

Ethnic Identity Development in Latino Youth: A Meta Analysis of the Research

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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June 2010

Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to my parents, sisters, and friends for their support and patience. I am especially thankful to my partner, Josemy Morales, who always reminded me of the positive about this process. His positive thinking, support, and encouragement made my graduate career not only bearable but fun.

I am immensely thankful to my advisor, mentors, and colleagues who guided and played an important role in my academic development. The guidance, support, and encouragement to study ethnic identity from my advisor, Geoffrey Maruyama, helped and inspired me through my graduate journey. I am indebted to Michael Rodriguez who became a mentor and role model. His advice, guidance, and constant belief in my skills impacted greatly my graduate and future career. I would like to thank my committee for providing innovative ideas: Marti hope Gonzales and David W. Johnson. Additionally, I would like to thank my colleagues Jamie Peterson, Catherine Suarez, and Yasmine Konheim for making my first years in graduate school enjoyable and memorable.

Finally, I would like to extend a special thank you to my colleagues and mentors at Casa de Esperanza. They gave me my first opportunity to integrate research and practice while giving back to my community. I am sincerely honored to have had the privilege to work with some of the most amazing Latina women I've ever known. Their lessons became an inspiration and way of life.

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my graduate and undergraduate professors who encouraged and believed in me to become the best researcher and academic possible. I hope I can follow the leadership, commitment, and passion my undergraduate mentors and professors always bestowed on me as a young student and researcher. I wish I can impact students and the field as much as my graduate professors and mentors did.

I also dedicate this dissertation to my parents. My mother has always been an inspiration and my role model. Her love for education and never give up attitude helped me get through my graduate studies. My dad's positive attitude and passion for knowledge became part of who I am since I was old enough to sit still and listen.

Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to my partner. He not only understood but supported my decision to move to Minnesota to complete my graduate studies. His unconditional love and encouragement kept me strong when I had to face new challenges.

Abstract

The Latino population has been identified as the fastest growing population in the United States, and it is expected that Latinos will represent more than 25 percent of the U.S. population by the year 2060. Even though the census data have shown that the Latino youth population is increasing, there is still an overwhelming under-representation of this population in research, policymaking, and practice. The lack of research and culturally relevant programs minimize the access that Latino youth has to after-school programs, athletics, support groups, and leadership development workshops. Research and practice have yet to understand some of the complex realities and diversity within Latino cultures affecting Latino youth development and emotional and social well-being.

The purpose of this study was to develop a conceptual framework of ethnic identity development for Latino youth that includes components that represents this population's realities and experiences using a meta-analytic approach. Further, this study evaluated the theoretical frameworks, definitions, and measurements that were been used to explain ethnic identity development on Latino youth. Finally, this study sought to identify the relationships, if any, between the variables that impact Latino youth ethnic identity and ethnic identity development.

This study used a meta-analytic method to evaluate the literature in ethnic identity and Latino youth. The results showed that there is very little agreement on how to conceptualize and measure ethnic identity on Latino youth. Also, the majority of the studies grouped Latinos into one homogenous group. Finally, few studies mentioned or studied the components proposed in the Latino youth conceptual framework. Only a few elements (e.g., language, self-esteem, teachers, neighborhood, family, nationality, ethnic

socialization, culture, and ethnic exploration) were studied and showed a moderate to a high relationship with ethnic identity development.

In a time where Latinos are increasing their number and impact in the US, it is important that practitioners, educators, and researchers understand how this population constructs its identity because it will affect this group's psychological well-being and social development.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Given the recent increase presence of Latinos in the media (e.g., motion picture and news), politics, service-based production, and the national immigration debate, Latino youth ethnic identity is being shaped by experiences, trends, and realities that were not present decades ago. Researchers and practitioners need to take these new factors into consideration in order to develop a better understanding about Latino youth ethnic identity.

The core of healthy ethnic identity formation for Latino youth lies in overcoming the challenges of determining how to integrate one's native identity with U.S. identity during inevitable ongoing interactions with the U.S. environment and the mainstream U.S. culture. During the process of ethnic identity formation, Latino youth and youth in general are exposed to and assigned different roles, some ascribed (e.g., gender) and some selected (e.g., husband or wife). Some roles and different levels of individual identity may become permanent, whereas others are transitory. The danger of this process is the risk of failing to construct a healthy and consistent sense of ethnic identity that includes different components of the youths' lives. Youth who fail to develop a coherent sense of ethnic identity are more likely to engage in high-risk behaviors, such as alcohol and drug abuse, pregnancy, and truancy, among other things (Phinney, 1990).

In the past, Latino youth ethnic identity was largely developed by the interactions and values established by the community and family. Today, Latinos have a wide selection of choices that affect and shape not only their ethnic identity, but also their identity in general (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven, & Tice, 1998). Among these choices we can find acculturation (a cultural process that is dependent on two important factors: (a) how much a particular person retains his or her own culture and (b) to what

extent that person adopts and/or adapts to the culture of the mainstream group) (Cuellar, Nyberg, & Maldonado, 1997), immigration status – or anti-immigrant sentiments –, language proficiency, discrimination, sense of community, school and neighborhood environment – composition –, and ethnic socialization (parents practice and teach their culture and tradition to their children) (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Quintana & Vera, 1999; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). These choices affect Latino youth psychological, emotional, and social well-being and development.

Despite the impact and importance of studying these elements in the context of Latino youth realities, research studies are limited. Many have studied deficits in these elements among Latino youth in a context that does not represent the reality of this population (Perez-Sales, 2006; Romo & Falbo, 1996). Others have studied Latino youth ethnic identity under the umbrella of assimilation theory (e.g., Ahn, 1999). However, there is a group of researchers who have been studying Latinos in their context and taking into consideration this population's rapid growth and change (e.g., Torres, 2003; Denner, Kirby, & Coyle, 2001). One of the goal of this study is to evaluate the different ethnic identity conceptual frameworks used with Latino youth to determine what aspects researchers are including to explain ethnic identity development in this population.

Latinos in the United States

The Latino population in the United States has increased dramatically over the past ten years, and it is expected that Latinos will represent more than 25 percent of the U.S. population by the year 2060 (US Census Bureau, 2006). The recently released census data show Latino as 15% of the population, now the largest minority group in the

U.S. This population increased by 58 percent, from 22 million in 1990 to 35.3 million in 2000, compared with an increase of only 13 percent for the total United States population.

Currently, the Latino population has been identified as the fastest growing population in the United States. Census records revealed that half of all Latinos living in the US live in California and Texas. However, states that have been known to be predominantly white by a 95 percent margin have also observed a dramatic growth in Latinos. For instance, the Latino population in Minnesota more than doubled from 1.2 percent (53,884) in 1990 to 2.9 percent (143,382) in 2000. Such marked growth impacts communities significantly, and highlights the importance for the inclusion of Latino populations in research and practice (Torres, 2003).

Latino Youth

Latinos are a relatively young population. Although in 2000 it was reported that 28 percent of the United States population was younger than 18 years old, the Latino population had 35 percent of its individuals younger than 18 (US Census Bureau, 2006). However, as large as this percentage is, it may not represent the real numbers of Latino youth, because it does not take into consideration undocumented Latinos (Ramos, 2002). In 2004, almost 57 percent of the Latinos in the United States were born in other countries. From this percentage it is almost impossible to estimate how many are undocumented and not showing up in the reports.

Even though the census data have shown that the Latino youth population is increasing, there is still an overwhelming under-representation of this population in research, policymaking, and practice. The lack of research and culturally relevant

programs minimize the access that Latino youth have to after-school programs, athletics, support groups, and leadership development workshops. Research and practice have yet to educate some of the complex realities and diversity within Latino cultures affecting Latino youth development and emotional and social well-being.

How can we understand positive factors such as ethnic identity, cultural strengths, and the role of family and community in Latino positive youth development when research with this population has been based mostly on deficits? Rodriguez and Morrobel (2002) in a meta analysis found that from 1,141 journal articles focused on adolescents, only 3 percent researched Latinos as their primary interest and 31 percent included Latino youth in some way. Moreover, the vast majority of the articles studied only the deficits of this population, such as pregnancy, alcohol use, gang affiliation, and so on. It is accurate to conclude that the research conducted on Latino youth is limited and focused on the negative aspects of this population.

Studying all aspects of youth and not just fragments provides a greater understanding of the population assets and the positive effects those have in acculturation and ethnic identity formation processes (Edwards & Lopez, 2006). Also, longitudinal studies have shown that programs that take into consideration the needs of their audience as well as the strengths, cultural factors, and ethnic identity of the group, have positive long-term results (Lee, 2005).

Latino Realities

The development of ethnic identity in Latin America and among U.S. Latinos is one built over indigenous blood, *conquista*, slavery, and the Western influence (Schweniger, 1999). Latinos' history in the US was born after the genocide of Native

American communities and the slavery of Africans. Latinos constitute a multiplicity of nationalities, races, and cultures. Their cultures are characterized by years of *lucha* and a richness that can be expressed through music, traditions, food, costumes, and festivals. Like many other cultures, Latinos' core values have been transformed and adapted to the demands of the new world.

Latinos in the US aren't any different from Latinos who have fought for their right to become a republic, a nation, or cohesive group. Today, Latinos in the US develop by creating an ethnic identity that includes the core values from ancestors, history, and their new home (Phinney, 2000). The interaction of these different cultures has paved the way for a remarkably diverse group of Latinos, many of whom celebrate both the *Virgen de Guadalupe* and 4th of July.

Due to societal or economic forces in many Latino immigrants' home country, individuals, looking for a better life for their children or themselves, emigrate to the US (Perreira et al. 2006). They immigrate when the children are young or earlier, so they can be born here. Immigrant parents and adults come with a very clear sense of culture and identity; however, they see themselves forced to change certain aspects of their lives to navigate the systems in their new home (Bush et al. 2005; Riffe, Turner, & Rojas-Guyler, 2008; Ruiz-de-Velasco et al. 2000). Children and youth of immigrant parents grow up in a world where their identity is questioned every step of the way. They may be able to maintain the core values of their culture, *familia* and *respeto*, but they will struggle to find an identity that fits in their multiple worlds.

Immigration can have positive and negative consequences for Latinos (Riffe, Turner, & Rojas-Guyler, 2008). For some, it means escaping from political persecution or

economic hardship, whereas for others it may be the pursuit of positive change and the “American Dream” for their families. However, it can also mean the loss of social support, *familia*, and *comunidad*, and facing new experiences such as discrimination and changes in gender roles (Denner, Kirby, & Coyle, 2001).

Familia and Comunidad

Both *familia* and *comunidad* are components that play an important role in ethnic identity development. However, their impact is not well understood and rarely associated with the youth development process (Guilano-Ramos, Dittus, Jaccard, Johansson, Bouris, & Acosta, 2007).

Familismo refers to the solidarity, reciprocity, and loyalty that define the relationship among Latino family members. It influences the interdependent values that Latinos assign to each individual in their own family. *Familismo* impacts the central behaviors present in Latino individuals, and how they develop their ethnic identity (Guilamo-Ramos, et al, 2007).

Familia is developed in association with both gender roles and Latinos’ connections to the community. Understanding the important role that *comunidad* and *familia* play in the lives of Latino families and their ethnic identity development means understanding their *sense of community*. Sense of community has been defined as:

“A feeling that the members of a community have in relation to their belonging to a community, a feeling that members worry about each other and that the group is concerned about them, and a shared faith that the needs of the members will be satisfied through their commitment of being together.” (McMilan, 1976)

In other words, the needs and strengths of the group become the needs and strengths of the individual. For Latinos the *comunidad* and *familia* play a role of pillar, model, and reciprocal benefits, which differs from the mainstream norm that states that you have to “*pull yourself up by your bootstraps*”. While families are the teachers of the culture’s traditions and customs, the community becomes additional support and reinforcement for those lessons. The community, family, and their ethnic socialization for Latinos are directly related to their active participation in society and development of ethnic identity (Guilamo-Ramos, Dittus, Jaccard, Johansson, Bouris, & Acosta, 2007; McMillan, 1976; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004).

Gender Roles

Compared to the mainstream culture, Latino gender roles are distinctly defined. There are two concepts, *marianismo* and *machismo*, which are used to identify the roles of Latinas and Latinos. These two concepts include attitudes, behaviors, cultural practices, etc. Also, they can have positive or negative connotations for the development of Latino youth ethnic identity. *Machismo* means to be honorable, courageous, provider, protector, authoritative, and the head of the family. Men are encouraged early on to prove their masculinity through intercourse and physical strength. In contrast, *marianismo* stands for purity, untouchable, submissive, and the caretaker of the family. Women are expected to keep the family as a unit through calm and tempest times (Alvarez, Bean, & Williams, 1981).

Latino gender roles have been portrayed in mainstream media and society as negative, traditional, and archaic. The gender roles have been simplified and measured with an independence standard vs. Latinos’ interdependence approach. Many Latina

women who take care of their homes also take care of the family's affairs, and in the US, they become the cultural brokers between the family and the community in general. Even though many Latino men are viewed as the head of the family, they make major decisions in consultations with their spouses and work hard to provide security and stability to their love ones. Both, Latina women and men, contribute greatly and positively to their communities and families.

Gender roles play an important role in Latino youth ethnic identity development. The expectations for girls and boys differ, defining their view of others, the world, and themselves (Baca Zinn, 1982). Family socializes women and men since childhood to behave and act consistently with these roles, *machismo* and *marianismo*. However, gender roles are not static and are influenced by acculturation, sexual orientation, religion, and generational differences, among other things.

Discrimination

Discrimination occurs when people who are targeted by oppression and prejudice are coerced to believe the distortions brought on by a set of negative stereotypes about their culture and ethnic group (Golash-Boza & Darity Jr, 2007). Although discrimination is experienced differently by each individual depending on age, immigration, and language, there is no question about how deeply it affects the development of ethnic identity in Latino youth (Golash-Boza & Darity Jr, 2007). An immigrant Latino family may encourage its children and youth to learn English as their primary language to avoid been treated as less-than, when they get older. Negative stereotypes may influence how Latino youth view their culture and ethnic group.

Many Latino immigrant parents migrate to this country not only for economical reasons but also to provide a better life for their children. They are faced with many challenges when they move here (Perreira, Chapman, & Stein, 2006). For instance, their cultures and ethnicities are at the forefront of their daily lives. Everything they do or don't do is questioned and added to a set of stereotypes and ideas about how Latino families should interact. Families are put into one category ignoring their different cultures, realities, and experiences. Social injustices and watching other Latinos (adults and children) experience the same, become part of the realities many Latino youth rely on when developing their ethnic identity (Perreira, Chapman, & Stein, 2006).

Discrimination can be manifested in many ways and is reinforced by systems (e.g. schools and health care) and their interaction with Latino youth. Youth can become embarrassed by their parents' accents, cultural heritage, and traditions. This can be reinforced by systems when schools, health care providers, and social institutions fail to communicate with individuals effectively by not providing interpreters and/or culturally appropriate services or resources (Riffe, Turner, & Rojas-Guyler, 2008).

Negative stereotypes not only affect the youths' perceptions of themselves and their families but also how they experience leadership and community efforts (Denner, Kirby, & Coyle, 2001). If schools and other social institutions don't celebrate the youth's culture and only focus on the negative, children may learn that there is something wrong about being Latino, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Dominican, Colombian, and so on. Research has shown that one of the biggest sources of support for Latino youth and families is their community and its leaders. These networks not only encourage Latino youth to succeed

but also help to build resiliency by providing mentors, resources, access to opportunities, and developing positive and strong ethnic identities (Denner, Kirby, & Coyle, 2001).

The present study

Research has found that families, programs, and social services that celebrate Latino youth culture, customs, and strengths play a positive role in youth ethnic identity development (Denner, Kirby, & Coyle, 2001). However, there is a lack of clear guidance to these institutions about what exactly influences the development of ethnic identity in Latino youth. Understanding the processes and elements that are involved in the development of positive Latino ethnic identity will benefit the Latino community, service providers, and researchers. Furthermore, it will protect youth from many of the negative effects of poverty (e.g., teen pregnancy, alcohol and drug abuse, and high school drop out).

The purpose of this study was to use a meta analytic approach to develop a conceptual framework of ethnic identity development for Latino youth that includes components that represent this population's realities and experiences. Further, this study evaluated the theoretical frameworks, definitions, and measurements that have been used to explain ethnic identity development on Latino youth. This study also aimed to integrate the theories of social identity, ecology of human development, and ethnic identity to better explain Latino ethnic identity development and adjustment. Finally, this study sought to identify the relationships, if any, between the variables that impact Latino youth ethnic identity and ethnic identity development.

This review of literature will begin by examining the research on Social Identity Theory (SIT) and the Ecology of Human Development and its influence upon ethnic

identity development and Latino youth adjustment. Following the research on SIT and the Ecology of Human Development, the theories and research on ethnic identity development will be described from its beginnings with Cross's (1971) to Phinney's (1989). Included in the review of ethnic identity theory will be a summary of how these theories have been applied to Latino youth ethnic identity development. Finally, a model of the aspects that impact Latino youth ethnic identity development will be presented as the hypothesis for this study.

Research Questions

- Research Question #1: How is Latino youth ethnic identity conceptualized and measured in research?

Hypothesis #1: There is very little agreement on how to conceptualize and measure ethnic identity. Thus, I predict that the research on Latino youth ethnic identity development will result in a variety of definitions, conceptual frameworks, and measurements. Furthermore, I predict that measurement and conceptualization will not match in a substantial proportion.

- Research Question #2: How are Latinos grouped in the research of ethnic identity development?

Hypothesis #2: Latinos differ greatly on educational background, culture, traditions, academic aspirations, and other characteristics from one group to the other. However, the literature has been considering Latinos as a homogenous group. I predict that the results will show an overwhelming amount of studies categorizing Latinos into one homogenous group.

- Research Question #3: What components (predictor variables) are included in the study of Latino youth ethnic identity development?

Hypothesis #3: Latino youth ethnic identity has been studied in the past 20 years in relation to its effect to psychological well-being. Currently, researchers know that ethnic identity impacts self-esteem, educational aspirations, school retention, and social development. However, little is known about the components that play a role in Latino youth ethnic identity development. I predict that few studies will

mention or even study the components propose in this paper's Latino conceptual framework.

Definition of Terms

- *Interdependence.* It refers to the sense of collectivism and mutualism within Latino cultures. It is the belief that the needs of the family and group comes before and directly affect the individuals' needs (Nadeem & Romo, 2008).
- *Mainstream Culture.* In this study this refers to individuals who are part or self-identify as white, European-American, and/or Caucasian.
- *Acculturation.* A cultural process that is dependent on two important factors: (a) how much a particular person retains his or her own culture and (b) to what extent that person adopts and/or adapts to the culture of the mainstream group (Cuellar, Nyberg, & Maldonado, 1997).
- *Latinos VS Hispanics.* In this study the term used will be Latino instead of Hispanic. Hispanic is a socio-political concept developed to identify people of Spanish descent and is mostly used by political conservatives and upper class members. Latino refers to people of Spanish speaking ancestry who live in the US (Gonzales & Gandara, 2005).
- *Familia (Family).* Refers to the solidarity, reciprocity, and loyalty that define the relationship among Latino family members (Guilamo-Ramos, et al, 2007).
- *Ethnic Identity.* Process of constant change in which individuals define their "selves" in a specific context by identifying as a group member. This identification involves attitudes, evaluations, ethnic knowledge and commitment,

behaviors, and practices (Negy, Shreve, Jensen, & Uddin, 2003; Phinney, 2000; Cuéllar, Nyberg, & Maldonado, 1997).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

What is race? What is ethnicity? Although almost everyone has at least a basic understanding of what these concepts mean, few can identify the difference between them and how they are related to identity development. This review of the literature will begin by examining the research on identity development theories and their relationship to Latino youth ethnic identity development. The second part will focus on the evaluations of ethnic identity theories and components in relation to Latino youth development. This section will be followed by an in-depth description of the most recent research in ethnic identity and Latinos. Finally, in the last section, a hypothetical conceptual framework for Latino youth ethnic identity will be discussed.

Social identity

An understanding of how Latino adolescents construct their ethnic identity starts from the processes of social identity theory developed by Tajfel and Turner (1979). Tajfel and Turner developed social identity theory in the 1970s in response to the individualistic perspective of many Western societies. This theory was based on the research done on social categorization, ethnocentrism, and intergroup relations. Tajfel in his early work was trying to explain the cognitive aspects of stereotyping and prejudice. However, like many other European social psychologists of the time, he believed that stereotype and prejudice were not independent of the environment surrounding the individual. Thus, he began adding to his theory the notion of intergroup relations, which is characterized by the constant pursuit of a positive group identity (Hogg and Williams, 2000).

Social identity theory provided one of the first leads to understanding ethnic identity development. The focus on intergroup relations and self-categorization refocused

the way in which social psychologists were studying human development. Social identity theory evaluates individuals' development based on their perceptions of in-group and out-group characteristics. These characteristics have greatly influenced the development of the early ethnic identity theories, such as the revised versions of Cross (1971), Helms (1995), and Phinney (1989).

Even though social identity theory has been widely used in the social psychology arena, many criticisms have been made of its claim of being nonreductionist. For instance, Farr (1996) argued that the development self-categorization was indeed an individual action because the focus was indeed on the *self*. Some have responded to these criticisms arguing that self-categorization and social identity theory may be two independent theories (Turner, 1982).

According to social identity theory, when an individual identifies and relates to a specific group, self-esteem and self-concept increase (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). The theory asserts that individuals derive their sense of identity by their membership in social groups. Most individuals strive to achieve positive evaluative and descriptive in-group behaviors and attitudes to maintain this positive self-concept. Tajfel and Turner (1979) believed that membership in one's group could only acquire meaning when compared to other social groups. For instance, adolescents of color often define their sense of ethnic identity using the mainstream culture as comparison. In the case of Latino youth and youth of color, this comparison may present conflicts and threats to their own identity.

Adolescents will define themselves in relation to their friends, family, and positive ethnic group behaviors and practices, but also in relation to negative ethnic stereotypes (Tajfel, 1981). For adolescents to develop a positive social identity, their

ethnic group perception has to be based on positive values (Tajfel, 1981). Consequently, emphasizing the positive aspects of ethnic groups among Latino youth will result in a more constructive self-identity as Latino or Hispanic (Umana-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002).

The Ecology of Human Development

To understand human developmental processes, researchers have to go beyond the observation of individuals' behavior. It requires the evaluation of individuals' interactions with their direct and indirect environment (e.g. government and media). These interactions occur as part of the continuous nature of an individual's life space (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Although many researchers have described ethnic identity development as a process that occurs in stages (Cross, 1971; Phinney, 1989), some studies report otherwise (Helms, 1995). Ethnic identity development does not necessarily stop with identity realization, but it is a constant exploration and awareness of the person's own ethnic identity formation (Parham, 1989). In other words, ethnic identity is not a linear continuum, but part of the human development cycle that is influenced by social and interpersonal interactions (Parham, 1989).

Due to the cyclical nature of ethnic identity development, this study will incorporate in its development of the conceptual framework the ecology of human development model. Bronfenbrenner (1977, p. 514) defines his theory as a process in which "the human organism and the changing immediate environments in which it lives... are affected by relations obtaining within and between immediate settings, as well as the larger social contexts... in which the settings are embedded." The individual is not independent from the surroundings. On the contrary, the surroundings influence how

ethnic identity is developed. Therefore, Latino youth ethnic identity development will be studied in terms of the individuals' relationships to the environments in their lives. It has been shown that as the environment and settings change, the individual will consequently change too (Umaña-Taylor, 2001).

The ecology of human development theory is constructed based on four systems: 1) microsystem, 2) mesosystem, 3) exosystem, and 4) macrosystem. These systems are part of the ecological environment where distinctive structures live, one affecting the other. In the case of Latino ethnic identity, these structures can take the form of informal and formal entities, immediate environment, and the individual's sense of self.

The microsystem is a "complex of relationships between the developing person and environment in an immediate setting containing that person" (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 514). In the microsystem the impact entities such as school, community, and neighborhood have on individuals can be evaluated. In the case of Latino youth ethnic identity development, some of the most common elements in the microsystem are those that affect the individual directly. However, those are the ones that tend to be overlooked. For instance, for Latino youth one of the most understudied elements is the impact that language has on the relationships individuals develop. These relationships many times define how Latino youth see the world, others, and themselves (Phinney, 2001).

The mesosystem refers to "the interrelations among major settings containing the developing person at a particular point in his or her life" (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 514). In other words, the mesosystems are those relationships between the individuals, entities, and processes at a particular point in time that impact not only how they see themselves and their group but also how others see them. Thus, for a 16-year-old Latina, her

mesosystem is not only her school but also her church and systems rooted in the mainstream culture. All of these major settings differ from one culture to another, and depending on the particular time, they will affect the individual's ethnic identity development differently.

The exosystem "is an extension of the mesosystem embracing other specific social structures, both formal and informal, that do not themselves contain the developing person but impinge upon or encompass the immediate settings in which that person is found, and thereby, influence, delimit, or even determine what goes on" (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 514). In other words the exosystems are social structures such that even though they do not necessarily include individuals in the day-to-day processes, they do affect their development. These social structures can be the government, media, and social strata, among others.

In the Latino youth ethnic identity development experience, these social structures in the last ten years have had more impact in the communities than before. For example, anti-immigrant sentiments have become more salient for Latino youth and youth in general. The messages many of the youth are receiving by the media contain stereotypes that are heavily charged by prejudice and racism (Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Kopacz, 2008). Individuals who have not gotten to a point where they are exploring and searching to define their ethnic identity can take these messages and use them as points of reference to define themselves or their group, and negatively so (Phinney, 2000; 1989).

Finally, the macrosystem refers to "the overarching institutional patterns of the culture or subculture, such as the economic, social, educational, legal, and political systems, of which micro-, meso-, and exo- systems are the concrete manifestations"

(Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 514). In other words, the macrosystem is composed of rules and norms (either informal or formal) that dictate many of individuals' interactions and relations. For instance, the social norm that provided more equality and participation to women in this country started to change in 1848. With the women's right movement came changes in laws (e.g. right to vote), societal structures (e.g. women as heads of the family), and perceptions. These social norms dictate and validate how the other systems function.

Ethnic Identity Development

Ethnic identity can be operationalized as a process of constant change in which individuals define their selves in a specific context by identifying as a group member. This identification involves attitudes, evaluations, ethnic knowledge and commitment, behaviors, and practices (Cuéllar, Nyberg, & Maldonado, 1997; Negy, Shreve, Jensen, & Uddin, 2003; Phinney, 2000). With the development of ethnic identity individuals recognize and develop solidarity with specific cultural norms, behaviors, and attitudes that are specific to an ethnic group (Cuellar, Nyberg, & Maldonado, 1997).

Many studies have been conducted on ethnic identity development. Researchers have identified the importance of ethnic identity in achievement (Perron et. al., 1998), psychological well-being (Negy, Shreve, Jensen, & Uddin, 2003), and the factors that impact ethnic identity development (Pellebon, 2000). However, there are still gaps in the literature that address these issues in the Latino population.

Historical Background

Ethnic identity development is a fairly young concept. Social psychologists began to pay more attention to this concept around the 1970s. Initially, the research on ethnic

identity development was solely based on the African-American experience. In the early 1970s Cross developed one of the first models to explore racial identity in African Americans.

Since the development of Cross' model, other theories have surfaced trying to explain ethnic identity development using other components. Based on Cross' model, Helms (1995) developed a similar theory using a more constructivist approach. Others have developed models that go beyond the African-American experience and include other communities of color (Phinney, 1989). Phinney's (1989) is among these models and has become one of the most widely used theories to explain ethnic identity development in communities of color.

As noted above, the concept of ethnic identity is now been widely studied among different fields in psychology. Understanding the development of ethnic identity is important to the different areas of psychology due to its salience in the development of interventions, programs, and research. Furthermore, ethnic identity development can enhance individuals' psychological and social well-being.

Ethnic Identity Developmental Models

Ethnic identity has been evaluated through two different approaches: stages (Cokley, 2002) and a constructivism process (Parham, 1989). In the stage approach, individuals move from one stage to another until achieving a sense of accomplishment between the interacting cultures. In the constructivism approach, ethnic identity is viewed as a continuous process of ethnic awareness, discovery, and achievement. This study evaluates three major ethnic identity theories: those of Cross (1971), Helms (1995), and Phinney (1989).

The Psychology of Nigrescence

One of the first theorists to operationally define and to identify different stages of ethnic identity in the African-American community was William E. Cross, Jr. (1971). Cross's model describes the processes that African-Americans need to experience to achieve a healthy ethnic identity (Cokley, 2002; Vandiver, 2001). The original model consisted of five stages, but in 1971 it was revised and reduced to four: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, and internalization stage (Vandiver, 2001). In Cross's model, the pre-encounter stage has been partitioned into three clusters (pre-encounter assimilation, pre-encounter miseducation, and pre-encounter self-hatred). These three clusters explain different developmental levels of internalizing negative stereotypes about the individual's own ethnicity, and the process of assimilation (Cokley, 2002).

The pre-encounter assimilation stage refers to a low identification with the African-American race, and high levels of assimilation toward the mainstream culture. Individuals in this stage do not necessarily hate everything black; they are just assimilated to the mainstream culture (Cokley, 2002; Vandiver, 2001). There is a low focus on race but a strong identification with being an American. In the pre-encounter miseducation stage, individuals use false ideas and information to internalize negative stereotypes about the African-American culture (e.g., being bad in school or criminals). Finally, the pre-encounter self-hatred stage is an Anti-Black approach that affects the individual's self-esteem, achievement, and psychological adjustment (Vandiver, 2001). During this stage, children may overtly express their feelings against being part of a specific race or culture. They present themselves as an exception to their group.

The second stage of Cross's model is the encounter stage. During this stage,

individuals experience an event or series of events that affect the way their ethnic identity is developed. It is characterized by race increasing its salience in the life of individuals. For instance, a child who is the target of discrimination in school because of the color of his or her skin may either decide to identify more with his or her culture or to avoid it completely. This leads straight to the third stage, the immersion-emersion, which consists of two clusters (immersion– emersion intense black involvement and immersion– emersion anti-white). Whereas the immersion-emersion intense black involvement refers to the newly found pride in Afrocentric culture, the immersion– emersion anti-white is a hatred for everything white (Cokley, 2002; Vandiver, 2001). In the black involvement stage individuals glorify everything that is black and can have an anti-white attitude. The Anti-White stage can be characterized by a lack of knowledge of the person's own culture and intense guilt for not understanding his or her own ethnic group (Cross, 1995).

Finally, the internalization stage is composed of three identities, Black Nationalist, Biculturalist, and Multiculturalist. These three identities share the same sense of black acceptance. What distinguishes these three identities is the salience of race and amount of identities each individual has. For instance, Black Nationalists are proud of their Afrocentric traditions, Biculturalists accept their black and American identities, and Multiculturalists are not only black and American but they adopt other identities such as gender, sexual orientation, and so on (Vandiver, 2001).

Cross's model has been used to explain ethnic identity in the Latino population based upon similar experiences of the two cultures. However, as widely used as this model is, it includes several discrepancies with how Latino youth ethnic identity develops. The model has been created to explain ethnic identity in a linear continuum. It

fails to mention the ways in which individuals go back and forth between stages. It assumes that after an individual has passed one stage, there is no going back. However, research has shown that recent immigrants question their established ethnic identity when faced with a new culture, traditions, customs, and system (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Also, discrimination and prejudice have proven to change how individuals see themselves, the world, and others.

Cross's model was developed to explain African-American ethnic identity, so it does not take into consideration factors that affect Latino population ethnic identity development such as immigration, language, and religion (Rodriguez & Morrobel, 2002). Latino youth ethnic identity development differs greatly from African-American youth. Their realities, strengths, and challenges are dependent on many factors such as acculturation, generation in the country, and sense of community, among others (Padilla, & Perez, 2003). In other words, experiences that impact ethnic identity development depend highly on the culture and position of the individual's ethnic group in society.

People of Color Racial Identity Model

Helms's (1995) model shares many similarities with Cross's model. However, the differences are what make this model worthy of including in this study. Even though Helms uses five stages, he calls them statuses. Statuses do not limit the individuals to stay in one developmental process but they can move back and forward depending on their experiences. Another difference between Cross and Helms is that Helms states that ethnic identity development goes beyond racism and discrimination, and that there are other experiences that impact ethnic identity development.

The five statuses that are included in Helms's model are: conformity, dissonance,

immersion/emersion, internalization, and integrative awareness (Helms, 1995). These statuses are very similar to Cross's model, thus they will be discussed briefly stating any differences. The conformity status refers to a sense of neutrality towards race and lack of knowledge or salience to their own ethnicity. The dissonance status is characterized by an initial confusion about one's ethnic identity. This might be due to experiences or just acknowledging being different. The immersion/emersion status is similar to Cross' black-involvement stage. Individuals tend to highly identify with their own cultural values and to be very aware of their race. In the internalization status individuals not only value their culture and ethnicity but it becomes part of their daily lives. Finally, individuals who achieve an integrative awareness not only incorporate their ethnic values in their daily lives but are able to incorporate them with other cultures and areas of their identity.

Three-Stage Ethnic Identity Development Model

Another widely use model to describe the process of ethnic identity development was created by Phinney (1989). This model differs greatly with those of Cross and Helms because it focuses on adolescent development and on multiple ethnic groups. This model was developed using the interaction of personal, societal, and historical changes first proposed by Erickson and Marcia (1968; 1980). Phinney's model states that a person's identity formation includes both personal and group identity (Phinney, 2000; 1990). In contrast to Cross' model, Phinney takes into consideration experiences that are culturally specific and ethnic group realities. Also, similar to Bronfenbrenner's theory, it works under the assumption that the individual cannot develop independently from his or her environment.

In order to understand, Phinney's ethnic identity model, a brief description of

Marcia's ego identity development stages is necessary. According to Marcia (1966), individuals develop their identity through a process that includes five stages: diffused (refers to a lack of exploration and concern with one's identity), foreclosed (refers to individuals who accept an identity that is given by others), moratorium (refers to individuals who are on active search for their identity but are still struggling to commit to one), and achieved (refers to individuals who have committed to a specific identity) (Branch, 2001). Marcia's primary premises state that individuals' identity development is dependent on experiences, societal, and political factors that become more salient with age. Also, it does not suggest a specific progression, so individuals can move from one stage to another (Phinney, 1989).

Phinney agrees with these premises and has extended them to the development of her three-stage ethnic identity model: unexamined identity, ethnic identity search, and achieved ethnic identity. However, Phinney's model differs from Marcia in that it suggests that there is a progression over time finalizing with an achieved identity. Also, it focuses on one component of identity development, ethnic identity. This focus was intentional due to the lack of empirically supported ethnic identity research available at the time. Phinney's intent was to develop, from the existing literature, a description of an ethnic identity three-stage model that mirrored the Ego Identity developmental process for U.S. born adolescents (Phinney, 1989). However, some of her model principles are applicable to U.S. born Latinos as well as immigrant Latinos.

The first stage is described as a lack of exploration of the individuals' ethnic identity. This is very common for individuals who are reared in a country or environment in which they are the majority and their ethnic identity is not salient (e.g., Latinos raised

in their home country). In this stage it is not clear whether individuals have negative or positive attitudes toward their ethnic groups. However, individuals do take into consideration others' opinions about their ethnic group, and compare mainstream norms to their own. This has been well established by studies by developmental and social psychologists (Turner & Tajefle, 1989). They have found that children develop their identity by exploring "powerful" and "attractive" role models (Phinney, 2000). This may particularly impact Latino immigrant children who come with certain expectations and ideas that may not fit the mainstream culture. For instance, Latina girls generally look up to their mothers as the pillar of the family (Boyd-Franklin & Garcia-Preto, 1994). However, in situations like the immigrant experience, the mainstream culture may present some contradictory messages, and children may identify with other role models.

Phinney (2000, 1990) describes the second stage as one in which children of color examine the meanings and consequences of their own and others' ethnicity. This can lead to a greater identification with their ethnic group and the abandonment of powerful role models from the mainstream culture. This stage is greatly impacted by variables like acculturation, mainstream culture, society, and discrimination, among other things. For instance, a Latino child going to a predominantly white elementary school may be teased for being different. The child is forced to make a decision between his or her own and the mainstream culture. In summary, during this stage, Latino youth are trying to better understand themselves and those around them.

In the third phase, individuals are said to have achieved a healthy ethnic identity. Following different cultural experiences, contact with peers, the media, and family, individuals can develop a better sense of belonging to their ethnic group (Phinney, 1989).

This stage is said to predict high self-concept and positive psychological well-being (Phinney, 2000). However, before even achieving this stage individuals will have to experience many components that will shape how they see the world and themselves. In particular with Latino youth, they will have to make the decisions to accept new components of different cultures or to reject or combine them with their own ethnic culture (Phinney, 2000). Also, they will be faced with environmental factors that will impact how they relate to others and the world. The goal of this process is to develop a “clear, confident sense of own ethnicity” (Phinney, 1990, p.503).

Phinney’s model was developed to understand ethnic identity processes in individuals of color, including US born Latinos. However, the model has evolved over the years to include factors that impact individuals, like immigration, generation in the US, and language, among other things (Phinney, 2001). In her research studies Phinney has highlighted the significance that group identity development has for Latinos due to the community and cooperative orientation present in their daily life (Phinney, 2000). This study will focus on that significance and integrate the basics of Phinney’s ethnic identity development model with an approach to human development research.

Ethnic Identity Development in Latinos

The study of Latino ethnic identity development presents a unique complexity due to the nature of this population. Latinos are not one race, one culture, or one nationality. Latinos are a mix of races and nationalities, each with its own set of cultural norms, behaviors, and attitudes (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001). This heterogeneity in Latino communities implies that there are many factors that impact their ethnic identity development. These factors include, but are not limited to, environment (e.g., school,

media, social strata, neighborhood, family structure, government, power, and society), family ethnic socialization, immigration/generational status, language, racism/discrimination, acculturation, and spirituality.

Different models have been developed to explain Latinos' ethnic identity development, but Cross, Helms, or Phinney's have been the most widely used in the field of ethnic identity. Ruiz (1990) developed a five-stage model that explains how identity is developed when individuals are alienated from their ethnic group. Another model was developed by Umaña-Taylor et. al. (2002), and their model establishes that Latinos' ethnic identity changes due to their contact with the dominant culture. Umaña-Taylor studies ethnic identity development as a component of acculturation. Finally, in response to the challenges presented to the stage-like models, several researchers trying to explain ethnic identity development have presented alternative models (Knight et al., 1993).

Factors that impact Latino ethnic identity development

Previous studies have shown that ethnic identity influences the ways in which individuals adjust socially, build relationships, interact with other groups, and view themselves, the world and other individuals (Phinney, 2000). However, as important as it is to have a strong ethnic identity, research has yet to describe the specific elements that play a role in Latino youth ethnic identity development. In this study I intend to collect and to organize the literature to better describe the processes involved in Latino youth ethnic identity development.

Ethnic Identity and Environment

The environment is a group of entities and processes where Latinos are raised and ethnically socialized. The environment, due to the collective nature of Latinos, plays an

important role in their ethnic identity development (Torres, 2003). The environment is composed of, but not limited to, school, media, social strata, neighborhood, family structure, government, power, and society.

Research has shown that the more diverse the social environment of Latinos is, the higher their ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor, 2004). For example, Latino youth who attend heterogeneous schools are more likely to explore their ethnic identity and eventually attain ethnic identity achievement. Torres (2003) found that Latinos who are reared in neighborhoods that are predominantly white tend to have a low ethnic identity score.

Understanding what aspects construct and impact Latino youth ethnic identity provides valuable information for the development of research and programs. The findings of Umaña-Taylor and Torres support the idea that the environment for Latino youth is complex and undeniably important to their adjustment.

Ethnic identity and spirituality

Sue and colleagues (1998) noted that sense of spirituality for individuals of color especially African Americans, Latinos, and indigenous people is part of their sense of belonging and personality development. However, research on the relationship between spirituality and ethnic identity is scarce and lacks diversity in their sample (Chae, 2004). The few studies done with Spanish-speaking populations have found that Latinos who practice *Santería* obtain part of their sense of self and relationships from their spiritual beliefs. For this group, their spirituality provides guidance to how they view the world (Smith, 1991).

Among researchers, there is very little consensus about how spirituality should be conceptualized. This study will define spirituality as the belief of interconnectedness between love, meaning, hope, and compassion. It is a set of beliefs that comprise attitudes and values with the intention of guiding individuals (ASERVIC, 2009).

In many cases individuals are attached to spirituality for either means or ends results. Those who are attached to the ends are more likely to have selfish and materialistic motives. In other words, spiritual ends refer to individuals who affiliate with a specific religion to gain personal benefits. Thus, the relationship between spirituality ends and ethnic identity has been found to be a negative one (Chae, 2004). In contrast, spirituality means are the use of spiritual norms to guide an individual's life for emotional, not materialistic fulfillment. Chae (2004) found that this spirituality was positively correlated with ethnic identity for individuals of color.

Studies have shown that when African Americans with high ethnic identity experience stress, such as discrimination, they tend to use their spirituality to cope (Dubow, Pargament, Boxer, & Tarakeshwar, 2000). These studies reflect that there is a strong relationship between ethnic identity and spirituality (Chae, 2004). Furthermore, Chae found that spirituality accounted a great deal of the variance in ethnic identity development for Latinos. Understanding these relationships will inform academia and practice in the development of programming and services for Latino youth.

Ethnic identity and gender

According to Phinney (1992) ethnic identity is characterized by a commitment to and pride in one's own ethnic group. In many Latino cultures the more strongly an individual identifies with his or her culture, the more defined the gender roles are

(Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008). The idea of gender and ethnic identity relating to one another comes from the ecological model that suggests “individual characteristics interact with characteristics of the environment to influence developmental outcomes (as appear in Gonzales et al., 2006). For example, a study done by Arciniega et al., (2008) found that Mexican-American men who knew exactly what the expectations of their gender were (*caballerismo* or traditional machismo) the higher they scored on the ethnic identity measures.

Among researchers, gender has been studied widely in relation to ethnic identity (Baca Zinn, 1982). This is due to the impact gender has in the development of identity in general. In the case of Latino youth, traditional gender roles and their constant change can either help or diminish youth psychological well being (Alvarez, Bean, & Williams, 1981). Gender roles can put constraints and pressure in many Latinas as they move to the US, especially Latino youth who are in prime ages for identity development.

Gender roles are a set of expectations, attitudes, and beliefs that are attached to specific ethnic and cultural norms (Alvarez, Bean, & Williams, 1981). In traditional gender roles, Latinas are believed to be responsible for the success and stumbles of their families. There is a great deal of weight that comes with knowing that one person is the glue of the family and community. These expectations impact how individuals, in this case Latina youth, see the world, themselves, and their ethnic group.

There are several ways that gender roles, especially for Latina women, can conflict with the individuals' desire. For instance, Latina girls are highly encouraged to keep their virginity and guard it, as it was their most important quality. This notion can have positive and negative impacts. Latina girls may feel that if they lose their virginity

before marriage, their value as women has decreased and they might deserve less than ideal for a partner. Still if the message is sent with support and without a value judgment, it can help prevent teen pregnancy and STDs among other things (Baca Zinn, 1982). Thus, gender roles impact ethnic identity and can present strengths or weaknesses depending on the individual and community support. The challenge is presented in the lack of research done to understand the specific factor that can build on the individuals' strengths.

Ethnic identity and family ethnic socialization

Family ethnic socialization is one of the main components in ethnic identity development (Umaña-Taylor, 2004). According to Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological model, youth ethnic identity develops as a function of interactions with the immediate environment, such as family members. Family ethnic socialization refers to the actions of parents that pass on their culture, language, traditions, and history, among other things (Knight et. al., 1993). Ethnic socialization can be intentional or unintentional. For instance, intentional ethnic socialization is when parents take their children to ethnic specific events or demand that only Spanish be spoken at home. In contrast, unintentional ethnic socialization is when parents listen to Spanish music or decorate with symbols that represent their ethnicity. Either way children learn about their ethnic group, and their identification starts early on.

Within Latino families ethnic socialization encompasses a unique set of experiences. For example, for Latino families who have decided to maintain their home language, Spanish is taught through different methods. Due to the family and collective

nature of Latino cultures, these lessons are passed from one generation to the other (Rueschenberg & Buriel, 1995).

Research has shown that family becomes an important agent in socializing children and youth, becoming one of the first institutions individuals rely on when developing their identity (Johnson, 1981). Furthermore, consistent with Bronfenbrenner's argument, research has indicated a strong relationship between ethnic identity and ethnic socialization (Umaña-Taylor, 2001). Families have indicated the importance of instilling in their children a sense of belonging and pride about their Latino culture because it has become a protective factor against discrimination (Gonzales & Espin, 1996; Santiago-Rivera, Arredondo, & Gallardo-Cooper, 2002).

Ethnic identity and language

Latino adolescents are very unique in their process of ethnic identity development due to the transmission of cultures, traditions, and language from one generation to the next. Language has been mentioned regularly as one of the main components of ethnic identity development on Latino youth (Hurtado & Gurin, 1995). Language is a symbol in many Latino cultures that represent the cohesiveness of one specific group. Also, it is a characteristic that creates solidarity between the ethnic group and a way to differentiate their group from others (Phinney, 2001).

Even though language is part of Latino families' ethnic socialization, in the US the acquisition of English as the first language is one of the priorities of the educational system. Consequently, many Latino immigrant children who have tried to maintain their native language have been penalized or left behind in school (Crawford, 1992). This becomes particularly important for Latinos for whom the Spanish language has been part

of multiple generations. There is an increase of studies that have found a strong positive relationship between maintaining and nourishing youth native language and their academic aspirations (Portes & Schauffler, 1994).

In contrast, other studies have found that for children and adolescents who were born in the U.S. or immigrated very young in age, language is not such an important aspect of their identity (Phinney, 2001). This may be due to the salience of the English language not only in schools but also with their peers and the media. However, Phinney (2001) did a study with Mexican U.S. born participants and found that ethnic identity was significantly related to Spanish language proficiency. In other words, studies fluctuate about the degree of importance native language has on ethnic identity development, but, they do agree that it plays a role in Latino youth ethnic identity development.

Ethnic identity and acculturation

Reviewing theories of how social identity, ethnic identity, and acculturation have evolved across time is a challenging task. Ethnic identity and acculturation are relatively new concepts that have emerged from social identity theory. Ethnic identity and acculturation are not well understood, and the relationship between these two concepts has been misinterpreted. Some researchers use ethnic identity and acculturation as synonymous (Andujo, 1988), whereas others study them as completely separate issues (Cuellar et al., 1997). This study will use acculturation as an influential element separate from ethnic identity.

The process in which persons adopt the attitudes and beliefs of the host culture resulting in changes of their old and new culture is called *acculturation* (Castillo, Conely, & Brossart, 2004; Cuellar, Nyberg, & Maldonado, 1997; Gomez, & Fassinger, 1994;

LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Padilla, & Perez, 2003). In contrast, ethnic identity refers to the necessity to define oneself in a specific context by identifying as a group member, and membership involves attitudes, evaluations, ethnic knowledge and commitment, behaviors, and practices (Cuéllar, Nyberg, & Maldonado, 1997; Negy, Shreve, Jensen, & Uddin, 2003; Phinney, 2000). Research studies have identified a negative relationship between acculturation and ethnic identity (Castillo, Conely, & Brossart, 2004). However, these findings have limitations due to inadequate research designs and poor construct definitions.

The acquisition of a second culture is an issue that most of the 20th century social scientists theorized about (Padilla & Perez, 2003). This interest in newcomers and populations of color led scientist to develop different models to explain second culture acquisition (i.e., acculturation). Acculturation does not necessarily entail assimilation. However, before the construct of acculturation was developed, the process of assimilation based on Piaget's theory explained the acquisition of second culture. Assimilation is the process by which a person develops a new cultural identity (La Fromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993). This process occurs when an individual has to deal with a cultural identity different to the one already established and decides to lose his or her culture of origin and adopts the host culture (La Fromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). In contrast to assimilation, acculturation states that the individual can become a competent participant of the culture while maintaining and identifying with his or her ethnic culture (La Fromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993).

The relationship between acculturation and ethnic identity is not well understood. In many cases acculturation has been studied as an umbrella that encompasses ethnic

identity with the ultimate goal of the individual assimilating to the mainstream culture (Dana, 1996). However, acculturation is a process that can't change independently of ethnic identity development. Acculturation and the impact it has on individuals' ethnic identity development has become one of the main components of study for social psychologists. In the case of Latino youth, Phinney (1989) found that that high ethnic identity does not necessarily imply lower acculturation levels. In other words, individuals can have a high sense of ethnic belonging and feel comfortable shifting from one culture to another. Understanding these relationships and the impact on ethnic identity development can provide a more complete picture of Latino youth psychological and social growth.

Ethnic identity and media

The popular culture and media has become the framework many Latino youth use to define who they are and where they fit. Product images, music, movies, primetime television, sports, toys (e.g., Barbie dolls and action figures), and news can convey messages about ethnicity and stereotypes that undeniably impact the way youth develop their ethnic identity. However, the research done addressing the impact of media on youth perception has been limited (Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Kopacz, 2008).

To what extent do these messages represent the reality of Latino youth? To what extent do these messages impact Latino youth ethnic identity development? To what extent do these messages maintain the status quo and reinforce stereotypes? Research has found that Latinos are underrepresented in the media compare to their proportion in the population. Also, Latinos who are portrayed in the media are mostly assigned roles that

reinforce stereotypes (Mastro, Behm-Morawitz, & Kopacz, 2008). For example, Latinos are portrayed as lazy, non-educated, and criminals.

Studies have found that Latinos who have a high ethnic identity or have achieved a positive ethnic identity can see these messages and understand that they are not representative of their ethnic group (La Fromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). However, individuals who are still in the process of searching and exploring their identity take these messages into account as one of the descriptors of their ethnic group. According to the ecological model, messages can create internal conflict during the exploration process that affects Latino youth adjustment to society.

Ethnic Identity and Discrimination

Despite the increase of individuals of color in the U.S., discrimination is still very salient for many communities, including Latinos. Discrimination refers to the actions against specific ethnic groups based on negative pre-conceive ideas obtained from a racist and prejudiced society (Tatum, 1997). Discrimination can be manifested by actions that target a group or an individual. These actions can manifest in different ways, like denying access to services and privileges, and hate crimes.

Exposure to discrimination has adverse consequences for Latino youth (Hipolito-Delgado, 2007). Discrimination increases psychological stress and decreases self-esteem. Also, it affects the physical health of those individuals who are discriminated against. A study done by Surko et. al (2005) found that individuals who experience discrimination are more likely to be victims of violent crimes. These findings demonstrate how discrimination not only affects the psychological and emotional development of individuals but also other aspects of their lives.

Most of the research done addressing discrimination and ethnic identity has focused on discrimination as a factor that impacts self-esteem and not as a variable that impacts ethnic identity development (Miller & Macintosh, 1999). One of the few studies done exploring ethnic identity and discrimination as a predictor found a negative relationship (Hipolito-Delgado, 2007). In other words, the more discriminatory experiences Latino youth are exposed to, the lower their ethnic identity will be. It is evident that more research needs to be done.

Ethnic Identity and Immigration/Generational Status

An essential element of ethnic identity on Latinos is their immigration and generational status. However, research has been very limited and conflicting with regard to the impact these elements have on ethnic identity development (Cuellar et. al., 1997; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Today with all the changes on immigrant and integration policies research needs to pay more attention to this population.

Research has shown that ethnic identity tends to be strong when the society is pluralistic and encourages acceptance and integration. Also, individuals are more adjusted when they feel they can celebrate their culture and integrate it with the mainstream culture (Torres, 2003). When faced with hostility and pressure to assimilate, individuals either reject their ethnic group or use their ethnic identity as a coping and protective mechanism (Phinney et. al., 2001).

Latinos who are second or older generations struggle establishing their ethnic identity due to the different messages coming from the media, family, peers, and other environments. Latinos that immigrate to this country come with an established ethnic identity and with certain expectations about their cultural identity (Phinney, Horenczyk,

Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). The study of immigration and ethnic identity is very complex and very few researchers have addressed it.

Purpose of the study

This study uses a meta-analytic approach to develop a conceptual framework of ethnic identity development for Latino youth that includes components that represent this population's realities and experiences. Further, this study evaluates the theoretical frameworks, definitions, and measurements that have been used to explain ethnic identity development on Latino youth. This study also aimed to integrate the theories of social identity, ecology of human development, and ethnic identity to better explain Latino ethnic identity development and adjustment. Finally, this study sought to identify the relationships, if any, between the variables that impact Latino youth ethnic identity and ethnic identity development.

This study intended to answer the following research questions:

- How is Latino youth ethnic identity conceptualized and measured in the research?
- How are Latinos grouped in the research of ethnic identity development?
- What components (independent variables) are included in the study of Latino youth ethnic identity development?

Theoretical Hypothesis – Latino Youth Ethnic Identity Conceptual Framework

As stated above, an essential factor in Latino youth development is their ethnic identity, which includes elements that need to be taken into consideration. However, research has focused on the impact of ethnic identity on psychological well-being. The purpose of this study is to examine and to evaluate the literature to develop a conceptual framework that includes elements and variables that represent Latino youth reality and

developmental process. Using Tajfel and Turner (1979), Bronfenbrenner (1977), and Phinney's (1989) perspectives, I am proposing a Latino youth ethnic identity conceptual framework. The major dimensions of this conceptual framework are outlined below:

Definition 1. **Entities and Processes** refer to those social structures that indirectly affect the individuals' ethnic identity development and group membership. For example, the media are one of the major routes portraying stereotypes and ways in which "Americans" should behave. This outer circle is composed of: social strata, society, media, power, and government.

Definition 2. **Behaviors and Entities** are social structures and attitudes that affect directly how the individual's ethnic identity develops, but are still out of his or her control. For example, racism has been known to be a catalyst for the exploration of the meaning and consequences of each individual ethnic identity. This outer circle is composed of: acculturation, school, neighborhood, discrimination, religion, prejudice, racism, gender, mainstream culture, and immigration.

Definition 3. **Immediate Environment** refers to behaviors, attitudes, and institutions that affect and directly shapes youth identity formation. Some control is given to the individual to manipulate the surroundings. For example, a 15-year-old Latina who decides to become bilingual from the moment she steps into the US asserts control over her surroundings. This inner circle is composed of: sexual orientation, language, sense of community, teachers, peers, family, and ethnic socialization.

Definition 4. **Self.** Identity development has been defined based on knowledge of the person's ethnic membership and position in society. Identity and ethnic identity development is not static and will change in relation to the other dimensions. For

example, a 16-year-old Latino boy who has been living in the US for one year will have a different perception of his ethnic identity than when he was 13 years old living in his home country.

One the main component of this conceptual framework is that it takes into consideration the overlapping of different experiences and variables. In other words, Latino youth ethnic identity development will not be outlined as linear but as a continuous process of discovery and exploration where the environments play a critical role. To better demonstrate these developmental processes Figures 1 through 5 will serve as an example to different statuses in which Latino youth may be during the ages of 12 to 25 years old.

Figures 1 through 5 show the different processes, but not the only ones, that can be present in a Latino youth ethnic identity development. In this study we predicted that the research showed that not only the components mentioned above had an impact on ethnic identity development but also that Latino youth depending on their immigration/generational status, acculturation, and ethnic socialization among other things were in different areas of development even if they were from the same age range. Research has shown that the more aligned the different environment are the healthier the adjustment of the individual is. In other words, when the environments overlap almost creating one big environment (see Figure 6) youth feel that they can be themselves no matter with what entities they interact with making it easy to narrow down their identity.

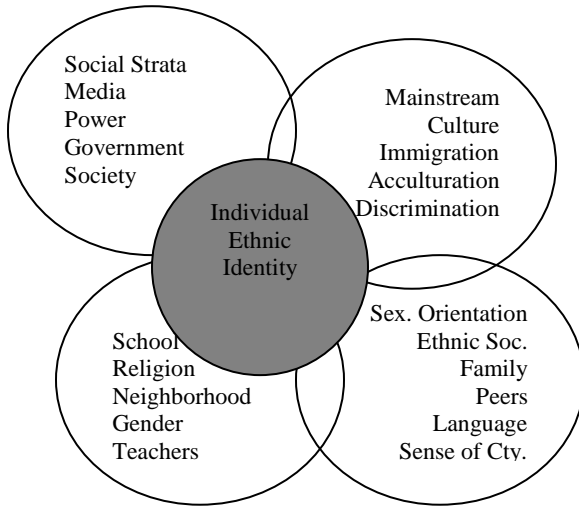


Figure 1

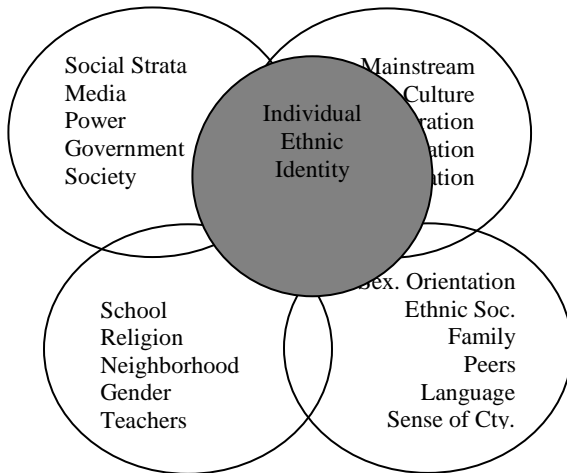


Figure 2

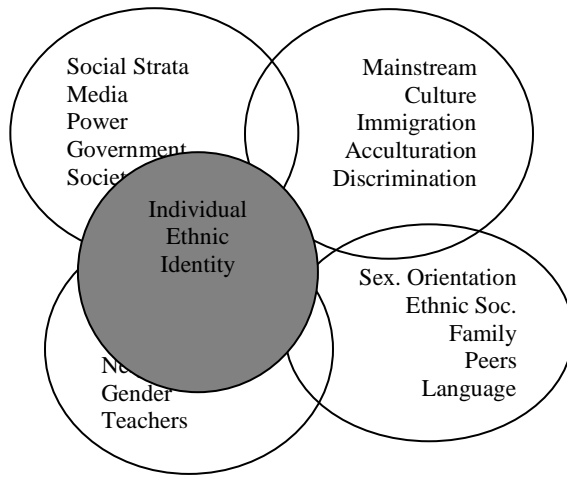


Figure 3

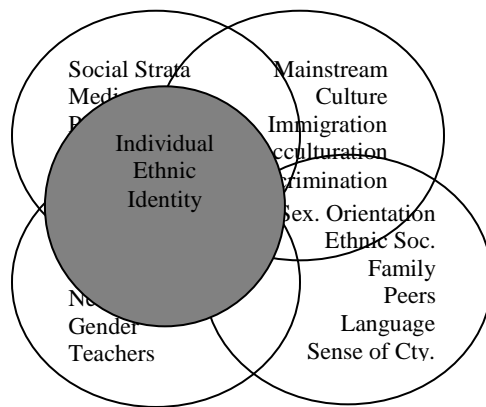


Figure 4

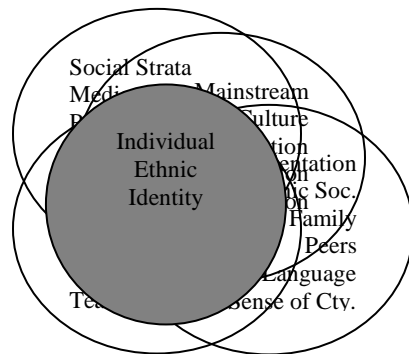


Figure 5

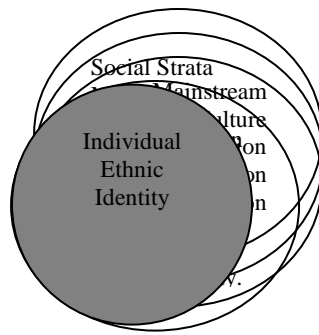


Figure 6

Summary

In summary, ethnic identity in Latino youth is at the core of healthy identity development, school achievement and retention, psychological well-being, and youth expectations of the future. However, there is a gap in the literature about the fundamental aspects that contribute to healthy ethnic identity development. This study was designed to fill some of the gaps, by evaluating the already existing theory and research in youth ethnic identity. It uses meta-analytic methods (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001) to synthesize existing research. The meta-analysis of the literature will contribute to theory building and to evidence-based programming. The results will help to develop a comprehensive conceptual framework for Latino youth ethnic identity.

Chapter 3: Method

Research Design

This study used a meta-analysis research design. A meta-analysis could be viewed as doing a survey of studies instead of individuals. In this method a coding form is developed to carefully evaluate studies in the field about a specific topic, in this case ethnic identity (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). Then, the data collected from the studies and their findings are analyzed by standardizing the results, and comparing them with each other. In this particular study, additional information was collected with regard to the theory, conceptual framework, and measurement methods.

According to Lipsey and Wilson (2001), a meta-analysis is one of the most reliable methods to summarize and integrate data. However, the studies have to follow specific guidelines to be part of the design. First, only studies that are empirical can be included. Second, a meta-analysis can only use studies that employ a quantitative method. Finally, it is important to understand that meta-analyses are only a statistical summary of the data, and that analyzing the raw data provides more comprehensive and detailed results.

One of the most important elements in a meta-analysis is defining the effect size statistic that will be used. There are different methods to standardize or compare effect sizes using various statistical procedures. This study created effect sizes from *Pearson Product Moment Correlations*(r) to evaluate the impact of the predictors on Latino youth ethnic identity development. Selecting ahead of time a standard approach and calculating effect sizes allows meaningful comparisons and quantitative analyses.

According to Lipsey and Wilson (2001), conducting a meta-analysis has many benefits. First, it is one of the most effective and objective ways to summarize data to

inform theory and practice. Second, meta-analysis can find relationships and differences on issues that otherwise may be overlooked by other types of research such as literature reviews. Finally, meta-analysis is a reliable method to support or disprove theories, measure impact, and build theory.

Inclusion Criteria

Lipsey and Wilson (2001) found that even though published studies are more likely to provide statistical soundness and validity, those that are unpublished also provide information that is valid and empirical. The studies that were included in this meta-analysis were: journal articles, dissertations abstracts, and reports. Only studies that measured ethnic identity were included. These studies had valid measures for ethnic identity and the construct was included in the quantitative results.

The studies were conducted in the United States and Puerto Rico, and reflected a population age mean between 10 and 25 years old ($M = 18.42$). Studies have shown that individuals' peak moment of identity development is during their adolescent and young adult years (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Thus, understanding the processes during this stage provided more accurate information about ethnic identity development.

Lipsey and Wilson (2001) also reported that studies with a sample smaller than 25 may limit their abilities to replicate. Therefore, this meta-analysis included studies with samples of 25 subjects or larger. Only studies in which the sample included Latino/a adolescents were part of the analyses.

Exclusion Criteria

This study followed very specific guidelines in the exclusion of data. Studies that were conducted outside of the United States and Puerto Rico were excluded from the data

analyses. In order to obtain rigorous empirical analyses, studies that were either presented at conferences or summits were not included. As for books, throughout the search it was found that empirical analyses were not available for every book that met the inclusion criteria. Finally, only studies that used quantitative methods were part of the analyses.

The sample composition of the studies was of great importance. Studies that did not include data for Latinos or Latinos were not included in the sample.

Sample

Several search methods were used to acquire the sample: computer database, reference tables, expert references, and library. Ethnic identity was used as the main keyword and dependent variable in the search. First, the search was done only with publications that included ethnic identity in the title. The second search was conducted with ethnic identity as a keyword throughout the entirety of the studies. The first search resulted in a total of 925 studies that had not been processed through the inclusion and exclusion requirements. The second search resulted in 2,000 studies that had not been processed through the inclusion and exclusion requirements. After reviewing all the studies, 130 met the requirements and were included in the final analysis.

The search was conducted with no date constraints due to the nature of this study. However, there was an overwhelming representation of studies after 1992. Before 1991 there was a total of 5 studies and after 1991 there was a total of 125 studies. The studies came from a diverse sample of journals and unpublished sources. There were a total of 46 different journals plus the dissertation abstracts (Table 1).

Table 1. Journals and Dissertation Abstracts Included in the Study

Journal	Journal Code	Studies
Black and Applied Social Psychology	BASP	1
Child and Youth Care Forum	CYCF	1
Counseling and Values	CV	1
Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics	DBP	1
Gifted Child Quarterly	GCQ	1
International Association for the Study of Pain	IASP	1
International Journal of Behavioral Development	IJBD	1
Journal of Black Psychology	JBP	1
Journal of Community Psychology	JCTP	1
Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology	JCCP	1
Journal of Counseling and Development	JCD	1
Journal of Genetic Psychology	JGP	1
Journal of Latinos and Education	JLE	1
Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development	JMCD	1
Journal of Organizational Behavior	JOB	1
Journal of Personality and Social Psychology	JPSP	1
Journal of Vocational Behavior	JVB	1
Political Psychology	PP	1
Preventive Medicine	PM	1
Professional School Counseling	PSC	1
Psychology of Men and Masculinity	PMM	1
Psychology of Women Quarterly	PWQ	1
Sex Roles	SR	1
Social Work	SW	1
Social Work in Education	SWE	1
Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research	IAIJTR	2
Journal of Family Issues	JFI	2
Journal of Research on Adolescence	JRA	2
Psychological Reports	PR	2
Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Identity Psychology	CDEIP	3
Educational and Psychological Measurement	EPM	3
International Journal of Intercultural Relations	IJIR	3
Journal of Adolescent Research	JOAR	3
Journal of Social Psychology	JSP	3
Developmental Psychology	DP	4
Journal of College Student Development	JCSD	4
Journal of Counseling Psychology	JCP	4
Journal of Youth Adolescence	JYA	4
Child Development	CD	5
Journal of Applied Social Psychology	JASP	5
Journal of Adolescence	JOA	6
Journal of Early Adolescence	JEA	6
Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology	CDEM	7
Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences	HJBS	7
Applied Developmental Psychology	ADP	11
Dissertation Abstracts	DA	18

Coding Method

Coding form: A coding form was developed using principles from Lipsey and Wilson (2001) and Yang (2002) (See Appendix A). According to Yang (2002) in theory building, researchers need to be aware of differences that influence empirical studies and the theory behind it. Some of the differences are included in the different types of samples (e.g, ethnicity, age, SES). Depending on the meta-analysis, researchers can code as few or many variables as are needed. This study has chosen variables that represent sample differences, theory grounding the study, and descriptive statistics. The variables selected for coding are known to measure ethnic identity differences and theory in a variety of ways (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001; Phinney, 2002).

The coding form was divided into three categories, theory, methodology, and results, which captured the different degrees of ethnic identity development. The theory section included basic information about the journal (e.g., title, year, authors, and journal), focus of the study, conceptualization of ethnic identity (e.g., definition included or not and how ethnic identity was defined), and theoretical framework (e.g., theory mentioned, guided by the theory, and theory used). Also, in this section the independent variables (e.g., social strata, media, government, neighborhood, religion, racism, immigration, language, teachers, family, sexual orientation, society, power, acculturation, discrimination, prejudice, mainstream culture, school, community, peers, ethnic socialization, and gender) that were associated with ethnic identity were included. These variables were coded with the following three categories: not present, mentioned, and studied. The purpose of this section was to capture information about how ethnic identity is conceptualized and what factors play a role in this conceptualization.

The methodology section included information about sample composition (e.g. sample size, age, gender, ethnic groups, and area where study was conducted), and instrument used to measure ethnic identity. An item that was eliminated from the methodology section was the research design. This was decided because of the small amount of studies that reported this item. The purpose of this section was to gather information that would help address the issue of how ethnic identity was measured throughout different studies.

Finally, the results section was comprised of descriptive statistics. For this section means, standard deviations, and correlations of the 130 studies were gathered. The purpose of this section was to collect information that would answer the question regarding the impact of predictor variables on Latino youth ethnic identity development.

Intercoder reliability: In order to measure agreement among multiple coders intercoder reliability was calculated. Two researchers coded 25% of the total of the studies using the same coding form and after obtaining the same training. Accuracy was more than 95%. In the instances dissonances appeared in the coding forms discussions among coders guaranteed 100% agreement.

Independent Variables

The predictor variables included in this study as principal components of the Latino ethnic identity conceptual framework were supported by the studies of Bronfenbrenner (1977) and Phinney (1989). Ethnic identity is not only influenced by the individual perception of the self but also by the environment and social structures in it. Consequently, the Latino ethnic identity conceptual framework was constructed with the following variables:

Table 2. Ethnic Identity Independent Variables

Entities and Processes	Behaviors and Entities	Immediate Environment
Power	Acculturation	Ethnic Socialization
Media	School	Sexual Orientation
Social Strata	Neighborhood	Language
Society	Gender	Sense of Community
Government	Discrimination	Teachers
	Religion	Peers
	Prejudice	Family
	Racism	
	Immigration	
	Mainstream Culture	

Entities and Processes

The *government* influences the way in which Latino youth develop identity, by creating laws and institutions that either celebrate or encourage individuals to assimilate (Byng, 2008; Iheduru, 2008). This relationship between perceived *power* and the ability to change systems and society are part of the macro picture shaping Latino youth individual and ethnic identity.

The *media* in the U.S. are one of the major forces that portray stereotypes and ways in which “Americans” should behave. Latino youth, due to the amount of messages received by different types of media communications, are bombarded by stereotypes about their own ethnic group every day.

Society is defined as group agreement of what the norm should be. Those in *power* and majority will develop that norm. Finally, the *social strata* in which young people are born affects the peers with whom they interact and the environment to which they will grow accustomed.

Behaviors and Entities

Schools and *neighborhoods* are institutions in the lives of Latino youth which contribute greatly to their ethnic socialization. Their cultural norms and ethnic composition can either encourage Latino youth to integrate or assimilate. Furthermore, these entities become one of the most influential ethnic references for this population.

At schools and neighborhoods Latino youth can experience either positive or negative behaviors toward their ethnic group. The negative behaviors can take the form of *racism*, *prejudice*, and *discrimination*. As discussed previously, racism, prejudice, and discrimination have negative effects on ethnic identity development.

Informal entities such as *gender* and the *mainstream culture* are related to how roles and values (behaviors) are played out in the Latino community. Conflicts between expectations and these informal entities will influence youth identity development. For example, a Latina youth who has two sets of expectations about how a girl should behave may find those expectations to complement each other or to present new conflicts. The interaction between these entities and behaviors can either positively or negatively influence Latino youth identity development.

Two other major components that differentiate Latino youth ethnic identity development from identity development of other youth of color are the processes of *acculturation* and *immigration*. Acculturation is based on personal experiences, ecological and environmental patterns, reactions to individuals' realities, and the ability to select areas of the mainstream culture to adopt and others to ignore (Parks, 1980). Even though acculturation influences youth ethnic identity development, the two constructs were operationalized and described as different from one another in this study.

Acculturation was seen as a component of ethnic identity development and not as the same concept.

In contrast, immigration has become a critical aspect in Latino youth lives. A society that defines individuals as “alien” or “illegal” is prone to isolate and/or discriminate against specific ethnic groups like immigrant Latinos. Due to the strong meanings of immigration and the policies that go with it, Latino youth may develop different attachments to their ethnic culture (Gonzales and Padilla, 1997). However, the impact immigration status and policies have in the development of Latino youth ethnic identity is yet to be fully understood.

Immediate Environment

Language is an element in the immediate environment of the individual, which even though ascribed, can be molded based on different experiences. For example, a 4-year-old girl got lost in her neighborhood and couldn't ask for assistance because she did not speak English. It took the police twice as long to find her parents. Later, the girl told her parents that she was no longer going to speak Spanish because no one could understand her. Even though language is one of the most widely used methods among Latino parents to pass culture and traditions to children and youth, it also becomes another aspect that separates children and youth from their peers.

Sexual orientation is impacted by traditionally defined gender roles in the Latino community. Identifying as part of the Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual/Transgender/Queer (GLBTQ) community for Latino youth can be seen as going against the responsibility individuals have toward their culture. In other words, men go against being providers and protectors of women, while women are seen as overstepping their role of caretakers.

Individuals sometimes are pushed to choose between two communities, Latinos or GLBTQ. However, if individuals feel supported by their ethnic group, sexual orientation and ethnic identity can be integrated.

Other experiences and instances that may mold ascribed factors are family *ethnic socialization* and *community*. In the Latino population community is intertwined with family. In other words, community becomes the extended family for many Latino youth. Both ethnic socialization and sense of community are highly related to the messages communicated by *family*, *peers*, and *teachers*. These messages can be either direct or indirect. A direct message in ethnic socialization would be a mother reading a book to her son about famous Latino poets. An indirect message of ethnic socialization would be Caribbean parents decorating their house with *santos* (saints) to illustrate their traditions.

Data Analyses

The intent of this study is to understand how Latino youth ethnic identity is conceptualized and measured. Also, it sought to evaluate the impact of the predictor variables on Latino youth ethnic identity development. In order to do this, a set of information from each study included in the meta-analysis was collected. This study primarily uses descriptive statistics and correlations to understand the data.

Descriptive statistics are used to provide an overview of the studies and the ethnic identity theories. This study uses these statistics to provide information about how ethnic identity is conceptualized and measured. Finally, data were gathered to synthesize the theories used to guide Latino youth ethnic identity development.

To evaluate the impact of the predictor variables on Latino youth ethnic identity, *Pearson's r* Correlation were coded. This study will use a new method to calculate

confidence intervals proposed by Bonnet (2008). The proposed method is a balance between *Fisher's Z* and *Hotelling's* methods. It is a randomly-varying coefficients model of meta analysis approach to meta-analysis. The method does not assume that the m studies have been randomly selected from a super population and does not assume that $p_1 = p_2 = \dots = p_m$.

In order to calculate the confidence intervals the unweighted average of the correlation are obtained. According to Bonnet (2008) an unweighted average does not assume that the sample sizes are similar or homogeneity. A weighted average makes these assumptions, which cannot be met by metanalyses and will not necessarily mean a smaller *MSE*. The estimate of the unweighted correlation is

$$\bar{p} = \frac{\sum \hat{p}_i}{m}$$

Assuming independence of the m correlations an estimate of the approximate variance of \bar{p} is

$$\text{var}(\bar{p}) = \frac{\sum \text{var}(\hat{p}_i)}{m^2}$$

where $\text{var}(\hat{p}) = (1 - \hat{p}_i^2)^2 / (n_i - 3)$. The sampling distribution is not normal. To make a better approximates of a normal distribution the formula below was used

$$\tanh^{-1}(\bar{p}) = 1n \frac{\left(\frac{1 + \bar{p}}{1 - \bar{p}} \right)}{2}.$$

Applying the delta method will estimate the approximate variance of $\tanh^{-1}(\bar{p})$ with the formula below

$$\text{var}(\tanh^{-1}(\bar{p})) = \frac{\text{var}(\bar{p})}{(1 - \bar{p}^2)^2} = \frac{\left[\frac{\sum (1 - \hat{p}^2)^2}{n - 3} \right]}{m^2 (1 - \bar{p}^2)^2}$$

To calculate the confidence interval for p the proposed method is

$$\tanh \left\{ \tanh^{-1}(\bar{p}) \pm z_{\alpha/2} \sqrt{\text{var}[\tanh^{-1}(\bar{p})]} \right\}$$

where $\tanh(x) = [\exp(2x) - 1] / [\exp(2x) + 1]$ and $z_{\alpha/2}$ is a two sided critical value of the standard normal distribution.

Summary

The purpose of this study is to develop a Latino youth ethnic identity conceptual framework using a meta-analytic approach. Meta-analysis is a sound research design to develop theory and study the impact of predictors on a specific dependent variable. This study followed the guidelines of Lipsey and Wilson (2001) to develop coding forms and choose effect sizes and data analyses. The results of this meta-analysis will contribute to the field of Latino ethnic identity development not only from theory stance but also from a measurement perspective.

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter provides comprehensive analyses of the data. It describes the studies reviewed in the meta-analysis and presents the relations of the predictor variables with ethnic identity development. Results include: 1) description of the studies' characteristics, 2) description of the coded variables, and 3) relations of predictor variables with ethnic identity.

This study intended to answer the following questions:

- Research Question #1 How Latino youth ethnic identity is conceptualized and measured in the research? This study predicts that the research on Latino youth ethnic identity development will result in a variety of definitions, conceptual frameworks, and measurements. The null hypothesis is that the literature will show consistent definitions, conceptual frameworks, and measurements. The alternative hypothesis is that measurement and conceptualization will not match in a substantial proportion.
- Research Question #2 How Latinos are grouped in research on ethnic identity development? The null hypothesis is that an overwhelming proportion of studies will categorize Latinos homogeneously into a single group.

Research Question #3 What components (predictor variables) are included in the study of Latino youth ethnic identity development? This study predicts that very few studies will mention let alone study the independent variables proposed in this paper's Latino conceptual framework.

Description of studies

The current analysis was based on a total of 130 studies between the years of 1988 to 2008 (Table 3). Studies that included Latinos in their sample were mostly done after 1992 (N = 125). The studies were acquired from a total of 43 different journals and dissertation abstracts (Table 1).

Table 3. Year When the Studies were Conducted

Year	Frequency	Percentage
1988	1	.8
1989	1	.8
1990	2	1.5
1991	1	.8
1992	3	2.3
1993	2	1.5
1994	5	3.8
1995	3	2.3
1996	2	1.5
1997	6	4.6
1998	4	3.1
1999	6	4.6
2000	10	7.7
2001	3	2.3
2002	6	4.6
2003	8	6.2
2004	12	9.2
2005	13	10.0
2006	23	17.7
2007	15	11.5
2008	4	3.1
Total	130	100.0

The study of ethnic identity was coded by assigning 0 or 1 for each of five different categories: ethnic identity as the main research component, ethnic identity and acculturation, social identity theory, racial identity, and ethnic identity as a component (Table 4). The categories were not mutually exclusive. For example, a study could research ethnic identity as the main research component while focusing on the development of social identity. Table 4 shows that the majority of the studies that included Latinos in their sample studied ethnic identity as the main research component.

However, in contrast to other findings (Cokley, 2002) the results showed that only eight studies focused on racial identity. Researchers in the past ten years have separated the constructs of ethnic and racial identity which may explain these results.

Table 4. Study of Ethnic Identity (EI)

	EI Main Research Component	EI and Acculturation	Social Identity	Racial Identity	EI as a Component
No	52	105	107	122	92
Yes	78	25	23	8	38

N = 130 studies

Studies' geographic location

The Census has shown that the majority of Latinos reside in three states: California, Texas, and New York (US Census Bureau, 2000). The studies in this research seem to follow those geographic locations. Table 5 shows that many of the studies were done in California (N = 29) followed by Texas (N = 16) and New York (N = 10). The results also showed that, out of the 130 studies, 50 studies did not mention the geographic location where the research was conducted.

Table 5. Studies' Geographic Location

Geographic Location	Frequency	Percentage
Geographic Location – not mentioned	50	38.5
Boston	1	.8
California	29	22.3
Chicago	1	.8
Colorado	2	1.5
Detroit	1	.8
Florida	2	1.5
Illinois	1	.8
Midwest	5	3.8
New York	10	7.7
Northeast	3	2.3
Phoenix	2	1.5
Rocky Mountain Region	1	.8
Southeast	2	1.5
Southwest	3	2.3
Texas	16	12.3
Wisconsin	1	.8
Total	130	100

*Hypothesis #1:*Ethnic identity conceptualization

The majority of studies (75%) included a definition for ethnic identity development (Table 6), which also means that approximately 1 in 4 studies did not define ethnic identity. Of the 78 studies that researched ethnic identity as the main research component, 14 did not define the construct. Moreover, of the 38 studies that researched ethnic identity as a component, 16 did not define the construct.

Table 6. Ethnic Identity Definition

EI definition included	Frequency	Percentage
No	33	25.4
Yes	97	74.6
Total	130	100

Ethnic identity was defined in many ways. The mere fact that there is no agreement on how to define ethnic identity demonstrates the confusion about this construct in the field. The definitions provided in the studies reflected different

understandings of the same construct. Some (N = 22) focused on ethnic identity as a component of social identity (Table 7). Social identity has been defined by Tajfel (1981) as “the part of an individual’s *self-concept* which derives from his *knowledge* or his *membership* of a *social group* (or groups) together with the *value* and *emotional* significance attached to that *membership*” (p. 255). Authors who focused on ethnic identity as a component of social identity studied the construct in terms of intergroup relations and comparison between two groups.

Table 7. Studies that defined Ethnic Identity as a component of SIT

Author(s)	Year	Journal
Andujo	1988	SW
Phinney	1992	JOAR
Phinney, Chavira, & Tate	1992	JSP
Knight, Cota, & Bernal	1993	HJBS
Cuellar, Nyberg, Maldonado, Roberts, & Robert	1997	JCP
Pellebon	2000	SWE
Coutts	2000	DA
Yancey, Aneshensel, & Driscoll	2001	JBP
Ivory	2002	DA
Kalsner & Pistole	2003	JCSD
Ontai-Grzebik & Raffaelli	2004	JOAR
Umana-Taylor & Fine	2004	HJBS
Elizondo & Crosby	2004	JASP
Alessandria & Nelson	2005	JCSD
Guzman, Santiago-Rivera, & Haase	2005	CDEIP
Konrad	2006	JOB
Ong, Phinney, & Dennis	2006	JOA
Umana-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin	2006	JFI
Pahl & Way	2006	CD
Phinney, Dennis, & Osoño	2006	CDEM
Umana-Taylor & Shin	2007	CDEM
Phinney, Jacoby, & Silva	2007	IJBD

Other authors (N = 23) defined ethnic identity in terms of culture, customs, language, traditions, religious beliefs, and ethnic knowledge (Table 8). Instead of focusing on membership in specific groups, these authors emphasized the impact

experiences with cultural norms and symbols had on individuals' ethnic identity development.

Table 8. Studies that defined Ethnic Identity as a cultural component

Author(s)	Year	Journal
Gutierrez	1989	DA
Bautista de Domanico, Crawford, & De Wolfe	1994	CYCF
Canabal	1994	DA
Saavedra	1994	DA
Santana	1994	DA
Gaines, Marelich, Bledsoe, Steers, Henderson, Granrose, Barajas, Hicks, Lyde, Takahashi, Yum, Rios, Farris, & Page	1997	JPSP
Sandoval	1997	DA
Lorenzo-Hernandez & Ouellette	1998	JASP
Torres	1999	JCSD
Branch, Tayal, & Triplett	2000	IJIR
Branch	2001	JGP
Velez-Yelin	2002	DA
Gonzales	2003	DA
Chae, Kelly, Brown, & Bolden	2004	CV
Gonzales-Figueroa & Young	2005	CDEIP
Zarate, Bhimji, & Reese	2005	JLE
Gushue	2005	JVB
Altschul, Oyserman, & Bybee	2006	CD
Giang & Wittig	2006	CDEIP
Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Hernandez	2007	CDEM
Rahim-Williams, Riley, Herrera, Campbell, & Hastie	2007	IASP
Delgado	2007	DA
Castillo, Conoley, Brossart, Quiros	2007	CDEM

A number of studies (N = 40) concentrated their conceptualization on the individuals' sense of belonging, attitudes, behaviors, feelings, thoughts, and practices (Table 9). The authors presented ethnic identity as an interaction between how individuals feel toward themselves and their group, and how they include those feelings and thoughts in their actions.

Table 9. Studies that defined Ethnic Identity as a sense of belonging and feelings

Author(s)	Year	Journal
Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang	2001	JYA
Love, Yin, Codina, Zapata	2006	PR
Rayle & Myers	2004	PSC
Saylor & Aries	1999	JSP
Snyder, Cleveland, & Thornton	2006	JASP
Fuligni	2006	CD
Arbona, Jackson, McCoy, & Blakely	1999	JEA
Bamaca-Gomez	2004	IAIJTR
Utsey, Chae, Brown, & Kelly	2002	CDEM
Negy, Shreve, Jensen, & Uddin	2003	CDEM
Phinney, Jean, Alpuria, Linda	1996	JSP
Castillo, Conoley, Choi-Pearson, Archuleta, Phoummarath, & Van Landingham	2006	JCP
Carlson, Uppal, & Prosser	2000	JEA
Avery, Tonidandel, Thomas, Johnson, & Mack	2007	EPM
Gamst, Dana, Der-karabetian, Aragon, Arellano, & Kraner	2002	HJBS
St Louis & Liem	2005	IAIJTR
Worrell	2007	GCQ
Spencer, Icard, Herachi, Catalano, & Oxford	2000	JEA
Giang & Wittig	2006	CDEIP
Paris, Añez, Bedregal, Andrés-yman, & Davidson	2005	JCTP
Philips-Smith, Walker, Fields, Brookins, & Seay	1999	JOA
Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt, Plunkett, & Sands	2006	CD
French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber	2006	DP
Ting-Toomey, Yee-Jung, Shapiro, Garcia, Wright, & Oetzel	2000	IJIR
Umaña-Taylor, Vargas-Chanes, Garcia, & Gonzales- Backen	2008	JEA
Rotheram-Borus, Lightfoot, Moraes, Dopkins, & LaCour	1998	JOAR
Ponterotto, Gretchen, Utsey, Stracuzzi, & Saya	2003	EPM
Sanchez & Fernandez	1993	JASP
Abreu, Goodyear, Campos, & Newcomb	2000	PMM
Arbona, Flores, & Novy	1995	JCD
Bisaga, Whitaker, Davies, Chuang, Feldman, & Walsh	2006	DBP
Gonzales	2003	DA
McKinzie	2002	DA
Cachelin, Phinney, Schug, & Striegel-Moore	2006	PWQ
Clauss-Ehlers & Wibrowski	2007	JCSD
Cislo	2008	HJBS
Tencer	2003	DA
Pahl	2004	DA
Ybarra	2000	DA
Greene, Way, and Pahl	2006	DP

The study of ethnic identity has been characterized by the use of stage-like models, such as The Niegrescence Model (Cross, 1971), Three-Stage Model (Phinney, 1992), and People of Color Racial Identity Model (Helms, 1995). However, as the study of ethnic identity evolves, researchers, regardless of what theoretical framework they use, have been defining ethnic identity as a dynamic process. This study found that a total of 22 authors evaluated ethnic identity development as a dynamic process (Table 10).

Table 10. Studies that defined Ethnic Identity as a dynamic component

Author(s)	Year	Journal
Pellebon	2000	SWE
Alessandria & Nelson	2005	JCSD
Ong, Phinney, & Dennis	2006	JOA
Saylor & Aries	1999	JSP
Bamaca-Gomez	2004	IAIJTR
Negy, Shreve, Jensen, & Uddin	2003	CDEM
Phinney, Jean, Alpuria, Linda	1996	JSP
O'dougherty Wright & Nguyen Littleford	2002	JMCD
Castillo, Conoley, Choi-Pearson, Archuleta, Phoummarath, & Van Landingham	2006	JCP
Gonzales-Figueroa & Young	2005	CDEIP
Giang & Wittig	2006	CDEIP
Guzman, Santiago-Rivera, & Haase	2005	CDEIP
Zara, Bhimji, & Reese	2005	JLE
Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt, Plunkett, & Sands	2006	CD
Abreu, Goodyear, Campos, & Newcomb	2000	PMM
McKinzie	2002	DA
Cachelin, Phinney, Schug, & Striegel-Moore	2006	PWQ
Gutierrez	1989	DA
Cislo	2008	HJBS
Castillo, Conoley, Brossart, Quiros	2007	CDEM
Garza-Benavidez	2003	DA
Suavedra	1994	DA

Tests of independence were conducted to determine if the characteristics, such as research focus and instrument used, of the article demonstrated any significant relationship with whether or not EI was defined in the studies. Articles that studied EI as the main research component reported a definition for EI 82% of the time. Articles that

did not study EI as the main research component included a definition for EI 63% of the time (Table 11). The Chi-Square test of independence was significant, indicating a significant relation between EI as a main research purpose and inclusion of a definition for EI ($\chi^2 = 4.75$ (df=1, n=130), $p=.01$) (Table 12).

Table 11: EI as the Main Research Purpose and Definition Present

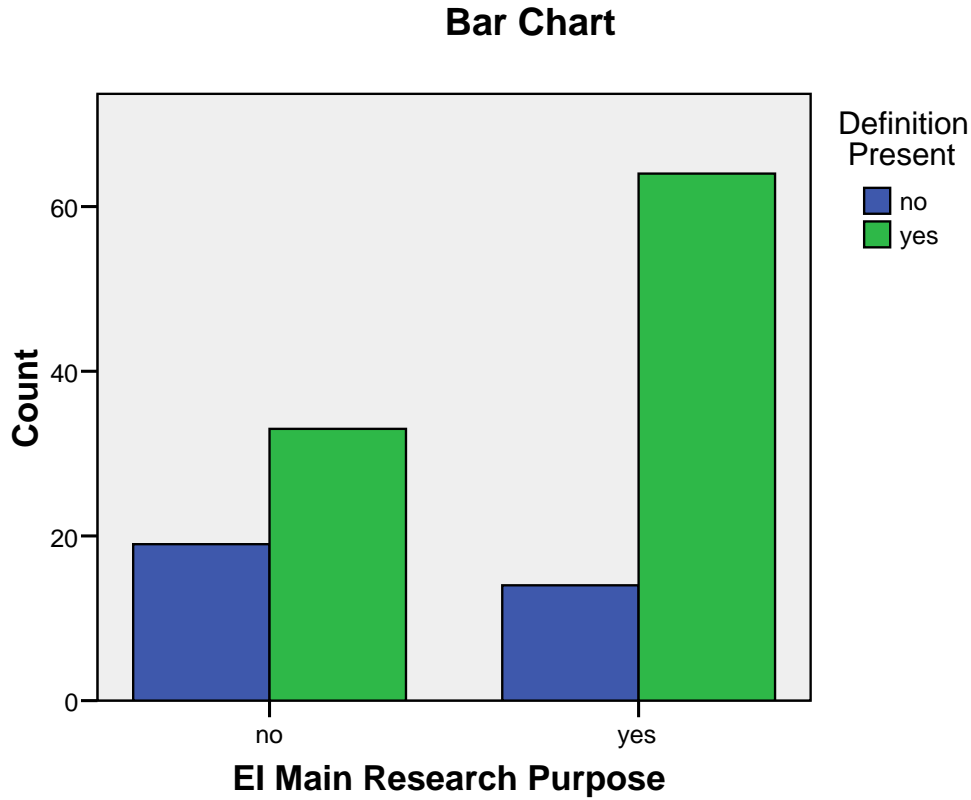
EI Main Research Purpose		Definition Present	
		no	yes
No	Frequency	19	33
	Percentage	37%	63%
Yes	Frequency	14	64
	Percentage	18%	82%

Table 12: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.692 ^b	1	.01
Continuity Correction ^a	4.753	1	.01
Likelihood Ratio	5.608	1	.01
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.649	1	.01
N of Valid Cases	130		

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 1 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.70.



Graph 1: EI Main Research Purpose and Definition Present

Articles that measured EI with the MEIM reported a definition for EI 80% of the time. Articles that measured EI with other instrument included a definition for EI 57% of the time (Table 13). The Chi-Square test of independence was significant, indicating a significant relation between instrument used to measure EI and inclusion of a definition for EI ($\chi^2 = 5.95$ (df=1, n=118), p=.01) (Table 14).

Table 13: Instrument and Definition Present

Instrument		Definition Present	
		no	yes
MEIM	Frequency	16	65
	Percentage	20%	80%
Other	Frequency	16	21
	Percentage	43%	57%

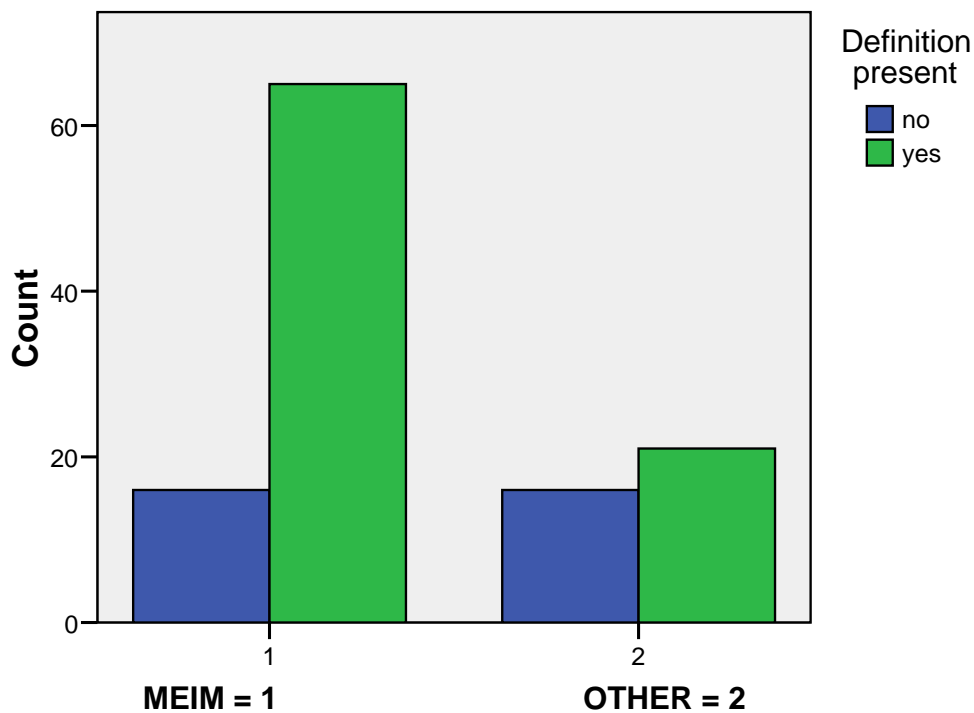
Table 14: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.091 ^b	1	.01
Continuity Correction ^a	5.952	1	.01
Likelihood Ratio	6.804	1	.01
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.031	1	.01
N of Valid Cases	118		

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 1 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.70.

Bar Chart



Graph 2: Instrument and Definition Present

Ethnic identity conceptual framework

This research evaluated the theories used by the studies to guide the understanding, measurement, and discussion of ethnic identity development in Latino youth. The results showed that 68.5% of the studies were guided by a specific theory

while 20% suggested no theoretical framework (Table 15). Of the 38 studies researching ethnic identity as a component, 14 of them did not mention a conceptual framework. Of the 78 studies that researched ethnic identity as the main research component, only 8 did *not* mention a conceptual framework.

Table 15. Conceptual Framework Included in Study

Conceptual Framework Included	Frequency	Percentage
No	26	20
Theory mentioned	15	11.5
Guided by the theory	89	68.5
Total	130	100

Most of the studies that were guided by theory were based on three perspectives (Table 16): a three-stage model, developed by Phinney in 1989 and based on the theory of Ego Identity; social identity theory, developed by Tajfel in 1978 to explain how individuals develop their identity using intergroup relations; and an acculturation model, developed by social scientists to explain the acquisition of a second culture. Over a third of the of the studies (36.5%) were based on Phinney's three-stage model, 10.6% were based on social identity theory, and 8.7% on the acculturation model. There was a great deal of overlap between the theoretical frameworks and how they were utilized in the different studies. Some of the most used were the combination of ego identity theory and three-stage model (8.7%), social identity theory and three-stage model (7.7%), and ego identity and social identity theory (4.8%).

There were other theories that were discussed and overlapped with the main ones. For instance, the three-stage model was discussed in partnership with the Niegrescence Model and Social and Social Cognitive Career Model. Social identity theory was presented with the acculturation model and multidimensional theory. However, none of these combinations was mentioned in more than one study.

Table 16. Studies' Conceptual Frameworks

Conceptual Framework	Frequency	Percentage
Acculturation theory	9	6.9
Contact theory	2	1.5
Niegrescence model	1	.8
Niegrescence model and Ego identity	1	.8
Ego identity	7	5.4
Three stage model	38	29.2
Ego identity and Three stage model	9	6.9
Niegrescence model and Three stage model	2	1.5
Ecological model	1	.8
Social identity theory	11	8.5
Ego identity and Social identity theory	5	3.8
Social identity model and Three stage model	8	6.2
Social identity theory and Acculturation theory	3	2.3
Perspective taking	2	1.5
Social cognitive career theory	1	.8
Multidimensional theory and Social identity theory	1	.8
Cultural awareness and Ethnic Loyalty	1	.8
Cooperative, competitive, and individualistic resource allocation	1	.8
Total	104	80
Missing	26	20

Tests of independence were conducted to determine if the characteristics, such as research focus and instrument used, of the article demonstrated any significant relationship with how the theoretical frameworks in the studies were included. Articles that studied EI as the main research component reported being guided by a theory 80% of the time. Articles that did not study EI as the main research component reported being guided by a theory 52% of the time (Table 17). The Chi-Square test of independence was significant, indicating a significant relation between EI as a main research purpose and inclusion of a definition for EI ($\chi^2 = 12.99$ (df=2, n=130), p=.00) (Table 18).

Table 17: EI Main Research Purpose and Theoretical Framework

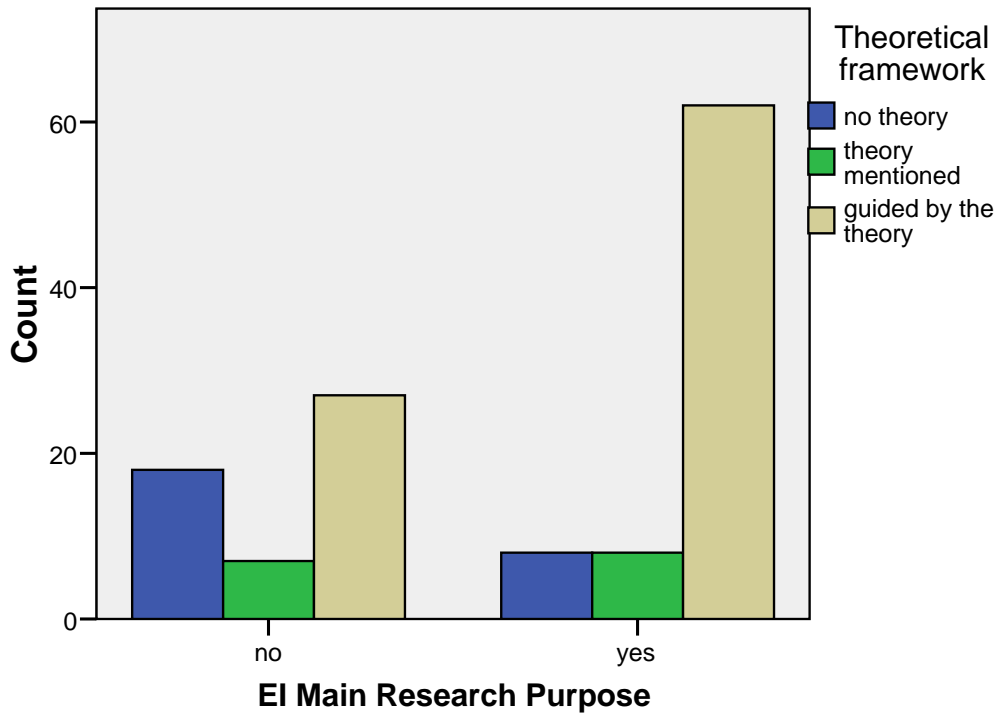
EI Main Research Purpose		Theoretical framework		
		no theory	theory mentioned	guided by the theory
No	Frequency	18	7	27
	Percentage	35%	14%	52%
Yes	Frequency	8	8	62
	Percentage	10%	10%	80%

Table 18: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.997 ^a	2	.00
Likelihood Ratio	12.921	2	.00
Linear-by-Linear Association	12.846	1	.00
N of Valid Cases	130		

a. 1 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.70.

Bar Chart



Graph 3: EI Main Research Purpose and Theoretical Framework

Articles that used MEIM to measure EI reported being guided by a theory 75% of the time. Articles that used other instruments to measure EI reported being guided by a theory 49% of the time (Table 19). The Chi-Square test of independence was significant, indicating a significant relation between EI as a main research purpose and inclusion of a definition for EI ($\chi^2 = 8.39$ (df=2, n=118), p=.01) (Table 20).

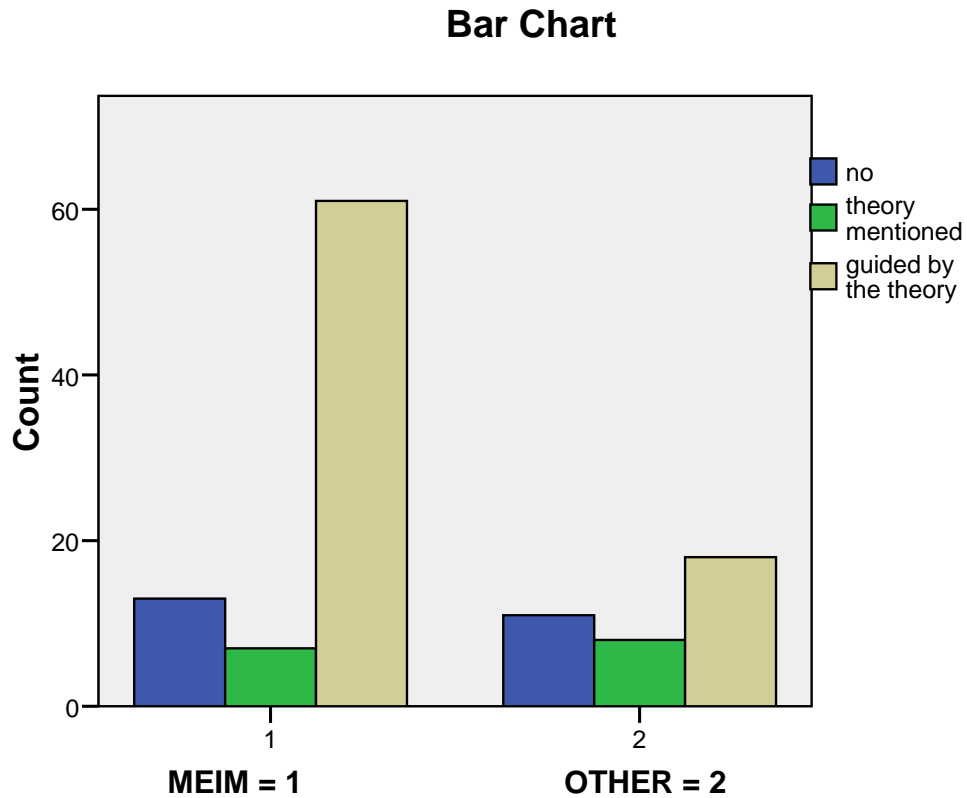
Table 19: Instrument Used and Theoretical Framework

Instrument		Theoretical framework		
		no theory	theory mentioned	guided by the theory
MEIM	Frequency	13	7	61
	Percentage	16%	9%	75%
Other	Frequency	11	8	18
	Percentage	30%	22%	49%

Table 20: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.399 ^a	2	.01
Likelihood Ratio	8.148	2	.01
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.251	1	.01
N of Valid Cases	118		

a. 1 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.70.



Graph 4: Instrument and Theoretical Framework

Measurement of ethnic identity

Ethnic identity has been found to vary due to variety of definitions and theories present in the field. However, another aspect that plays a key role in ethnic identity research is how it is measured. A total of 15 authors used instruments developed before 1992. Over 75% of the studies (n=102) measured ethnic identity with instruments developed after 1992. The instruments were dated from 1960 to 2008. The results show an overwhelming number (N = 88) of studies using the instrument Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measurement (MEIM) developed by Phinney in 1992 (Table 21).

Table 21. Instrument used to measure ethnic identity

Instrument	Frequency	Percentage
MEIM	81	62.3
Researcher Developed	10	7.7
The Mexican American Value Attitude Scale	1	.8
Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS-III)	9	6.9
Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity	3	2.3
Cultural Awareness Ethnic Loyal Scale (CAL5)	2	1.5
Implicit Association Test	1	.8
Scale of Ethnic Experience	1	.8
Collective Self Esteem Scale	1	.8
Bernal	1	.8
Ethnic Attitudes	1	.8
Latino and American Identity Scale	1	.8
Behavioral Acculturation Scale	1	.8
Ethnic Consciousness	1	.8
Intergroup Marginalization Inventory (IMI)	1	.8
Cultural Identity Scale for Latino Adolescents	2	1.5
Children Ethnic Identity Questionnaire	1	.8
Total	118	90.8
Missing	12	9.2

The MEIM was one of the first instruments developed that took into consideration different ethnic and age groups. The instrument has been validated and translated into Spanish as well as English. It has been used with European Americans, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans. The MEIM can be used with adolescents as well as adults.

The MEIM was developed in 1992 and later revised by Roberts et al. (1999). After the revisions two items were dropped from the instrument, including the section of other group orientation which is considered an additional concept. Also, the MEIM was divided into ethnic identity search, affirmation, belonging, and commitment. The items are divided as follows: ethnic identity search, items 1, 2, 4, 8, and 10 (e.g., “*I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group*”); affirmation, belonging, and commitment, items 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12 (e.g., “*I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and*

what it means for me” or “*I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me*”). (None of the items is reversed.) “The affirmation, belonging, and commitment scale can be used alone as a measure of the strength of identification with one’s group” (Roberts et al., 1999, p. 317). The scales have typically shown good reliability with an alpha of .80. In this study the alphas reported ranged from .30 to .95. For the purpose of this research the effect size analyses will be done only with studies that used the MEIM because of the overwhelming number of studies using the same instrument.

The MEIM, one of the first instruments developed to address ethnic identity development on multiple ethnic groups, has very unique traits. The studies have a normal distribution throughout the years starting in 1992 (Table 22) and it has been used widely for over 15 years (Table 23). Even though the instrument was developed by Phinney in 1992, studies that used the MEIM are guided by a variety of conceptual frameworks (Table 24). The conceptual framework guiding the research of many of the studies was the Three-Stage Model (N = 31). However, there was a presence of Ego Identity, Social Identity Theory, and the Acculturation Model (Table 24).

Table 22. Alpha of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

Alpha	Frequency	Percentage
.30	1	1.2
.60	1	1.2
.62	1	1.2
.63	1	1.2
.68	1	1.2
.71	2	2.5
.72	2	2.5
.74	2	2.5
.75	2	2.5
.76	5	6.2
.77	1	1.2
.78	1	1.2
.79	4	4.9
.80	6	7.4
.81	17	21.0
.82	4	4.9
.83	6	7.4
.84	4	4.9
.85	4	4.9
.86	3	3.7
.87	3	3.7
.88	2	2.5
.89	1	1.2
.90	2	2.5
.91	1	1.2
.92	1	1.2
.95	3	3.7
Total	81	100

Table 23. Year of the Studies that used the MEIM

Year	Frequency	Percentage
1992	2	2.5
1994	3	3.7
1996	2	2.5
1997	4	4.9
1998	1	1.2
1999	6	7.4
2000	9	11.1
2001	3	3.7
2002	6	7.4
2003	6	7.4
2004	8	9.9
2005	6	7.4
2006	14	17.3
2007	9	11.1
2008	2	2.5
Total	81	100

Table 24. Theoretical Framework of Studies that used the MEIM

Theoretical Framework	Frequency	Percentage
Acculturation Theory	2	2.5
Contact Theory	1	1.2
Niegrescence Model	1	1.2
Neigrescence Model and Ego Identity	1	1.2
Ego Identity	3	3.7
Three-stage Model	31	38.3
Ego identity and Three-stage Model	8	9.9
Niegrescence Model and Three-stage Model	2	2.5
Ecological Model	1	1.2
Social Identity Theory	6	7.4
Ego identity and Social Identity Theory	2	2.5
Social Identity Theory and Three-stage Model	5	6.2
Social Identity Theory and Acculturation Theory	2	2.5
Perspective taking	1	1.2
Social Cognitive Career Theory	1	1.2
Three-stage Model and Social Cognitive Career Theory	1	1.2
Total	68	84
Missing	13	16

In addition to the MEIM there were other instruments used to measure ethnic identity (Table 21). Some of the instruments are:

- Researcher developed – instruments that were developed by the authors of the studies. These instruments could go from assigning 0 and 1 to ethnic labels to multiple-choice questions. These instruments ranged from 1990 to 2008.
- The Mexican American Value Attitude Scale – this instrument was developed in 1970. It is a 60-item interview that addresses perception of ethnicity, personal preferences and ethnic awareness, family relationships, peer relationships, and school and community environment.
- Ethnic Identity Scale – this instrument was developed by Umaña-Taylor et. al., in 2004. “The EIS is a 17-item self-report measure designed to assess three dimensions of adolescent ethnic identity: exploration, resolution, and affirmation” (Supple, 2006, p. 1429).
- Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity – the instrument was developed by Sellers et al., in 1997. The items were modified to represent the other ethnic groups. The instrument measures the extent to which the individuals’ ethnic label was central to their definition of themselves.
- Racial Ethnic-Identity (REI) – it addresses three components: connectedness, awareness of racism, and embedded achievement with 4-item, 5-point Likert response scale.
- Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyal Scale (CALS) – developed by Keefe and Gonzales and Padilla in 1987. It measures ethnic awareness across six dimensions: Language familiarity and usage, cultural heritage, ethnic interaction, ethnic pride and identity, ethnic distance and perceived discrimination, and generational proximity to Mexico.

- Implicit Association Test - was devised to measure the strength of ethnic identification by Greenwald and Farnham, 2000 and revised by Nosek et al., in 2002.
- Scale of Ethnic Experience – the instrument was developed by Malcarne, Chavira, Liu, and Fernandez in 2000. The scale is a 42-item scale that measures ethnic identity and acculturation.
- Collective Self Esteem Scale (CSE) – the instrument was developed in 1992 by Luhtanen and Crocker. The scale consists of four components: private CSE, public CSE, importance to identity, and membership CSE.
- Behavioral Acculturation Scale – it is a 17-item version of the Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso (1980) acculturation scale for Mexican Americans, which was adapted to measure identification with Puerto Rican versus Anglo-American ethnicity. The instrument measures ethnic behaviors and feelings associated with Puerto Rican ethnic pride.
- Ethnic Consciousness – the instrument was developed in 1987 by Gutierrez. The instrument measures action orientation, power discontent, and perceived discrimination.
- Intragroup Marginalization Inventory - the IMI was developed in 2007 and consists of three scales that measure perceived intragroup marginalization from the heritage culture family, friends, and ethnic group.
- Cultural Identity Scale for Latino Adolescents – it was developed in 1994 by Maria Feliz-Ortiz. The instrument is based on several existing acculturation scales to assess multiple cultural identity and biculturalism. The items evaluate language

use, values and attitudes, behavior, and familiarity with aspects of American and Latino culture.

The results show that the ethnic identity instruments' alpha varied (excluding the MEIM) from .59 to .95 (Table 25). Some of the most used instruments included researcher developed and ethnic identity scale. The alpha for the researcher-developed instruments ranged from .59 to .95 (Table 26). Studies done by researchers that developed their own instruments had very specific characteristics. The studies were either conducted before 1992 or in the last five years (Table 27). The conceptual frameworks for these studies were an overlap between Acculturation Theory, Social Identity Theory, and Ego Identity (Table 28).

Table 25. Ethnic Identity Instruments (except MEIM) alphas

Alpha	Frequency	Percentage
.59	2	5.4
.60	1	2.7
.63	2	5.4
.64	1	2.7
.66	3	8.1
.68	1	2.7
.70	1	2.7
.71	1	2.7
.72	2	5.4
.74	1	2.7
.75	1	2.7
.76	1	2.7
.77	2	5.4
.78	1	2.7
.79	1	2.7
.80	1	2.7
.81	6	16.2
.82	1	2.7
.83	1	2.7
.84	1	2.7
.85	1	2.7
.86	1	2.7
.87	1	2.7
.89	1	2.7
.95	2	5.4
Total	37	100

Table 26. Alpha of Researcher Developed Instruments

Alpha	Frequency	Percentage
.59	2	20
.66	1	10
.68	1	10
.81	3	30
.87	1	10
.89	1	10
.95	1	10
Total	10	100

Table 27. Year of Studies that used Researcher Developed Instruments

Year	Frequency	Percentage
1990	1	10
1992	1	10
1993	1	10
1994	1	10
1998	1	10
2003	1	10
2004	2	20
2005	1	10
2008	1	10
Total	10	100

Table 28. Theoretical Framework for Studies with Researcher Developed Instruments

Theoretical Framework	Frequency	Percentage
Acculturation Theory	1	10
Ego Identity	2	20
Social Identity Theory	2	20
Social Identity Theory and Acculturation Theory	1	10
Total	6	60
Missing	4	40

The Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS) also had specific characteristics. The alpha for the scale ranged from .71 to .95 (Table 29). The majority of studies (N = 8) were conducted in the last five years (Table 30). The studies had an overlap in the conceptual frameworks used to guide the research. The theories included Three-Stage Model, Ego Identity, Social Identity Theory, and Acculturation Model (Table 31).

Table 29. Alpha of Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS)

Alpha	Frequency	Percentage
.71	1	11.1
.72	1	11.1
.77	1	11.1
.80	1	11.1
.81	1	11.1
.82	1	11.1
.84	1	11.1
.86	1	11.1
.95	1	11.1
Total	9	100

Table 30. Years of studies that used Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS)

Year	Frequency	Percentage
1995	1	11.1
2004	1	11.1
2005	2	22.2
2006	2	22.2
2007	2	22.2
2008	1	11.1
Total	9	100

Table 31. Theoretical framework for Studies with Ethnic Identity Scale (EIS)

Theoretical Framework	Frequency	Percentage
Acculturation Theory	1	11.1
Ego Identity	1	11.1
Three-stage Model	2	22.2
Social Identity Theory	1	11.1
Ego Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory	2	22.2
Total	7	77.8
Missing	2	22.2

Tests of independence were conducted to determine if the characteristics, such as research focus, of the articles demonstrated any significant relationship with the instruments used to measure EI. Articles that studied EI as the main research component reported using the MEIM to measure EI 63% of the time. Articles that study EI as the main research component reported using other instruments to measure EI 51% of the time (Table 32). The Chi-Square test of independence was not significant, indicating a that there is no significant relation between EI as a main research purpose and the instruments used to measure EI ($\chi^2 = .979$ (df=1, n=118), p=.32) (Table 33).

Table 32: Instrument and EI as the Main Research Purpose

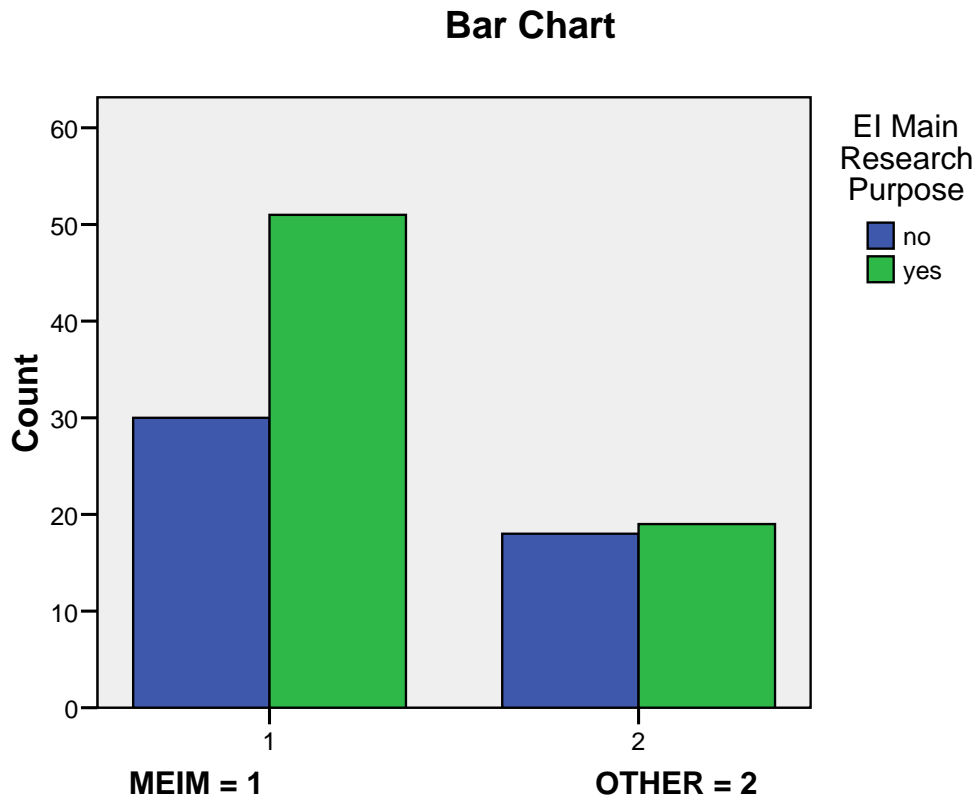
Instrument		EI Main Research Purpose	
		no	yes
MEIM	Frequency	30	51
	Percentage	37%	63%
Other	Frequency	18	19
	Percentage	49%	51%

Table 33: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.419 ^b	1	.23
Continuity Correction ^a	.979	1	.32
Likelihood Ratio	1.408	1	.23
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.407	1	.23
N of Valid Cases	118		

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 1 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.70.



Graph 5: Instrument and EI Main Research Purpose

Hypothesis #2:

How Latinos are categorized

Latinos are a group composed of different nationalities and races, hence, the realities and experiences vary across them. However, research has ignored these

differences and many studies categorize Latinos into a homogenous group. This approach misrepresents the data gathered and the implications described.

The results in this research showed that many studies (N = 73) categorized Latinos into one group (Table 34). Furthermore, studies that did separate Latinos into different groups were focused mostly on the experience of Mexican Americans.

Table 34. Latinos' categorization in sample

Latinos included in sample	Frequency	Percentage
No	57	43.8
Yes	73	56.2
Total	130	100

Tests of independence were conducted to determine if the characteristics, such as research focus and instrument used to measure EI, of the articles demonstrated any significant relationship with sample categorization. Articles that studied Latinos as a homogenous group reported using the MEIM to measure EI 74% of the time. Articles that study Latinos as a heterogeneous group reported using the MEIM to measure EI 59% of the time (Table 35). The Chi-Square test of independence was not significant, indicating that there is no significant relation between EI as a main research purpose and the instruments used to measure EI ($\chi^2 = 3.10$ (df=1, n=116), p=.08) (Table 36).

Table 35: Latinos as Homogenous Group and Instrument

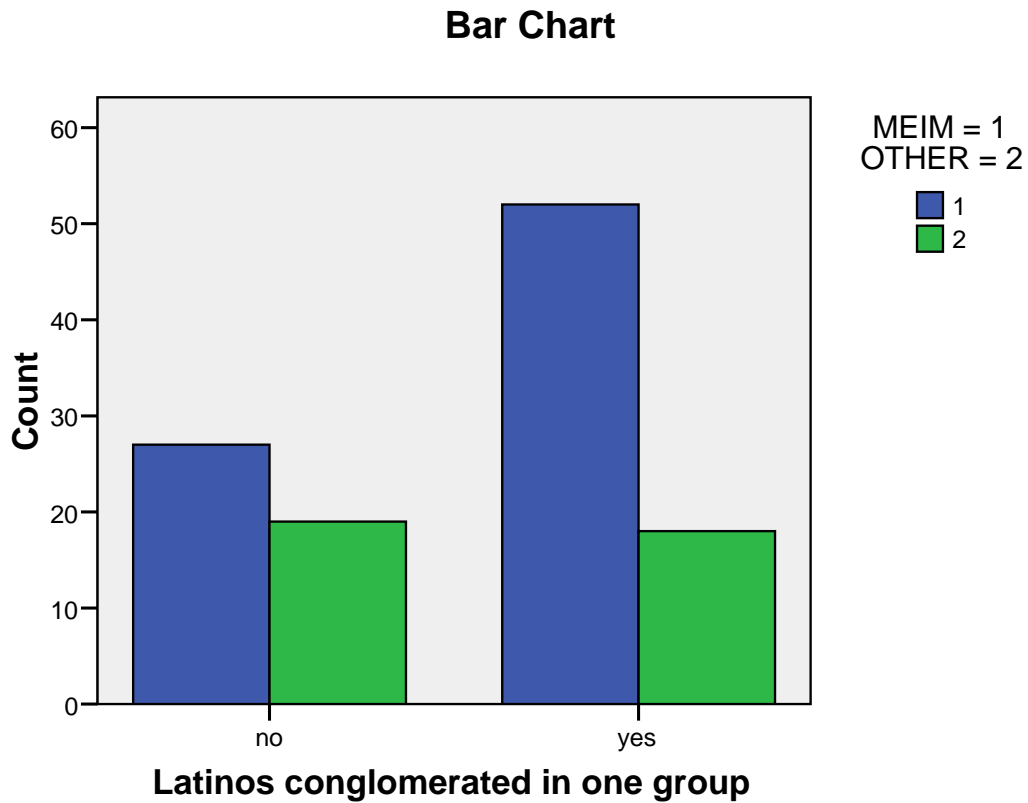
Latinos as a homogenous group		Instrument	
		MEIM	Other
No	Frequency	27	19
	Percentage	59%	41%
Yes	Frequency	52	18
	Percentage	74%	26%

Table 36: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.106 ^b	1	.08
Continuity Correction ^a	2.430	1	.12
Likelihood Ratio	3.074	1	.08
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.079	.08	.01
N of Valid Cases	116		

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 14.67.



Graph 6: Latinos as Homogenous Group and Instrument

Articles that studied Latinos as a homogenous group reported EI as the main research purpose 53% of the time. Articles that study Latinos as a heterogeneous group reported EI as the main research purpose 67% of the time (Table 37). The Chi-Square test of independence was not significant, indicating that there is no significant relation

between EI as a main research purpose and Latinos categorization ($\chi^2 = 2.22$ (df=1, n=117), p=.14) (Table 38).

Table 37: Latinos as Homogenous Group and EI Main Research Purpose

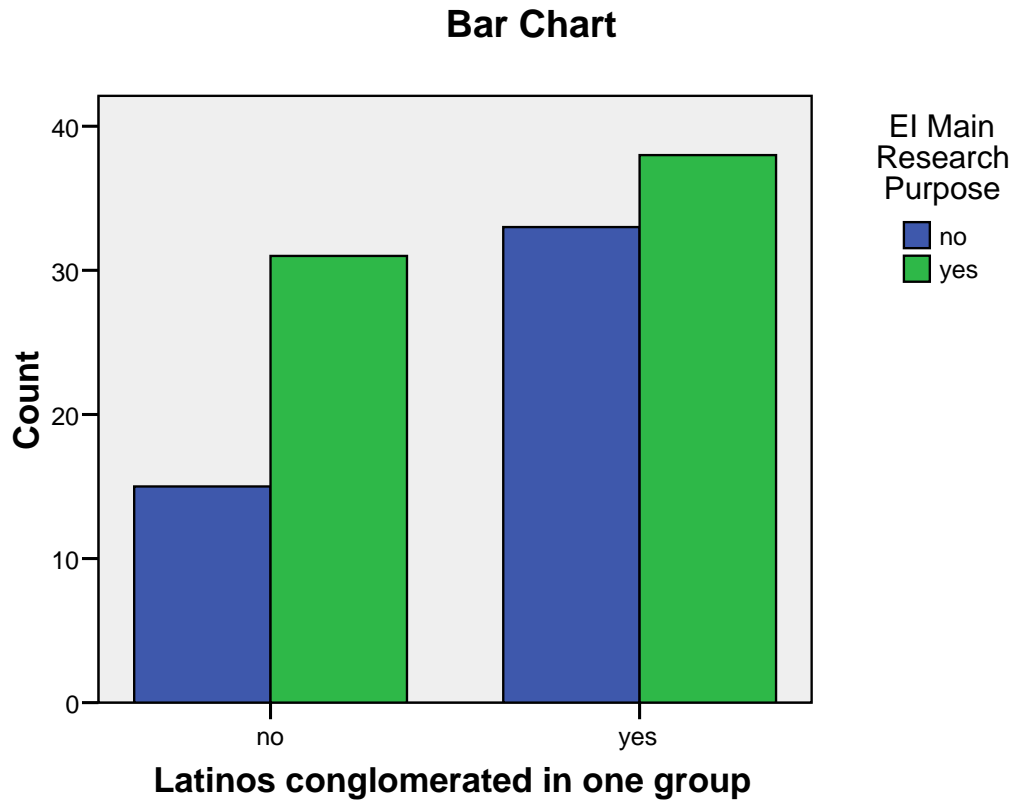
Latinos as a homogenous group		EI Main Research Purpose	
		no	Yes
No	Frequency	15	31
	Percentage	33%	67%
Yes	Frequency	33	38
	Percentage	47%	53%

Table 38: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.220 ^b	1	.14
Continuity Correction ^a	1.683	1	.19
Likelihood Ratio	2.246	1	.134
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.201	1	.138
N of Valid Cases	117		

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 18.87.



Graph 7: Latinos as Homogenous Group and EI Main Research Purpose

Hypothesis #3:

Components that impact ethnic identity

In order to understand what components impact ethnic identity development this study coded them by assigning 0 to components not mentioned, 1 to components mentioned, and 2 to components studied. Ethnic identity has been mostly studied in terms of the effect it has on psychological well-being and not necessarily how it is developed.

This research found a low concentration of the components that impact Latino youth ethnic identity in the studies (Table 39). The majority of the studies did not mention any components that impacted ethnic identity development. The percentage of studies that did not mention any component ranged from 62.3 to 96.9. The components

that were most often mentioned in the studies were discrimination (21.5%), mainstream culture (18.6%), language (16.9%), prejudice (13.8%), and family (13.1%). Components that were most often studied differed, and were gender (18.5%), acculturation (18.5%), school (15.4%), discrimination (13.8%), and immigration/generation status (10.8%).

In addition to the components included in the Latino ethnic identity conceptual framework, other components were also studied (30%) (Table 40). Among those were ethnicity (N = 12) and age (N = 9).

Table 39. Percentages of Ethnic Identity Variables that are Not Mentioned, Mentioned, or Studied.

Ethnic Identity Variable	Not Mentioned	Mentioned	Studied
Socio Economic Status	83.1	7.7	9.2
Media	92.3	7.7	
Government	93.8	6.2	
Neighborhood	93.8	4.6	1.5
Religion	93.8	4.6	1.5
Racism	92.3	6.9	.8
Immigration/Generation Status	77.7	11.5	10.8
Language	73.8	16.9	9.2
Teacher	92.8	3.8	2.3
Family	68.5	13.1	18.5
Sexual Orientation	96.9	2.3	.8
Society	86.2	12.3	1.5
Power	96.9	1.5	1.5
Acculturation	74.6	6.9	18.5
Discrimination	64.6	21.5	13.8
Prejudice	83.1	13.8	3.1
Mainstream Culture	76	18.6	5.4
School	72.3	12.3	15.4
Community	93.1	3.1	3.8
Peers	80.8	10.8	8.5
Ethnic Socialization	78.5	12.3	9.2
Gender	75.4	6.2	18.5
Other	62.3	7.7	30

N = 130

Table 40. Frequencies of other variables mentioned and studied

Variables Mentioned	Frequencies	Variables Studied	Frequencies
Age	2	Ethnicity	12
Generation	1	Nationality	3
Race	1	Age	9
National Origin	1	Race	1
History	1	Ethnic values	1
Food	1	Social values	1
Culture	1	Machismo	2
		Eating Disorder	1

N = 38

Tests of independence were conducted to determine if the research focus of the articles demonstrated any significant relationship with the studies independent variables. Only the independent variables that met both assumptions of the test of independence were included (i.e., immigration status, language, family, acculturation, discrimination, school, peers, and ethnic socialization). Articles that studied EI as the main research component reported studying immigration status 10% of the time. Articles that did not study EI as the main research component reported studying immigration status 11% of the time (Table 41). The Chi-Square test of independence was not significant, indicating that there is no significant relation between EI as a main research purpose and immigration status ($\chi^2 = .054$ (df=1, n=130), p=.97) (Table 42).

Table 41: EI Main Research Purpose and Immigration Status

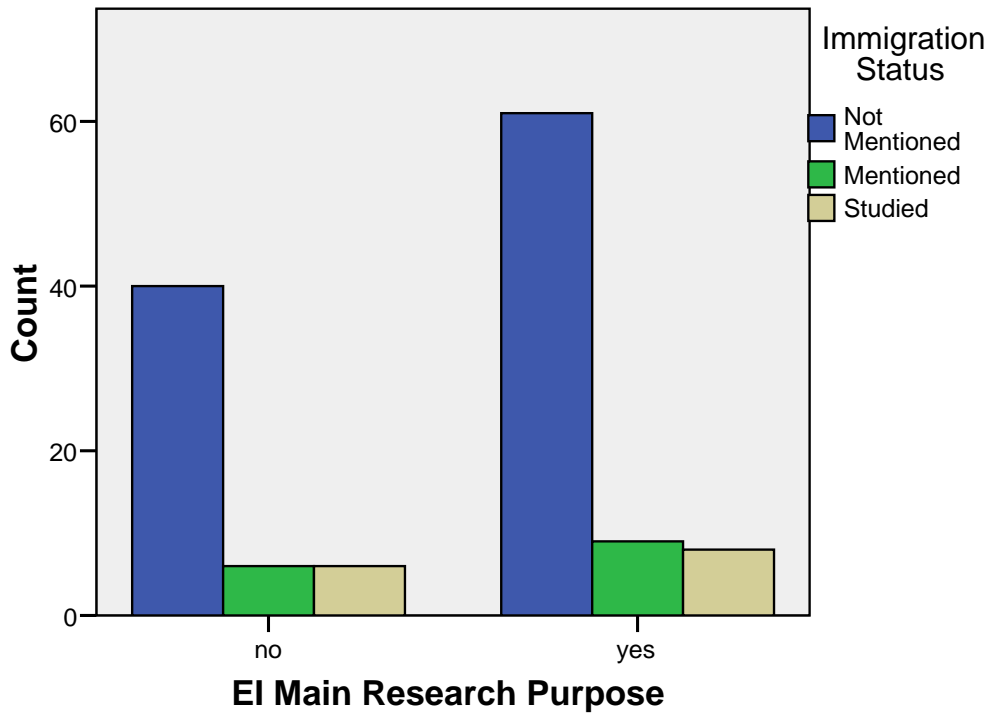
EI Main Research Purpose		Immigration Status		
		not mentioned	mentioned	studied
No	Frequency	40	6	6
	Percentage	77%	11%	11%
Yes	Frequency	61	9	8
	Percentage	78%	12%	10%

Table 42: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.054 ^a	2	.97
Likelihood Ratio	.54	2	.97
Linear-by-Linear Association	.047	1	.82
N of Valid Cases	130		

a. 1 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.60.

Bar Chart



Graph 8: EI Main Research Purpose and Immigration Status

Articles that studied EI as the main research component reported studying language 6% of the time. Articles that did not study EI as the main research component reported studying language 13% of the time (Table 43). The Chi-Square test of independence was not significant, indicating that there is no significant relation between EI as a main research purpose and language ($\chi^2 = 3.18$ (df=2, n=130), p=.20) (Table 44).

Table 43: EI Main Research Purpose and Language

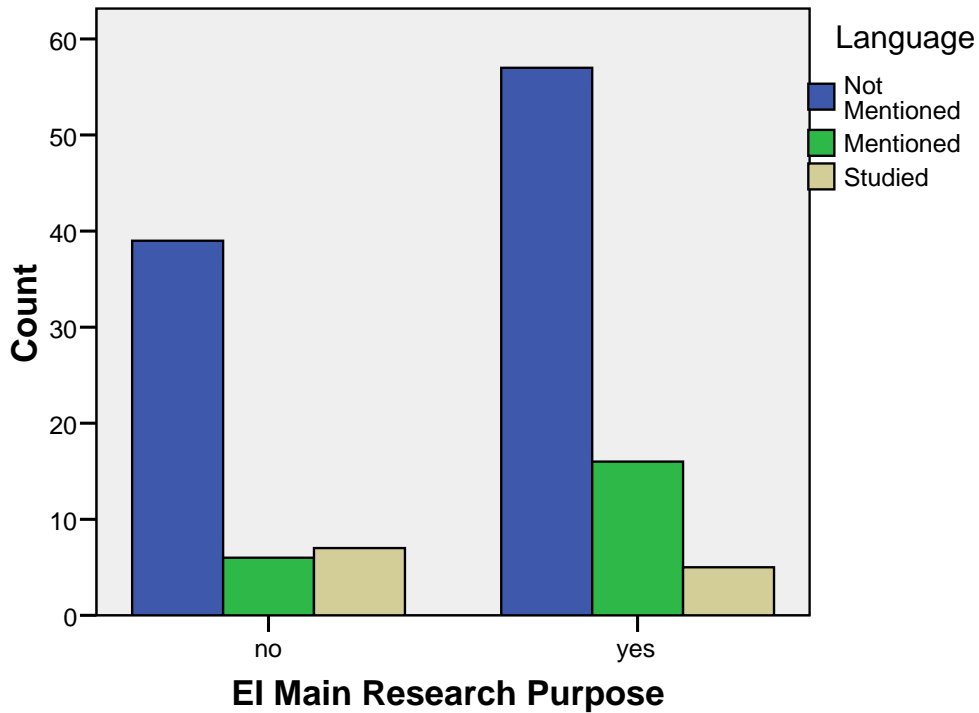
EI Main Research Purpose		Language		
		not mentioned	mentioned	studied
No	Frequency	39	6	7
	Percentage	75%	12%	13%
Yes	Frequency	57	16	5
	Percentage	73%	21%	6%

Table 44: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.181 ^a	2	.20
Likelihood Ratio	3.211	2	.20
Linear-by-Linear Association	.197	1	.65
N of Valid Cases	130		

a. 1 cell (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.80.

Bar Chart



Graph 9: EI Main Research Purpose and Language

Articles that studied EI as the main research component reported studying family 14% of the time. Articles that did not study EI as the main research component reported studying family 25% of the time (Table 45). The Chi-Square test of independence was not significant, indicating that there is no significant relation between EI as a main research purpose and family ($\chi^2 = 2.48$ (df=2, n=130), p=.28) (Table 46).

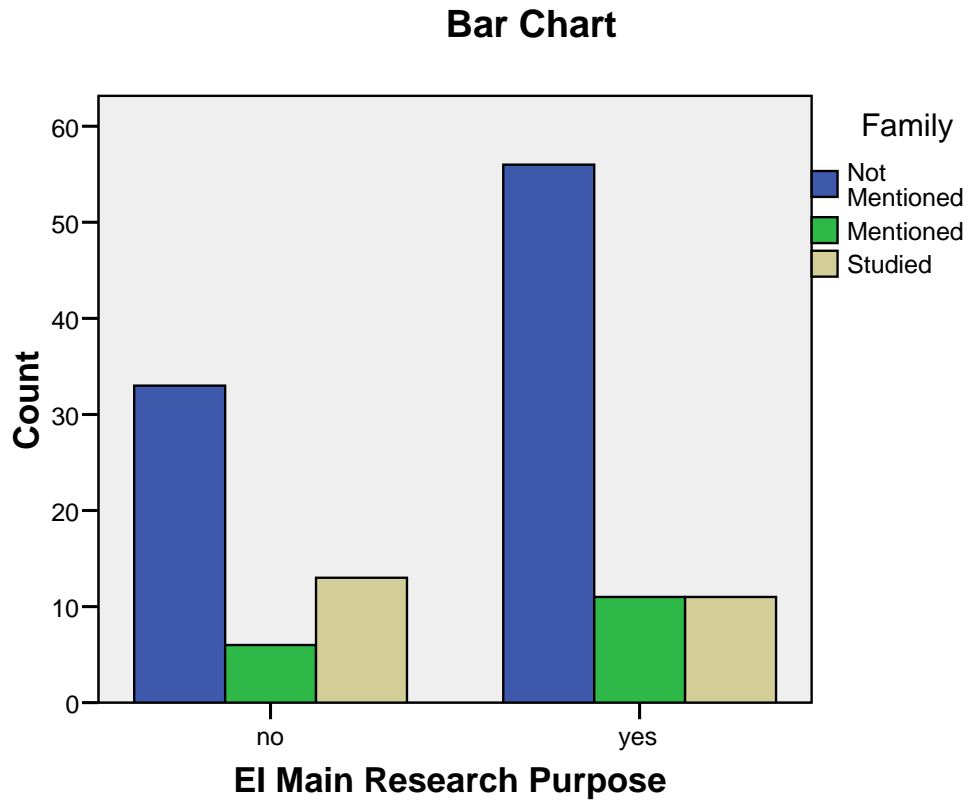
Table 45: EI Main Research Purpose and Family

EI Main Research Purpose		Family		
		not mentioned	mentioned	studied
No	Frequency	33	6	13
	Percentage	64%	11%	25%
Yes	Frequency	56	11	11
	Percentage	72%	14%	14%

Table 46: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.480 ^a	2	.28
Likelihood Ratio	2.436	2	.29
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.849	1	.17
N of Valid Cases	130		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.80.



Graph 10: EI Main Research Purpose and Family

Articles that studied EI as the main research component reported studying acculturation 8% of the time. Articles that did not study EI as the main research component reported studying acculturation 34% of the time (Table 47). The Chi-Square test of independence was significant, indicating there is a significant relation between EI as a main research purpose and acculturation ($\chi^2 = 15.65$ (df=2, n=130), p=.00) (Table 48).

Table 47: EI Main Research Purpose and Acculturation

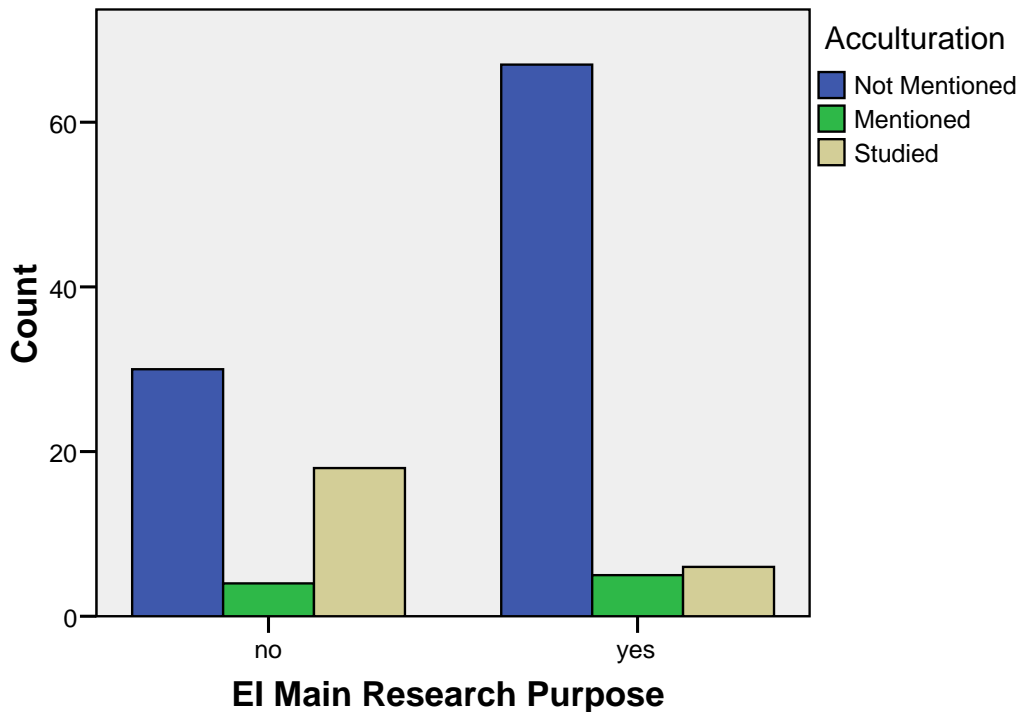
EI Main Research Purpose		Acculturation		
		not mentioned	mentioned	studied
No	Frequency	30	4	18
	Percentage	58%	8%	34%
Yes	Frequency	67	5	6
	Percentage	86%	6%	8%

Table 48: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.651 ^a	2	.00
Likelihood Ratio	15.632	2	.00
Linear-by-Linear Association	15.288	1	.00
N of Valid Cases	130		

a. 1 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.60.

Bar Chart



Graph 11: EI Main Research Purpose and Acculturation

Articles that studied EI as the main research component reported studying discrimination 17% of the time. Articles that did not study EI as the main research component reported studying discrimination 11% of the time (Table 49). The Chi-Square test of independence was not significant, indicating that there is no significant relation

between EI as a main research purpose and discrimination ($\chi^2 = 1.90$ (df=2, n=130), p=.38) (Table 50).

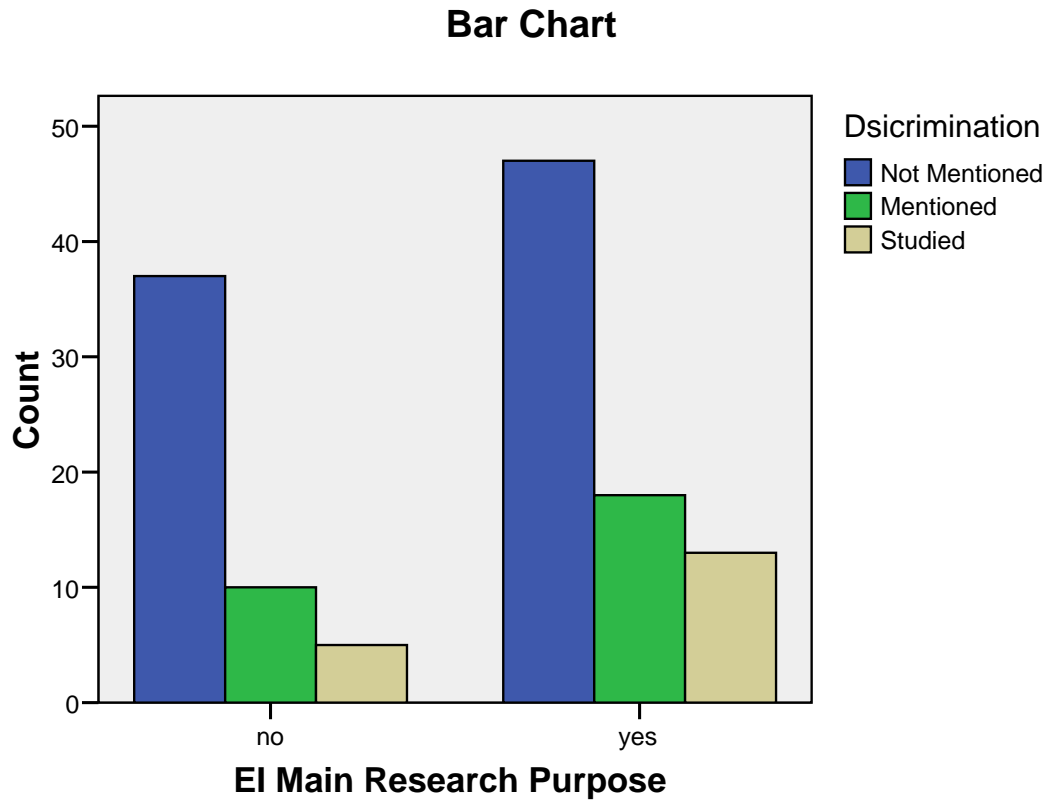
Table 49: EI Main Research Purpose and Discrimination

EI Main Research Purpose		Discrimination		
		not mentioned	mentioned	studied
No	Frequency	37	10	5
	Percentage	71%	19%	10%
Yes	Frequency	47	18	13
	Percentage	60%	23%	17%

Table 50: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.908 ^a	2	.38
Likelihood Ratio	1.959	2	.37
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.893	1	.16
N of Valid Cases	130		

a. 0 cells (0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.20.



Graph 12: EI Main Research Purpose and Discrimination

Articles that studied EI as the main research component reported studying school 19% of the time. Articles that did not study EI as the main research component reported studying school 10% of the time (Table 51). The Chi-Square test of independence was not significant, indicating that there is no significant relation between EI as a main research purpose and school ($\chi^2 = 6.70$ (df=2, n=130), p=.03) (Table 52).

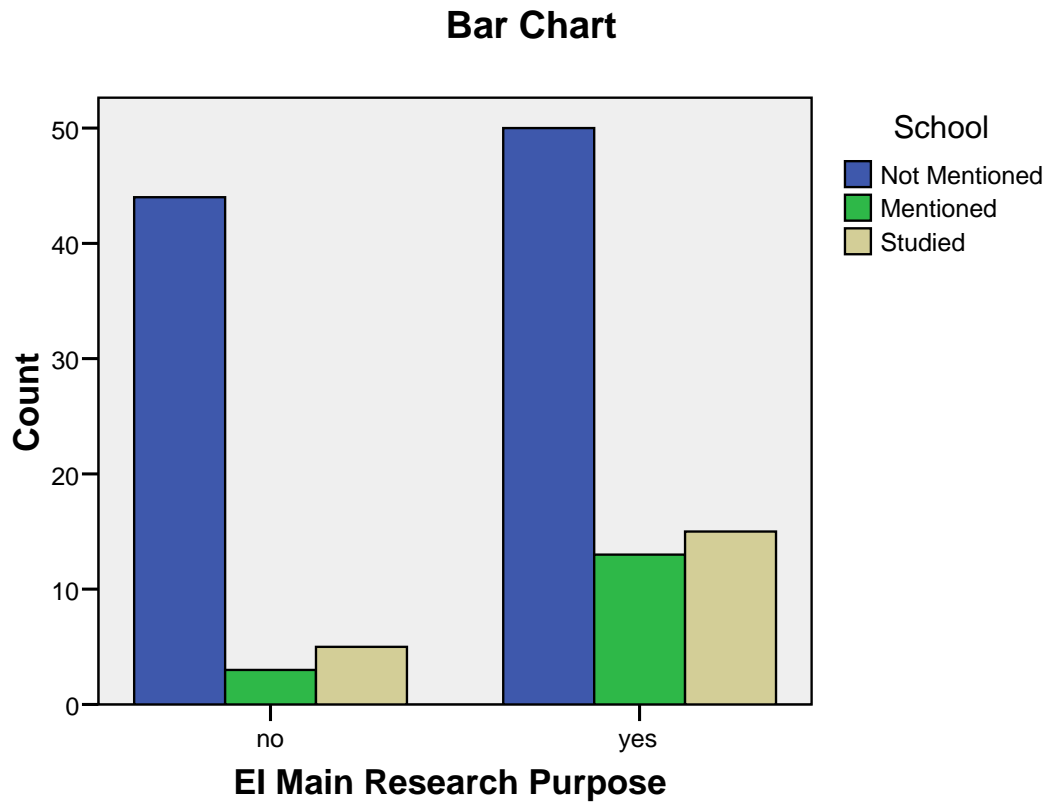
Table 51: EI Main Research Purpose and School

EI Main Research Purpose		School		
		not mentioned	mentioned	studied
No	Frequency	44	3	5
	Percentage	85%	6%	10%
Yes	Frequency	50	3	15
	Percentage	64%	17%	19%

Table 52: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.701 ^a	2	.03
Likelihood Ratio	7.119	2	.02
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.083	1	.02
N of Valid Cases	130		

a. 0 cells (0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.40.

**Graph 13:** EI Main Research Purpose and School

Articles that studied EI as the main research component reported studying peers 6% of the time. Articles that did not study EI as the main research component reported studying peers 11% of the time (Table 53). The Chi-Square test of independence was not significant, indicating that there is no significant relation between EI as a main research purpose and peers ($\chi^2 = 1.17$ (df=2, n=130), p=.55) (Table 54).

Table 53: EI Main Research Purpose and Peers

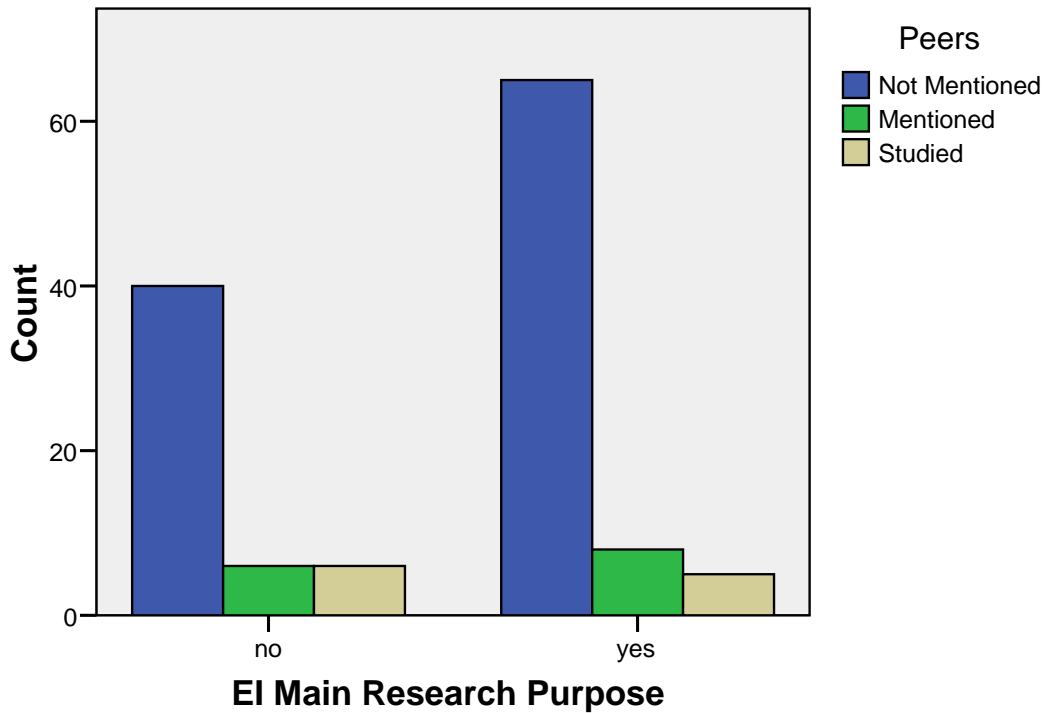
EI Main Research Purpose		Peers		
		not mentioned	mentioned	studied
No	Frequency	40	6	6
	Percentage	77%	11%	11%
Yes	Frequency	65	8	5
	Percentage	83%	10%	6%

Table 54: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.176 ^a	2	.55
Likelihood Ratio	1.152	2	.56
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.116	1	.29
N of Valid Cases	130		

a. 1 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.40.

Bar Chart



Graph 14: EI Main Research Purpose and Peers

Articles that studied EI as the main research component reported studying ethnic socialization 12% of the time. Articles that did not study EI as the main research component reported studying ethnic socialization 6% of the time (Table 55). The Chi-Square test of independence was not significant, indicating that there is no significant relation between EI as a main research purpose and ethnic socialization ($\chi^2 = 3.34$ (df=2, n=130), p=.18) (Table 56).

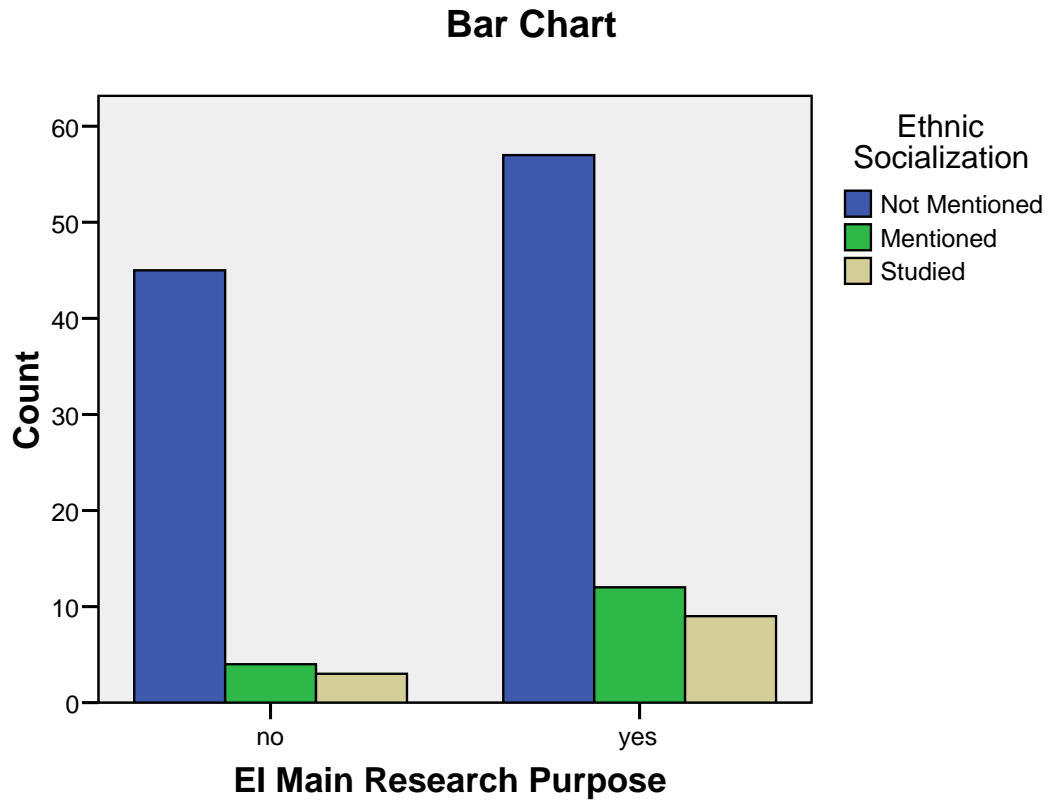
Table 55: EI Main Research Purpose and Ethnic Socialization

EI Main Research Purpose		Ethnic Socialization		
		not mentioned	mentioned	studied
No	Frequency	45	4	3
	Percentage	87%	8%	6%
Yes	Frequency	57	12	9
	Percentage	73%	15%	12%

Table 56: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.346 ^a	2	.18
Likelihood Ratio	3.505	2	.17
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.879	1	.09
N of Valid Cases	130		

a. 1 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.80.



Graph 15: EI Main Research Purpose and Ethnic Socialization

Due to how many researchers study EI and acculturation as the same component, I wanted to explore if there was any statistical difference between research focus and the independent variable acculturation. Articles that studied EI and acculturation as the main research component reported studying acculturation 64% of the time. Articles that did not study EI and acculturation as the main research component reported studying acculturation 8% of the time (Table 57). The Chi-Square test of independence was significant, indicating that there is a significant relation between EI and acculturation as a main research purpose and acculturation ($\chi^2 = 50.82$ (df=2, n=130), p=.00) (Table 58).

Table 57: EI and Acculturation as Main Research Purpose and Acculturation

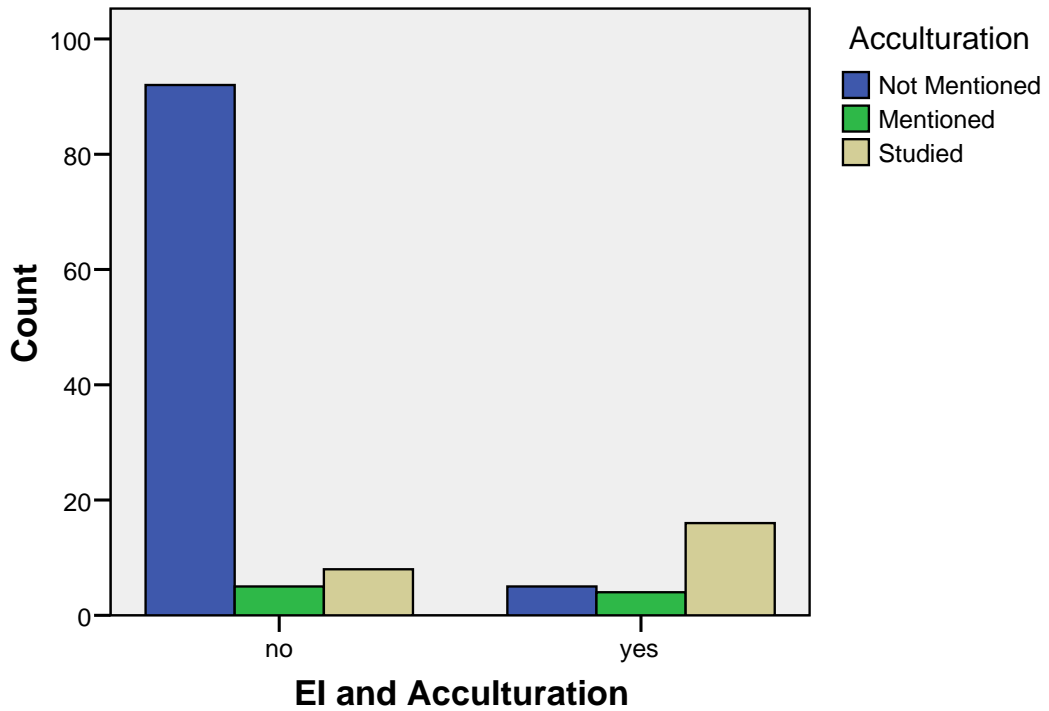
EI and Acculturation as Main Research Purpose		Acculturation		
		not mentioned	mentioned	studied
No	Frequency	92	5	8
	Percentage	87%	5%	8%
Yes	Frequency	5	4	16
	Percentage	20%	16%	64%

Table 58: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	50.825 ^a	2	.00
Likelihood Ratio	44.975	2	.00
Linear-by-Linear Association	50.060	1	.00
N of Valid Cases	130		

a. 2 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.73.

Bar Chart



Graph 16: EI and Acculturation as Main Research Purpose and Acculturation

The MEIM was the only instrument that provided sufficient data to conduct effect

size analyses. Using the Bonnet (2008) new proposed method this study calculated confidence intervals.

The variables included in the following analysis were: Latino identity, language, ethnic socialization, socio-economic status, age, gender, family, teachers, school, nationality, discrimination/racism, neighborhood, culture/behaviors, ethnic exploration, mainstream culture, self-esteem, and immigration/generational status.

The confidence interval for each variable was calculated (Table 59). The m for correlation values available ranged from 1 to 11. Bonnet (2008) establishes that when $m = 1$, his proposed method reduces to the confidence interval for a single Pearson correlation coefficient.

Two variables, Latino identity and self esteem, were highly studied. The 95% confidence of the average correlation ($m = 11$) between Latino identity and ethnic identity lies in the range of $c[.46, .52]$. The 95% confidence of the average correlation ($m = 11$) between self esteem and ethnic identity lies in the range of $c[.21, .29]$. However, neither one of these variables was included in the Latino Conceptual Framework proposed in this study.

Other variables that showed substantial correlations with ethnic identity were culture ($[.43, .63], m = 2$), ethnic socialization ($[.27, .37], m = 8$), nationality ($[.08, .47], m = 1$), family ($[.23, .34], m = 5$), language ($[.18, .32] m = 5$), school ($[.05, .21], m = 6$), and discrimination ($[.02, .20], m = 6$).

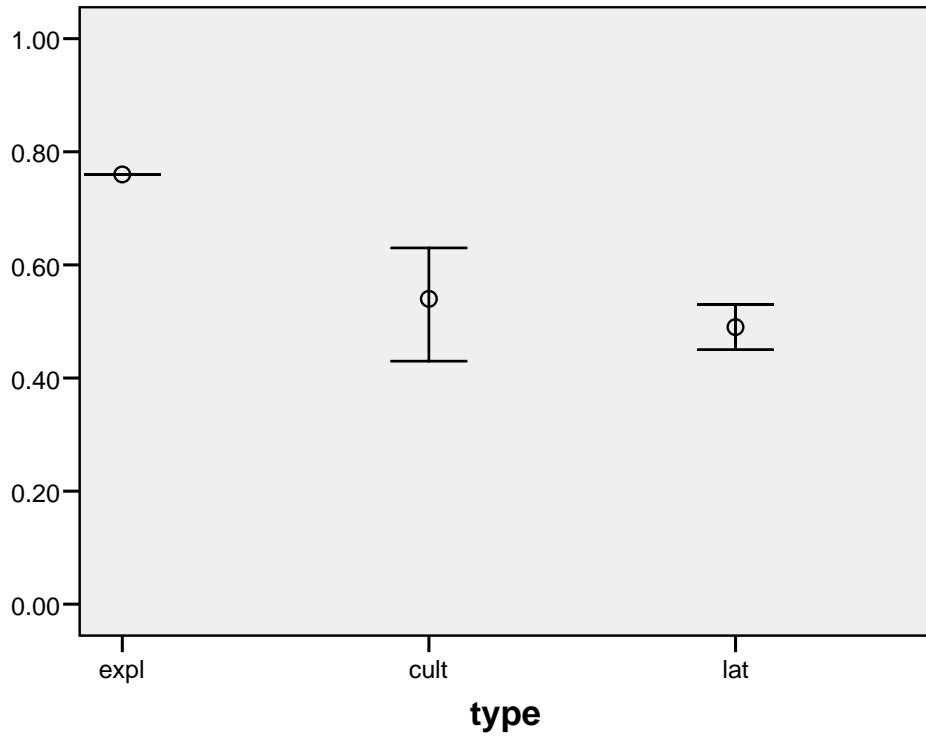
To address the relations of the variables with ethnic identity development, the correlation values means were calculated. Ethnic exploration (mean = .76) showed a strong relationship with Latino ethnic identity development. In addition, language (mean

= .25), self-esteem (mean = .25), teachers (mean = .36), neighborhood (mean = .28), family (mean = .28), nationality (mean = .29), ethnic socialization (mean = .32), Latino identity (mean = .49), and culture (mean = .54) were meaningfully related to Latino ethnic identity development.

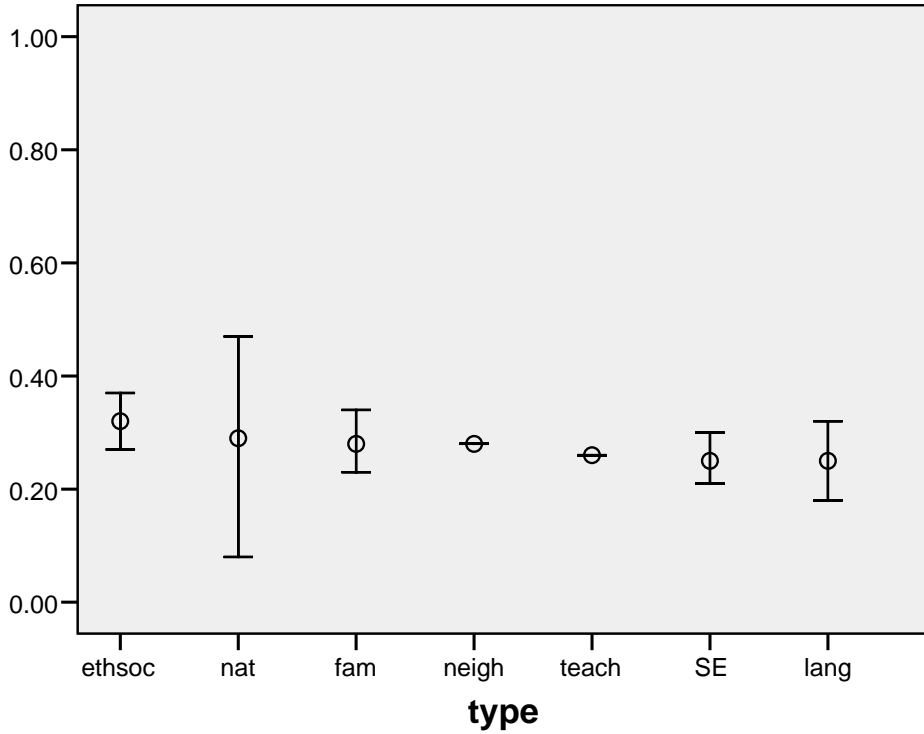
Table 59. Confidence intervals summary statistics

Predictor Variable	Lower	Upper	Mean	m
exploration	0.76	0.76	0.76	2
culture	0.43	0.63	0.54	2
Latino identity	0.45	0.53	0.49	11
ethnic socialization	0.27	0.37	0.32	8
nationality	0.08	0.47	0.29	1
family	0.23	0.34	0.28	5
neighborhood	0.28	0.28	0.28	1
teachers	0.26	0.26	0.26	2
Self esteem	0.21	0.30	0.25	11
language	0.18	0.32	0.25	5
school	0.05	0.21	0.14	6
discrimination	0.02	0.20	0.11	6
age	-0.02	0.15	0.06	6
gender	-0.02	0.09	0.03	6
mainstream culture	-0.06	0.12	0.03	6
socio economic status	-0.07	0.12	0.02	5
immigration	-0.09	0.14	0.02	3
peers	-0.14	0.14	0.00	2

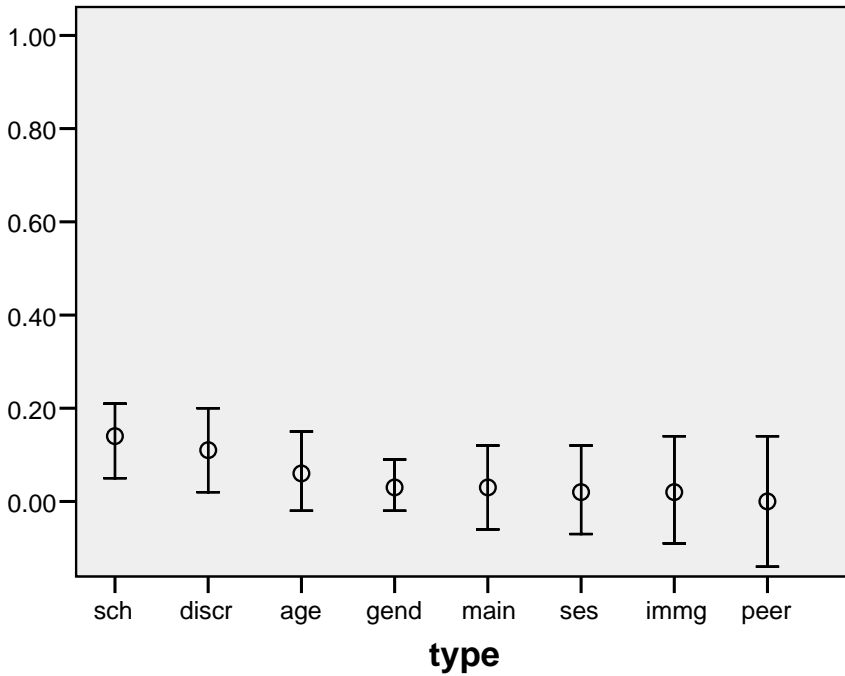
Graphs 17 to 19 present the distribution of the variables' means and confidence intervals in a range from -1 to 1. Nationality with an *m* of 1 presents the largest variation (c[.10,.46]) in the correlations while other like teachers, neighborhood, and ethnic exploration had no variation when compared to their mean.



Graph 17. Confidence intervals for MEIM variables (exploration, culture, and Latino identity respectively).



Graph 18. Confidence intervals for MEIM variables (ethnic socialization, nationality, family, neighborhood, teachers, self esteem, and language respectively).



Graph 19. Confidence intervals for MEIM variables (school, discrimination, age, gender, mainstream culture, socio economic status, immigration, and peers respectively).

Summary

The study of Latino youth ethnic identity development revealed interesting results. The results provided answers for the three different research questions:

- How has Latino youth ethnic identity been conceptualized and measured in the research? There is no agreement about the definition, conceptual framework, and measurement to conceptualize ethnic identity. Ethnic identity was found to be defined by the majority of studies following three major approaches: Social Identity Theory; culture; and individuals' sense of belonging, attitudes, behaviors, feelings, thoughts, and practices. Measurement of ethnic identity employed 17 different instruments. However, the majority of the studies measured ethnic identity using the MEIM. Finally, the majority of the studies were guided by a specific conceptual framework. The three main conceptual frameworks mentioned by the authors were: Three-Stage Model, Social Identity Theory, and Acculturation model.
- How are Latinos grouped in the research on ethnic identity development? Latinos have been characterized as a homogenous group by researchers, census information, and other reports. However, Latinos are composed of variety of nationalities and cultures. The results showed that the majority of the studies grouped Latinos into one category.

What predictor variables are included in the study of Latino youth ethnic identity? In the last ten years researchers have studied ethnic identity in terms of the impact it has on the individual's psychological well-being. Few studies have focused on the components that play a role in Latino youth ethnic identity development. The results showed that

approximately half of the predictor variables were not studied by the authors whose studies are included in this research. However, the results showed that language, self-esteem, teachers, neighborhood, family, nationality, ethnic socialization, Latino identity, culture, and ethnic exploration impact Latino ethnic identity development.

In summary the three hypotheses were supported by the results. However, of the 130 authors, only a few studies included results regarding the predictor variables proposed in the conceptual framework to fully support or reject the model. The predictor variables that were studied pertain only to one instrument, the MEIM. Thus, the final hypothesis was only tested against the MEIM and not the totality of the instruments. In the next chapter interpretations of the data, recommendations, and other limitations will be discussed.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Ethnic identity is a complex and dynamic process that is studied and interpreted in varying ways. Many times the complexity depends on how the concept is defined, what theory is used as a conceptual framework, and the focus of the specific study. This study intended to answer the following research questions:

- How is Latino youth ethnic identity conceptualized in the research available?
- How are Latinos grouped in the research of ethnic identity development?
- What independent variables are included in the study of Latino youth ethnic identity development?

Latinos have been identified as one of the fastest growing minority population in the United States. It is expected that by 2020 Latinos will represent approximately 20% of the population (US Census Bureau, 2006). Latinos are a relatively young population who are US born and reside mostly in the states of California, Texas, Florida, New York, and Illinois. Despite the increase in Latino population, little is known about factors, such as ethnic identity development, which have been found to be related to this group's psychological well-being, social development, and academic aspirations.

Ethnic identity is a process of constant change in which individuals define their selves in a specific context by identifying as a group member. This identification involves attitudes, evaluations, ethnic knowledge and commitment, behaviors, and practices (Cuéllar, Nyberg, & Maldonado, 1997; Negy, Shreve, Jensen, & Uddin, 2003; Phinney, 2000).

The purpose of this study was to develop a conceptual framework of ethnic identity development for Latino youth that includes components representing this

population's realities and experiences using a meta-analytic approach. Further, this study evaluated the theoretical frameworks, definitions, and measurements that had been used to explain ethnic identity development on Latino youth. This study also aimed to integrate the theories of social identity, ecology of human development, and ethnic identity to better explain Latino ethnic identity development and adjustment. Finally, this study sought to identify the relationships, if any, between the variables that predict Latino youth ethnic identity and ethnic identity development.

The findings of this meta-analysis were based on data from 130 studies. The studies were summarized and descriptive statistics, tests of independence, and effect size analyses were conducted to answer the research questions.

Summary of findings

Hypothesis #1: The result of this meta-analysis supports the first hypothesis that there is very little agreement on how to conceptualize and measure ethnic identity. The results showed three major types of definitions, 13 types of theories, and 17 different measures. Furthermore, many studies did not follow one framework throughout the entire paper. For instance, there were studies in which ethnic identity was operationalized using a cultural approach, theorized following social identity theory, and measured using the MEIM.

The range of definitions, conceptual frameworks, and measurements provide evidence about the inconsistency in the field with regard to ethnic identity. Furthermore, the results showed that the inclusion of a definition for EI and theoretical framework were related to the research focus and instrument used to measure EI. In other words, studies that include a definition for EI and are guided by a theoretical framework are

more likely to study EI as the main research component. However, there was no relationship between research focus, theoretical framework, and instrument and the independent variables.

This meta-analysis found that the majority of the studies defined ethnic identity based on social identity theory, cultural model, or attitudes and beliefs. Consequently, the top theories guiding the studies were social identity theory, three-stage model, and acculturation theory. However, the instruments used to measure ethnic identity varied and many times were not consistent with the conceptual framework mentioned by the researchers.

Phinney (1990) found that the majority of the research was conducted within a social psychological framework, more specifically based on work of Tajfel and Turner and their social identity theory. Social identity theory was one of the first theories to explain ethnic identity development in the context of intergroup relations and membership in a specific group. The theory states that if the majority group holds minority groups at a lower level, the members of the minority group are more likely to develop a negative ethnic identity (Hogg, Abrams, & Patel, 1987). However other research has found that the preceding statement is not always true (Farr, 1996). Ethnic minorities, specifically Latinos, don't develop their ethnic identity based only on group comparisons. Results have shown that there are other components that play a role besides the mainstream culture (Parham, 1989).

The approach of social identity theory has been widely accepted by many researchers today. This was apparent in the results of this meta-analysis. The results showed that mainstream culture (19%) was the second most commonly mentioned

predictor variable by the authors. Furthermore, authors would assume that group comparison was the main element in ethnic identity development and studied its impact on youth self-esteem.

The three-stage model developed by Phinney (1990) has been leading the research in ethnic identity for the last 12 years. Phinney developed a theory based on Erickson (1968) and Marcia (1966) frameworks about ego identity formation. The three-stage model explored ethnic identity development at the individual level and not necessarily as intergroup relations. Phinney defined ethnic identity as a dynamic process that moved from an unexamined identity to exploration and finally ethnic identity achievement. One of the main differences among Phinney's ethnic identity model, Social Identity Theory, and the Acculturation Model is that ethnic identity achievement doesn't necessarily mean that the individual adopts traditions, customs, and behaviors from his or her culture.

In addition to creating the three-stage model, Phinney developed in 1992 an instrument (Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure –MEIM) that measured all the main components in her theory, including the Tajfel and Turner “other group orientation” approach. The results showed that the MEIM was the instrument of preference among the 130 studies (N = 81). The MEIM was revised and adapted to be used with multiple ethnic groups, which makes it attractive for researchers. The holistic approach of the MEIM may explain why many studies used this instrument regardless of how they operationalized and theorized ethnic identity development.

The introduction of the three-stage model and Phinney's development of the MEIM shifted the direction that ethnic identity research has taken. The results showed that the majority of the studies (N = 125) that included Latinos in the sample were

conducted in 1992 or later. Before the development of Phinney's instrument, very few scales that measure Latino ethnic identity had been developed. After 1992, however, the research around Latino ethnic identity development has been increasing and other instruments and theories have been developed.

In addition to Social Identity Theory and the Three-stage Model, the other theory widely used in this sample was Acculturation Theory. Acculturation theory is among the youngest theories developed to explain ethnic identity development in Latino youth. This theory states that ethnic identity development only occurs when two cultures come in contact with one another and conflict occurs (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). Acculturation focuses on cultural values and practices resulting from the interaction of the cultures. Many researchers have used acculturation and ethnic identity as synonyms.

This meta-analysis found that acculturation was the third most used construct to guide the research even though many of these researchers used the MEIM to measure ethnic identity development. This inconsistency in ethnic identity conceptualization and measurement alters the interpretation given to the data, introducing error to the study. Also, error is introduced because the MEIM does not measure cultural affiliations to the degree it is described by the acculturation theory. Other instruments have been developed to measure ethnic identity using an acculturation approach but they have not been as widely used as the MEIM.

The continuous change in demographics, including growth of minority groups through immigration and political asylum, has increased the study of ethnic identity development. However, the inconsistency in measurements and how ethnic identity is defined affect the results of the studies and limit the interpretation drawn from them.

Furthermore, the range of conceptual frameworks used to guide the research has impacted the interpretation and implications derived from these studies. At the same time, ethnic identity in Latino youth is a relatively young concept, hence the field has space to grow. It continues to need research that responds to the realities of different groups of color.

Hypothesis #2: The results supported the second hypothesis, showing an overwhelming proportion of studies categorizing Latinos into one homogenous group. Because Latinos have been considered one homogenous group in sources such as the US Census Bureau, researchers have focused on the collective Latino population and not the different groups. An area of research where this grouping is particularly prominent is ethnic identity development. The results of this meta-analysis showed that 56% of authors studied Latinos as a homogenous group.

Latinos differ greatly from one another with respect to household size, ethnic identification, and educational aspirations and attainment (Nieto, 2000). For example, the percentage of high school graduates for Cubans is 70%, Puerto Ricans 63%, and Mexicans 49% (Nieto, 2000). Also, in the latest US Census, Cubans were more likely to identify themselves as white when compared to Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. Thus, the generalizations of Latinos as a homogenous group may be misleading. Differences in ethnic composition to ethnic identification impacts how Latinos view themselves, the world, and others, introducing error into studies that categorize them as one group.

This homogenous grouping of Latinos presents a problem especially when research on ethnic identity makes generalizations without acknowledging the differences within this group. By dividing Latinos into subgroups, the data will represent the realities

of the entire group and not necessarily the majority in a specific geographic location. For example, the states with the largest numbers of Latinos have very different Latinos: California is mostly Mexicans, Florida mostly Cubans, and New York mostly Puerto Ricans. Thus, because of differences between the different groups, findings and the interpretations of studies conducted in California are likely to vary from studies conducted in Florida or New York. However, most of the research applies the results and implications to all Latinos.

Hypothesis #3: The results supported the third hypothesis that few studies mentioned or studied the components proposed in the Latino youth conceptual framework. This research found a low concentration of the components that impact Latino youth ethnic identity in the studies. Approximately 70% of the studies did not mention or study the predictor variables proposed in this study. Furthermore, only a few components were related to research focus and none were related to the instrument used to measure EI. These results are very disturbing because research on Latino youth ethnic identity development is being conducted without taking into consideration aspects such as community, religion, language, and family among others. In other words, there is no prejudice with regard to the components included in the study of ethnic identity development in this population.

Ethnic identity development has been studied for the last 20 years in term of its relations to individuals' psychological well-being, social development, and academic aspirations (Negy, Shreve, Jensen, & Uddin, 2003). It has also focused on the development of ethnic identity on African Americans versus European Americans. It has not been until the last 15 years that Latino youth have appeared in the literature. This may

explain the low concentration of independent variables mentioned and studied in the sample. It is crucial to learn about the factors that are related to ethnic identity development because they will serve as guidance for educators, service providers, clinicians, and researchers.

There are several factors that have been proven to relate to ethnic identity in general, such as socio-economic status, society, government, power, religion, racism, and school. In addition to these factors, Latino youth ethnic identity development has been related to individuals' knowledge and beliefs around family, gender roles, language, and community.

Even though 17 different measures were reported to measure ethnic identity development, only one was used widely enough that analyses could be conducted. The number of effect sizes included in studies that used other instruments besides the MEIM was too few. Thus, for the purpose of this hypothesis, only papers that included effect sizes measured by the MEIM were analyzed. The components measured by the MEIM included: Latino identity, language, ethnic socialization, socio economic status, age, gender, family, teachers, school, nationality, discrimination/racism, neighborhood, culture/behaviors, ethnic exploration, mainstream culture, self-esteem, and immigration/generational status. The results showed that for the components measured by the MEIM the correlations were mostly moderate with one strong.

Many of the components that showed a moderate relation with ethnic identity were related to either the individual's community or cultural behaviors. Research has shown that Latino youth develop their identity in relation to their culture and individuals in their surrounding, such as teachers, peers, and family members (Guilamo-Ramos,

Dittus, Jaccard, Johansson, Bouris, & Acosta, 2007; Phinney, 1992). Culture “refers to shared experiences that develop and evolve according to changing social and political landscapes. It includes race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, class, immigration, location, time and other axes of identification understood within the individual’s historical context” (Family Violence Prevention Fund, 2005, p.2). Culture includes several components that go beyond attitudes and practices. In the case of Latino youth, culture and community are highly related (Guilamo-Ramos, Dittus, Jaccard, Johansson, Bouris, & Acosta, 2007; McMilan, 1976; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004).

In contrast, ethnic exploration refers to the process that youth go through before achieving their ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990). Thus, the process of exploration would be expected to have a strong relation with ethnic identity development. According to Phinney (1990), ethnic exploration occurs when individuals face an event that forces them to question and evaluate their ethnic identity. This process is characterized by an immersion in one’s own culture, traditions, and practices. This is especially important for Latino youth because of the changing historical contexts and environments they are exposed to.

It is important to understand what factors are related to the healthy development of Latino youth ethnic identity because those factors may impact how this group decides to identify in the future. Ethnic identity goes beyond racial classification and should be studied accordingly. In a time where Latinos are increasing their number and impact in the US, it is important that practitioners, educators, and researchers understand how this

population constructs its identity because it will affect this group's psychological well-being and social development.

Recommendations

Research. The results of this meta-analysis suggest that authors who want to provide data on ethnic identity development for Latino youth that informs practice and education need to include the following four characteristics in the development of their studies: 1) a clearly defined conceptual framework that guides the study on the operationalization, theorizing, and measurement of ethnic identity development; 2) a definition of ethnic identity development that clearly distinguishes it from other concepts, such as racial identity, social identity, or acculturation; 3) sampling that acknowledges that Latinos need to be separated into different groups (e.g., Salvadorians, Colombians, and Dominicans) and not conglomerated assuming a single homogenous group; 4) a focus on the variables that contribute to ethnic identity development for Latino youth as well as those it potentially affects.

Research on Latino youth ethnic identity development is characterized by scattered theorizing and operationalizing as well as inconsistent data. Some research papers have used one theory as a foundation, another for measurement, and a different one for definition and interpretation. In other words the information that has been presented is disconnected. There is a need for research that goes beyond exploration and is set on a specific conceptual framework from the definition to the measurement to the interpretation.

This study's second recommendation was developed in response to the number of studies that claimed to research ethnic identity as the main component but a definition of

the construct was not present. Ethnic identity development is a relative young field and, as this study showed, there is no one definition. Thus, it is important that future research defines this construct so it is not confused with other concepts that are been used interchangeably with ethnic identity.

In addition to having a well defined conceptual framework, it is important that the sample characteristics of the study represent the population being studied and generalized to. This is especially important when studying Latinos because of the different ethnicities that many times are grouped into one category. Thus, this study's third recommendation is that for studies to really understand the complexity of Latino youth ethnic identity development, it is necessary for the samples to be divided into different nationality groups.

In addition to addressing the inconsistency of studies and the diversity of this population, there is a need to expand the components researched. In the last 15 years ethnic identity has been studied in relation to its impact to the psychological well-being of individuals. However, there is a lack of research studies that focus on the components that relate to ethnic identity development. Research has shown that Latino youth experience ethnic identity development differently when compared to other communities of color. The unique composition of this group presents a complexity of cultures, experiences, and realities. However, if the field finds commonalities with regard to the factors that contribute to ethnic identity development, they would be better able to inform practice and programming.

Practitioners and educators. Research has found that participation in youth programs is a predictive factor for healthy ethnic identity, academic aspirations, high self-

esteem, leadership skills, and college retention (Borden, Perkins, Villaruel, Carleton-Hug, Stone, & Keith, 2006). Despite these findings, organizations that work with youth and schools have found that participation from Latinos in their program is very minimal. Huber and Kossek (1999) found that many factors impact the decisions youth make whether or not to participate in a program. Family, community, socio-economic status, and ethnic identity have been identified as elements that predict participation of Latino youth in programs. However, many programs have found it hard to address these elements in their programming.

The findings of this study showed that components related to sense of community and cultural behaviors were positively related to ethnic identity development. In other words, practitioners and educators need to integrate as part of their curriculum and treatments the individuals' culture and sense of community not only to reinforce positive ethnic identity but also increase attendance and retention in these programs, and develop more specific education, therapy, and services. Practitioners and educators that integrate and reinforce the positive factors that impact ethnic identity development are more likely to develop programming and services that respond to the realities of Latino youth.

Limitations

The validity of any meta-analysis lies, in part, on the inclusion of a representative sample. Forty nine studies were excluded from the analysis of *hypothesis #3*. Despite the efforts to include as many studies as possible, these studies were excluded because the amount of data provided by each study was not sufficient to measure *hypothesis #3*. It can be inferred that the data from these studies could have impacted the results.

The data included in this meta-analysis were based entirely on samples that only separated Latinos from other ethnic groups. A number of studies after the last article search had to be excluded. Even though these studies evaluated ethnic identity development in Latino youth, the results would group Latinos under people of color. It is possible that the exclusion of these studies could have significantly altered the results of this meta-analysis.

Specific inclusion criteria were used to screen the studies. However, a significant amount of studies, specifically books, did not report any results on ethnic identity development. Thus, these studies were removed from the final sample set. This may have specifically impacted the results of *hypothesis #1*.

The majority of the studies in this meta-analysis used the MEIM to measure ethnic identity development. Eighty two of the sample studies used the MEIM. Therefore, the results reported here may lean toward one specific theory (Three-stage Model), one instrument (MEIM), and specific predictor variables.

Conclusion

Even though Latinos have been immigrating to the United States for generations, the study of Latino youth ethnic identity development has proved to still be a relatively young field. Currently, Latinos are the fastest growing minority in the United States. The mix of races, nationalities, and cultures make this group very unique. Also, it makes the study of ethnic identity development complex and impacted by multiple components (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004).

The data from this meta-analysis support the premises stated above. Due to the complexity and uniqueness of Latino youth ethnic identity development, research in the

field is inconsistent and sometimes contradictory. The purpose of this study was to support the Latino youth conceptual framework proposed and evaluate how ethnic identity was studied in relation to Latino youth. The findings of this study partially supported the Latino youth conceptual framework proposed due to how ethnic identity development has been studied for the last 20 years. However, the results were able to address one of the main issues guiding this study. There is an immediate need for research that focuses on how Latino youth develop ethnic identity and not only on the impact this construct has on individuals' psychological well-being. Also, future research would benefit from having a consistent approach when studying ethnic identity.

In summary, understanding the elements that relate to ethnic identity development provides a better picture of how Latino youth develops socially, psychologically, and emotionally. Also, it will provide guidance to service providers, educators, and other researchers in areas such as curriculum and program development.

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Appendix A: Coding Form Key

Ethnic Identity Development
Coding Form – Coding Key

Source: **Journal Name/ Dissertation**

Volume (issue): ____ (____)

Year: _____

Saved on: **If it is an internet article**

Title: _____

Author(s): **Just include “Last name, Initial of First Name”**

Topic of Article: **Select All that Apply**

- Ethnic Identity as the main research purpose
Select this one if ethnic identity is part of the title
- Racial Identity
Select this one if they mention RI as part of their study
- Ethnic Identity and Acculturation
Select this one if they study both EI and acculturation component
- Social Identity
Select this one if they mention SI as part of their study
- Ethnic Identity as a component
Select this one if EI is not part of the title but it is study

Theory:

How is ethnic identity defined? **Write the definition of EI verbatim from the study**

Theoretical Framework: **Whose theory, if any, are they using to define EI**

- Theory Mentioned No Theory **No theoretical framework.**
Is the theory just mentioned but the study doesn't guide their methodology by it
- Guided by the Theory

What instruments are used to measure ethnic identity? **Include the name of the instrument and the alpha for the instrument or sample – whatever you can find.**

Year of Development: **What year was the instrument developed.**

Results:

Was there any relationship between ethnic identity and acculturation? **Just answer**

- Yes No Not Applicable

What factors were mentioned that influenced or contributed to the development of ethnic identity? **These factors can be mentioned in the lit review, methodology, results, and/or discussion. As you read keep track of them.**

	Mentioned	Studied – Included in the methods sections or results.
<input type="checkbox"/> Social Strata -- SES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Media – TV, magazines, news, etc	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Neighborhood	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Religion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Racism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Immigration	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Sexual Orientation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Society	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Power	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Acculturation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Discrimination	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Prejudice	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Mainstream culture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> School	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Peers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Ethnic Socialization	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Gender	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other: **Add other factors mention in the study and include if they were mentioned or studied.**

What are the findings/discussion of this study? How the authors interpret their results?

Are there any interesting interpretations in the discussion section about Latinos?

Other comments: Anything about the study that may change how we report, questions for me, etc.

What are the results (e.g. summary statistics, descriptive, correlations, group differences)?

In this section you should write the titles of tables we will use and the pages. Tear the tables or photocopy them from the studies and staple them to the coding form.

Appendix B: Coding Form

Ethnic Identity Development
Coding Form

Source: _____ Volume (issue): ____ (____)

Year: _____ Saved on: _____

Title: _____

Author(s): _____

Topic of Article:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ethnic Identity as the main research purpose | <input type="checkbox"/> Racial Identity |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ethnic Identity and Acculturation | <input type="checkbox"/> Ethnic Identity as a component |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Social Identity | |

Theory:

How is ethnic identity defined? _____

Theoretical Framework: _____

- Theory Mentioned Guided by the Theory No Theory

Sample:

- Ethnicity: ____ Latino ____ Native American
 ____ African American ____ White

____ Asian American

____ Other:

Total Size: _____ Age Group: _____

Gender Breakdown: _____ Males _____ Females

Geographic Location: _____

How the specific demographics are divided:

_____% Latinos _____% African American

_____% Caucasian _____% Native American

_____% Asian American _____% Other _____

Are Latinos conglomerated into one group? Yes No

If no, how where they separated? _____

Research Design:

What type of research design is been used? _____

Replication Exploratory Theory centered

What instruments are used to measure ethnic identity? _____

Year of Development: _____

Results:

Was there any relationship between ethnic identity and acculturation?

Yes No Not Applicable

What factors were mentioned that influenced or contributed to the development of ethnic identity?

	Mentioned	Studied
<input type="checkbox"/> Social Strata	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Media	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Neighborhood	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Religion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Racism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Immigration	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Sexual Orientation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Society	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Power	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Acculturation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Discrimination	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Prejudice	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Mainstream culture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> School	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Peers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Ethnic Socialization	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> Gender	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other: _____

What are the findings/discussion of this study? How the authors interpret their results?

Other comments: _____

What are the results (e.g. summary statistics, descriptive, correlations, group differences)?