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CHAPTER 5: R/E IDENTITY AND DISCRIMINATION

When MADICS began, there were very few measures of either R/E identity or perceived discrimination. The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) was in the process of being developed (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998), and the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992) had just become available (by Wave 3). As a result, we began our study with open-ended questions in order to explore the meaning of race/ethnicity to the young people in our study. We then used content analysis of their responses to develop closed-ended scales, and we incorporated the newly emerging MEIM and MIBI scales as they became available. Therefore, many of our R/E related measures have very few items in common across all of the waves. Nevertheless, in order to use HLM most appropriately, we needed to focus on those items that were assessed in a consistent manner across time. By and large, we succeeded in meeting this goal through the examination of R/E identity, R/E segregation of friendship networks, and R/E discrimination. Results are shown in Tables 9 and 10 and Figure 2.

R/E Identity

R/E identity is a multidimensional construct that incorporates the significance and meaning that individuals place on race/ethnicity in defining themselves (Sellers et al., 1998). Our measures of R/E identity include adolescents' feelings of importance and pride in their R/E identity and their behavioral involvement in R/E-related activities. Because we did not include these measures at age 12, and European American

adolescents were not asked these questions at age 14, the results are limited to African American adolescents from ages 14 to 20.

R/E Importance. This scale measures the importance of, and pride in, R/E identity in the lives of African American adolescents. The linear and quadratic trends were not statistically significant at the $p < .01$ level (see Table 9). Therefore, these beliefs remained quite stable during adolescence for these African American youth (see Figure 2).

There were also no significant differences in mean levels of R/E importance at age 14 (the intercept) associated with gender, SES, or parents' marital status, where $p < .01$. Taking into account the other covariates, their mean responses across time hovered above 3.5 on a 4-point scale, with (3) meaning "somewhat important" and (4) meaning "very important." Clearly, the importance of one's race/ethnicity was quite high for the African American youth throughout their adolescence. These results are consistent with the reports of other researchers (Phinney & Ong, 2007) who have found that this aspect of African Americans' R/E identity tends to be well-developed by age 14.

R/E Behavioral Involvement. Another indicator of R/E identity is the frequency of engaging in R/E related activities. As with R/E importance, the linear and quadratic slopes of R/E Behavioral Involvement were not significant, where $p < .01$ (see Figure 2), and did not vary significantly by gender, SES, or parents' marital status (see Table 9).

At age 14, there were also no significant differences associated with gender, SES, or parents' marital status. Adjusting for the other covariates, the mean levels across time for the African American youth ranged between 1.5 and 2.5 (with 1 equal to "almost never" and 3 equal to "occasionally"). Therefore, the African American youth engaged in these behaviors between "almost never" to "occasionally".

R/E Friendships

The proportion of one's friends who are members of one's own R/E group (Same R/E Friends) relative to those in other R/E groups (Cross R/E Friends) are also indicators of the centrality of one's own R/E group membership in one's life. There have been a few studies that pointed out the very strong tendency for R/E peer groups in the United States to segregate themselves from one another (e.g., Kao & Joyner, 2004; Quillian & Campbell, 2003), but there has been much less longitudinal research examining how such segregation in one's friendship networks changes over the adolescent years for African American and European American youth.

Same R/E Friends. For the average adolescent, there were significant linear and quadratic slopes (see Table 9). Same R/E Friends increased from early adolescence and then decreased slightly in late adolescence. There were similar trajectories for both African American and European American adolescents.

At age 14, there were significant differences according to gender and race/ethnicity. African American adolescents reported that, of their friends, between "most of them" (4) and "all of them" (5) are African American, taking into account the other covariates. In contrast, European American adolescents reported that, of their friends, a little more than "about half of them" were European American. For both African American and European American adolescents, females reported having slightly more same R/E friends than did males.

Cross R/E Friends. There was a significant linear decrease indicating that the proportion of cross R/E friends decreased, on average, from early to late adolescence (see Table 9). The quadratic slope was also moderated by race/ethnicity. African American adolescents had a slight increase in the proportion of other R/E friends in late

adolescence, whereas European American adolescents reported a slight decrease (see Figure 2).

At age 14, there were significant differences in Cross R/E Friends associated with gender and race/ethnicity. African American adolescents reported that, of their friends, "few of them" (2) were European American, taking into account the other covariates. In contrast, European American adolescents reported that less than half of their friends were African American, with mean levels ranging from "a few of them" (2) to "half of them" (3). Again, males reported having slightly more cross R/E friends than did females.

Expectations of Future R/E Discrimination

Here we focus on expectations of discrimination in the future, making a distinction between expectations of R/E discrimination and the anticipation of having to work harder than others to get ahead in the future because of one's race/ethnicity. Following the work of Sherman James (1994), we call the latter R/E John Henryism. There has also been growing interest in the role that the family plays in socializing children's understanding of racism and discrimination. In this section, we present the results for these indicators of anticipated discrimination and adolescents' perceptions of their parents' concerns about the likelihood that they (the adolescents) will be confronted with R/E discrimination in the future. As a reminder, although we described the mean levels of the intercepts and slope of the trajectories of these measures for African American and European American adolescents, we did not directly compare them. Significant R/E differences are presented in Table 9 but should be interpreted with caution given the lack of construct and measurement invariance across these R/E groups.

Expected R/E Discrimination. The linear and quadratic slopes were not significant (see Table 9). As shown in Figure 2, both African American and European American adolescents had relatively stable expectations of experiencing R/E discrimination in the future. There were no significant differences in the slopes associated with any of our covariates.

Taking into account the other covariates, at the intercept (age 14), European American male adolescents reported the lowest possible choice of 1 or "not at all" and European American females reported slightly less than between "not at all" (1) and "just a little" (2). African American male and female adolescents reported levels around 2.

R/E John Henryism. There was a significant positive quadratic slope for the extent to which our participants reported that they would have to work harder than others to get ahead due to their race/ethnicity (see Table 9). As shown in Figure 2, on average, African American adolescents reported a stable level of R/E John Henryism from 14 to 16 years and then a sharp rise from 17 to 20 years. European American adolescents, on average, reported a stable, but very low level of R/E John Henryism from 14 to 20 years.

Together, looking at the actual values of the youth's responses (adjusting for the other covariates), the African American youth began neither agreeing nor disagreeing with the idea that they would have to work harder than others to get ahead due to their race/ethnicity (a mean score of 2.5 at age 14 that lies midway between "agree" and "disagree"). However, by age 20, their mean-level response lay between "agree" and "strongly agree." European American adolescents consistently disagreed with this belief from 14 to 20 years, with a score hovering around 1.5.

Parents' Worries about R/E Discrimination. On average, there were neither significant linear nor quadratic slopes, where $p < .01$ (see Table 9). As shown in Figure

2, African American adolescents experienced a slight decrease from ages 14 to 17 that leveled off at ages 17 to 20. European American adolescents experienced a steady decrease from ages 14 to 20.

Both the linear and quadratic slopes were moderated by SES. Lower-SES adolescents had a more negative linear slope but a more positive quadratic slope than did higher-SES adolescents. As shown in Figure 2, compared to higher-SES adolescents, lower-SES adolescents experienced a greater decrease in their perceptions of their parents' worries from ages 14 to 18, which stabilized between 18 and 20 years. Higher-SES adolescents, on the other hand, experienced little change from ages 14 to 16 and then a steady decline from ages 16 to 20. As a result, levels of perceived parents' worries were similar at ages 14 and 20, with some variation during the middle adolescent years across the two SES groups.

At age 14, African American youth reported that their parents worried about such discrimination more than "a little" (2). Thus, although the African American youth did not think their parents were extremely concerned about current and future R/E discrimination, they did think that possible R/E discrimination was one of their parents' concerns. European American youth, at age 14, reported that their parents worried about such discrimination between "not at all" (1) and "a little" (2).

Summary of R/E Identity and Discrimination

Our longitudinal study is unique in that it includes both self-identified European Americans and African Americans from all SES groups within the same geographic location. Contrary to our expectations for African American adolescents, their R/E identity, expectations of R/E discrimination, and parents' worries about discrimination did not significantly change from early to late adolescence, where $p < .01$. However, the anticipation that one will have to work harder to get ahead because of one's

race/ethnicity increased dramatically over the years for the African American youth. European American adolescents reported stable expectations of R/E discrimination and John Henryism but declining perceptions of their parents' worries about R/E discrimination as they approached late adolescence. These changes in late adolescence for both African American and European American adolescents may reflect their departure from relatively racially/ethnically-homogeneous high schools and their transition to higher education or employment. However, given that our measure of R/E John Henryism lacked both construct and measurement invariance across race/ethnicity groups, the meaning of the late-adolescence differences between African Americans and European Americans should be interpreted with caution.

Regarding the mean levels, these African American adolescents did anticipate that future discrimination was likely to play some role in their lives and that they may have to work harder than others to succeed due to their race/ethnicity. Nevertheless, they did not anticipate that R/E discrimination would be a major obstacle to their educational and occupational goals. Furthermore, our correlational analyses showed only weak associations between the R/E discrimination measures and the measures of psychological well-being and academic functioning for the African American adolescents. We have shown elsewhere that believing one will face future discrimination in work and education predicts increased investment in one's academic achievement for these African American youth (Wong et al., 2003), suggesting that on average the African American youth in this county actively cope with anticipated future discrimination by working to increase their personal human capital.

European American adolescents in this sample reported, on average, having little to no expectations of discrimination and disagreed that they would have to work harder to succeed in the future because of their race/ethnicity. Our correlational analyses

showed that having higher expectations of R/E discrimination and John Henryism were moderately and significantly correlated with lower levels of psychological well-being and academic functioning for the European American adolescents. These findings underscore that the meaning of R/E discrimination appears to be very different for African American compared to European American adolescents. Other factors in these adolescents' lives associated with their race/ethnicity may have also played a role in buffering the effects of R/E discrimination. Other research has shown, for example, that R/E identity and socialization practices protect African American adolescents from experiencing negative outcomes associated with R/E discrimination (Miller & MacIntosh, 1999; Sellers et al., 2006; Tynes et al., 2012).

For R/E friendships, there were significant changes during adolescence. As expected for both African American and European American adolescents, segregation accelerated during the secondary school years and then was asymptote at a fairly high level. Overall, these findings are consistent with studies on the R/E composition of friendship networks in the high school years (see Fuligni et al., 2009, for a review). Contrary to previous research (Aboud & Janani, 2007; Epstein, 1986), however, there was also a very slight shift towards less segregation after high school, especially for African American youth. However, the levels of segregation at all ages were quite high. The slight increase in mixed R/E group friendships in late adolescence could reflect the fact that some youth had moved into racially/ethnically-heterogeneous social contexts with their transition into college or employment. Although some of the African American youth who went to college went to historically Black colleges (21%), the majority went to racially/ethnically-heterogeneous colleges. As a result, this may explain the increase in the proportion of other R/E friends, particularly for African American adolescents.

As noted in previous literature (see Fuligni et al., 2009, for a review), African American adolescents reported having more African American than European American friends. European American adolescents, on the other hand, reported that about half of their friends were European American. What is most interesting here is that the possible peer networks in these high schools are predominantly African American, so the apparent segregation among the African American youth could be driven, in part, by the R/E composition of the schools. In contrast, in these schools, the segregation of the European American students runs counter to the R/E composition of the school and, thus, probably reflects an active sorting process. Interestingly, however, the European American youth reported that a smaller proportion of their friends are of their same R/E group than did African American youth. This finding counters research showing that European American teens, in particular, are less likely to have cross R/E friendships (Hamm, Brown, & Heck, 2005), but likely reflects the greater proportion of African American youth in the student bodies in all of the schools in this sample.

In terms of gender differences, as predicted and consistent with Way and Chen (2000), the females reported that a higher percentage of their friends are of similar race/ethnicity than did the males. Analyses using qualitative interview data have also revealed that males tend to be more flexible compared to females regarding friendship selection, and this flexibility may result from being involved in formal or informal sporting activities that encourage more contact among adolescents from different R/E groups (Way, 2000). As we expected from previous research (Smith-Bynum et al., 2014; Wang & Huguley, 2012), African Americans males reported higher expectations of future R/E discrimination than did African American females. Given previous research highlighting the negative impact of perceived discrimination (e.g., Caldwell et al., 2004; Seaton et al., 2011; Smith-Bynum et al., 2014; Williams et al., 2003; Wang & Huguley,

2012; Wong et al., 2003), these findings are particularly salient for the future expected outcomes of African American males.

On the whole, the other family demographic characteristics had few significant associations with this set of adolescents' beliefs, with the exception of parents' worries about R/E discrimination. During the high school years, lower-SES youth evidenced a greater decline in their parents' worries about future R/E discrimination than did higher-SES youth. However, higher-SES adolescents evidenced a greater decline in later adolescence, perhaps associated with their entry into college or employment. Parents' marital status was not associated with variations in either the intercept or slopes for any of the measures, where $p < .01$.

Overall, most of the variation in R/E identity and discrimination was attributable to differences within adolescents, with about one-third of the variation found between adolescents (see Table 10). On average, less than 20% of the within-group variation was associated with age, with the exception of R/E friendships which were at 41%. The final models accounted for up to 43% of the variance in the intercept (See Table 10), with the greatest variance accounted for in Expected R/E Discrimination and up to 25% of the variance accounted for in the slopes, with the greatest variance accounted for in Cross R/E Friends and R/E Behavioral Involvement. Nevertheless, substantial amounts of variance in both the intercepts and developmental trajectories remain to be studied.

Table 9

Growth Models for R/E Identity and Discrimination

	R/E Importance	R/E Behavioral Involvement	Same R/E Friends	Cross R/E Friends	Expected R/E Discrimination	R/E John Henryism	Parents' Worries About Discrimination
For Intercept							
Intercept	3.55***	2.93***	3.89***	2.10***	1.59***	2.09***	1.94***
SES	.07*	.08	.07*	-.07*	.03	.06	-.03
Gender	.03	.03	.16***	-.12**	.12**	-.04	.02
Ethnicity			-.63***	.53***	-.77***	-.91***	-.64***
GXE			.03	-.05	.24**	-.10	.23*
Single	.00	-.11	.19*	-.02	-.20	.04	-.33*
Intact	.00	.07	-.01	-.02	.04	.06	.09
Age	.02	-.06	.04	-.00	-.02	-.11	-.12
Age^2	.01	.05	-.04	-.02	.01	.02	.02
For Linear slope							
Intercept	-.06*	-.03*	.11***	-.11***	.01	-.09*	-.09*
SES	-.04	.03	.02	-.02*	.04	-.04	.10**
Gender	-.06	-.01	.00	-.02	-.06	-.01	.00
Ethnicity			.00	.04	.02	.08*	.09*
GXE			-.07	.01	.07	.09	.12
Single	-.06	-.01	-.06	.05	.15	-.03	.27*
Intact	.02	.00	-.03	.05*	.03	.06	-.02
For Quadratic slope							
Intercept	.00	-.02*	-.02***	.01*	.00	.03***	.00
SES	.01	-.01	.00	.00	-.01	.01	-.02**
Gender	.01	-.01	.00	.00	.00	.00	-.01
Ethnicity			.01	-.02***	-.01	-.04***	-.03**
GXE			.01	.00	-.02	-.02	-.02
Single	.01	.01	.01	-.01	-.03	.00	-.05*
Intact	.01	.00	.01	-.01	-.01	-.02	.01

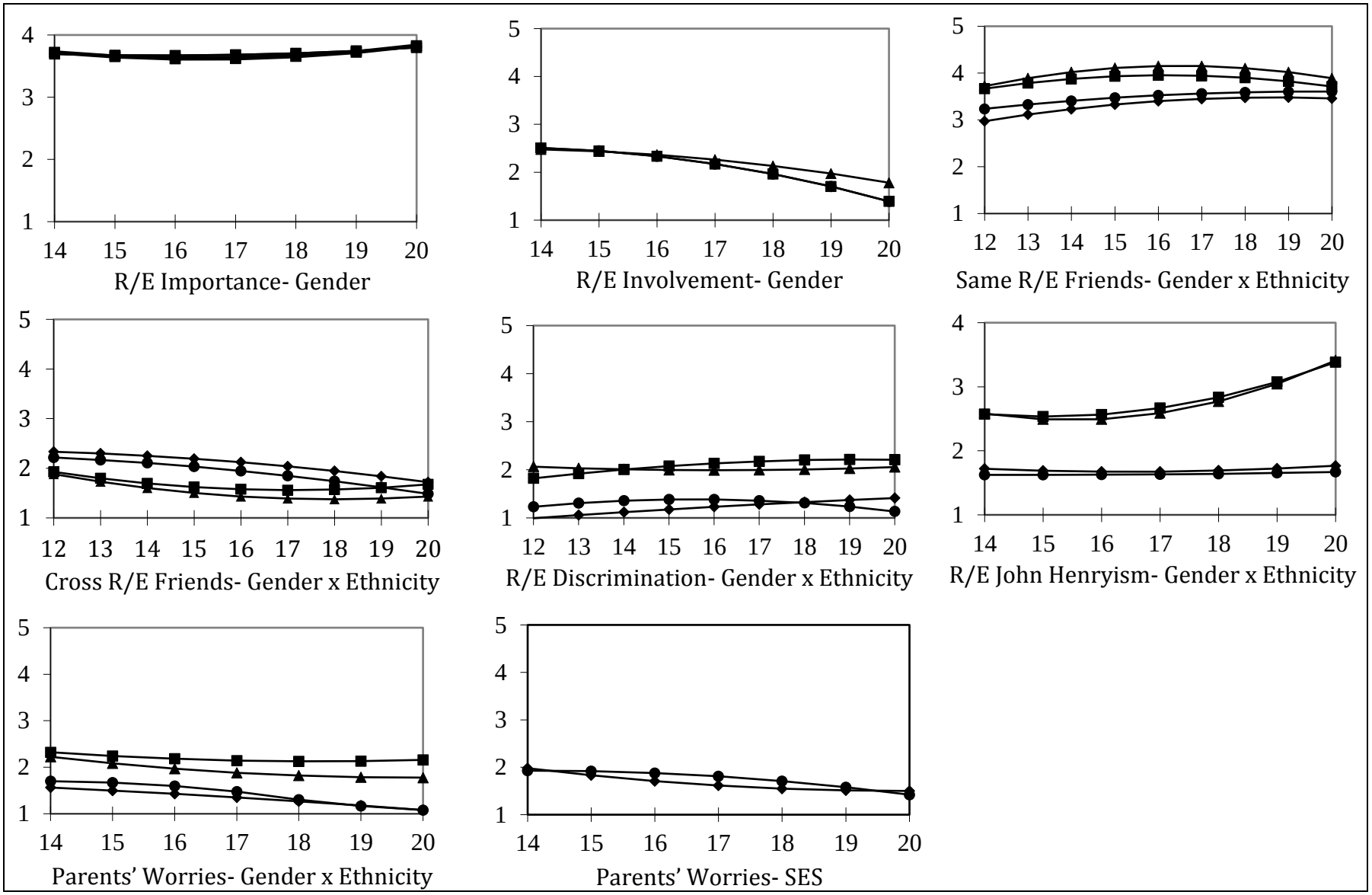
Note. ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05. R/E Importance and R/E Behavioral Involvement were estimated for African American adolescents only. Given that our R/E discrimination measures lacked both construct and measurement invariance across R/E groups, significant differences between African Americans and European Americans should be interpreted with caution.

Table 10

Residual Variance for R/E Identity and Discrimination

	Unconditional Means Model	ICC	Unconditional Growth Model	Level 1 R^2	With Level 2 Predictors	% Explained
R/E Importance		.28		.19		
Level 1	.253		.205			
Intercept	.097***		.090***		.090***	<1%
Linear Slope			.005***		.005***	<1%
R/E Behavioral Involvement		.36		.08		
Level 1	.513		.472			
Intercept	.294***		.278***		.270***	3%
Linear Slope			.004		.003	25%
Same R/E Friends		.31		.41		
Level 1	.563		.462			
Intercept	.251***		.302***		.209***	31%
Linear Slope			.021***		.021**	0%
Quad Slope			.0008		.0008	0%
Cross R/E Friends		.30		.41		
Level 1	.498		.419			
Intercept	.210***		.303***		.240***	21%
Linear Slope			.008*		.006**	25%
Quad Slope			.000		.000	<1%
Expected R/E Discrimination						
Level 1	.500	.35	.440	.12		
Intercept	.274***		.307***		.176***	43%
Linear Slope			.009***		.009***	<1%
R/E John Henryism		.47		.14		
Level 1	.468		.404			
Intercept	.411***		.433***		.275***	36%
Linear Slope			.005**		.004**	20%
Parents' Worries Discrimination		.38		.21		
Level 1	.635		.504			
Intercept	.388***		.624***		.543***	13%
Linear Slope			.020***		.019***	5%

Note. ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05.


R/E Importance- Gender
R/E Involvement- Gender
Same R/E Friends- Gender x Ethnicity
Cross R/E Friends- Gender x Ethnicity
R/E Discrimination- Gender x Ethnicity
R/E John Henryism- Gender x Ethnicity
Parents' Worries- Gender x Ethnicity
Parents' Worries- SES

Note. The x-axis represents age in years, whereas the y-axis represents the mean of the scale, controlling for the covariates. For the gender and race/ethnicity growth curves, European-American females are represented by the circle, European American males are represented by the diamond, African American females are represented by the triangle, and African American males are represented by the square. For the SES growth curves, high-SES adolescents are represented by the circle, whereas low-SES adolescents are represented by the diamond.

Figure 2. Growth Curves for R/E Identity and Discrimination.