ETHNIC AND RACIAL IDENTITY

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Racial/ethnic identity is but one of myriad social identities that an individual can use to define a sense of self. Yet research on racial/ethnic identity has largely dominated the field of social identity, a trend that is inherently linked to the sociopolitical and historical backdrop of racial and ethnic stratification in the United States. Tracing the history of the field of racial/ethnic identity, it is clear how seminal the Clark doll studies (Clark & Clark, 1939, 1947) were in initiating psychological inquiry into the experiences of being a racial or ethnic minority in the United States. As the field has advanced from here, it has encompassed an incredibly diverse array of applications, which can be seen in the growth of research outside the initial Black–White dichotomy that embraces other minority groups and complexity of minority statuses. In this chapter, we consider both the common underpinnings and the diverse applications that characterize knowledge of racial/ethnic identity today and call for future research that fills the gaps and limitations in that knowledge.

We begin the chapter with a critical look at the use of the terms *racial identity* versus *ethnic identity* as they have manifested in the field. With this foundation, it provides a comprehensive overview of the field of racial/ethnic identity today, including the dominant perspectives and theories that inform research and the corresponding measures that facilitate this research. In turn, we review the current state of the field by examining the empirical literature on both antecedents and consequences of racial/ethnic identity, with a particular focus on

both developmental and contextual processes. Finally, we review limitations of the field because they define the next steps for both theoretical refinement and empirical investigation.

RACE VERSUS ETHNICITY: DEFINING CONSTRUCTS

Research on racial/ethnic identity is plagued by the interwoven and often inconsistent use of the terms *racial identity* and *ethnic identity,* leading to a blurred distinction between them (Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997). As Helms (1994) contended, *ethnicity* is at times even used as a euphemism for *race.* Tracing the terms *race* and *ethnicity* to their roots, *race* first originated in the 19th century and refers to common physical characteristics shared between people, whereas *ethnicity* derives from more ancient Latin and Greek origins and refers to common customs shared between people (Trimble, 2005b). More recently, scholars have adopted a common understanding of both race and ethnicity as social constructions rather than biological definitions (Helms, 1990). Science has provided evidence of the biological fallacy of race, which recognizes that race is neither a meaningful unit of categorization nor made up of meaningfully discrete groups (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). However, the sociohistorical origins of both race and ethnicity purvey meaning to the foundation of these social identities and, in an effort to access this meaning, scholars have provided distinct definitions for *racial identity* and *ethnic*

rights era. As a result of these empirical foundations, the nigrescence model speaks specifically to the unique experiences of Black identity development, with a direct translation of the French term *nigrescence,* meaning "the process of becoming Black." Whereas the original theory focused on the period of early adulthood as the central life period in which these processes take place, more recent revisions have not placed constraints on the life-span development of a Black identity. Cross's (1991) revised model lays out four stages of development and shares with the ego identity perspective a critical focus on a conversion process that centers around an encounter with one's racial identity. These four stages are preencounter, encounter, immersion–emersion, and internalization. Although this theory was initially proposed as a more purely developmental model, the expanded nigrescence model has incorporated layered multidimensionality in the progression of these stages (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001). This revision proposes that each stage of development is characterized by multiple clusters of identity in which the meaning-making that is derived from that particular stage of identity development varies on the basis of the dynamic between personal identity and reference group orientation (Cross, 1991; Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross, & Worrell, 2001). Essentially, any given stage of identity may be characterized by multiple attitudes, thereby recognizing both process and content in identity development. An in-depth review of each stage and the corresponding attitudes within them is beyond the scope of this chapter (for a complete review of this multidimensionality, see Vandiver, 2001, and Vandiver et al., 2001). Further adding to the developmental complexity of this model, Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001) also accounted for both equifinality and multifinality in development by proposing three trajectories that may characterize the experiences of Black Americans as they progress through these stages. Pattern A refers to normative socialization, which leads to a coherent Black identity, and Pattern B involves a conversion experience that jumpstarts the exploration and ultimate resolution of a Black identity. Finally, Pattern C extends the development of identity throughout the life span and accounts for

recursive explorations of one's identity as the result of both context and relevant developmental needs.

The Cross Racial Identity Scale (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) was developed in tandem with the revised version of the nigrescence model that incorporated attitudes within the larger developmental progression (Vandiver, 2001; Vandiver et al., 2001). The Cross Racial Identity Scale is a multidimensional scale that consists of 30 items measured on a 7-point Likert-style scale across six subscales. The subscales map onto attitudes, or identity clusters, within stages of ethnic identity development. In the preencounter stage are subscales for assimilation, miseducation, and self-hatred; in the immersion–emersion stage is a subscale for anti-White attitudes; and within the internalization stage are subscales for Afrocentricity and multiculturalist inclusive.

Multigroup model of ethnic identity. Phinney's (1989) multigroup model of ethnic identity development focuses on the collective experiences of ethnic minority identity formation in general, as opposed to the specific experiences of a particular ethnic group. In considering ethnic minorities in general, Phinney proposed a stage theory that draws heavily from the contributions of exploration and commitment that are seen throughout Erikson's (1968) stages of ego identity development and were made explicit by Marcia's (1966) operationalization and pointed to the period of adolescence and early adulthood as key developmental periods. In this model, the process of developing an ethnic identity over time includes an evolving understanding of the implications of one's ethnicity (e.g., exploration) and subsequent decisions about its role in one's life (e.g., commitment). The varying dimensions of exploration and commitment resulted in what was initially proposed as a four-status unidirectional model (Phinney, 1989). Since its initial development, the stage theory aspects of the model have been replaced with invariant direction-implied statuses that span development and have been reconsidered as three statuses (Phinney, 1993). The first status, *diffusion,* is marked by low exploration and low commitment and represents a point at which individuals do not have a clear understanding of what their ethnicity means to them. The

second status, *search–moratorium,* is marked by high exploration and low commitment, such that individuals actively seek out meaning in an attempt to derive personal meaning from their ethnicity. The final status, achievement, is the ideal outcome of the identity development process in that it is marked by high exploration and high commitment and results in both acceptance and internalization of one's ethnicity. This model has a clear focus on the formation of ethnic identity and focuses on general rather than ethnic-specific experiences (Phinney, 1993; Phinney & Ong, 2007).

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992) was developed to measure this model of ethnic identity, and since its initial publication it has become one of the most widely used measures of ethnic identity, likely largely because of its ability to be used with diverse samples. This measure proposes two distinct subscales: Identity, consisting of 14 items, and Group Orientation, consisting of six items. Since its initial publication, a revised two-factor version of the scale has been proposed, with equal numbers of items for exploration and commitment (Phinney, 1992). This revised scale is now recommended for empirical work examining ethnic identity among diverse samples.

The focus on progression through stages of identity development, similar to the Eriksonian approach, is clearly seen in these two models of racial/ethnic identity. In doing so, the models conceptually balance the contributions of psychology's intrapsychic focus and the contextual focus that has been historically dominated by sociology. That is, the individual's sense of self is made up of an interplay between internal processes and external social constructions and pressures, with social identity being the most contextually oriented aspect of identity (Schwartz, 2001). For racial/ethnic minorities, this social identity may be particularly important, and we turn to social identity theory to explore it more thoroughly.

Social Identity Theory

The importance of a social identity to one's overall sense of self was first proposed by Lewin (1948) and later more fully explicated in social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social identity theory informs the theoretical foundations of racial and ethnic identity by rooting the development of a sense of self more strongly in the social environment, and more specifically in the constructed social groups that make up that environment. Social identity theory is founded on three basic tenets: First, individuals want to make positive self-evaluations; second, social group membership, or social identity, is a source of self-evaluation in which ingroups and outgroups are compared; third, it follows that positive evaluations derive from making distinctions that favor the ingroup relative to the outgroup, resulting in positive distinctiveness. In terms of racial/ethnic identity specifically, belongingness to historically marginalized or minority groups is believed to be more relevant, or salient, on the very basis of this marginalization. Belongingness to a socially devalued group requires a reinterpretation of the meaning of that group membership to maintain a positive self-concept. In a society such as that of the United States that continues to attribute meaning to racial and ethnic categorization, social identity theory suggests that such salience will lead individuals to become more strongly identified with their identity. Since the proposal of concepts such as self-hatred, research has evolved to recognize the positive benefits that an ethnic or racial identity can convey to the individual. Both Crocker and Luhtanen's (1990) collective self-esteem (CSE) model and Sellers, Smith, et al.'s (1998) multidimensional model of racial identity (MMRI) draw heavily from the social identity perspective, and we review each herein.

Collective self-esteem approach.   With foundations in a social identity theory perspective, CSE (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990) has also been offered as a conceptualization of identity. Although self-esteem is typically considered an individual construct, CSE distinguishes feelings of self-worth and self-respect that draw on belongingness to a social group from those drawn from individual factors. Specifically, CSE is composed of four distinct but related components: *membership esteem,* which refers to evaluations of how worthy an individual is of his or her group membership; *private CSE,* which refers to how one privately feels about one's social

group membership; *public CSE,* which refers to how one perceives evaluation of one's social group by others; and finally *importance to identity,* which refers to how valued this social identity is for the self-concept. Although not developed to specifically measure racial and ethnic identity, the model has been applied to both study and measurement in this field (Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe, & Warden, 2004; Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994; Verkuyten & Lay, 1998). Indeed, the regard dimensions of the MMRI, reviewed next, draw heavily from the CSE framework (Sellers, Smith, et al., 1998). In application to this field, the lack of specificity allows a broad range of use for multiple racial/ethnic groups, both across and within studies. It is important to note that CSE does not contain a developmental component, instead adopting an individual differences approach that locates feelings of CSE within an individual, which in turn characterizes the way in which the individual experiences his or her context. That is, CSE is traditionally conceived as a static trait that reflects content of one's identity rather than a developmental formation of one's identity.

The Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) is a 16-item measure that uses 7-point Likert-style response scales to assess one's positive social identity. The scale can be used in a general form, asking questions about an individual's social group, and it has been applied more specifically in the field of racial/ethnic identity in the race-specific form. The Collective Self-Esteem Scale contains four subscales, which map onto the four components of CSE, namely Membership Esteem, Private CSE, Public CSE, and Identity. The Collective Self-Esteem Scale can be administered in regard to racial/ethnic groups in general or a specific racial/ethnic group.

Multidimensional model of racial identity. The MMRI (Sellers, Smith, et al., 1998) was originally developed as a race-specific theory of Black identity that integrates universal properties associated with minority status as well as the specific meaning of being Black or African American in the United States. Sellers, Smith, et al. (1998) contended that before publication of the MMRI, the field of racial

identity was marked by research from two distinct perspectives: the mainstream perspective, which dealt solely with the general stigma of belonging to a minority racial group, and the underground perspective, which focused on Black experiences in the United States as unique on the basis of specific sociohistorical factors that have accompanied that specific minority racial group (Sellers, Smith, et al., 1998). The MMRI sought to reconcile these unique perspectives within a single theoretical model by identifying four major components of Black identity: centrality, regard, ideology, and salience. *Centrality* refers to the degree to which individuals feel that their racial identity is important to them; individuals are made up of an amalgam of identities, and the degree to which they believe their racial identity is important relative to other aspects of their sense of self will determine how influential that specific identity will be. *Regard* generally refers to the valence of feelings about one's racial/ethnic group and is made up of two subcomponents, private regard and public regard. *Private regard* refers to those beliefs about the value of one's racial/ethnic group that the individual endorses, and *public regard* refers to how an individual believes others value (or disvalue) his or her racial/ethnic group. *Ideology* refers to the content of belief systems, opinions, and attitudes about how African Americans are supposed to act in modern society. Ideology is made of up four distinct subcomponents, each of which refers to aggregate belief systems that endorse differing viewpoints: nationalist, oppressed minority, assimilationist, and humanist. Specifically, the nationalist ideology endorses the uniqueness and importance of having African heritage, the oppressed minority ideology endorses parallels between African Americans and other historically marginalized racial groups, the assimilationist ideology endorses parallels between African Americans and all other Americans, and the humanist ideology endorses parallels between African Americans and all human beings. Finally, *salience* refers to the degree to which individuals are aware of their Black identity as they progress through their day and their lives.

The MMRI proposes that centrality, regard, ideology, and salience are components of identity that are both aspects of general development and everyday

experiences. That is, it proposes that although the content of racial identity will demonstrate some consistency across time, variation across contexts is also expected. Salience is the most fluid conceptualization of identity within the MMRI, and it is expected to fluctuate regularly on the basis of an interaction between one's personal proclivity to define oneself in terms of race (i.e., centrality) and environmental triggers that make one's identity more or less significant across situational conditions.

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1997) was developed to measure the MMRI, and it is a 56-item self-report measure that uses a 7-point Likert-style response scale. As a reflection of the structure of the MMRI, the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity was initially proposed with three subscales, Centrality, Regard, and Ideology; the Regard subscale was then refined and divided into subcomponents of private regard and public regard. The final component of the model, salience, is not included in the measure on the basis of its theoretically fluctuating nature and the high degree of short-term change expected in this aspect of one's Black identity; however, other researchers have developed measures to assess salience (see Yip & Fuligni, 2002). As the MMRI has been adapted and applied to the racial identity of groups besides African Americans, so too has the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity, particularly with regard to the more general domains of centrality and regard (Johnson, Robinson Kurpius, Rayle, Arrendondo, & Tovar-Gamero, 2005; Kiang, Yip, Gonzales-Backen, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008). General adaptation is achieved by substituting "my racial/ethnic group" or a specific racial/ethnic group for *Black* in items. In addition, the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity has been adapted for use among youth populations (Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyen, 2008) by shortening the scale and adapting items for greater comprehension at a younger age.

An abbreviated, 27-item version of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity has also been developed (Martin, Wout, Nguyen, Sellers, & Gonzales, 2005), and evidence for fidelity to the full-length factor structure, as well as evidence of

reliability, has been found in samples of adolescents, emerging adults, and adults (Kiang et al., 2006; Martin et al., 2005; Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006). This abbreviated measure has also been used in diary studies seeking to measure the conceptually dynamic aspects of centrality, private regard, and public regard (Kiang et al., 2006).

Integrating perspectives.   Taken together, ego identity and social identity theory contribute to an understanding of the process of identity development and the content of such an identity, respectively. These complementary perspectives facilitate an understanding of identity both as it emerges across time and in how it may be enacted at a single point in time, thereby allowing a multidimensional consideration of identity. Indeed, perspectives outside of the ego identity and social identity models demand an integration of both the emergence and the enactment of identity. Identity structure analysis (Weinreich, 1986; Weinreich & Saunderson, 2003), for example, suggests that an individual's identity is an expression of the continuity between previous experiences and development, demands of the momentary situation, and unknown future development. Moreover, the contributions of both perspectives result in a common focus on the positive implications of a coherent sense of racial/ethnic identity for general well-being. Finally, there is general consensus on the fluidity of identity over time or across contexts and the corresponding importance of examining the construct over time. Each of these common characteristics demonstrates the considerable consistency that characterizes the conceptualization of racial/ethnic identity across models. However, there are also differences among models that critically inform the understanding of racial/ethnic identity.

The distinctiveness within racial/ethnic models originates from the relative contributions of each perspective that are incorporated into each of them. As a result, the contrast between process and content that is seen in these two perspectives persists throughout racial/ethnic identity models. Models that are founded more centrally on the ego identity model have a corresponding focus on the process of racial/ethnic identity (i.e., Cross, 1991; Phinney,

1989). Models that are founded more centrally on the social identity theory perspective have a corresponding focus on the content of racial/ethnic identity (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Sellers, Smith, et al., 1998). In addition, further differentiation is based on the groups to which these perspectives are applied; whereas some of the models were developed on the basis of the experience of specific racial/ethnic groups, as is the case with Cross's (1971) nigrescence model and Sellers, Smith, et al.'s (1998) MMRI, others have dealt with the experiences more generally, as with Phinney's (1989) multigroup model and Crocker's (1990) CSE model. These differences demonstrate the considerable complexity among models of racial/ethnic identity that overlay the common theoretical foundations.

Issues in measurement. Adding to the complexity of the field, each of these theoretical orientations present their own measurement tool to examine the construct as it is proposed. In reviewing the dominant models of racial/ethnic identity,

the corresponding methods of measurement were also reviewed, yet the Cross Racial Identity Scale (Cross & Vandiver, 2001), Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992), Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), and Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1997) do not comprehensively cover the manner in which ethnic identity is empirically assessed. Indeed, the variety of ways in which racial/ethnic identity is measured is perhaps more varied than the theoretical models that inform such research. Organizing domains of empirical measures have been outlined by Trimble (2005b) and demonstrate the diversity of approaches that are taken (see Figure 10.1). These approaches include natal measures, which use indicators of heritage to access ethnic identity; behavioral measures, which use indicators of engagement with cultural and ethnic activities; situational–contextual measures, which use indicators of ecological context to access ethnic identity; and subjective measures,
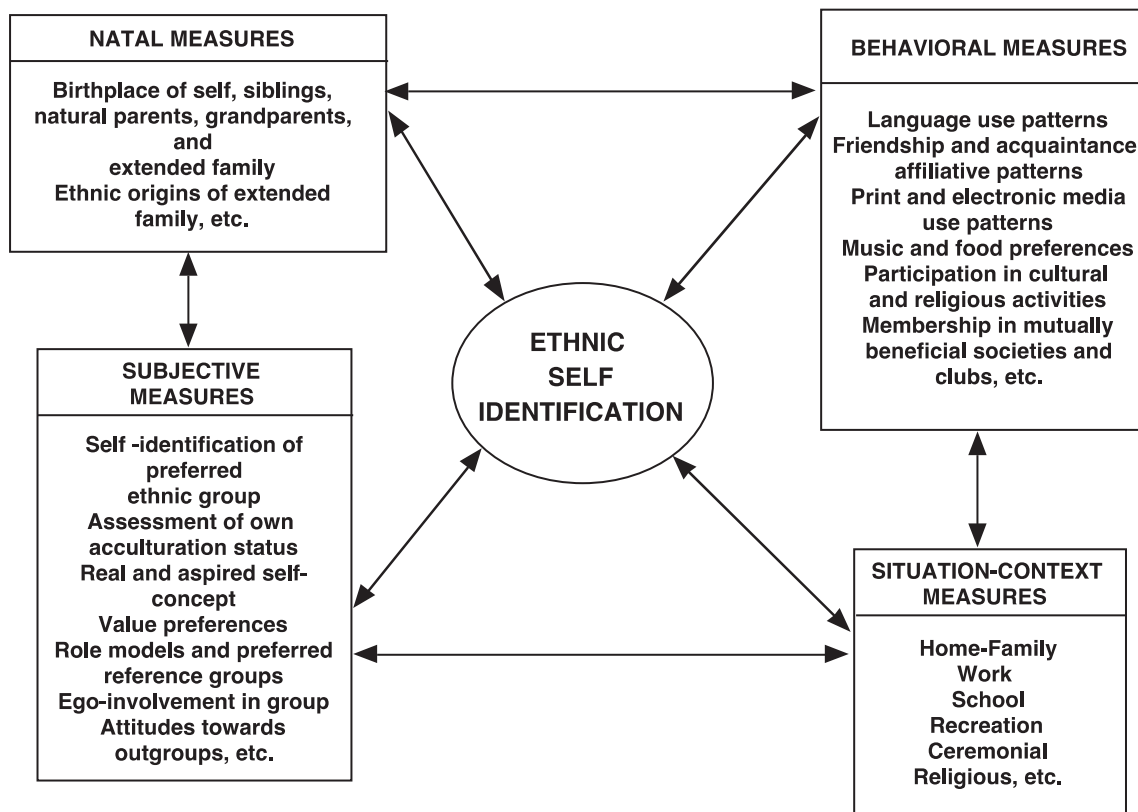

FIGURE 10.1. Ethnic self-identification measurement domains (Trimble, 2000; Trimble, Helms, & Root, 2002). From *Handbook of Racial–Cultural Psychology and Counseling: Vol. 1. Theory and Research* (p. 332), by R. Carter (Ed.), 2005, New York, NY: Wiley. Copyright 2005 by John Wiley & Sons. Adapted with permission.

which use self-perceptions in a variety of ethnically relevant domains to access ethnic identity. As is evident, these domains are often combined in empirical measurement, and Trimble (2005b) in fact suggested that best practices in measurement should strive to incorporate aspects of all domains to adequately capture the complexity of racial/ethnic identity. Complexity in the measurement of racial/ethnic identity is further compounded by the degree to which it has been empirically intertwined with the measurement of acculturation. Specifically, it has been suggested that research on the relationship and distinction between racial/ethnic identity and acculturation is hampered by the use of conceptually similar empirical indicators that do not provide sufficient distinction (Phinney, 2003).

Recently, researchers have attempted to bridge the empirical divide between process and content approaches (Syed & Azmitia, 2008; Yip et al., 2006). However, the bulk of empirical research on racial/ethnic identity to date has been grounded in one approach or the other and has used one of a myriad measurement techniques, which limits the coherence of the field in some ways. The shared foundations and the complexity found among these models and measurement techniques extend to empirical research and have been applied to examine both the antecedents and the consequences of racial/ethnic identity across various domains, in various groups, and throughout various developmental periods. We turn now to a review of the current knowledge on the antecedents and consequences of racial/ethnic identity.

ANTECEDENTS OF RACIAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY

As reviewed earlier, both Phinney's (1992) and Cross's (1991; Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001) models of racial/ethnic identity are inherently developmental. As developmental frameworks, they propose social and contextual influences on how individuals come to construct a sense of racial/ethnic self. For example, Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001) pointed to influences such as parents, family, neighborhood, schools, socioeconomic status, and social policies.

Phinney, Romero, Nava, and Huang (2001) have proposed that language proficiency, parental socialization, and interaction with same-ethnicity peers influences ethnic identity development. In this section of the chapter, we review the empirical work on antecedents of racial/ethnic identity, including intergroup and intragroup contact, socialization, and ecological contexts.

Intergroup and Intragroup Contact

Identity construction involves the process of defining a sense of self in relation to others. The relation of self to others includes social interactions that may include individuals from the same or a different racial/ethnic background, interactions that may be positive or negative, relationships that may be formal or casual, messages that may be direct or indirect, and contexts that may be proximal or distal. We begin this section by examining how research has demonstrated that inter- and intragroup interactions are related to racial/ethnic identity. Specifically, we include research on both positive interactions, such as friendships, and negative interactions, such as prejudice and discrimination. Reflecting the state of the current literature, we focus largely on peer interactions.

Friendships. Perhaps not surprisingly, both same– and other–race/ethnicity[1] peers have been observed to be important for racial/ethnic identity development. In studies of African, Asian, European, and Latino American adolescents, cross–race/ethnicity friendships were associated with higher scores on importance and positive regard for one's ethnicity (Hamm, 2000). At the same time, research has also found that same–race/ethnicity peers can have a profound impact on identity development. For example, in a qualitative study of Black college students growing up in predominantly non-Hispanic White neighborhoods and attending predominantly non-Hispanic White universities, Tatum (2004) found that although students socialized with mostly non-Hispanic White peers in school, the interactions remained largely superficial and rarely extended beyond school. Students reported that only through

[1]For the same reasons that we use *racial/ethnic identity* throughout the chapter, we refer to *same–* and *other–race/ethnicity* friends in this section.

interactions with Black peers were they able to develop healthy and positive identities around race. Together, these studies represented how youths develop racial/ethnic identity in the relative presence and absence of same–race/ethnicity peers. In all cases, it appears that although other–race/ethnicity peers may be influential for identity development, youths seek interactions with same–race/ethnicity peers. In the relative absence of same–race/ethnicity peers, respondents reported seeking out same–race/ethnicity peers to facilitate the development of a healthy sense of self (Tatum, 2004).

Discrimination and conflict.   The positive and self-selected interactions that surround friendships are just one example of the types of social interactions that individuals have with same- and other-race others. Research has shown that less-positive interactions such as experiences with conflict and discrimination are also influential in identity development. In one of the few studies examining the longitudinal associations between racial identity and discrimination, researchers found that perceived racial discrimination predicted lower public regard 1 year later in a sample of African American adolescents (Seaton, Yip, & Sellers, 2009). That is, experiencing racial discrimination was associated with subsequently believing that others have negative views of African Americans but was not associated with subsequent centrality or private regard. Together, the research suggested that some dimensions of ethnic identity development may be directly influenced by experiences of discrimination, and others may not.

Racial/Ethnic Socialization

Beyond inter- and intragroup contact, more formal interactions in the form of socialization also influence identity development. The current literature on socialization includes parents and peers. The large majority of research on racial and ethnic socialization has focused on families as primary socializing agents in the development of racial/ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006). Moreover, reports of socialization are generally found to be associated with higher levels of various dimensions of racial/ethnic identity. For example, a study of

high school students from Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, and Salvadoran backgrounds found that familial overt and covert ethnic socialization (e.g., playing music by artists from one's ethnic group, emphasizing the importance of knowing about one's heritage) were associated with higher levels of ethnic identity exploration, commitment, and affirmation and belonging among adolescents in the study irrespective of ethnic background (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2006). Additionally, research has found evidence for parental racial socialization contributing to changes in racial identity over time for African American youths, with increased parental racial socialization more likely to lead to an achieved status than a diffuse or moratorium status (Seaton, Yip, Morgan-Lopez, & Sellers, 2012). Other research has found that parents' reports of their own ethnic socialization practices correlate positively with their child's feelings of ethnic affirmation, belonging, and achievement among African American, Mexican American, and non-Hispanic White American youths (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006; Quintana & Vera, 1999). Similar patterns have been observed for other dimensions of racial/ethnic identity, including centrality, private regard, public regard, and ideology (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). In trying to tease apart the conflation of race and ethnicity, other researchers have tried to examine the independent effects of racial and ethnic socialization on the identity development of a group of 11-year-old African American youths (Murry, Berkel, Brody, Miller, & Chen, 2009). For the purposes of this study, racial socialization was considered to be messages about discrimination or prejudice against African Americans, whereas ethnic socialization included conveying messages about the importance of knowing about the history of one's group. Consistent with existing research, both racial and ethnic socialization were observed to be positively correlated with racial identity.

Also noteworthy, research has suggested that the association between socialization practices and identity outcomes may not be linear and the relationship between the two may not be one to one. Examples include research with biracial families in which youths had one Latino parent and one non-Latino

parent. Researchers have compared levels of socialization between families having a Latino mother or father for boys and girls (González, Umaña-Taylor, & Bámaca, 2006), and although families with Latina mothers and sons reported the highest levels of family ethnic socialization, no differences were found in identity outcomes among adolescents. In another example, Stevenson (1995) observed that as African American adolescents progressed through Cross's (1991) identity development stages, they also reported stronger positive correlations between their racial identity and reports of parental socialization. Specifically, in the preencounter stage, adolescents reported negative correlations between their parents' socialization practices. In the immersion stage, socialization was not related to identity. Finally, in the internalization stage, socialization was found to have a positive association with racial identity. Stevenson suggested that this pattern reflects the changing level of consciousness that youths develop as they come to develop a sense of racial identity.

As mentioned previously, parents are not the only agents of socialization. Studies that explore the influence of both family and peer socialization have found different patterns across the developmental life span. For example, research has suggested that during adolescence, peers are highly influential in identity development. Specifically, spending more time with same-ethnicity peers was found to be predictive of ethnic identity (as measured by mean score on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure) among 200 Armenian, Vietnamese, and Mexican adolescents (Phinney et al., 2001). However, parental socialization was associated with increased ethnic language proficiency, which was then related to higher levels of ethnic identity. Therefore, the study found that parental behaviors had an indirect effect on adolescent ethnic identity via ethnic language use maintenance. Research on emerging adults has suggested a more direct influence of parental socialization for identity outcomes. Ontai-Grzebik and Raffaelli (2004) found that among Latino college and graduate students, parental socialization predicted ethnic identity exploration. However, peer socialization, operationalized as ethnicity of first serious romantic relationship, Spanish-language use, and restrictions regarding social interactions with

same-sex friends, did not predict ethnic identity achievement or exploration.

Although the exact mechanism and pathway through which socialization is associated with ethnic identity development is less clear, it is clear that socialization efforts on the part of parents and peers have an influence on ethnic identity outcomes. Research in this area has included a broad range of age and racial/ethnic groups as well as various dimensions of ethnic identity, and together these studies have found support for the importance of socialization for identity development.

Ecological Context

Where one is born has also been found to be an important consideration in how and when one develops a sense of ethnic self. Moreover, this ethnic self has been examined in terms of the labels individuals use to describe their identity as well as the levels of identity they report on scaled measures (Rumbaut, 1994). Examining labels that adolescents use to describe their ethnicity, Rumbaut (1994) found that adolescents born outside the United States were more likely to describe their ethnic identity using a label referring to their national origin (43%) than adolescents born in the United States to immigrant parents (11%). Adolescents born in the United States showed a preference for hyphenated labels (49%) compared with adolescents born overseas (32%). Similar patterns have been observed among other samples of immigrants of Mexican and Chinese backgrounds (Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005).

With respect to different levels of ethnic identity, in a sample of Asian adults living in the United States, immigrants were observed to report higher levels of ethnic identity than individuals born in the United States (Yip, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008). Similarly, in a study of 1st-year Latino college students, U.S.-born students reported significantly less ethnic identity exploration than students born outside of the United States. No significant differences, however, were found in levels of ethnic identity commitment (Syed, Azmitia, & Phinney, 2007). These patterns suggest that although recent immigrants may be holding their ethnic backgrounds closer to their sense of self, there is no difference in the extent to which immigrants and nonimmigrants

embrace their ethnicity. Over time, the evidence seems to have pointed to a gradual assimilation and acculturation into U.S. society for individuals of latter generations that may also include a redefinition of one's ethnic identity.

CONSEQUENCES OF RACIAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY

Having examined some of the influences on racial/ethnic identity development, we now turn to a review of the literature on the consequences of having a racial/ethnic identity. Ironically, the research on the consequences of racial/ethnic identity actually preceded the literature on the antecedents. That is, researchers seemed to be interested in the implications of identity before they were interested in what influenced it. In this section, we review both direct relationships between racial/ethnic identity and outcomes (e.g., psychological adjustment, school outcomes, experiencing discrimination) and indirect relationships (i.e., moderating effects of ethnic identity). One area that psychologists have been particularly interested in is the association between racial/ethnic identity and psychological functioning and self-esteem. Perhaps the beginnings of this line of research can be traced back to the Clark doll studies in which the Clarks were interested in how young Black girls had internalized social views about Blacks (Clark & Clark, 1939, 1947). In these studies, young Black girls were asked to indicate which of two dolls, one Black and one White, was the "good" doll and which was the "bad" doll. The majority of girls in the study indicated that the Black doll was the "bad" doll, and the Clarks concluded that these girls had internalized negative perceptions of how Blacks were viewed in U.S. society. This line of research continues today, with scholars examining the association between racial/ethnic identity and psychological outcomes.

Psychological Functioning

In a 1990 review article, Phinney found the literature examining the link between ethnic identity and psychological adjustment to be equivocal. That is, of the available studies, the distribution of studies that found benefits, detriments, and no relationship

between ethnic identity and psychological well-being was roughly even. In a more recent meta-analysis, Smith and Silva (2011) found evidence of a significant relationship between identity and measures of general psychological well-being. This omnibus relationship was considerable, with an effect size of $r = .17$, yet more than 97% of the variance in well-being was unexplained by ethnic identity. Moreover, variability in the effect size was found on the basis of the psychological outcome being measured, such that a weaker relationship was evident for identity and mental health ($r = .08$), and a stronger relationship was evident for identity and global well-being ($r = .25$) and for identity and self-esteem ($r = .25$). Mirroring the existing literature, we review research that covers a variety of operationalizations of well-being and also demonstrates the breadth of findings. We first review research that has found a positive relationship between ethnic identity and psychological outcomes, then turn to studies that have found a negative association, and finally to studies that have found no association.

Research has found an association between ethnic identity and various indices of positive psychological outcomes including increased self-esteem and decreased depressive symptoms. In a study of more than 600 U.S.-born high school students, researchers found that among Latinos, African Americans, and European Americans, there was a positive association between self-esteem and ethnic identity holding constant variables such as American identity, other-group attitudes, gender, socioeconomic status, grade point average (GPA), and age (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997). Similar patterns have been observed among Korean American college students; ethnic identity clarity, pride, and engagement have been found to be negatively related to depressive symptoms and positively related to self-esteem (Lee, 2005). Research conducted in Mexico with indigenous and mestizo college students demonstrated that ethnic identity was positively related to self-esteem, but only for indigenous individuals (Guitart, Damian, & Daniel, 2011). Examining these associations over time, Umaña-Taylor, Vargas-Chanes, Garcia, and Gonzales-Backen (2008) found no evidence for any longitudinal associations between ethnic identity and self-esteem.

In examining the possible detriments of having a strong sense of ethnic identity, Kiang et al. (2006) also examined the association of ethnic identity with experiences of stress. In a multiethnic sample of high school students from Mexican and Chinese backgrounds, they found that higher reports of ethnic centrality were associated with higher average daily reports of stressful events over a 2-week period. Stressful events included pressures from home, school, friends, and family. Adolescents who reported that ethnicity was central to their identity were more likely to report stress in these areas.

Yet other studies have not observed an association between ethnic identity and psychological outcomes. In fact, Cross (1991) argued that one should not necessarily expect to observe an association between an individual's reference group orientation (i.e., racial/ethnic identity) and one's personal identity (e.g., self-esteem). Indeed, in a study of more than 900 Black, non-Hispanic White, and Latino college students, researchers did not find an association between ethnic identity exploration and adaptive or maladaptive psychosocial functioning (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Weisskirch, & Rodriguez, 2009). Similarly, in a study of African American high school and college students, Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, and Smith (1998) also did not find a direct relationship between racial identity (centrality and public regard) and self-esteem. However, private regard was found to have an indirect, positive association with self-esteem for the college sample, such that individuals who reported stronger centrality also reported a positive association between private regard and self-esteem, whereas those with low levels of centrality reported no such association.

The body of research examining racial/ethnic identity among bi- and multiracial individuals is burgeoning. In particular, researchers have been interested in the benefits and detriments of having more than one racial/ethnic identity on psychological outcomes. Research in this area is equivocal. On one hand, some research has found that individuals with more than one racial/ethnic heritage are worse off than their mono–racial/ethnic peers as measured by depressive symptoms (Sanchez, Shih, & Garcia, 2009). In fact, the increase in depressive symptoms seems to be partially explained by biracial and

multiracial individuals' wavering feelings of racial/ethnic private regard (Sanchez et al., 2009). On the other hand, biracial and multiracial individuals seem to draw benefits from belonging to multiple racial/ethnic categories when it comes to the effects of stereotype threat. *Stereotype threat* refers to the underperformance of ethnic minorities for fear of confirming a negative stereotype about their racial/ethnic group (Steele & Aronson, 1995). For biracial and multiracial individuals, having more than one racial/ethnic identity seemed to buffer the effects of stereotype threat, in part because of an understanding that race is a socially constructed phenomenon (Shih, Bonam, Sanchez, & Peck, 2007).

Taken as a whole, the literature examining the direct associations between various dimensions of ethnic identity and psychological outcomes is equivocal, with research supporting positive, negative, and null associations between the two constructs. As Smith and Silva (2011) demonstrated, moderating factors such as participants' age and level of acculturation can have an impact on these relationships. Moving forward, more attention needs to be paid to participant characteristics such as age, level of acculturation, ethnic background, region of residence, immigration status, and belonging to more than one racial/ethnic group. In addition, more attention needs to be paid to method characteristics, such as measurement method and intervals of measurement.

School Outcomes

Yet another area in which researchers have examined the influence of ethnic identity is the domain of academic achievement and attitudes. Beginning with Fordham and Ogbu (1986), researchers have posited that one's level of racial/ethnic identity may be related to students' performance and feelings in the academic arena. Indeed, existing research has suggested notable associations between one's feelings about race/ethnicity and academic outcomes. For example, Byrd and Chavous (2009) found that the dimensions of racial connection, importance, and pride showed significant associations with academic outcomes of school performance (school-reported grades), academic utility, and academic engagement (absences and skipping classes) in a sample of more than 500 African American adolescents. Examining

GPA as an outcome, they found no main effect of any dimension of racial identity on grades; however, there was an interaction with level of neighborhood resources. Specifically, in communities with fewer resources, youths with higher levels of racial pride also reported better grades. The opposite was true for youths living in communities with more resources; more racial pride was associated with worse performance in school. Across communities, Byrd and Chavous found a main effect of racial importance on perceptions of school utility such that adolescents who viewed race as more important to their identity also reported that their performance in school would have important implications for their lives. However, youths who reported greater racial connection reported lower levels of utility.

Research has also suggested that gender plays a role in how ethnic identity is related to academic outcomes. For example, boys were observed to be more likely to report a positive association between racial centrality and academic engagement (Chavous, Rivas-Drake, Smalls, Cogburn, & Griffin, 2008). Centrality and classroom discrimination also interacted with GPA such that boys with higher centrality reported a weaker negative association between discrimination and GPA. Similarly, centrality seemed to buffer the negative effects of discrimination on boys' perceptions of school importance. Among girls, a main effect of racial centrality on academic self-concept was found such that a higher level of centrality was associated with perceptions of academic self-efficacy. An interaction between discrimination and centrality was also found for girls, which supported the buffering influence of racial centrality.

Similarly, centrality was observed to moderate the association between racial ideology and academic performance among African American undergraduates attending predominantly non-Hispanic White and historically Black colleges (Sellers, Chavous, & Cooke, 1998). Specifically, assimilation and nationalist ideologies were negatively associated with academic performance for students who were high on centrality. In other words, students who reported that race was key to their identity and either (a) believed that Blacks should assimilate with mainstream U.S. culture or (b) believed that Blacks

should support primarily Black institutions and individuals were found to have lower GPAs. However, believing that all minorities in the United States share a common experience (minority ideology) was associated with higher GPAs for students who scored high on racial centrality.

Another way to take into account how the multiple dimensions of racial identity might be related to academic achievement is to create profiles of racial identity. Using the Centrality, Private Regard, and Public Regard subscales, four distinct profiles emerged among African American adolescents: buffering–defensive, low connectedness–high affinity, idealized, and alienated (Chavous et al., 2003). Differences in academic performance and attitudes between the profiles were apparent; for example, the alienated cluster (moderate centrality, low levels of private and public regard) was significantly lower on school efficacy and school attachment (positive attitude toward school) than the other three clusters. The idealized profile (high levels of centrality, private regard, and public regard) reported the lowest levels of school relevance (utility of school for later life). Using profiles of dual ethnic and national identities among Turkish Belgian young adults, three distinct profiles emerged: separated, assimilated, and dual identity (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011). Differences in academic engagement were apparent here, such that individuals with separated or assimilated identities were less likely to disengage from school in the face of high perceived threat. However, when threat was low, individuals with a dual identity fared better in school engagement than their peers with separated or assimilated identities. Rather than having a one-to-one relationship between various dimensions of racial identity and academic outcomes, research has suggested that taking a person-centered approach shows that specific combinations of identity dimensions are predictive of academic adjustment.

Taken together, evidence exists that dimensions of racial identity have direct and indirect associations with academic outcomes. Moreover, not only do identity dimensions interact with each other to produce differential outcomes, but they also interact with characteristics of the person (e.g., gender) as well as aspects of the context (e.g., neighborhood resources, discrimination) to influence school outcomes.

Inter- and Intragroup Behaviors, Preferences, and Attitudes

In addition to individual outcomes such as psychological and academic adjustment, scholars have also been interested in how ethnic identity predicts interactions and beliefs about ingroup and outgroup members. A body of research has examined adolescents' views of others as well as their friendship networks and how these relate to ethnic identity. Interestingly, research has found that having a strong sense of ethnic identity is related to both positive ingroup and outgroup attitudes. In a study of more than 500 African American, Latino, and Asian middle and high school students, Phinney, Ferguson, and Tate (1997) found that adolescents who reported higher levels of ethnic identity achievement, belonging, and behaviors were also more likely to report positive evaluations of their ingroup peers. Interestingly, ingroup attitudes then predicted more positive outgroup attitudes. These data suggest that having a positive sense of ethnic identity was related to feeling better about same-ethnicity peers, which then had indirect positive effects on evaluation of outgroup peers. Research has also found positive direct associations between ethnic identity and outgroup attitudes. Among more than 700 Latino, Asian American, African American, and European American college freshman, individuals reporting high scores on both ethnic identity achievement and exploration have reported more positive outgroup attitudes than peers who reported low scores on ethnic identity achievement and exploration. In a follow-up study, Phinney, Jacoby, and Silva (2007) examined possible reasons for this association and found that identity achievement was associated with more complex thoughts about intergroup relations. For example, students pointed to the opportunity to learn new things from other-ethnicity peers while at the same time acknowledging that important differences can often lead to strife. Achieved adolescents were also more likely to reflect on how intergroup contact has had an influence on their own development.

Perhaps the most meaningful way that adolescents have intergroup contact is through friendships, and scholars have examined the ways in which ethnic identity might influence friendship choices. Researchers examined the associations between youths'

emphasis on ethnicity (i.e., centrality) and feelings about ethnicity (i.e., private regard) on the ethnic composition of each youth's friendship network in a sample of nearly 2,500 adolescents from African American, Asian American, and Latino backgrounds (Brown, Herman, Hamm, & Heck, 2008). No associations were observed for African American and Latino youths; however, Asian youths who reported more positive feelings about their ethnicity were also more likely to affiliate with other Asian American peers. Examining the probability of youths' peers associating them with an ethnically based peer group, researchers found that African American adolescents who reported higher centrality were less likely to be reported by peers as affiliating with other African American students. The opposite pattern was observed for Latino students, such that higher centrality was associated with one's peers being more likely to report that the student had Latino friends. Finally, among Asian American youths, high private regard was associated with peers being more likely to report that youths affiliated with other Asian American students. On the basis of self- and other-reported friendship patterns, ethnic identity seemed to be related to peer affiliation, although patterns seemed to differ by racial group.

Ingroup and outgroup preferences and attitudes and friendship networks seem to be related to ethnic identity; however, the exact nature of this relationship seems to vary across racial groups and age groups. The cross-sectional nature of the existing data leaves open the question of the directionality of the association between attitudes and identity, which may best be answered using longitudinal methods.

Racial/Ethnic Socialization

Although many studies have examined the link between parents' racial socialization practices and youths' racial identity outcomes, fewer studies have examined how parents' racial identity predicts their socialization efforts. Although scarce, the research that does exist has suggested that parents' identity influences how they socialize their children around race. For example, Lalonde, Jones, and Stroink (2008) surveyed nearly 100 Black parents living in Canada about their racial identity and racial socialization practices. Using the Multidimensional

Inventory of Black Identity, researchers found that parents' centrality was positively correlated with their concern that their children would be targets of stereotyping. On one hand, nationalism seemed to be positively associated with dimensions of socialization such as children's experience of racism, concern with stereotyping, and cultural socialization. On the other hand, oppressed minority ideology seemed to be positively associated with other dimensions of socialization such as preparation for bias and frequency of conversations about race. Finally, humanism appeared to be negatively related to concern with stereotyping and cultural socialization but positively related to preparation for bias.

There is some correspondence between what researchers have observed in Canada and what has been observed in the United States. For example, in a study of African American and Latino parents, Hughes (2003) found that ethnic identity did not predict cultural socialization practices among African American parents. However, among Dominican and Puerto Rican parents, the stronger the parents' ethnic identity, the more likely they were to engage in cultural socialization. When Hughes examined parents' behaviors around preparation for bias, the data again suggested no relationship for African American parents and a positive relationship for Dominican and Puerto Rican parents. Therefore, across racial/ethnic groups, there may be differences in how parents' ethnic identity is related to how they discuss issues of race with their children.

As one might expect, the research in this area has found that parents' own ethnic identity has implications for how they talk to their children about issues of race, identity, and discrimination. Turning to the next section, we find that ethnic identity has implications not only for how individuals behave, but for how they view the world around them.

Experiencing Discrimination

Not only has ethnic identity been observed to predict socialization behaviors, it also has implications for how one perceives interactions with others. For example, some scholars have questioned how ethnic identity is related to perceptions of discrimination. Lee (2005) observed that ethnic identity clarity and pride were each negatively correlated with percep-

tions of discrimination among Korean American college students. That is, students with more clarity and pride were less likely to report experiencing discriminatory events. In an experimental manipulation of peer victimization with Turkish youths in the Netherlands, Verkuyten and Thijs (2001) found that ethnic self-esteem negatively predicted perceptions of ethnic victimization. That is, youths with higher levels of ethnic self-esteem were less likely to attribute ethnic attributions to experiences of peer victimization. Consistent with these findings, a national study of Latino adults found that reports of frequency of everyday discrimination (e.g., receiving poor service, being insulted or called names) were lower among individuals with a stronger ethnic identity (Pérez, Fortuna, & Alegría, 2008). Pérez et al. (2008) interpreted the finding such that racial/ethnic identity may serve to buffer the negative impact of discrimination. In addition, it has been suggested that individuals with strong racial/ethnic identity are more likely to have same-race friends and, therefore, may be less likely to experience discrimination.

At the same time, other scholars have wondered whether having a strong sense of racial/ethnic identity renders one more likely to perceive discriminatory interactions. Examining data over a 2-year period, Sellers and Shelton (2003) found that racial centrality during African American college students' 1st year predicted increased accounts of racially discriminatory events in the subsequent year. Similar patterns were observed among African American high school students, where higher levels of racial centrality were associated with increased reports of racial discrimination. In addition, beliefs that others viewed African Americans more negatively were also found to be associated with increased reports of experiencing racial discrimination (Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003). Experimental research has provided insights into the possible mechanism through which identity is positively related to increased reports of discrimination. Asian, Black, Latino, and American Indian and Alaska Native college students who identified strongly with their ethnic group were found to make less of a distinction between personal and group-based discrimination (Operario & Fiske, 2001). That is, because these individuals highly identified

with their ethnic group, they were more likely to see discrimination against their group as a personal attack. Moreover, individuals reporting a stronger ethnic identity were also more reactive to subtle versus blatant forms of discrimination (Operario & Fiske, 2001). Taken together, these studies suggest that minorities with strong ethnic identity are perhaps more likely to perceive and react to discrimination because their identity provides a lens through which discrimination is more apparent.

As with many other areas of the literature, there is no definitive conclusion about how ethnic identity is related to perceptions of discrimination. Although some have found that identity is related to lower levels of discrimination, others have found that identity is related to higher levels. The reality likely allows for both of these possibilities. The current review includes work that spans adolescence to adulthood across various ethnic/racial groups; clearly defining the parameters around when and why identity has a positive or a negative relationship with perceptions of discrimination is an area ripe for future research.

Buffering the Impact of Discrimination

From a psychological perspective, arguably more important than the sheer quantity of experiences of discrimination is the impact that that discrimination has on psychological adjustment. Experiences of discrimination have been well established to be associated with poorer outcomes across a variety of racial/ethnic groups across the life span (e.g., Bhui et al., 2005; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Brody et al., 2006; Cassidy et al., 2004; Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007). Yet differences exist in how individuals cope with the unfortunate reality of racial and ethnic discrimination, and these differences can be traced to racial/ethnic identity. A strong sense of ethnic identity could either buffer or exacerbate the negative effects of discrimination (Yip et al., 2008), and the empirical research has supported both patterns of data (McCoy & Major, 2003; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Phinney, 1990, 1996; Rumbaut, 1994).

We first review research that has found that certain dimensions of racial/ethnic identity protect against the negative effects of discrimination. Researchers in this area have observed that individu-

als with a strong sense of ethnic identity are buffered against the full effects of discrimination. For example, in a previously described study of African American adolescents, Sellers et al. (2003) found a direct effect between racial identity and experiences of discrimination. Examining indirect effects, they found a significant negative association between discrimination and stress among the low- and moderate-centrality individuals, but a nonsignificant association among the high-centrality individuals. In other words, high levels of racial centrality appeared to buffer the effects of discrimination on psychological stress. Interestingly, Tynes, Umaña-Taylor, Rose, Lin, and Anderson (2012) recently extended this research to Internet-based settings and found that higher levels of aggregate ethnic identity buffered the effect of online discrimination on anxiety. Related research in different populations has found similar results. For example, in a study of Korean American college students, Lee (2005) found that ethnic identity pride buffered the impact of racial/ethnic discrimination on depressive symptoms. Similarly, using an average of all the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure items, Mossakowski (2003) found a buffering effect of ethnic identity on experiences of everyday discrimination in a sample of more than 2,000 Filipino adults.

As a way to better understand this phenomenon, researchers have focused on the source of the discrimination as a way to identify whether the buffering effect of identity might be isolated to certain perpetrators of discrimination, including teachers and peers. As an example, researchers examined the association between teacher discrimination and academic achievement in a national sample of African American adolescents (Thomas, Caldwell, Faison, & Jackson, 2009). In general, perceptions of teacher discrimination were inversely related to academic performance such that discrimination was predictive of lower grades. However, adolescents with low public regard (i.e., those who believe that others hold negative views of Blacks) reported higher grades as reports of discrimination from teachers increased. That is, having low public regard seemed to buffer these adolescents from the overall negative effects of perceived teacher discrimination. Looking at substance abuse as an outcome, Fuller-Rowell et al.

(2012) replicated these patterns in another sample of African American adolescents, whereby low private regard also buffered the effect of perceived teacher discrimination on increased substance use over time. Interestingly, the opposite pattern was observed for public regard among Chinese American middle school students. Specifically, researchers observed that higher public regard (a belief that others view Chinese favorably) buffered the effects of peer discrimination on depressive symptoms (Rivas-Drake et al., 2008). For African American students, another pattern emerged in which private regard (feeling positive about one's group membership) buffered the effects of peer discrimination for African American youths.

Echoing methods reviewed in the School Outcomes section, researchers have also used person-centered cluster analytic methods to create profiles of racial identity among African American adolescents using centrality, private regard, and public regard (Seaton, 2009). Using this approach, Seaton (2009) found that three identity constellations were evident: (a) The buffering–defensive cluster is characterized by high centrality, high private regard, and low public regard; (b) the alienated cluster reported low centrality, low private regard, and low public regard; and, finally, (c) the idealized cluster reported high centrality, high private regard, and high public regard. Although the clusters did not differ on reports of the frequency of discrimination, they did differ in their responses to discrimination. For example, the buffering–defensive and idealized clusters had no reported association with depressive symptoms. The alienated cluster, however, had a positive association between depressive symptoms and reports of racism.

Although observations of ethnic identity's buffering function have been robust and replicable, compelling research has also found that ethnic identity may exacerbate the effects of discrimination such that individuals who report strong ethnic identities also report worse outcomes when faced with discrimination. For example, using quasi-experimental methods with Asian American college students, Yoo and Lee (2008) found that when students were asked to read vignettes about Asian Americans being the target of discrimination, individuals with strong ethnic identity (i.e., clarity and pride) actually reported lower situational well-being than individuals with a weaker sense of ethnic identity. Using similar methods in an experimental study of Latino college students, McCoy and Major (2003) asked participants to read a newspaper article describing prejudice against Latinos; researchers found that students with strong ethnic identity reported more depressive mood than participants reporting weaker ethnic identity.

Consistent patterns have been found outside of the laboratory using longitudinal survey methods. For example, Greene, Way, and Pahl (2006) found that among a sample of Black, Latino, and Asian American adolescents, reports of peer discrimination were associated with decreased self-esteem, particularly among adolescents reporting a strong sense of ethnic affirmation and belonging as well as among adolescents reporting a strong sense of ethnic identity achievement. Moreover, they found ethnic differences in the association between peer discrimination and decreased self-esteem such that Black, Asian, and non–Puerto Rican Latinos reported the greatest declines over a 3-year period. Outside the United States, a study of 600 Southeast Asian refugees residing in Canada also found that ethnic identity exacerbated the effects of discrimination (Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999). Using nine items ranging from ethnic centrality to language use, researchers found that having a strong sense of ethnic identity strengthened the negative association between discrimination and depression.

Lending credence to both lines of research, a recent study including a nationally representative sample of Asian American adults ages 18 to 75 and older found evidence of both buffering and exacerbating effects of ethnic identity (Yip et al., 2008). What seemed to determine whether ethnic identity protected against discrimination was an individual's age and immigration status. Researchers speculated that developmental changes in the meaning of ethnic identity determined the function of ethnic identity vis-à-vis its relationship to discrimination and psychological distress. For example, U.S.-born individuals ages 31 to 40 and 51 to 75 were found to exhibit exacerbating patterns such that having a stronger ethnic identity was associated with higher

psychological distress in the presence of discrimination. However, for individuals ages 41 to 50, there was evidence of a buffering effect.

Taken together, age, immigration status, and racial/ethnic group are important to consider when predicting the effects of discrimination and identity for psychological outcomes. With evidence for both a buffering and an exacerbating effect of identity for the association between discrimination and outcomes across various research methodologies, it is important to consider the demographic characteristics of one's sample as well as the context in which the discrimination occurs. Given this review of both the antecedents and the consequences of racial/ethnic identity, and the various issues within each sub-body of this research, we turn now to a general review of limitations and recommendations for the field.

LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although the field has embraced both breadth and depth in investigating racial/ethnic identity, the theoretical and empirical literature has many limitations. Many of these limitations occur at the intersection of theory and empirics and offer areas that are ripe for refinement. We turn now to a review of what we believe are the primary concerns currently facing the field, including precise definitions of the terms *race* and *ethnicity* in research; integration of approaches across theory, constructs and methods of interest; and the proper use of theory and instruments through their breadth and depth.

Defining the Construct at Hand

Throughout this chapter, we have used the term *racial/ethnic identity* to encompass the theory and research that look broadly at those social identities that rely on either racial or ethnic distinctions, or at times both. However, the field would benefit from a more explicit definition of what is meant by race and ethnicity both as general constructs (Trimble, 2007) and as they are used in the specific research at hand. Though the terms *race* and *ethnicity* draw from historically distinct roots, their meaning is consistently blurred in current use. When researchers focus on single groups or even multiple groups, what are the defining characteristics that merit the distinction of

such groups, both between and within the collective identity ostensibly being accessed? Are these terms being used to define a genetically distinct group? Are they being used as proxies for social or socioeconomic disadvantage? Are they being used as a proxy for social stigma? Are they being used as a proxy for a specific culture? Each of these underlying meanings could have very important implications for how findings are discussed and interpreted, and thus they should be made as explicit as possible in research.

Related to this, researchers should begin to distinguish between identities based on race/ethnicity that are ascribed to the participants in a study and identities based on race/ethnicity (or other important social categories) that participants self-select. Adherence to self-selected identities can help to avoid the pitfalls of ethnic gloss (Trimble, 2005a) and may presumably have different implications for health, academic, and related outcomes than identities that are self-selected. As researchers strive to clarify these distinctions in their specific research, they will be contributing to a more structured and ordered whole from which the entire field will benefit (Trimble, 2007).

In addition, allowing participants to self-select their racial/ethnic identity may facilitate a more accurate representation of their true heritage. According to the 2010 census, multiracial youths are the fastest growing demographic of youths in the United States. Though research has acknowledged the intersection of racial/ethnic identity with other social identities (e.g., Kiang, Yip, & Fuligni, 2008), a dearth of research is available on the experience of multiple racial or ethnic identities. Indeed, the manner in which individuals are assigned to racial or ethnic groups in research is often an unfortunately one-dimensional representation of a multidimensional aspect of identity. Researchers should strive to match the complexity of racial/ethnic identity as it is experienced in their measurement and move beyond a univariate approach to this construct.

Integration of Approaches

In examining racial/ethnic identity, dichotomies in research approaches are found; these dichotomies include the content versus process approach in

theory, the stable versus situational variable dimensions of identity, and the laboratory versus survey methods of research. Next, we make recommendations for the integration of these dichotomies as both complementary and mutually informative in contributing to a holistic approach to racial/ethnic identity.

Theoretical approaches.   As mentioned previously, theoretical models of racial/ethnic identity can be reliably distinguished as either process or content approaches, which reflects not only how racial/ethnic identity is conceptualized but also how it is operationalized. Despite the distinctions between models, the process and content approaches should be considered as complementary perspectives, not competing ones. Indeed, to understand the importance and meaning of racial/ethnic identity as it is experienced, it is absolutely necessary to simultaneously understand the longitudinal development and daily enactment of such an identity (Cross, Smith, & Payne, 2002). Approaching racial/ethnic identity as both developing over time and being enacted at a point in time places development in situ; moreover, it suggests that not only do previous experiences translate into daily experiences but that daily experiences are also influential in determining the trajectories of development. Ultimately, understanding the process and content approaches as complementary demands a Person × Situation approach to accurately capture the lived experiences of individuals (Yip, 2008). Relatedly, research should strive for greater precision in interpreting findings on the basis of the approach that is applied in a given study; if a study uses a process approach, then results should speak explicitly to the process of identity, and the same holds true for a content approach. With this greater precision, integration among approaches may in fact be fostered, allowing them both to contribute to a more holistic understanding of racial/ethnic identity. We propose the development of an overarching identity development and significance model that integrates the process and content approaches. To understand how racial/ethnic identity develops is to understand its significance and meaning for an individual over time; therefore, an integration of the two approaches

not only represents a more comprehensive approach to the study of racial/ethnic identity, it will also provide a more accurate representation of the construct.

Constructs of interest.   The need to integrate process and content approaches extends beyond theoretical models and into empirical research; indeed, research should work to integrate stable and situational variable aspects of identity. The dichotomy of state versus trait components can be seen throughout many fields in the history of psychology (Fridhandler, 1986; Steyer, Ferring, & Schmitt, 1992), and research in racial/ethnic identity has indeed identified both statelike and traitlike components. Integration of these components is rare, however, and once again it requires the adoption of a Person × Situation approach. By integrating stable and situational variable aspects of identity into empirical work, the field can begin to address those questions raised by the intersection of the theoretical process and content approaches. Specifically, how do stable aspects of racial/ethnic identity function at the level of the specific situation? How do these stable and situational variable components influence each other over time? Just as the theoretical integration of process and content approaches can contribute to a more holistic understanding of racial/ethnic identity, the empirical applications of this integration through stable and situational variable components can further enrich the understanding of both development and daily experiences.

Methods.   Within the review of the empirical literature on racial/ethnic identity, data and findings are drawn from many diverse methods of research. Laboratory studies and survey methods are both commonly used to examine racial/ethnic identity; moreover, within the survey method, there are distinctions between single-survey and diary-survey methods. Indeed, each of these methods has relative strengths given the research question being pursued, and the selected method in any given study is largely an extension of the theoretical approach being used. Likewise, the distinction and lack of integration between theories extends to the methods: Just as each method lends itself to certain research questions, so too do the methods facilitate the examination of certain results. Therefore, the

degree to which researchers can comprehensively and holistically understand racial/ethnic identity is again limited by the degree to which methods are used in isolation. This disconnect can also be drawn between person-centered versus variable-centered approaches that again further propagate the state-versus-trait paradigm that the field should ideally be moving away from. Multiple methods and integration of these methods in examining research questions would greatly benefit the field and further the understanding of Person × Situation dynamics.

With the advent of new data collection (e.g., daily diaries, experience sampling, physiological measures, GPS devices, cellular phones) and analytic technologies (e.g., hierarchical linear modeling, multilevel modeling, MPlus, social network), we urge researchers to think outside the box and use new methods to push the boundaries of the current literature. For example, using now widely available cellular phone technology, researchers can begin to capture experiences related to racial/ethnic identity in the naturalistic contexts in which they occur. In particular, new technologies can address the gap in the current literature on racial/ethnic identity, on the role of context (physical and psychological), and on how racial/ethnic identity is experienced. With mobile data collection devices, researchers no longer have to study racial/ethnic identity devoid of the everyday contexts in which minority individuals live. This promises exciting and enriching opportunities for the advancement of psychologists' understanding of racial/ethnic identity in the everyday lives of individuals of color.

Proper Use of Theory and Instruments

The breadth and depth of the field of racial/ethnic identity offers many applications both across and within theoretical foundations. As an extension of these theoretical foundations, this breadth and depth also extends to the respective measurement instruments that are available to researchers. Indeed, this breadth and depth create a rich understanding of racial/ethnic identity that allows examination at multiple levels, across multiple contexts, and for multiple groups. However, within this breadth and depth, the potential for both lack of specificity and overspecificity exist; next, we make recommendations

for researchers to avoid the pitfalls of both a holistic and an accurate understanding of racial/ethnic identity.

Recognizing breadth in application. Given the breadth of the field, considering the proper application of theoretical approaches and their respective measurement instruments for studying racial/ethnic identity is imperative. With a multitude of options for both conceptualizing and measuring racial/ethnic identity, researchers must consider both the age and the groups at hand when making decisions about which approach to use. In addition to considering these factors at the outset, researchers should also take special care to make careful and appropriate interpretations of empirical findings in light of the theory that was initially used. Are interpretations of findings consistent with the theory at hand, and how do they help refine or expand facets of it? With the breadth of the field come many lenses through which to frame racial/ethnic identity, and researchers should take care to be consistent in their application of the theories throughout the entirety of the research process.

An extension of the need for the appropriate use of theory and corresponding instruments can be made to universal and group-specific approaches. Although some have argued that more universal research needs to be done to understand the larger phenomenon of how racial/ethnic groups experience their racial/ethnic identity in the United States (e.g., Roberts et al., 1999), others have called for more intragroup research that considers complexities that may shade experiences within broader pan-ethnic or racial groups (e.g., Trimble, 1990, 2005a; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001). The top-down versus bottom-up approaches, respectively, both have their relative advantages and disadvantages. Although universal research can be used to uncover common developmental themes, it also inherently culls characteristics that may significantly alter such experiences. Although intragroup research can provide a richer understanding of the many facets that shape experiences of identity, such specificity can be considered ad infinitum so as to have little contribution to an overall understanding of the phenomenon at hand. Moreover, it is important to consider the methods by which both universal and intragroup research are

conducted in terms of the reliability and validity of measures. Despite the presence of reliability across groups, researchers must critically consider whether the constructs at hand are equally valid across time for all groups for which they are being used and determined meaningful.

Recognizing depth in multidimensionality. None of the measures of racial/ethnic identity ignore the construct's multidimensional nature, although depending on whether the measure and the theory associated with it stem from a content or process approach, measures do differ in what those dimension are considered to be. In the beginning, researchers described racial/ethnic identity as high or low or strong or weak. With the introduction of multidimensional approaches, the field has been able to be more specific about which aspects of racial/ethnic identity are more or less important to an individual. Moreover, taking a multidimensional approach lends itself to person-centered (as opposed to variable-centered) approaches to studying the importance of racial/ethnic identity and its association with psychological functioning and behavioral outcomes (Chavous et al., 2003). As a related benefit, researchers can begin to understand the relationships between the various dimensions of racial/ethnic identity and how these dimensions come together to influence outcomes.

CONCLUSIONS

Since the Clarks' (1939) first study about the consequences of racial identity for self-esteem and self-worth, the field of racial/ethnic identity research has made significant and exciting advances, including new theories, conceptualizations, methods, and analytic tools. What is clear from the existing body of literature on racial/ethnic identity is that it is consequential for the everyday lives and psychological functioning of individuals, particularly racial/ethnic minorities. Researchers have observed the effects of racial/ethnic identity from early adolescence through later adulthood across racial and ethnic groups all over the globe. The multiple dimensions of racial/ethnic identity have important direct and indirect implications for how individuals perceive their interactions with same– and other–race/ethnicity

individuals, how likely individuals are to engage in interactions with same– and other–race/ethnicity individuals, how parents raise their children, how individuals feel about themselves, and how individuals cope with general and race-related stress and academic outcomes. In sum, racial/ethnic identity has far-reaching implications for how society functions.

Fortunately, research on the antecedents of racial/ethnic identity has provided insight into how the development of a positive sense of self can be fostered. The development of a racial/ethnic identity is not a unidirectional, individual enterprise; rather, racial/ethnic identity is a product of personal dispositions, family and peer influences, contact with same– and other–race/ethnicity others, friendships, negative race-related experiences, and proximal and distal ecological contexts. This body of research points to potential areas of intervention to promote and encourage the positive development of racial/ethnic identity starting in early childhood and beyond. Recognizing the multilevel and embedded sources of racial/ethnic identity development highlights its complexity and the extent to which it pervades the lived experiences of racial/ethnic individuals all over the world.

Although significant advances have been made to psychology's knowledge of racial/ethnic identity, room for further advancement remains. In this chapter, we took stock of the current state of the literature on racial/ethnic identity research and proposed avenues for future directions. One area that deserves more empirical attention is demographic differences. To date, most of the research on racial/ethnic identity has been conducted with urban, middle-class, educated African Americans, Asian Americans, Latino Americans, and to some extent, non-Hispanic White Americans. Less is known about American Indians and Alaska Natives and rural populations. Researchers have also not considered the role that socioeconomic status, education, and birth order may play in racial/ethnic identity. Another area is that requires attention is how and in what time frame racial/ethnic identity develops. Research has measured racial/ethnic identity across situations, days, weeks, months, and years, but it remains unclear what the appropriate timeframe for developmental change is and how researchers can begin to

document this empirically. More important, as researchers begin to think about developmental trajectories of racial/ethnic identity, they must ask whether these trajectories differ by dimension of racial/ethnic identity, gender, socioeconomic status, racial/ethnic group, geographic location, discrimination, education, birth order, and so forth. Finally, as the world becomes increasingly diverse and rates of interracial and interethnic marriage rise, researchers must elaborate on the existing literature on racial/ethnic identity among biracial and multiracial individuals (Sanchez et al., 2009; Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

Taken together, racial/ethnic identity is a multidimensional and complex construct. The current state of the literature foreshadows further investigation of the role that racial/ethnic identity plays in the lived experiences of everyday life. In particular, developing an integrative model (e.g., Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004) that incorporates aspects of racial/ethnic identity process and content while at the same time addressing possible demographic issues is area that is especially ripe for future scholarship. In sum, although research on racial/ethnic identity has flourished and made significant strides in the past 7 decades, the potential for new scholarship remains. Taking stock of the current trajectory of this field, exciting future work seems imminent.

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