participants to say what they mean rather than simply to respond to the categories provided by the researcher. The first test of the RES model included Arab Israeli high school students, who were asked either before or after working on a math task to describe what it meant to them to be Arab Israeli (Oyserman et al. 2003). As expected, students performed better on a math task when racial-ethnic identity was brought to mind before they worked on the task and when it was organized as a Bridging RES. Bringing to mind racial-ethnic identity undermined performance when racial-ethnic identity was organized as an In-group RES or when youths were RES aschematic and race-ethnicity was not organized as a schema at all (Oyserman et al. 2003, study 1). The second and third tests of the RES model involved a more ecologically valid assessment of effects of RES on academic attainment over the course of the school year (Oyserman et al. 2003, studies 2 and 3). The studies demonstrate that American Indian, African American, and Latino youths with racial-ethnic schemas that include both connection to one's racial-ethnic in-group and connection to larger society (Bridging RES) have significantly better academic outcomes by the end of the school year than youths with an in-group-only RES or youths who are aschematic for race-ethnicity. One-year longitudinal follow-up studies using a close-ended rating scale version of the RES scales replicates these school performance findings using school report card grades and teacher reported class participation for Latino and African American youths in the eighth grade (Oyserman, Rhodes, and Brickman 2007). Moreover, among twelfth grade students, only Dual RES also has a positive effect on well-being by reducing risk of depression, whereas minority and In-group-only RES are both associated with increased risk of depression over the high school years (Oyserman, Rhodes, and Brickman 2007). With regard to Latino youths, having a Bridging RES predicts better grades and also mediates the positive effect of length of stay in the United

States and English proficiency on grades. That is, the main effects of being longer in the United States and being proficient in English on grades are mediated by the positive relationship between length of stay in U.S. and English proficiency on likelihood of having a Bridging RES. Youths longer in the United States and youths who are more proficient in English are more likely to have a Bridging RES, a racial-ethnic self-schema that articulates both in-group membership and connection to larger society, and once likelihood of having a Bridging RES is entered as a mediator, effects of length of stay in the United States and English proficiency on grades is significantly reduced (Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee 2006a).

A General Model of Racial-Ethnic Identity

We have presented here two working operationalizations of racial-ethnic identity. In our first operationalization, we focused on feeling connected to an in-group, being aware of racism, and believing that the in-group values academic achievement. We summarized research showing that youths high in all three of these components of racial-ethnic identity (termed Connectedness, Awareness of Racism, and Embedded Achievement) were in fact more likely to do better in school, whereas when racial-ethnic identity was conceptualized in terms of the main effects of Connectedness or Awareness of Racism without Embedded Achievement, racial-ethnic identity is not predictive of improved academic outcomes.

We then turned to a second operationalization of racial-ethnic identity, the goal of which was threefold: first, to link racial-ethnic identity with broader theorizing about self-concept (self-schemas); second, to include an explicit test of whether youths do define themselves in terms of racial-ethnic identity; third, to articulate racial-ethnic identity in terms of the extent to which minority youths view themselves as connected to larger society more generally rather than focusing only on one aspect of this connection: the relationship between the in-group and the social institution of school. We summarized research showing that youths who define themselves in terms of racial-ethnic identity and see the in-group as connected with larger society do better in school. Moreover, we summarized research suggesting that how youths see the connection between their in-group and larger society matters for their well-being. Youths who see this connection positively are at reduced risk of depression; youths who see it as something that they must struggle to achieve by overcoming barriers and prejudice are at increased risk of depression.

Thus, both conceptualizations provide predictions as to when racial-ethnic identity should be related to academic attainment. The second

operationalization provides evidence that racial-ethnic identity also predicts well-being. Moreover, the second operationalization holds promise for predicting positive attainments in life tasks beyond schooling, such as in higher education or in career, as well as a broader sense of well-being, beyond measures of depressive symptoms. By moving beyond explicit focus on academic attainment, the racial-ethnic schema conceptualization of racial-ethnic identity provides a more general model that holds promise for both future research and for articulating effective intervention focuses.

Our general model of racial-ethnic identity postulates that not all youths will incorporate race-ethnicity into self-concept, and that even if they do incorporate race-ethnicity into identity, they are likely to differ in terms of what racial-ethnic content is incorporated into self-concept and how this content is structured. Youths who focus only on the in-group, whether operationalized as being high in connectedness only or as having an In-group RES, are vulnerable to incorporating negative stereotypes about the in-group into their self-concept. Youths who focus on the in-group as well as other important aspects of being a minority-group member are better able to buffer these negative representations. We have articulated what these other aspects are in two ways. We have argued that if the goal is to promote motivation for academic success, then racial-ethnic identity must contain not only a sense of connection to the in-group but also the belief that the in-group values educational attainment. More generally, we have argued that if the goal is to promote successful attainment of developmentally appropriate life tasks, then racial-ethnic identity must contain not only sense of connection to in-group but also a positive belief in one's membership in larger society.

Appendix: Measurement and Construct Validity of the Racial-Ethnic Identity Scales

We present here details of how to measure racial-ethnic identity and the construct validity of the racial-ethnic identity scales.

Measurement

No matter how interesting, a model is only as useful as its operationalization and measurement allows it to be. With regard to the racial-ethnic identity scales, to avoid social desirability and experimenter demand characteristics, initial research utilized open-ended probes such as "What does it mean to you to be a _____?" Responses were content-coded (Oyserman, Gant, and Ager 1995; Oyserman, Bybee, and Terry 2003). To improve ease of use, close-ended scales were operationalized

as extent of agreement to common responses generated from these open-ended probes. Each of the three components of racial-ethnic identity (Connectedness, Awareness of Racism, and Embedded Achievement) can be assessed with a four-item scale. Each scale uses a five-point Likert response-scale. (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree). Scale items are provided in the first column of table 4A.1. Scales are intentionally brief so they can be used in school-based research, which often requires that research take no more than a single classroom period.

Though brief, the racial-ethnic identity Connectedness, Awareness of Racism, and Embedded Achievement scales are adequately reliable. Reliability refers to the consistency, or "repeatability," of a measure. One way to measure reliability is to compute Cronbach's alpha, a measure of the level of association among items within a subscale and another way to measure reliability is to compute the test-retest reliability, or level of association between scales, over time. Perfect association would result in a reliability of 1.00. The Cronbach's alpha for Racial-Ethnic Identity scales ranges from 0.58 to 0.79 across samples (Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee 2006b; Lesane 2003; Oyserman, Harrison, and Bybee 2001; Oyserman, Bybee, and Terry 2003; Oyserman, Bybee, and Dai 2006). Over eight months, test-retest reliability: 0.78 for Connectedness, 0.81 for Awareness of Racism, and 0.65 for Embedded Achievement (Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee 2006).

Structural Validity

Structural validity is typically examined by conducting a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). CFA allows for examining whether the scale structure is similar across groups and the degree of correlation between scales. For the Racial-Ethnic Identity scales, we asked whether scale items loaded as expected on the scales and whether the items loaded on the factors the same way for younger and older youths, for boys and girls, and for African Americans and Latinos. Testing for stability is important because if the scales are stable across these groups, then findings from one group (for instance, older teens) could be used to make predictions about another group (younger teens), but if the scales are not stable, it is not possible to make such predictions or to use the same scale over time as teens age.

Similarly, if the scales are not stable across racial-ethnic groups then what is learned from one group cannot be generalized to another. Since ascertaining that the structure of the factors is as assumed is important for continued use of the scale and interpretation of results, we conducted a CFA for this chapter, utilizing data from Oyserman, Rhodes, and Brickman 2007. This relatively large data set (N = 348) was adequate for the overall CFA and for each of the targeted compar-

Table 4A.1 Three-Factor Racial-Ethnic Identity Confirmatory Factor Analysis: Items, Unstandardized and Standardized Coefficients

	Unstandardized Coefficient ^a	Standardized Coefficient ^b
Connectedness		
It is important to think of myself as ____.	1 ^b	0.61
I feel a part of the ____ community.	1.13	0.76
I have a lot of pride in what ____ have done and achieved.	0.97	0.70
I feel close to ____.	1.12	0.71
Embedded achievement		
If I am successful it will help other ____.	1 ^b	0.71
It is important for my family and the ____ community that I succeed in school.	0.78	0.65
It helps me when other ____ do well.	0.96	0.70
If I work hard and get good grades, other ____ will respect me.	0.74	0.49
Awareness of racism		
Some people will treat me differently because I am ____.	1 ^b	0.71
The way I look and speak influences what others expect of me.	0.64	0.52
Things in the ____ community are not as good as they could be because of lack of opportunity.	0.56	0.47
People might have negative ideas about my abilities because I am a(n) ____.	1.14	0.85

Source: Oyserman, Harrison, and Bybee (2001) for racial-ethnic identity scales. Original analysis for CFA.

^aAll coefficients are significantly different from zero.

^bCoefficients constrained to 1. P < .001.

isons, but did not allow for simultaneous comparison of all subgroups. Consequently each comparison is presented as a separate analysis.

Specifically, we performed a three-factor CFA of our twelve-item Racial-Ethnic Identity scale with maximum likelihood estimation using the Amos 4.0 statistical package. Our goal was to determine whether the three-factor structure of Racial-Ethnic Identity (Connectedness,

Embedded Achievement, and Awareness of Racism) that we posited is a good fit to the patterning of responses. This "goodness of fit" is assessed using multiple indices. Following the standard procedure recommended by Li-Tzi Hu and Peter M. Bentler (1998), we used three indices, the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), the comparative fit index (CFI) and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). For the SRMR, values below .08, for the RMSEA, values below .06, and for the CFI values at or above .95 indicate "good fit," respectively (Hu and Bentler 1998). On the basis of this set of goodness-of-fit indicators, the three-factor racial-ethnic identity model is a good fit overall and for younger and older adolescents (eighth and twelfth grade), boys and girls, and Latino and African American youths.

Overall Fit Overall we found good fit for the three component racial-ethnic identity model (SRMR = .059; CFI = .947; RMSEA = .061). Table 4A.1 presents nonstandardized and standardized loadings in columns two and three respectively. All coefficients are significant, $p < .001$, and all are greater than .45, which means that each item is adequately associated with its subscale. Awareness of Racism is moderately correlated with both Connectedness ($r = .45$, $p < .001$); Embedded Achievement ($r = .41$, $p < .001$); Connectedness and Embedded Achievement are highly correlated ($r = .78$, $p < .001$).

Measurement Structure Fit by Subgroup To test whether the racial-ethnic identity model has the same measurement structure across age, gender, and race-ethnicity groups, we performed three separate multi-group CFAs. In each case the test was relatively stringent as we required that factor loadings, factor variances, and covariances not differ. For each set, we compared a model where these values were free to vary (that is, were different for younger versus older teens, were different for boys versus girls, or were different for African Americans versus Latinos) with a model where these values were constrained to equality (that is, were the same for both age groups, were the same for both genders, were the same for both African Americans and Latinos). If the models do not differ significantly, it is reasonable to assume that the structure of the racial-ethnic identity components is similar. Indeed, the models did not differ significantly. The results of the models comparing the two ages ($\Delta\chi^2(15) = 17.91$, $p > .25$), the models comparing boys and girls ($\Delta\chi^2(15) = 15.34$, $p > .4$), and the models comparing African American and Latino race-ethnicity ($\Delta\chi^2(15) = 8.43$, $p = .91$) were not significant, suggesting that the racial-ethnic identity components were similarly structured within each subgroup. This means that it is possible to use the measures across these different groups and assume that they have similar meanings across these groups. It should be noted that the race-ethnicity analyses focus only on eighth-grade youths because this

sample had a roughly even split between Latinos ($n = 95$) and African Americans ($n = 84$), whereas the twelfth-grade sample was mostly African American (Oyserman, Rhodes, and Brickman 2007).

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Chapter 5

Social Identity, Stereotype Threat, and Self-Theories

Catherine Good, Carol S. Dweck,
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Each of us possesses multiple social identities. For example, our sex, age, race, social class, religion, political beliefs, and professions are all potential social identities. In certain contexts in which we find ourselves, that social identity may be devalued. For example, Democrats at the Republican National Convention, gays and lesbians at a custody hearing, a lone woman at a corporate board of directors meeting, black people in an all-white, southern neighborhood, or an Arab flight attendant with an American or European airline—all are at risk of having a component of their social identities devalued in the respective contexts. In response to this devaluation, they may find that their behavior or sense of self changes. Perhaps the female corporate board member speaks less persuasively than she is capable of speaking, or perhaps the Arab flight attendant chooses a different occupation, thus changing his professional identity.

One need not be in an extreme situation to feel the weight of a devalued social identity. More subtle situations may also place a burden upon individuals who are in some way stigmatized. For example, when a woman takes a math test in the presence of men, she may be reminded about the stereotype of male superiority in mathematics that is alive in our culture (Spencer, Steele, and Quinn 1999; Steele and Aronson 1995). Being a woman, and thus, having a social identity that is devalued vis-à-vis mathematics ability, she may have a sense that she could be judged or treated in terms of the stereotype or that she might inadvertently confirm the stereotype. This sense can disrupt her ability to perform up to her potential, a predicament known as "stereotype threat" (Steele and Aronson 1995).

In this chapter we will review the literature on stereotype threat as it

**CONTESTING STEREOTYPES
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Chapter 4

Racial-Ethnic Identity: Content and Consequences for African American, Latino, and Latina Youths

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and Marjorie Rhodes

A large number of sociologists and psychologists have argued that racial-ethnic identity is a central part of self-concept for racial-ethnic minority adolescents. While these scholars have proposed that positive racial-ethnic identity should be related to general positive self-regard as well as specific positive outcomes, such as academic attainment (for example, Akbar 1991; Asante 1987; Asante 1988; Cross 1991; Gibson and Ogbu 1991; McAdoo 1988; Parham 1989; Phinney 1996; Porter and Washington 1989). Research to date more consistently provides empirical evidence of a link between racial-ethnic identity and self-esteem than evidence of a link between racial-ethnic identity and academic outcomes. In the current chapter, we conceptualize racial-ethnic identity within a self-schema formulation. We then address when and how racial-ethnic identity is associated with and predictive of positive academic outcomes.

We define self-concept as a set of knowledge structures that provide working answers to basic identity questions about meaning ("Who am I?" and "Where do I belong?") and process ("What am I trying to achieve?") and self-schemas as cognitive structures that organize experience as well as structure motivation and behavior by identifying goals as either relevant or irrelevant to how the self is defined. Using this framework, we focus on how racial-ethnic identity may bolster academic attainment and promote well-being for racial-ethnic minority

youths. We propose that social identities, including racial-ethnic identity, influence behavior both by providing information about the norms, expectations, and behaviors relevant to group membership and by influencing the sense made of social and contextual feedback (Oyserman 2007). Thus, racial-ethnic identity serves to parse experience and create sense and meaning from the flow of everyday life by (1) making sense of the self as a group member; (2) lending meaning to current and historical racism and the limited opportunities and successes of racial-ethnic in-group members; and (3) organizing self-relevant knowledge about personal effort and its meaning to oneself and members of one's racial-ethnic in-group.

Thus, racial-ethnic identity is likely to matter because it serves to protect youths from negative social contextual influences and motivates persistent pursuit of important goals. Because academic attainment is both a central focus of adolescence and a key pathway to attaining future adult success, we are particularly interested in what distinguishes the content of the racial-ethnic identities of adolescent youths who are more and less successful at school. In subsequent sections, we outline our model of racial-ethnic identity and the nature of empirical support for the proposition that racial-ethnic identity has a positive effect on school outcomes, concluding with a more general theoretical model of adolescent racial-ethnic identity as a self-schema.

The Social Context of Racial-Ethnic Identity

Even young children are aware of race and ethnicity as social groups (see Patterson and Bigler, chapter 3, this volume; Hirscheid 1996; Brown and Bigler 2005) and may include membership in social groups within their self-concepts (Harter 1997). During adolescence, when individuals wrestle with critical identity questions that impact subsequent life choices (Erikson 1950), racial-ethnic identity is likely to take on new meaning. Adolescence is a time when teens' attention turns outside the home to peer and other social groups (for example, racial-ethnic groups) and the larger world (Brown 2004). These social contexts provide feedback about how others see one's racial-ethnic group and role models for engagement in the world ("What others like me can do, I can do too"). Indeed, youth actively seek to make sense of their lives and share their created meaning with their peers (Corsaro and Eder 1990). In the following sections we consider two features of the broader social context that are likely to influence adolescent identity development for racial-ethnic minority youths: demographic racial concentration and school contexts that communicate negative academic stereo-

types. We propose that as youths face these contexts, content of racial-ethnic identity is likely to importantly influence their responses and behavior.

Racial-Ethnic Concentration

In spite of gains in integration and increased representation of African Americans and Hispanic Americans in the middle and upper classes, social contexts are not randomly distributed across racial-ethnic groups. About 87 percent of African Americans lived in metropolitan areas in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau 2000), such that African Americans are most concentrated within urban, as opposed to rural or suburban, areas and when African Americans live in rural areas, they are likely to be southern. Hispanic Americans are also concentrated in particular social contexts; although the population of Hispanics in other parts of the country is increasing rapidly, over half of all Hispanics live in California and Texas (Population Resource Center 2001). This racial-ethnic concentration means that racial-ethnic minority youth rarely experience being a lone member of their racial or ethnic group. The consequences of racial-ethnic concentration for the racial composition of neighborhoods, schools, and peer groups is that racial-ethnic in-group members are likely to form the local majority within the schools and neighborhoods of low- and moderate-income African American and Hispanic American youths (see discussion regarding the importance of "home fronts" in Moje and Martinez, chapter 9, this volume). As youths seek out connections beyond the family, the peer groups with which they are likely to engage will, for the most part, contain racial-ethnic in-group members. Therefore, developing a sense of connection to racial-ethnic in-groups and wrestling with how in-groups relate to broader society are important identity-development tasks for racial-ethnic minority adolescents.

School as Social Context

School is an important social context for many youths throughout adolescence. Teens are required by law to attend school until age sixteen and are commonly expected to remain in school until at least age eighteen. Given the nature of these requirements and expectations, issues related to school will likely be central to teens' identities, whether they are in school or not, and whether they are high or low achieving. In support of the proposal that school remains important to adolescent identity even for youths who disengage from academic contexts, in our own work with low-income African American and Hispanic youth we find that students not attending school are unlikely to claim an identity

of "dropout." Rather, even if youths are currently not attending school, they often imagine themselves to be potentially going to school, and will self-identify as high school students. By the time their peers are completing high school, most nonattending students still see school as a potential identity.

Academic Engagement and Racial-Ethnic Stereotypes The social context of school is a place to create a self separate from family (Chavous et al. 2004). School is an important context for identity development during adolescence, yet creating a positive school identity may be more challenging for African American and Hispanic youths, who must cope with negative academic stereotypes about their racial-ethnic groups (see examples in Galletta and Cross, chapter 1, this volume). Research in moderate-to-low-income middle and high school contexts demonstrates that academic stereotypes about African Americans (for a review see Oyserman, Gant, and Ager 1995) and Mexican Americans (Conchas 2001; Gonzales et al. 2004; Hudley and Graham 2001; Kao 2000; Secada 1999) are common. For both groups, these negative academic stereotypes focus on inability, laziness, and lack of interest and curiosity.

There is consistent evidence that negative academic stereotypes can undermine academic attainment. Simply bringing these stereotypes to mind leads to decreased attainment for African American (Spencer, Steele et al. 1999; Steele 1997) and Hispanic American (Gonzales, Blanton, and Williams 2002; McKown and Weinstein 2003; Schmader and Johns 2003) students. These negative effects of salient stereotypes have been termed "stereotype threat," with the implied threat being the possibility that one might behave in a stereotype confirming way, and the assessed consequence being lower academic performance. The impact of stereotype-threat effects is not dependent on one's personally accepting the stereotype as self-defining, though the negative effects may be stronger when the relevant stereotype is incorporated into self-definition. Unfortunately, middle and high school students are at risk of doing just that—incorporating stereotypes about their group as self-defining and thus relevant to their future possibilities. Thus, the psychologists Cynthia Hudley and Sandra Graham (2001) report that youths from diverse racial-ethnic groups rated Latino and African American males as least likely to succeed. Students also rated Latino and African American males (in that order) as least likely to work hard, follow school rules, and attain good grades (Graham 2001).

Other research also supports the proposal that middle school and high school students internalize negative stereotypes about academic attainment as in-group defining. Hudley and Graham's (2001) results suggest that Latino and African American boys' assessment of their

own chances for future success matched their low assessment of their racial-ethnic group as a whole. They also report that Latino and African American middle school boys' role models are boys of their own racial-ethnic group that don't try hard, don't follow school rules, and receive poor grades (Graham 2001). Effects for girls appear to be less severe: African American and Latina girls choose role models who are girls of their race-ethnicity who are moderately high (though not very high) performing. Moreover, compared with African American boys, African American girls are more likely to view academic attainment as a status marker, whereas African American boys are more likely to view some degree of aggressive or delinquent behavior as a means to achieve popularity (LaFontana and Cillessen 2002).

Taken together, these data suggest that African American and Latino adolescents, especially boys, are at risk of incorporating negative academic stereotypes into their racial-ethnic identity. Youths face the challenge of coping with these negative contexts as they seek answers to critical identity development questions ("Who am I?" and "Who can I become?"). Despite these challenges, many racial-ethnic minority youths succeed in developing positive school-focused identities and achieving academically (see Galletta and Cross, chapter 1, this volume; Moje and Martinez, chapter 9, this volume). Feeling a strong sense of connection to racial-ethnic in-groups appears to be an important element of school engagement. For example, African American and Latino boys living in high-poverty neighborhoods are less at risk of disengagement from school (as evidenced by low grades and behavior problems) when they feel they look like members of their own racial group (Oyserman et al. 2006). We propose that the content and structure of racial-ethnic identity are key determinants of how youths respond to or cope with the contextual challenges described, with important consequences for their academic attainment. In the following sections, we outline relevant content of racial-ethnic identity and suggest how this content is likely to influence youths' responses to their contexts.

Content of Racial-Ethnic Identity in Adolescence

Racial-ethnic identity serves to help youths organize experiences related to race, guides their behavior within important domains, and may be critical to predicting how they will respond to the challenges they face in schools. Much of the previous research on racial-ethnic identity has focused on two broad components of identity: the importance of race-ethnicity to an individual's self-concept and an awareness of societal racism. While these two components are important to consider when describing the role of race-ethnicity within the self-concept, nei-

they specifies how racial-ethnic identity may facilitate, or impede, academic engagement. Therefore, social scientists Daphna Oyserman, Larry Gant, and Joel Ager (1995) suggested that a third component be added to models of racial-ethnic identity, "Embedded Achievement." Embedded Achievement describes the inclusion of positive beliefs about academic engagement within the conceptualization of racial-ethnic identity.

Believing that academic achievement is an in-group goal and that members of one's racial-ethnic group have an expectation for group members to succeed makes engaging in school-related behaviors part of being an in-group member. Embedded Achievement is thought to be helpful for youths in conjunction with awareness of racism and strong feelings of connection to racial-ethnic in-group. Indeed, Daphna Oyserman and her colleagues hypothesized an interaction model such that individuals who are high in in-group connection and aware of racism but also see academic achievement as in-group defining would do better in school than would individuals whose racial-ethnic identity does not include all three components (Oyserman et al. 1995). Before summarizing the empirical work testing this interaction model against simpler main-effects models, we define each component of racial-ethnic identity and briefly provide a rationale for including the component as part of racial-ethnic identity and for hypothesizing a "value-added" interaction model, such that positive impact on school outcomes occurs when youths include all three components within their racial-ethnic identity.

Connectedness

Connectedness describes the extent to which individuals feel a positive sense of connection to their racial-ethnic in-group. In our own field work, we find that youths frequently describe their racial-ethnic identity as involving a strong sense of connection. For example, when asked what it means to be African American, youths commonly say things like "To be black is wonderful. I am a member of my community" (Oyserman, Bybee, and Terry 2003).

If membership in a social group is to move beyond a social fact and become a social identity, one must feel connected with the social group; groups that one feels positively connected with are posited to contribute to positive feelings of self-worth (Tajfel and Turner 1986). Indeed, in their review, Dena Swanson, Margaret Spencer, and Vinay Harpalani (2003) find that measures of racial-ethnic identity that assess feelings of connection consistently yield positive correlations between racial-ethnic identity and self-esteem. Feeling of positive connection to the in-group has been described using multiple terms; these include feeling that one

is part of a group's history (Quintana and Segura-Herrera 2003), "centrality" and "private regard" (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, and Broadnax 1994; Sellers et al. 1997), and feelings of belonging (Phinney 1996). With respect specifically to African American racial identity, Connectedness in the in-group has been described as including a sense of self as a member of an African American community, heir to a tradition of communalism, familism, and kin support (Akbar 1991; Asante 1987, 1988), and as endorsing a worldview focused on spiritualism and connection with the social environment (Akbar 1991; Parham 1989).

Broadly defined, the Connectedness component of racial-ethnic identity focuses on positive valence, feeling good about being an in-group member. Connectedness may provide motivation to engage in behaviors that are associated with belonging to the in-group; however, the Connectedness component of racial-ethnic identity does not provide specific direction for appropriate in-group behavior or motivation. While racial-ethnic Connectedness and related racial-ethnic identity constructs have been consistently associated with self-esteem, this component of racial-ethnic identity has not been consistently associated with academic outcomes. Feeling a strong sense of connection alone does not guide youths toward engaging in school.

Awareness of Racism

Awareness of racism is a second important element of racial-ethnic identity that is common across diverse models. This aspect of racial-ethnic identity involves the need to grapple with how out-group members view the in-group (Oyserman, Gant, and Ager 1995). Awareness of racism provides a framework for understanding others' negative responses, suggesting that others do not see the self in an individualized fashion, but rather through a lens of low or negative expectations. A number of authors have described awareness of racism as central to racial-ethnic identity (for example, Stevenson 1995), using terms such as awareness of others' prejudice (Quintana and Segura-Herrera 2003), or public regard (for example, Chavous, Bernat, and Schmeelk-Cone 2003; Crocker et al. 1994; Sellers et al. 1997). Similarly, African American identity has been described as involving a sense of self as subject to prejudice, racism, and exclusion from opportunities by white society (Gibson and Ogbu 1991; Tripp 1991). Youths commonly describe their racial-ethnic identity as containing elements of awareness of racism. In our own field work, we find that when asked what it means to be African American, youth generate statements such as "Being African American means that there are no easy way outs, one should be ready for each obstacle."

Broadly defined, the awareness-of-racism component of racial-

ethnic identity focuses on deflecting negative assumptions that otherwise may be cued by negative experiences. That is, when racial-ethnic identity contains an awareness of racism, youths are posited to be less likely to simply incorporate negative feedback as self-relevant and more likely to be able to defend their self-esteem from failure feedback because such feedback may be viewed with skepticism, depending on the source and nature of the feedback. Awareness of racism is important, but it does not identify the specific goals, behaviors, or strategies relevant to the in-group; with regard to academic engagement specifically, awareness of racism does not in itself imply that focus on school is in-group relevant. Thus, although we hypothesize that the awareness-of-racism component of racial-ethnic identity is necessary for maintaining engagement with school, it is not sufficient. Just as with the Connectedness component of racial-ethnic identity, the Awareness of Racism component does not by itself guide individuals toward engagement in academic behaviors.

Embedded Achievement

The Connectedness and Awareness of Racism components of racial-ethnic identity may motivate youths to act in ways that allow them to express their positive sense of identity as group members, but neither of these components specifies what behaviors are appropriate means to enact this positive sense of in-group identity. Therefore, predicting particular types of behaviors from these two components is difficult because neither Connectedness nor Awareness of Racism identifies particular goals as targets for the motivation derived from group membership. To address this problem, Oyserman and her colleagues (Oyserman, Gant, and Ager 1995; Oyserman and Harrison 1998), described a third component of racial-ethnic identity, which they termed "embedded achievement," which comprises beliefs that achievement is a goal that is valued by the in-group and therefore provides a specific goal (such as doing well in school) for motivation derived from the desire to enact group identity. For individuals who believe that doing well in school is part of being a good group member, engaging in pro-school behaviors becomes an avenue for enacting racial-ethnic identity. In our own field work, we find that youths do describe their racial-ethnic identity in terms of the in-group relevance of achievement. For example, when asked what it means to be African American, youths say things like "To be an African American means to me being strong, intelligent and very proud of where I came from. Many African Americans have been successful and I plan to be the same way."

Although an embedded-achievement component of racial-ethnic

identity has not been directly articulated within other racial-ethnic identity formulations, the idea that achievement may be in-group defining is itself not new. Such an element of racial-ethnic identity is referred to by Anne Galletta and William E. Cross Jr. (chapter 1, this volume) in their description of an African American legacy of value education, and has been alluded to by research describing some groups as "model minorities" for whom academic achievement is assumed to be an in-group marker (for a review, see Oyserman and Sakamoto 1997). Moreover, research on stereotypes and stereotype threat is predicated on the idea that it is easy to create conditions in which a group is tagged with a nonachieving identity (for example, Steele 1997).

Structure of Racial-Ethnic Identity: An Interaction Model Oyserman, Gant, and Ager (1995) proposed a tripartite model of racial-ethnic identity, whereby three components of racial-ethnic identity—Connectedness, Awareness of Racism, and Embedded Achievement—interact to promote well-being and academic achievement. Specifically, they hypothesized that youths who strongly endorse all three racial-ethnic identity components would be better equipped to succeed in school over time than those who didn't. They proposed that defining one's racial-ethnic identity in terms of any one of these components alone was insufficient to maintain the focused effort that school success requires and that defining one's racial-ethnic identity as composed of all three components was necessary for school success over time.

Sense of Connectedness to the racial-ethnic in-group was assumed to be critical if youths are to be motivated to engage in group-relevant behaviors. However, connectedness alone does not provide information about what in-group members do. This behavioral-guide function is served by the Embedded Achievement component of racial-ethnic identity, which focuses attention on school engagement as a way to enact one's in-group identity. Especially to the extent that race-based unfair treatment may be part of youths' social context, but even if only as a way to make sense of their group's history, the third component of racial-ethnic identity, an awareness of racism, is necessary to help youths maintain persistence in the face of failures, obstacles, and implicit or explicit negative expectations. Thus, the positive impact of the Embedded Achievement component of racial-ethnic identity should occur only in the presence of the Connectedness and Awareness of Racism components of racial-ethnic identity. Evidence for this model is summarized in the next section. The appendix provides information on how these components are measured, on scale reliability, and on construct validity.

The Relationship Between Racial-Ethnic Identity and Academic Outcomes in Adolescence

As described in the previous section, the tripartite interactive model of racial-ethnic identity posits that adolescents whose racial-ethnic identity simultaneously contains feelings of in-group connectedness, an awareness of racism, and a belief that achievement is embedded in in-group membership will attain better academic outcomes. An initial test of this hypothesis was conducted by experimentally priming racial-ethnic identity among eighth-grade African American students. They were asked to respond, either before or after working on a math task, to (open-ended) questions about what it means to be black or African American. Racial-ethnic identity was expected to have a positive influence on effort on the subsequent math task only when racial-ethnic identity was brought to mind before doing the math task and when the racial-ethnic identity brought to mind included all three components of racial-ethnic identity (Connectedness, Awareness of Racism, and Embedded Achievement). Indeed, youths who wrote about their racial-ethnic identity before the math task and described their racial-ethnic identity in terms of all three identity components performed better on the math task than youths in all other conditions (Oyserman, Gant, and Ager 1995). None of the identity components alone had a significant effect.

This initial test focused on an immediate effect of salient racial-ethnic identity on a school task. Subsequent tests focused on more ecologically valid questions about the effects of racial-ethnic identity in classroom contexts over time, using the brief close-ended rating scales included in table 4A.1. In a series of one-year longitudinal studies that included controls for prior school grades, Oyserman and colleagues found that over the course of the school year, African American eighth grade youth high in all three elements of racial-ethnic identity became more concerned about school (Oyserman, Bybee, and Terry 2003) and did not experience decline in school efficacy (Oyserman, Harrison, and Bybee 2001). Not all effects supported the full three-way interaction model. The authors also found gendered effects of racial-ethnic identity. The Connectedness component had positive effects for boys (predicting improved grades, increased study time, better attendance, and more numerous strategies to attain academic possible selves), and the Embedded Achievement component had positive effects for girls (predicting improved grades) (Oyserman, Bybee, and Terry 2003). A two-year longitudinal study focused on stability of the relationship between the three components of racial-ethnic identity and grades (from school report card) (Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee 2006). This study included

both African American and Latino youths and showed that youths high in Connectedness and Embedded Achievement had better grades at each point in time and that this relationship was stable across gender, race-ethnicity, and time (from the beginning of eighth grade to the end of ninth grade).

Racial-Ethnic Identity as a Socially Contextualized Self-Schema

The program of research described above underscores the utility of conceptualizing racial-ethnic identity in terms of Connectedness, Embedded Achievement, and Awareness of Racism when the goal is to predict the role of racial-ethnic identity in promoting academic attainment and persistence. Oyserman and her colleagues have recently attempted to broaden their conceptualization of the content of racial-ethnic identity (Oyserman et al. 2003). How might responses to the “Who am I, where do I belong, and what am I trying to achieve?” questions be understood more broadly, outside the specific context of school?

Following a social-identity approach (for instance, Tajfel and Turner 1986) a first assumption is that though race-ethnicity is usually a part of self-concept or identity, it is not necessarily a part of self-concept or identity. Thus a basic issue minority youths must resolve is whether race-ethnicity is part of identity—something that frames who they are, where they belong, and what they are trying to achieve. In their reconceptualization, Oyserman and colleagues first asked the basic question of whether race-ethnicity is part of self-definition for all youths. Then, as outlined below, they asked how in-group connection, difficulties integrating into larger society, and valuation of the same goals as the larger society might be differentially combined in various types of racial-ethnic self-schemas.

A first question is whether all youths do in fact incorporate race-ethnicity into identity. Although race-ethnicity, like gender and weight, is commonly used by others to define the self, not everyone self-defines in terms of their race, gender, or weight (Oyserman et al. 2003). When information about the self is incorporated into the self-concept, it may become part of an organized cognitive structure, or self-schema (Markus 1977). Self-schemas are likely to develop in domains that are contextually valued or made salient (Oyserman and Markus 1993). Therefore, though racial-ethnic self-schemas are likely to be common, literature following a self-schema approach suggests that not all youths will incorporate race-ethnicity into identity and that some youths will be aschematic for race-ethnicity while other youth will have a race-ethnicity self-schema (RES).

Being Aschematic for Race-Ethnicity

When asked what it means to be African American or Latino, youth sometimes say things like "Doesn't matter. I was born in America so it doesn't really matter to me," or "It doesn't mean anything to me" (Latino youth). African American male teenagers said: "Really, my race does not matter to me"; "Nothing"; "It means nothing to me. I think it does not matter how you feel about your ethnic group" (see Oyserman et al. 2003). Oyserman operationalized these responses as being aschematic for race-ethnicity, meaning that these individuals are aware of their racial-ethnic group membership and their membership in larger society but see these as simply social "facts" rather than as self-defining and meaningful information. They are likely to consider themselves simply as individuals or as members of other kinds of groups and have not formed a coherent cognitive structure integrating thoughts, feelings, and beliefs about these memberships as part of self-concept.

In segregated contexts in which one's racial-ethnic group is the local majority, being aschematic may mean not feeling connected to one's racial-ethnic in-group, which can be socially isolating, increasing risk of various adjustment problems (see also Cross 1991). In heterogeneous contexts, others are likely to use race-ethnicity to make predictions about the kind of person one is now and is likely to become. Because those who are aschematic for race-ethnicity have not developed a cognitive structure organized around racial-ethnic group membership, they cannot automatically fend off negative implications of racially tinged feedback or social information, which makes them more vulnerable to incorporating negative feedback as self-defining. Given the nature of racial-ethnic stereotypes and race-based unfair treatment, individuals who are aschematic for race-ethnicity are hypothesized to be at risk of simply incorporating negative feedback as self-defining. This is likely to lead to self-blame, increased stress, worse mental health, and reduced effort and engagement with school. Therefore, being aschematic for race-ethnicity is hypothesized to increase risk of academic disengagement and vulnerability to stress and depression among minority youths.

Being Schematic for Race-Ethnicity but Focused Only on One's Racial-Ethnic In-Group

Incorporating the in-group in a racial-ethnic self-schema (RES) without wrestling with the connection between one's racial-ethnic in-group and broader society does not itself resolve the problem of vulnerability to responding to stereotypes by disengaging from school. Youth whose RES focuses solely on in-group membership have a positive focus on

their in-group but do not recognize that an aspect of their racial-ethnic identity is their connection to broader society. This racial-ethnic self-schema was termed "in group RES" and is relatively common (almost 60 percent of responses in a middle school sample) (Oyserman et al. 2003). When asked what it means to be African American (or Latino), such youths say things like "It means the world to me. I'm glad of my ethnicity. I wouldn't want to be anything else." A number of separate models draw identical conclusions about the risky nature of simply incorporating the in-group into identity (see Oyserman et al. 2003 for a review).

Being in-group RES can increase risk of vulnerability to stereotypes and disengagement from school. From a social-identity perspective (Tajfel and Turner 1986), out-group stereotypes motivate minorities to devalue and disengage from stereotyped domains and find alternative domains in which to positively self-define (for example, Lemaire 1974; Mummendey et al. 1999; for reviews see Blanton, Christie, and Dye 2002 and Branscombe and Ellemers 1998). Because the stereotyped domain is school, this tendency to disengage from stereotyped domains has the unfortunate consequence of leading youths who feel strongly connected to their in-group but disconnected from broader society to disengage from school and tacitly accept the notion that certain positive attributes such as academic success "belong" to majority- not minority-group members. Thus, we hypothesize that having an In-group RES makes individuals vulnerable to disengagement from school and other mainstream institutions they view as not self-defining. This disengagement is hypothesized to lead to academic difficulties.

Moreover, we suspect that as youths disengage from important social institutions and future goals, they are more likely to sense that the future holds limited opportunities, leading to increased risk for mental health problems. Our formulation is consistent with proposals made by Cross (1991) and research reported by Carlton Pyant and Barbara Yanico (1991)—all of them social scientists—indicating that when individuals are fully immersed in their own culture and are isolated from broader society, they have increased risk for mental health problems. Thus, having an in-group-only racial-ethnic self-schema is hypothesized to be associated with increased risk for both academic and mental health difficulties.

Being Schematic for Race-Ethnicity and Making Connections Between the In-Group and the Larger Society

Given that being either aschematic for race-ethnicity or in-group-only schematic is hypothesized to increase risk of disengagement from

school and vulnerability to negative stereotypes about in-group academic ability, what alternatives remain? Oyserman and her colleagues posited that including both the connection to the in-group and the relation between the in-group and broader society within one's racial-ethnic self-schema, termed "Bridging RES," will reduce vulnerability to negative academic stereotypes and reduce the risk of disengagement from school (Oyserman et al. 2003; see LaFramboise, Colman, and Ger-ton 1993 for another description of the benefits of feeling connected to both the in-group and broader society). Individuals who are Bridging RES focus on both positive connection to the in-group and the connection with the larger society—so that they have a feeling that they are either members of both the in-group and of larger society (Dual RES) or members of an in-group that must struggle to overcome obstacles and barriers to success in larger society (Minority RES).

Dual RES A person who has a Dual RES focuses attention on his or her status as both an in-group member and a member of the larger society and focuses on the positive consequences of this Dual status (this conceptualization resonates with prior work of Gaertner et al. 1999 and Moran et al. 1999). When asked what it means to be a member of their racial-ethnic group, youths sometimes make statements describing a Dual RES such as "To me, being Latino means that I'm not only part of American culture but that I also belong to another group."

We hypothesize that the Dual RES provides a buffer against the negative effects of stereotypes about the in-group by connecting individuals to positive larger societal roles and values as well as in-group roles and values. Because those with Dual RES define themselves as members of larger society, they can dismiss stereotypes about the in-group as not self-relevant because the self is a member of larger society for which these stereotypes do not apply (see Hornsey and Hogg 2000). Moreover, eager focus on the attainment of goals and a belief in membership in the larger society should be energizing for individuals with Dual RES, reducing the risk of depression.

Minority RES Individuals with Minority RES focus attention on their status as members of both the in-group and a group that is discriminated against or obstructed by larger society and they focus on ways to prevent or avoid the negative consequences of minority status within the larger society. When asked what it means to be a member of their racial-ethnic group, youths who are Minority RES sometimes make statements such as "To me being an African American is great because I'm part of a generation that overcame so many obstacles."

We hypothesize that the Minority RES provides a buffer against the negative effects of stereotypes about the in-group by means of auto-

mated strategies for noticing and handling stereotypic and prejudicial responses while remaining engaged in the larger society. Both the Dual and Minority RESs promote a focus on school, but they were posited to have different emotional effects. In individuals with Minority RES, vigilance regarding possible prejudicial responses and heightened awareness of discrimination is likely to be emotionally draining, together increasing risk of depression for these youths.

Evidence for the RES Approach

To examine the effect of RES on academic outcomes, initial studies operationalized each of the four RES types (In-group, Minority, Dual, and Aschematic) from content-coded responses to open-ended questions (Oyserman et al. 2003), allowing participants to say what they mean rather than simply to respond to the categories provided by the researcher. The first test of the RES model included Arab Israeli high school students, who were asked either before or after working on a math task to describe what it meant to them to be Arab Israeli (Oyserman et al. 2003). As expected, students performed better on a math task when racial-ethnic identity was brought to mind before they worked on the task and when it was organized as a Bridging RES. Bringing to mind racial-ethnic identity undermined performance when racial-ethnic identity was organized as an In-group RES or when youths were RES aschematic and race-ethnicity was not organized as a schema at all (Oyserman et al. 2003, study 1). The second and third tests of the RES model involved a more ecologically valid assessment of effects of RES on academic attainment over the course of the school year (Oyserman et al. 2003, studies 2 and 3). The studies demonstrate that American Indian, African American, and Latino youths with racial-ethnic schemas that include both connection to one's racial-ethnic in-group and connection to larger society (Bridging RES) have significantly better academic outcomes by the end of the school year than youths with an in-group-only RES or youths who are aschematic for race-ethnicity. One-year longitudinal follow-up studies using a close-ended rating scale version of the RES scales replicates these school performance findings using school report card grades and teacher reported class participation for Latino and African American youths in the eighth grade (Oyserman, Rhodes, and Brickman 2007). Moreover, among twelfth grade students, only Dual RES also has a positive effect on well-being by reducing risk of depression, whereas minority and In-group-only RES are both associated with increased risk of depression over the high school years (Oyserman, Rhodes, and Brickman 2007). With regard to Latino youths, having a Bridging RES predicts better grades and also mediates the positive effect of length of stay in the United

States and English proficiency on grades. That is, the main effects of being longer in the United States and being proficient in English on grades are mediated by the positive relationship between length of stay in U.S. and English proficiency on likelihood of having a Bridging RES. Youths longer in the United States and youths who are more proficient in English are more likely to have a Bridging RES, a racial-ethnic self-schema that articulates both in-group membership and connection to larger society, and once likelihood of having a Bridging RES is entered as a mediator, effects of length of stay in the United States and English proficiency on grades is significantly reduced (Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee 2006a).

A General Model of Racial-Ethnic Identity

We have presented here two working operationalizations of racial-ethnic identity. In our first operationalization, we focused on feeling connected to an in-group, being aware of racism, and believing that the in-group values academic achievement. We summarized research showing that youths high in all three of these components of racial-ethnic identity (termed Connectedness, Awareness of Racism, and Embedded Achievement) were in fact more likely to do better in school, whereas when racial-ethnic identity was conceptualized in terms of the main effects of Connectedness or Awareness of Racism without Embedded Achievement, racial-ethnic identity is not predictive of improved academic outcomes.

We then turned to a second operationalization of racial-ethnic identity, the goal of which was threefold: first, to link racial-ethnic identity with broader theorizing about self-concept (self-schemas); second, to include an explicit test of whether youths do define themselves in terms of racial-ethnic identity; third, to articulate racial-ethnic identity in terms of the extent to which minority youths view themselves as connected to larger society more generally rather than focusing only on one aspect of this connection: the relationship between the in-group and the social institution of school. We summarized research showing that youths who define themselves in terms of racial-ethnic identity and see the in-group as connected with larger society do better in school. Moreover, we summarized research suggesting that how youths see the connection between their in-group and larger society matters for their well-being. Youths who see this connection positively are at reduced risk of depression; youths who see it as something that they must struggle to achieve by overcoming barriers and prejudice are at increased risk of depression.

Thus, both conceptualizations provide predictions as to when racial-ethnic identity should be related to academic attainment. The second

operationalization provides evidence that racial-ethnic identity also predicts well-being. Moreover, the second operationalization holds promise for predicting positive attainments in life tasks beyond schooling, such as in higher education or in career, as well as a broader sense of well-being, beyond measures of depressive symptoms. By moving beyond explicit focus on academic attainment, the racial-ethnic schema conceptualization of racial-ethnic identity provides a more general model that holds promise for both future research and for articulating effective intervention focuses.

Our general model of racial-ethnic identity postulates that not all youths will incorporate race-ethnicity into self-concept, and that even if they do incorporate race-ethnicity into identity, they are likely to differ in terms of what racial-ethnic content is incorporated into self-concept and how this content is structured. Youths who focus only on the in-group, whether operationalized as being high in connectedness only or as having an In-group RES, are vulnerable to incorporating negative stereotypes about the in-group into their self-concept. Youths who focus on the in-group as well as other important aspects of being a minority-group member are better able to buffer these negative representations. We have articulated what these other aspects are in two ways. We have argued that if the goal is to promote motivation for academic success, then racial-ethnic identity must contain not only a sense of connection to the in-group but also the belief that the in-group values educational attainment. More generally, we have argued that if the goal is to promote successful attainment of developmentally appropriate life tasks, then racial-ethnic identity must contain not only sense of connection to in-group but also a positive belief in one's membership in larger society.

Appendix: Measurement and Construct Validity of the Racial-Ethnic Identity Scales

We present here details of how to measure racial-ethnic identity and the construct validity of the racial-ethnic identity scales.

Measurement

No matter how interesting, a model is only as useful as its operationalization and measurement allows it to be. With regard to the racial-ethnic identity scales, to avoid social desirability and experimenter demand characteristics, initial research utilized open-ended probes such as "What does it mean to you to be a _____?" Responses were content-coded (Oyserman, Gant, and Ager 1995; Oyserman, Bybee, and Terry 2003). To improve ease of use, close-ended scales were operationalized

as extent of agreement to common responses generated from these open-ended probes. Each of the three components of racial-ethnic identity (Connectedness, Awareness of Racism, and Embedded Achievement) can be assessed with a four-item scale. Each scale uses a five-point Likert response-scale. (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree). Scale items are provided in the first column of table 4A.1. Scales are intentionally brief so they can be used in school-based research, which often requires that research take no more than a single classroom period.

Though brief, the racial-ethnic identity Connectedness, Awareness of Racism, and Embedded Achievement scales are adequately reliable. Reliability refers to the consistency, or "repeatability," of a measure. One way to measure reliability is to compute Cronbach's alpha, a measure of the level of association among items within a subscale and another way to measure reliability is to compute the test-retest reliability, or level of association between scales, over time. Perfect association would result in a reliability of 1.00. The Cronbach's alpha for Racial-Ethnic Identity scales ranges from 0.58 to 0.79 across samples (Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee 2006b; Lesane 2003; Oyserman, Harrison, and Bybee 2001; Oyserman, Bybee, and Terry 2003; Oyserman, Bybee, and Dai 2006). Over eight months, test-retest reliability: 0.78 for Connectedness, 0.81 for Awareness of Racism, and 0.65 for Embedded Achievement (Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee 2006).

Structural Validity

Structural validity is typically examined by conducting a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). CFA allows for examining whether the scale structure is similar across groups and the degree of correlation between scales. For the Racial-Ethnic Identity scales, we asked whether scale items loaded as expected on the scales and whether the items loaded on the factors the same way for younger and older youths, for boys and girls, and for African Americans and Latinos. Testing for stability is important because if the scales are stable across these groups, then findings from one group (for instance, older teens) could be used to make predictions about another group (younger teens), but if the scales are not stable, it is not possible to make such predictions or to use the same scale over time as teens age.

Similarly, if the scales are not stable across racial-ethnic groups then what is learned from one group cannot be generalized to another. Since ascertaining that the structure of the factors is as assumed is important for continued use of the scale and interpretation of results, we conducted a CFA for this chapter, utilizing data from Oyserman, Rhodes, and Brickman 2007. This relatively large data set (N = 348) was adequate for the overall CFA and for each of the targeted compar-

Table 4A.1 Three-Factor Racial-Ethnic Identity Confirmatory Factor Analysis: Items, Unstandardized and Standardized Coefficients

	Unstandardized Coefficient ^a	Standardized Coefficient ^b
Connectedness		
It is important to think of myself as ____.	1 ^b	0.61
I feel a part of the ____ community.	1.13	0.76
I have a lot of pride in what ____ have done and achieved.	0.97	0.70
I feel close to ____.	1.12	0.71
Embedded achievement		
If I am successful it will help other ____.	1 ^b	0.71
It is important for my family and the ____ community that I succeed in school.	0.78	0.65
It helps me when other ____ do well.	0.96	0.70
If I work hard and get good grades, other ____ will respect me.	0.74	0.49
Awareness of racism		
Some people will treat me differently because I am ____.	1 ^b	0.71
The way I look and speak influences what others expect of me.	0.64	0.52
Things in the ____ community are not as good as they could be because of lack of opportunity.	0.56	0.47
People might have negative ideas about my abilities because I am a(n) ____.	1.14	0.85

Source: Oyserman, Harrison, and Bybee (2001) for racial-ethnic identity scales. Original analysis for CFA.

^aAll coefficients are significantly different from zero.

^bCoefficients constrained to 1. P < .001.

isons, but did not allow for simultaneous comparison of all subgroups. Consequently each comparison is presented as a separate analysis.

Specifically, we performed a three-factor CFA of our twelve-item Racial-Ethnic Identity scale with maximum likelihood estimation using the Amos 4.0 statistical package. Our goal was to determine whether the three-factor structure of Racial-Ethnic Identity (Connectedness,

Embedded Achievement, and Awareness of Racism) that we posited is a good fit to the patterning of responses. This "goodness of fit" is assessed using multiple indices. Following the standard procedure recommended by Li-Tzi Hu and Peter M. Bentler (1998), we used three indices, the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), the comparative fit index (CFI) and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). For the SRMR, values below .08, for the RMSEA, values below .06, and for the CFI values at or above .95 indicate "good fit," respectively (Hu and Bentler 1998). On the basis of this set of goodness-of-fit indicators, the three-factor racial-ethnic identity model is a good fit overall and for younger and older adolescents (eighth and twelfth grade), boys and girls, and Latino and African American youths.

Overall Fit Overall we found good fit for the three component racial-ethnic identity model (SRMR = .059; CFI = .947; RMSEA = .061). Table 4A.1 presents nonstandardized and standardized loadings in columns two and three respectively. All coefficients are significant, $p < .001$, and all are greater than .45, which means that each item is adequately associated with its subscale. Awareness of Racism is moderately correlated with both Connectedness ($r = .45$, $p < .001$); Embedded Achievement ($r = .41$, $p < .001$); Connectedness and Embedded Achievement are highly correlated ($r = .78$, $p < .001$).

Measurement Structure Fit by Subgroup To test whether the racial-ethnic identity model has the same measurement structure across age, gender, and race-ethnicity groups, we performed three separate multi-group CFAs. In each case the test was relatively stringent as we required that factor loadings, factor variances, and covariances not differ. For each set, we compared a model where these values were free to vary (that is, were different for younger versus older teens, were different for boys versus girls, or were different for African Americans versus Latinos) with a model where these values were constrained to equality (that is, were the same for both age groups, were the same for both genders, were the same for both African Americans and Latinos). If the models do not differ significantly, it is reasonable to assume that the structure of the racial-ethnic identity components is similar. Indeed, the models did not differ significantly. The results of the models comparing the two ages ($\Delta\chi^2(15) = 17.91$, $p > .25$), the models comparing boys and girls ($\Delta\chi^2(15) = 15.34$, $p > .4$), and the models comparing African American and Latino race-ethnicity ($\Delta\chi^2(15) = 8.43$, $p = .91$) were not significant, suggesting that the racial-ethnic identity components were similarly structured within each subgroup. This means that it is possible to use the measures across these different groups and assume that they have similar meanings across these groups. It should be noted that the race-ethnicity analyses focus only on eighth-grade youths because this

sample had a roughly even split between Latinos ($n = 95$) and African Americans ($n = 84$), whereas the twelfth-grade sample was mostly African American (Oyserman, Rhodes, and Brickman 2007).

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Chapter 5

Social Identity, Stereotype Threat, and Self-Theories

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Each of us possesses multiple social identities. For example, our sex, age, race, social class, religion, political beliefs, and professions are all potential social identities. In certain contexts in which we find ourselves, that social identity may be devalued. For example, Democrats at the Republican National Convention, gays and lesbians at a custody hearing, a lone woman at a corporate board of directors meeting, black people in an all-white, southern neighborhood, or an Arab flight attendant with an American or European airline—all are at risk of having a component of their social identities devalued in the respective contexts. In response to this devaluation, they may find that their behavior or sense of self changes. Perhaps the female corporate board member speaks less persuasively than she is capable of speaking, or perhaps the Arab flight attendant chooses a different occupation, thus changing his professional identity.

One need not be in an extreme situation to feel the weight of a devalued social identity. More subtle situations may also place a burden upon individuals who are in some way stigmatized. For example, when a woman takes a math test in the presence of men, she may be reminded about the stereotype of male superiority in mathematics that is alive in our culture (Spencer, Steele, and Quinn 1999; Steele and Aronson 1995). Being a woman, and thus, having a social identity that is devalued vis-à-vis mathematics ability, she may have a sense that she could be judged or treated in terms of the stereotype or that she might inadvertently confirm the stereotype. This sense can disrupt her ability to perform up to her potential, a predicament known as "stereotype threat" (Steele and Aronson 1995).

In this chapter we will review the literature on stereotype threat as it