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# Psychometric Analysis of the Racelessness Scales in Studies of Rural African American Youth

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## Introduction

Identity formation processes during adolescence are characterized as pivotal to understanding the ease to which individuals transition into adulthood (Worrell, 2000). The degree to which one succeeds with this developmental task is often measured in terms of the extent to which he or she develops a personal identity that reflects autonomy and differentiation from family and peers. Traditional explanations of identity development continue to be framed according to European and primarily middle class individuals' life course experiences (Spencer, in press).

Youths who are members of a marginalized racial or ethnic minority encounter unique identity issues that structure developmental processes and create additional challenges that include not only individuating from family but also establishing ways in which to negotiate, mediate, and repudiate perceptions, messages, and expectations resulting from social stigma and negative stereotypes about their racial/ethnic group. Although most studies contend that strong ethnic pride fosters positive developmental outcomes among African American youth, considerable reference has been given to Fordham and Ogbu's (1986) theory of explaining the process of racial/ethnic disidentification and academic success. Specifically, these researchers have suggested that African American youth who "act White" by not identifying with their own ethnic group appear to perform with greater academic success than those who have high racial pride.

Thus, studies of African American youth's process of identity formation have used different paradigms. Research efforts in this endeavor can be characterized as studies focusing on identifying factors that promote identity formation (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Peters, 1985; Murry & Brody, 1999), or those interested in defining and measuring racial or ethnic identity (Cross, 1971; Helms & Parham, 1985; Murry, Smith, & Hill 2001; Phinney, 1990; Smith, 1991), and studies linking various dimensions of identity formation processes to cognitive or academic performance (Arroyo & Zigler, 1995; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986) and to behavioral and psychological processes (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Parham &

Helms, 1985). Regardless of the approach, normative developmental processes often used to study White youth identity formation are replaced by an emphasis on the need to understand racial identity formation in African American youths, assuming that racial or ethnic identity formation has greater significance for comprehending their overall development. Accordingly, theories and assessments have been developed to describe this process. Most theories and measures focus on the extent to which individuals hold positive, negative, or mixed attitudes toward their own racial or ethnic group and their sense of place as a group member (Carter & Helms, 1988). The most common conclusion arising from this work is that racial/ethnic identity formation is a complex, multifaceted process that in turn affects behavior and psychological functioning (Arroyo & Zigler, 1995).

The purpose of this paper is to attempt to merge the multiple approaches to studies of African American identity formation by utilizing one measure to ascertain its usefulness in assessing multiple dimensions of developmental outcomes. We describe briefly the psychometrics of a measure of identity formation, *racelessness*, and examine the correlations between dimensions of this scale and other social contextual, family, maternal and individual measures that may have prospective validity for this measure. Given the salience of self-perception in this developmental process, the measure is based on self-reports from African American youth. Data from a study of rural African American youth and families are used in these analyses. In the following section, we present a brief overview of literature on the importance of racial/ethnic identity. We use the terms *ethnic identity* and *racial identity* interchangeably to reflect the inconsistencies in the way in which this construct has been presented in the literature, measured, and studied over time.

*Traditional Studies of Identity Formation*

According to Erikson (1950, 1959, 1968) developing an understanding of self, in terms of knowing "who I am" and "who others think I am," is a major task for all adolescents. Identity formation traditionally has been viewed as an indistinctly defined global construct (Waterman, 1988) with three

primary components: (1) a sense of unity among one's self-conceptions, (2) a sense of continuity among these attributes over time, and (3) a sense of mutuality between one's self-conception and the conceptions that one perceives others to hold about oneself (Harter, 1983). Identity formation develops through social interactions, in two general ways: (1) self-perception, based on the ways in which one is characterized by family members, peers, teachers, and other significant sources, including media images; and (2) the internalization beliefs and attributions about oneself garnered from those sources (Cook & Douglas, 1998). This process leads to the creation of perceptions, expectations, thoughts, and feelings about oneself and one's place in his or her social world. Accordingly, individual characteristics, such as race and gender, as well as contextual factors, such as social class, are highly significant in understanding the identity formation process. Few attempts, however, have been made to investigate their combined effects on identity formation.

*Ethnic Identity in African American Youths*

Numerous studies have focused on racial or ethnic identity among African American youths. In general, these studies suggest that youths develop their identities in a society in which perceptions of African Americans reflect feelings, expressions, attitudes, beliefs, and expectations that carry vestiges of the unique history of oppression, discrimination, and racism that African Americans have experienced. Thomas (1974) vividly described the centrality of this experience, noting that, "each time black is used it expresses thoughts, attitudes, and feelings that are embodied in the black experience" (pp. 68-69). Thus, African Americans' experiences in the United States heighten their awareness of racism; this awareness may in turn impact African American youths' identity formation because of the likelihood that others will perceive them negatively. A view of oneself as a member of a devalued group can come to permeate the young person's identity (Oyserman, Harrison, & Bybee, 2001).

The perceptions that African American adolescents form about themselves help to determine how they position themselves in society and give meaning to both their own and others' behaviors.

Ethnicity essentially serves as a marker of one's value and position in various contexts, influencing young people's self-perceptions and decision-making processes. To balance these demands, youths develop a type of bi-cultural competence. This process involves not only understanding oneself as a member of the larger society, but also integrating one's understanding of the emerging self as a member of an ethnic minority group within that society. Consequently, in addition to accomplishing the tasks central to general adolescent development, African American adolescents must integrate their experiences as members of a racial minority group into this processes by drawing on their ethnic identities.

*Summary of Theories and Conceptual Models of Ethnic Identity*

Recognizing that the unique experiences of African Americans in the United States can impact their identity formation, Cross (1971) developed a conceptual model of Black racial identity that challenged social scientists to consider how social address labels based on physical characteristics impact identity formation. His model suggests that stages of racial identity formation are actually manifestations of the degrees of internalized racialism and stereotypic beliefs about Blacks (Taylor & Grundy, 1996). Each stage reflects greater movement toward positive self-esteem, flexibility, and openness about one's Black identity. Progression, regression, or stagnation in these stages are contingent on the extent to which Black individuals internalize societal attitudes and beliefs about race, as well as on their personality characteristics, support systems, resources, and experiences. Smith (1991), however, described Cross's model as narrowly focused on African Americans' psychological responses to racial oppression without addressing broader dimensions of identity development. Considering identity formation in the context of ethnic identity requires a reconceptualization of the process in ways that do not limit the focus to issues of oppression, but acknowledge that race, although important, may not necessarily be the most salient factor in forming one's identity.

Ethnic identity involves more than physical characteristics; it also includes connection to and

membership in a group based on nationality, ancestry, culture, or any combination of them (Murry, Smith, & Hill 2001). Members of an ethnic group may share similar physical characteristics, but developing a sense of belonging involves more than race. It includes salient factors such as gender roles and their fulfillment, prescribed belief systems, value orientations, language, ethnic signs and symbols, and shared reference group perspectives (Smith, 1991). Ethnic group membership is not a choice, however, because individuals are born into the group and develop emotional, psychological, and symbolic ties to it (Breton & Pinard, 1960). Self-identification occurs when an individual feels, thinks, and views the world from the group's perspective (Shibutani & Kwan, 1965).

It is important to acknowledge that ethnic identity is not dichotomous, but is multidimensional and multifaceted (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hecht, Collier, & Ribeau, 1993; Sellers et al., 1997) and include parameters that are include physical (e.g., skin color, hair texture), psychological (e.g., sense of belonging and commitment to the group), cultural (e.g., comfort with language, art, literature, social traditions of the group), and sociopolitical (e.g., commitment to the social, economic and political issues that affect the group) (Hilliard, 1985; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Sellers, et al., 1997).

Phinney (1990) identified four key elements that need to be considered in understanding how ethnic identity formation occurs. First, an individual identifies himself or herself as part of an ethnic group. Next, the individual obtains information about the group and engages in behaviors associated with it. Third, the individual develops positive or negative emotions about membership in the ethnic group. Finally, the individual decides on the degree of significance he or she will attach to membership in the group. This static process, influenced by developmental changes and interactions with various contexts, shapes the ways in which individuals view themselves and are viewed by others as members of ethnic groups. Those individuals who develop a positive sense of connection to their ethnic group, a common destiny, and a sense of group solidarity are characterized by a positive in-group identity. Not all African Americans, however, identity with their ethnic group, nor do all members identify equally

(Sanders Thompson, 1999). Nevertheless, whether the focus is on racial or ethnic identity or variations in degrees of identity, (Crocker, 1999; Crocker, Luthanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994; Phinney, 1992; 1996), a general assumption underling theories of African American youths' identity development is that a sense of connection or bond with a group of people similar to oneself fosters healthy self-regard. Conclusions about the association of this bond with academic performance are mixed. Similar inconsistencies appear in studies linking ethnic or racial identity to other youth outcomes.

*Linking Ethnic Identity to Outcomes*

Empirical research suggests that ethnic identity is linked to theoretically significant outcomes such as academic competence, positive self-concept (Carter, 1991; Rosenberg, 1985; Spencer, 1987; Ward, 1990), and prosocial behavior (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Parham & Helms, 1985; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, & Smith, 1997; Stevenson, 1995; Stevenson et al., 1996; Thornton, et al., 1990). Specifically, racial/ethnic identity can buffer African American youths from negative and stressful environmental and social conditions (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Murry & Brody, 2001; Peters, 1985). Moreover, developing a positive ethnic identity fosters frustration tolerance, a sense of purpose, and self-assurance, which in turn encourage positive self-concepts (Cross, Parkham, & Helms, 1991), discourage externalizing behavior, and promote self-esteem (McCreary, Slavin, & Berry, 1996). Conversely, a "fragmented sense of racial identity mitigates against a strong sense of peoplehood" (E. M. Smith, 1989, p.278); this, in turn, compromises adjustment. Moreover, African American youths who report low ethnic pride have been found to be more likely to experience behavior problems, including poor academic performance, school dropout, pregnancy, gang involvement, and drug use. Low ethnic identification also has been associated with psychological problems, including a low sense of self-worth (Cross, 1978).

In contrast, Fordham and Ogbu (1986) concluded that low ethnic pride, operationalized as conscious behavior intended to foster acceptance by majority group teachers and students, including

avoidance of perceived "Black activities" and of African American students who are not academically motivated, forecasts academic success. The explanation they offered was that marginalized youth experience inequality and other forms of social injustice. Believing that academic success does not translate into social and economic benefits for members of their ethnic group, some African American youths come to regard academic achievement as futile. They manifest this attitude by forming group solidarity around underachievement in school. The terms "acting White" and "racelessness" were coined to describe African American students who excel academically by adopting attitudes, behaviors, and values commonly associated with the majority culture. Thus, low-achieving African American youths view those who do well in school as rejecting solidarity with their own culture; this can lead high-achieving African American students to adopt a raceless persona. In response to experiences associated with racism, youths who develop a raceless identity internalize the negative images that society imposes on them, devalue their own ethnic group and dissociate from it by emphasizing their personal identity, reject their ethnic group as a reference group, and strive to be similar to the majority culture. African American youths who constantly see, hear, and accept negative views of African Americans are at risk for developing negative views of themselves (McCreary & Slavin, 1996).

Oyserman and associates (2001) found that racial awareness moderates the relations between racial identification and achievement; they also found the interaction between gender and racial awareness to be important in understanding African American adolescents' academic performance. Their findings indicated that racial identity was associated with greater academic efficacy among African American boys but lower efficacy among girls. Furthermore, for African American girls, feeling connected to a group that they perceived as negatively viewed by others was detrimental to academic efficacy only when they did not view achievement as a part of their own racial identity.

It is apparent, however, that racial deidentification has negative psychological consequences, including loneliness, depression, anxiety, isolation from peers, and alienation from the community

(Irvin, 1986; Spurlock, 1985). Conversely, numerous scholars have described high-achieving African American youths as industrious, socially adaptive, and self-confident (Allen, 1985; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986).

*Psychological Adjustment and Ethnic Identity*

Reconciling one's ethnicity with the larger society's views can occasion psychological distress, low self-esteem, and internal conflict (Ethier & Deaux, 1990). Both extreme deidentification and extreme identification, either denying the links between one's physical characteristics and membership in a specific group or an idealized high regard for one's own group mixed with hostile sentiments toward other groups, have been found to be associated with low self-esteem, poor self-actualization, high anxiety, feelings of personal inadequacy, and hypersensitivity (Parham, 1985). Conversely, positive ethnic identity has been found to be associated with high self-esteem, low stress, avoidance of delinquent behavior (McCreary, Slavin, & Berry, 1996; Spencer, Cunningham, & Swanson, 1995), high academic achievement (Baldwin, Duncan & Bell, 1987; Taylor, Casten, Flickinger, Roberts, & Fulmore, 1994), high career aspirations (Helm & Piper, 1994; Parham & Austin, 1994), and avoidance of high-risk behaviors (McCabe, Clark, & Barnett, 1999). Research that acknowledged the multifaceted nature of ethnic identity in understanding adjustment indicates those African American youths who successfully integrate characteristics and demands of both the majority and minority cultures (Berry, 1993) fare better than do those who either reject or become exclusively immersed in their own ethnic group.

*Familial and Peer Influence and Ethnic Identity*

Adolescent identity formation does not occur in a vacuum. Extensive research indicates that the family serves as the primary agent of children's ethnic socialization (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Plummer, 1996; Stevens, 1997; Watson & Protinsky, 1988), helping them to establish ideas about themselves as members of a marginalized community through support and nurturance. In

this way, the family directly affects African American adolescents' feelings about themselves (Brage & Meredith, 1994; McCreary et al., 1996; Slavin & Rainer, 1990).

Although the family serves as the primary socialization agent for children and adolescents, peer influence increases during and after the pubertal transition. Involvement with peer groups enables adolescents to satisfy their needs for acceptance while maintaining differences from the adults in their lives (Sosnowitz, 1995; Zimmerman, Copeland, Shope & Dielman, 1996). Peers establish, model, and normalize behaviors for one another and structure opportunities for engaging in the behaviors. Accordingly, in this study the impact of peer relationships on adolescents' self-perceptions, development of efficacy, and risk prototypes is examined. Given the inconsistent findings regarding ethnic identity, racelessness, academic achievement, and peer influence we also examine the associations of each of these constructs with a measure of peer acceptance.

## Methods

### *Database*

Data from the Program for the Study of Competence in Children and Families, a 7-wave longitudinal study conducted by Brody and Murry, representing a sample of 155 African American single-mother headed families recruited from nonmetropolitan counties in Georgia. Only counties in which 25% or more of the population was African American were sampled to insure that a viable African American. Data were collected on a wide range of family process, family environment, maternal and child psychological functioning, social support network, parental involvement, prosocial, cognitive, other child outcomes. Data were collected from primary caregivers, targeted child, younger sibling, and teachers of both children, target and sibling. We use data from waves 5, 6, and 7, focusing specifically on mothers, target, and teachers report about the targeted child. Of the families who participated at wave 1, 84% provided complete data for the two waves included in this paper.

*Sample*

The mothers were, on average age 34.17 (SD=6.48) at the time of Wave 6 data collection, with a mean age of 13.71 (SD=1.7) for the target child and a mean age of 14.71 (SD 1.5) at Wave 7. In terms of maternal characteristics, 70% of them were employed; 56% had completed high school; and 21% of the high school graduates had completed an associate's or bachelor's degree. The families had an average of three children. Of the families, 76% had a per capita income of $3,800 or less. This according to the Census Bureau criteria, (Dalaker, 2001), this percent capita placed them in the first quintile for household incomes, which the Bureau defines as poverty status. Over the three-year waves of data collection, 80% of the mothers remained single, 11% began sharing a home with a romantic partner, and 9% got married.

*Measure*

Twenty items (See Table 1) were used to assess racial identity formation. Questions were obtained from Arroyo and Zigler's (1995) original "Racelessness" scale, in their study of racial identity, academic achievement, and psychological functioning of economically disadvantaged adolescents.

[Table 1]

Respondents received these items, along with other items, during an in-home interview visit. A 2-hour home visit was made to each family at each of the two waves of data collection. The mother and target child responded to self-report questionnaires, which were administered in an interview format. Each interview was conducted privately between the participant and a researcher, with on one else present or able to overhear the conversation. To enhance rapport and cultural understanding, African American university students and community members served as field researchers to collect data in the families' homes. These researchers received 20 hours of training in administering the study instrument prior to data collection.

Data on length of time required for the target child to complete the Racelessness scale reflect that

on average, it took 2.26 minutes Wave 6 and 2.03 minutes, Wave 7 to answer the 20 questions. The scale consists of four subscales, assessing academic attitudes, alienation, impression management, and stereotypical beliefs. Responses were measured on a scale ranging from 1 (very untrue) to 6 (very true) the degree to which the item characterized them. Several items were worded in the negative direction and were reverse scored, such that higher scores on the scale as well as subscales reflect greater endorsement of racelessness items.

For the purpose of this paper, and in recognition that identity is multidimensional, we analyzed data based on the four subscales. Table 1 details the items included in each subscale.

*Procedures*

To examine the psychometric properties of the Racelessness subscales on a sample of rural economically disadvantaged African American youth, we examined the quality of data and the reliability and validity of the four subscales.

*Data Quality.* We employed two procedures to examine the data quality of the Racelessness subscale. First, we observed the distribution of responses to confirm that there is variation, to determine whether the scores were skewed. Second, we examined the level of non-response or missing data on the four subscales.

*Reliability.* We tested the internal consistency of the items comprising the four subscales by calculating Cronbach's alpha, measuring internal consistency/reliability. To the extent that items hang together well in a given administration, the measure reflects high internal consistency/reliability (Pedhazur, Pedhazur, & Schmelkin, 1991).

Validity. First, we looked at distribution of responses by the total sample, then separately by gender of target child. Next, we examined whether the measure was correlated with other domains of development and with selected maternal and family level variables. Finally, using two waves of data allows us to examine how the scale functioned over time.

## Results

### *Data Quality*

*Distribution of Responses.* There are noticeable variations in the distribution of scores for three of the subscales (e.g., impression management, alienation, academic apathy), with the highest endorsement of items in the lower ranges (less evidence of racelessness). However, the opposite tendency was found with respondents' endorsement of achievement attitudes; greater concentration occurred in the higher ranges (greater evidence of racelessness). Similar patterns were observed across the two waves, except noticeable change in the endorsement of items between Waves 6 and 7 on academic apathy. Specifically, the distribution on alienation at Wave 6 reflect higher scores and greater that are concentrated in the moderate ranges of the subscale. In addition, higher scores on academic apathy were observed at Wave 7 than reported at Wave 6. (See Tables 2 through 9 for distribution of subscales).

The values of skewness are negative for only the achievement attitude subscales across the two waves (ranging from -.61 to -.79), indicating distributions for this subscale to be somewhat skewed toward higher scores (See Table 10). The values of the kurtosis for the two of the subscales increases to values larger than one across the two waves, suggesting peaked distributions for impression management and academic apathy. Interestingly, there are noticeable changes in the value of kurtosis for impression management across the two waves, values moving from 2.14 at Wave 6, and 3.50 at Wave 7. Irregular patterns are also observed in the value of kurtosis for academic apathy, such that the values decrease over the two waves, suggesting that for this subscale, the distribution is less skewed and less peaked than the other two subscales.

[Tables 2-9]

*Missing Data*. We have included notes regarding level of non-response on each of the distribution tables (See Tables 2-9). As noted on those tables, the level of non-response is very low for the sample.

The scores for each of the subscales are missing for only five to six cases across the two waves (n = 150).

*Reliability /Internality Consistency*

The levels of internal consistency of each of the subscales across waves and by gender are shown in Table 11. In general, most of the subscales have low to moderate values, ranging from .51 to .78. An examination of the subscales by waves indicates that the internal consistency is generally higher for Wave 6 compared to Wave 7. The only subscales reaching internal consistency of .70 for the total sample are impression management and academic apathy for Wave 6.

We also examined reliability of the subscales between genders of targeted child. The internal consistency tends to be higher for males on each subscale across the two waves than for girls, except the internal consistency is slightly higher for girls than boys on the achievement attitude subscale for Waves 6 and 7, alphas of .66 and .46, respectively, and for alienation and academic apathy subscales for Waves 6 and 7, alphas of .54 and .60, respectively. Reliability of the subscales by gender reaching .70 and above are, for males: academic apathy for Wave 6, .72 and .81, respectively; and impression management, Wave 6, $\alpha = .77$. Only one subscale reached internal consistency of .70 and above for girls, academic apathy at Wave 6, $\alpha = .73$. These patterns suggest the internal consistency of the racelessness subscales, is generally, lower for rural African American girls than for boys. In addition, academic apathy and impression management produced the most consistent alphas for boys, whereas academic apathy only reliable subscale for girls.

[Tables 10 and 11]

*Prospective Validity*.

*Analyses of Developmental Patterns*. Mean scores of the Racelessness subscales over time are presented in Table 10. Findings reflect a *slight* decrease in endorsement of negative views of African Americans regarding achievement attitudes as the adolescents become older, suggesting greater endorsement of

commonly held beliefs that doing well in school benefits them in the future as they transition into adolescence.

*Correlations of Racelessness Subscales with Other Measures*. The assumptions inherent in the development of the racelessness scale were tested further by investigating the association between the Racelessness subscales and adolescents exposure to varying forms of stressors emerging from racial discriminatory experiences, as well as correlations between Racelessness subscales and family relationship quality, maternal psychological functioning, and different dimensions of youth development, including psychological functioning; self-perception of academic abilities, prosocial behavior, and externalizing behaviors. (See Table 12; Wave 6 and Table 15, Wave 7). Analyses were also conducted separately for adolescent males and females (See Tables 13 and 14, Wave 6, Boys and Girls, respectively; Tables 16 and 17, Wave 7, Boys and Girls, respectively). Given the magnitude of these analyses, we discuss with greater specificity findings presented in the Tables combining both male and female reports for each wave. A brief overview of findings emerging for each wave from separate analyses for boys and girls is provided.

*Wave 6 Correlations*. Results in Table 12 show positive relationships between family relationship quality and achievement attitudes ($r = .18$, $p < .05$), suggesting that having a positive relationship with parents increase the likelihood that adolescents would have greater endorsement of beliefs about the benefits of doing well in school. Maternal self-esteem did not emerge as a significant correlated with any of the subscales. However, significant correlations emerged for the relationship between social self-efficacy and achievement attitudes ($r = .18$, $p < .05$), impression management ($r = -.24$, $p < .01$), and academic apathy ($r = -.24$ $p < .01$). These patterns suggest that African American youth who report higher confidence in their social skills are more likely to endorse attitudes about doing well in school, are less likely to identify with the need to impress others by not doing well in school, and are less likely to endorse beliefs about stereotypical views about African Americans. Peer acceptance

had an inverse patterns to those observed for social self-efficacy, such that having increase need for peer acceptance was inversely related to identity processes associated with achievement attitudes but increased the likelihood that the youth's identity would be anchored in impression management and academic apathy. In addition, having greater social efficacy for academic achievement was associated with increased impression management.

Evidence of the association between adolescents psychological functioning and ethnic identity formation revealed that a strong and positive relationship between adolescents' self-esteem and achievement attitudes ($r = .53$, $p < .01$); self-esteem, in turn, was related to decrease development of impression management and academic apathy ($r = -.44$, $p < .01$; $r = -.56$, $p < .01$, respectively). Externalizing behavior as reported by youth was *not* significantly correlated with any of the Racelessness subscales. However, reports from teachers about target child's externalizing behavior show positive associations between delinquent and aggressive behavior and impression management and academic apathy ($r = .26$, $p < .01$ and $r = .19$, $p < 05$, respectively).

Finally, youth who reported being exposed to incidences of racial discrimination related to institutional issues as well as directed specifically toward them were less likely to endorse impression management items and academic apathy, including endorsing items describing Blacks in a stereotypical manner.

[Table 12]

An examination of separate correlation analyses of males and females indicates that family relationship quality and maternal self-esteem have greater importance to girls' identity formation compared to boys. Positive mother-daughter relationship quality was related to increased academic achievement and decreased academic apathy ($r = .26$, $p < .05$ and $r = -.23$, $p < .05$). Social self-efficacy was associated with increased achievement attitudes and decreased beliefs about academic apathy for boys ($r = .27$, and $- .25$, $p < .01$, respectively) but was associated with less impression management for

girls ($r = -.33$, $p < .01$). In addition, peer acceptance had similar association for each identity formation scale for both males and females, such that the greater emphasis placed on being accepted by peers, regardless of gender, was associated with decrease achievement attitudes and increased impression management and academic apathy.

Perceiving oneself as being prepared to perform well academically increased alienation for African American boys, but similar patterns were not observed for girls. Patterns observed in examining the association between youth's psychological functioning, self-esteem in particular and dimensions of ethnic identity indicate positive relationship with achievement attitudes, and negative relationships with impression management and academic apathy for both girls and boys. The only externalizing behavior emerging as a significant correlate with the subscales was teacher's report of target aggressive behavior and target's report of impression management. The remaining factors were not related to boys' identity development but were significantly association with girls, such that externalizing behaviors were positively associated with impression management and academic apathy. Further, exposure to racial discrimination, collectively and institutionally, decreased identity focused on academic achievement, and increased impression management and academic apathy. Interestingly, individual exposure to racism was not associated with identity formation based on the items included in the Racelessness scale.

[Tables 13 and 14]

*Wave 7 Correlations*. Similar patterns observed in Wave 6 were also apparent in Wave 7. Differences observed include correlations between social self-efficacy and alienation, such that youth who viewed themselves as socially competent were less likely to endorse items related to ease in interaction with individual who are different than they ($r = -.21$, $p < .05$), neither impression management nor academic apathy emerged as significant correlates in Wave 7, suggesting potential changes due to developmental patterns. Alienation was also significantly related with peer acceptance and academic achievement ($r = -.30$, $p < .01$ and $r = -.17$, $p < .05$), such that those have less concern

about being accepted by peers and those who viewed themselves as socially prepared to succeed academically were more likely to endorse items that described alienation. Other differences observed comparing patterns in Wave 6 to those occurring at Wave 7 include increase association of target and teacher's reports of externalizing behavior in youth and association with identity formation processes. Specifically, increase vulnerability to engaging in delinquent behavior as reported by targets was associated with lower achievement attitudes and increase academic apathy; aggressive behavior was also associated with lower achievement attitudes, as well as increase impression management and academic apathy. Similar patterns were observed in teacher's reports of target's externalizing behavior. None of the social stressors, racism, factors were associated with identity formation in Wave 7.

[Table 15]

An examination of separate correlations by gender of target child reflects several changes from Wave 6 to Wave 7. For example, family relationship quality did not emerge as a significant correlate with any of the identity formation processes, however, maternal self-esteem continued to be important to girls' achievement attitudes and academic apathy. Social self-efficacy was associated with increased endorsement of items measuring alienation for boys but not for girls. However, peer acceptance and achievement attitudes, impression management, and academic apathy were significantly related and emerged across both genders. For males only, peer acceptance was associated with increase alienation. Social efficacy for academic achievement was associated with different dimensions of identity formation for males and females. Specifically, males who held positive perceptions of their academic abilities were less likely to endorse items that assessed alienation, whereas for girls those who perceived themselves to be academically capable were also more likely to endorse items assessing achievement attitudes. Self-esteem has similar relation for males and females on the same subscales, such that increased self-esteem was associated with increase endorsement of achievement attitudes and decreased endorsement of impression management and academic apathy. None of the externalizing behavior indicators were

correlated with identity formation processes for girls. However, male report of delinquent behavior was inversely related to achievement attitudes and teachers' reports of aggressive behavior were inversely related to achievement attitudes and positively associated with academic apathy. Finally, collective racism emerged as a significant correlate for identity formation for both girls and boys but was associated with different dimensions of identity. Specifically, collective racism was positively related to alienation endorsement among boys and was positively related to both impression management and academic apathy among girls. Interestingly, neither institutional nor individual experiences with racial discrimination emerged as significant correlates of identity formation at Wave 7.

[Tables 16 and 17]

## Summary and Discussion

This paper sought to examine the extent to which a measure of ethnic identity developed for administering to urban, African American youth is useful in assessing ethnic identity formation processes of rural African American youth. The scale was administered to youth ages 12 to 15. The scale, although demonstrating variability in distribution of responses across two waves, demonstrated moderate data quality. There was little missing data across the two waves of data collection for the scale, suggesting that adolescents are not reluctant to respond to questions that have been developed to assess the extent to which they endorse attitudes and beliefs about being African American.

This scale, although reflecting high internal consistencies when administered to urban African American youth, did not provide Cronbach alpha's when administered to rural sample that increase confidence in the items hanging together as a construct. In particular, internal consistencies reported by Arroyo and Zigler (1991) were .94 for Achievement Attitudes; .83 for Impression Management; .90 for Alienation, and .85 for Stereotypical Belief, which we renamed to Academic Apathy. Administering the same measure to urban African American youth revealed alpha's ranging from .44 to .78 on the total sample, across waves. Specifically, internal consistency tests for Wave 6 reflected .64 for Achievement

Attitude; .76 for Impression Management, .54 for Alienation, and .78 for Stereotypical Beliefs/Academic Apathy; there was fluctuation in the alpha's at Wave 7, reflecting .44 for Achievement Attitudes; .58 for Impression Management, .61 for Alienation; and .61 for Stereotypical Beliefs/Academic Apathy. Similar patterns were observed when the psychometrics was analyzed separately by gender. This finding calls to question the validity of utilizing this measure to assess racelessness among rural African American youth.

Although we had expected the increase salience of identity formation processes, as measured by the Racelessness scale, to increase over time, the mean score for each subscale remained approximately the same as the youth transition into early adolescence.

Several noteworthy patterns emerged from analyses testing the correlational properties of the racelessness scale with several factors commonly associated with ethnic identity in previous studies, and not racelessness specifically. First, we were interested in expanding the focus of this scale from a reductionist approach (Spencer, et al., 2001), that is, linking academic performance of African American youth to ethnic identity based on the extent to which they perceive themselves to be like "White people, to acknowledge the contribution of family relationships, adolescents characteristics and abilities beyond race-related circumstances, and also recognize the influence of oppression and discrimination in identity formation processes. Using this perspective to frame the other measures selected for this paper, we found that, in general, families do matter in shaping the identity of African American youth. Have high quality relationship with one's family fosters positive views academic competence. Several studies have shown that African American children know the benefits of education because their parents hold high expectations about doing well in school and value achievement (McAdoo, 1985; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992; Stevenson, Chen, & Uttal, 1990).

We also attempted to assess the extent to which disidentification as measured by the Racelessness scale was correlated with independent measures of academic performance and the salient

role of peers in understanding this link. Findings revealed that social efficacy in children that promotes higher identification with achievement attitudes and lower identification with impression management and academic apathy. However, there may be instances whereby confidence in one's own academic abilities also play a role in identity formation of African American youth, such that the more self-efficient an individual feels in his or her abilities to succeed academically, the more likely they are to endorse attitudes about doing well in school and the more less reluctant they are to let their friends know when they get good grades in school, and to know how bright and intelligent they are. This particular finding has implications for Fordham and Ogbu's theory of disidentification. At the same time, Arroyo and Zigler (1991) argued that the tendency to "hide" ones' academic abilities may not necessarily reflect degree of identification with ones' race or ethnic group because they found that European American youth, actually, scored higher on their Racelessness scale than their low-achieving counterparts. What may be assessed is the "general achievements and self-presentational concerns" commonly held by high achievers that are not specific to a members race or ethnic group (pg. 12).

Finally, we extended our understanding of this measure in tapping into broader environmental and social contexts in which identity formation occurs by examining the correlations of racism with identity formation. This measure does relate to some aspects of racism and also reflect differential associations based the adolescent's gender. Several other gender differences emerged in the use of this measure, suggesting potential gender biases.

Several limitations were presented in this paper. First, it would have been useful to compare a traditional measure of ethnic identity with the racelessness scaled used in the present paper. The measure selected for this psychometric analysis, although providing using information about some dimension of identity formation of African American youth, is quite limited in assessing the multi-faceted aspects of this process. Several measures of racial/ethnic identity exist. In fact, Sellers and his colleagues have a scale that assesses multidimensionality of African American identity, but the scale

also has been standardized on an urban, late adolescent sample. However, most continue to be plagued by lack of psychometric adequacy and inconsistent patterns depending on the subgroup to which the measure is administered. Further, most measures have been standardized on urban youth and on those residing in economically challenging environment, suggesting the need for further research on African American youth residing in middle-income environments. Another limitation of presented in this paper and pervasive in other measures of ethnic/racial identity is lack of attention given to responses based on gender of reporter. Although we attempted to provide findings to support the psychometric adequacy of the Raceless scale for both males and females, the results did produce good alphas for either gender, in general. We challenge researchers to continue pursuing this endeavor and to also explore how unique dimensions of the Raceless scale are related to other social and psychological variables germane to understanding the complexities of identity formation among African American youth.

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Table 1. The Racelessness Scale Items

| [a]Subscale and item |
|---|
| Achievement attitudes (Ach) |
| Doing well in school helps you do better later in life. |
| I feel my future is limited. |
| The things you are taught in school are pretty useless once you graduate from high school. |
| There are better things to do with my time than to spend it on school work. |
| Trying hard in school is a waste of time. |
| Impression management (Imp) |
| I never let my friends know when I get good grades in school. |
| I feel I must act less intelligent than I am so other students will not make fun of me. |
| I never worry about what other students may think of me. |
| I sometimes do things I really don't like just so other students will like me. |
| I could probably do better in school, but I don't try because I don't want to be labeled a "braniac" or a "nerd." |
| Alienation (Alien) |
| I act and think like most people my age. |
| I am different from most people my age. |
| I don't hang out in places where most of the other people in school go. |
| I feel uncomfortable around other people my age who do not seem to value the same things I do. |
| I don't seem to act or think about things in the same way as most people my age. |
| Stereotypical beliefs/ Academic apathy (Apathy) |
| Most Blacks try to do well in school. |
| Poor Blacks are responsible for their problems. |
| Most Blacks are no longer discriminated against. |
| In general, Blacks are to blame for their negative image among Whites. |
| Blacks must change the way they act if they wish to succeed. |

[a]Response categories for the scale consisted of a 6 point Likert scale, ranging from "very untrue" to "very true" the degree to which the items characterize them.

*Table 2.* *Wave 6: ACHIEVEMENT ATTITUDES*

| Category | Frequency | Cumulative Frequency | Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 1 | 1 | .7 | .7 |
| 5 | 3 | 4 | 2.0 | 2.7 |
| 6 | 6 | 10 | 4.0 | 6.7 |
| 7 | 7 | 17 | 4.7 | 11.4 |
| 8 | 19 | 36 | 12.8 | 24.2 |
| 9 | 20 | 56 | 13.4 | 37.6 |
| 10 | 21 | 77 | 14.1 | 51.7 |
| 11 | 29 | 106 | 19.5 | 71.1 |
| 12 | 43 | 149 | 28.9 | 100.0 |
| Total | 149 | 149 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Note*. Originally total was 154 with 5 missing values.

*Table 3.* *Wave 6: IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT*

| Category | Frequency | Cumulative Frequency | Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 66 | 66 | 44.3 | 44.3 |
| 5 | 35 | 101 | 23.5 | 67.8 |
| 6 | 12 | 113 | 8.1 | 75.8 |
| 7 | 13 | 126 | 8.7 | 84.6 |
| 8 | 13 | 139 | 8.7 | 93.3 |
| 9 | 4 | 143 | 2.7 | 96.0 |
| 10 | 2 | 145 | 1.3 | 97.3 |
| 11 | 1 | 146 | .7 | 98.0 |
| 12 | 3 | 149 | 2.0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 149 | 149 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Note*. Originally total was 154 with 5 missing values.

*Table 4.* *Wave 6: ALIENATION*

| Category | Frequency | Cumulative Frequency | Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 11 | 11 | 7.4 | 7.4 |
| 4 | 19 | 30 | 12.8 | 20.1 |
| 5 | 38 | 68 | 25.5 | 45.6 |
| 6 | 33 | 101 | 22.1 | 67.8 |
| 7 | 25 | 126 | 16.8 | 84.6 |
| 8 | 9 | 135 | 6.0 | 90.6 |
| 9 | 14 | 149 | 9.4 | 100.0 |
| Total | 149 | 149 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Note*. Originally total was 154 with 5 missing values.

*Table 5.* *Wave 6: ACADEMIC APATHY*

| Category | Frequency | Cumulative Frequency | Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | 29 | 29 | 19.5 | 19.5 |
| 9 | 20 | 49 | 13.4 | 32.9 |
| 10 | 26 | 75 | 17.4 | 50.3 |
| 11 | 16 | 91 | 10.7 | 61.1 |
| 12 | 13 | 104 | 8.7 | 69.8 |
| 13 | 7 | 111 | 4.7 | 74.5 |
| 14 | 12 | 123 | 8.1 | 82.6 |
| 15 | 7 | 130 | 4.7 | 87.2 |
| 16 | 8 | 138 | 5.4 | 92.6 |
| 18 | 4 | 142 | 2.7 | 95.3 |
| 19 | 2 | 144 | 1.3 | 96.6 |
| 20 | 2 | 146 | 1.3 | 98.0 |
| 21 | 1 | 147 | .7 | 98.7 |
| 22 | 1 | 148 | .7 | 99.3 |
| 23 | 1 | 149 | .7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 149 | 149 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Note*. Originally total was 154 with 5 missing values.

*Table 6 . Wave 7: ACHIEVEMENT ATTITUDES*

| Category | Frequency | Cumulative Frequency | Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4.00 | 1 | 1 | .7 | .7 |
| 6.00 | 5 | 6 | 3.4 | 4.1 |
| 6.67 | 1 | 7 | .7 | 4.8 |
| 7.00 | 6 | 13 | 4.1 | 8.8 |
| 8.00 | 19 | 32 | 12.9 | 21.8 |
| 9.00 | 24 | 56 | 16.3 | 38.1 |
| 10.00 | 34 | 90 | 23.1 | 61.2 |
| 11.00 | 24 | 114 | 16.3 | 77.6 |
| 12.00 | 33 | 147 | 22.4 | 100.0 |
| Total | 147 | 147 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Note*. Originally total was 153 with 6 missing values.

*Table 7. Wave 7: IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT*

| Category | Frequency | Cumulative Frequency | Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 66 | 66 | 44.9 | 44.9 |
| 5 | 33 | 99 | 22.4 | 67.3 |
| 6 | 24 | 123 | 16.3 | 83.7 |
| 7 | 10 | 133 | 6.8 | 90.5 |
| 8 | 8 | 141 | 5.4 | 95.9 |
| 10 | 3 | 144 | 2.0 | 98.0 |
| 11 | 2 | 146 | 1.4 | 99.3 |
| 12 | 1 | 147 | .7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 147 | 147 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Note*. Originally total was 153 with 6 missing values.

*Table 8.* *Wave 7: ALIENATION*

| Category | Frequency | Cumulative Frequency | Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 16 | 16 | 10.9 | 10.9 |
| 4 | 19 | 35 | 12.9 | 23.8 |
| 5 | 30 | 65 | 20.4 | 44.2 |
| 6 | 39 | 104 | 26.5 | 70.7 |
| 7 | 27 | 131 | 18.4 | 89.1 |
| 8 | 5 | 136 | 3.4 | 92.5 |
| 9 | 11 | 147 | 7.5 | 100.0 |
| Total | 147 | 147 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Note*. Originally total was 153 with 6 missing values.

*Table 9.* *Wave 7: ACADEMIC APATHY*

| Category | Frequency | Cumulative Frequency | Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8.00 | 17 | 17 | 11.6 | 11.6 |
| 9.00 | 20 | 37 | 13.6 | 25.2 |
| 10.00 | 32 | 69 | 21.8 | 46.9 |
| 11.00 | 15 | 84 | 10.2 | 57.1 |
| 12.00 | 26 | 110 | 17.7 | 74.8 |
| 13.00 | 12 | 122 | 8.2 | 83.0 |
| 13.71 | 1 | 123 | .7 | 83.7 |
| 14.00 | 8 | 131 | 5.4 | 89.1 |
| 15.00 | 2 | 133 | 1.4 | 90.5 |
| 16.00 | 6 | 139 | 4.1 | 94.6 |
| 18.00 | 5 | 144 | 3.4 | 98.0 |
| 19.00 | 1 | 145 | .7 | 98.6 |
| 20.00 | 1 | 146 | .7 | 99.3 |
| 22.00 | 1 | 147 | .7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 147 | 147 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Note*. Originally total was 153 with 6 missing values.

*Table 10. Descriptive Statistics for Each Subscale Across Each Wave*

| Wave | Subscale | Score Range | Mean | Max. | SD | Skewness | Kurtosis |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wave 6 | Ach | 4-12 | 9.94 | 12 | 1.96 | -.79 | -.13 |
| | Imp | 4-12 | 5.43 | 12 | 1.87 | 1.55 | 2.14 |
| | Alien | 3-9 | 5.84 | 9 | 1.64 | .28 | -.52 |
| | Apathy | 8-23 | 11.49 | 23 | 3.33 | 1.18 | 1.05 |
| Wave 7 | Ach | 4-12 | 9.87 | 12 | 1.73 | -.61 | -.02 |
| | Imp | 4-12 | 5.24 | 12 | 1.63 | 1.78 | 3.50 |
| | Alien | 3-9 | 5.69 | 9 | 1.62 | .19 | -.41 |
| | Apathy | 8-23 | 11.37 | 23 | 2.73 | 1.24 | 1.78 |

*Note: Ach = Achievement attitudes; Imp = Impression management; Alien = Alienations; Apathy = Academic apathy or stereotypical beliefs.*

*Table 11. Cronbach's Alphas for Each Subscale Across Each Wave*

| *Wave* | *Subscale* | *Total Sample* | *Male* | *Female* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wave 6 | Ach | .64 | .63 | .66 |
| | Imp | .76 | .77 | .67 |
| | Alien | .54 | .53 | .54 |
| | Apathy | .78 | .81 | .73 |
| Wave 7 | Ach | .44 | .43 | .46 |
| | Imp | .58 | .55 | .49 |
| | Alien | .61 | .69 | .51 |
| | Apathy | .61 | .59 | .60 |

*Note: Ach = Achievement attitudes; Imp = Impression management; Alien = Alienations; Apathy = Academic apathy or stereotypical beliefs.*

Table 12.

*Correlation Between the Racelessness Scale and Other Measures for African American Participants (Wave 6 – Boys and Girls)*

| Scale | Racelessness | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Achievement Attitudes | Alienation | Impression Management | Academic Apathy |
| Family Relationship Quality (IBQ) | .18* | -.06 | -.10 | -.16 |
| Maternal functioning | | | | |
| Self-esteem | .16 | -.01 | -.05 | -.12 |
| Prosocial behavior | | | | |
| Social self-efficacy | .18* | -.08 | -.24** | -.24** |
| Peer acceptance | -.26** | .06 | .32** | .34** |
| Academic Achievement | | | | |
| Social Efficacy for Academic Achievement | -.08 | .15 | .18* | .15 |
| Psychological functioning | | | | |
| Self-esteem | .53** | -.13 | -.44** | -.56** |
| Externalizing behavior (Target Report) | | | | |
| Delinquent behavior | -.15 | | | |
| Aggressive behavior | -.10 | -.04 | .12 | .16 |
| | | .02 | .10 | .12 |
| Externalizing behavior (Teacher Report) | | | | |
| Delinquent behavior | -.05 | | | |
| Aggressive behavior | -.08 | -.06 | .13 | .10 |
| | | .04 | .26** | .19* |
| Social stressors | | | | |
| Collective racism | .03 | -.16 | -.13 | -.09 |
| Institutional racism | .04 | -.14 | -.17* | -.12 |
| Individual racism | .14 | -.13 | -.21* | -.20* |

*Note*. * $p<.05$. ** $p<.01$.

Table 13.
*Correlation Between the Racelessness Scale and Other Measures for African American Participants (Wave 6 – Boys Only)*

| Scale | Racelessness | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Achievement Attitudes | Alienation | Impression Management | Academic Apathy |
| Family Relationship Quality (IBQ) | .16 | -.08 | -.04 | -.11 |
| Maternal functioning | | | | |
| Self-esteem | .07 | .10 | .03 | -.02 |
| Prosocial behavior | | | | |
| Social self-efficacy | .27* | -.05 | -.19 | -.25* |
| Peer acceptance | -.27* | -.04 | .27* | .30* |
| Academic Achievement | | | | |
| Social Efficacy for Academic Achievement | -.06 | .33** | .20 | .15 |
| Psychological functioning | | | | |
| Self-esteem | .55** | -.13 | -.44** | -.55** |
| Moral development | -.35** | .09 | .22 | .32** |
| Externalizing behavior (Target Report) | | | | |
| Delinquent behavior | -.14 | -.09 | .12 | .14 |
| Aggressive behavior | -.11 | .05 | .08 | .10 |
| Externalizing behavior (Teacher Report) | | | | |
| Delinquent behavior | -.10 | -.13 | .16 | .14 |
| Aggressive behavior | -.09 | .06 | .36** | .25 |
| Social stressors | | | | |
| Collective racism | .01 | .13 | .03 | .02 |
| Institutional racism | .17 | .04 | -.03 | -.11 |
| Individual racism | .16 | .11 | -.05 | -.12 |

*Note*. * $p<.05$. ** $p<.01$.

Table 14.
*Correlation Between the Racelessness Scale and Other Measures for African American Participants (Wave 6 – Girls Only)*

| Scale | Racelessness | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Achievement Attitudes | Alienation | Impression Management | Academic Apathy |
| Family Relationship Quality (IBQ) | .20 | -.04 | -.18 | -.23* |
| Maternal functioning | | | | |
| Self-esteem | .26* | -.11 | -.22 | -.29* |
| Prosocial behavior | | | | |
| Social self-efficacy | .09 | -.11 | -.33** | -.22 |
| Peer acceptance | -.24* | .16 | .30** | .32** |
| Academic Achievement | | | | |
| Social Efficacy for Academic Achievement | -.10 | -.03 | .15 | .15 |
| Psychological functioning | | | | |
| Self-esteem | .51** | -.11 | -.41** | -.56** |
| Externalizing behavior (Target Report) | -.15 | .01 | .01 | .11 |
| Delinquent behavior | -.08 | -.01 | .07 | .09 |
| Aggressive behavior | | | | |
| Externalizing behavior (Teacher Report) | .05 | .01 | -.06 | -.06 |
| Delinquent behavior | -.04 | .00 | -.09 | -.03 |
| Aggressive behavior | | | | |
| Social stressors | | | | .50** |
| Collective racism | -.35** | .07 | .52** | .02 |
| Institutional racism | .01 | .05 | .06 | .27* |
| Individual racism | -.18 | .21 | .29* | |

*Note*. * $p<.05$. ** $p<.01$.

Table 15.
*Correlation Between the Racelessness Scale and Other Measures for African American Participants (Wave 7 – Boys and Girls)*

| Scale | Racelessness | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Achievement Attitudes | Alienation | Impression Management | Academic Apathy |
| Family Relationship Quality (IBQ) | .20* | -.02 | -.06 | -.16* |
| Maternal functioning | | | | |
| Self-esteem | .06 | .12 | -.10 | -.10 |
| Prosocial behavior | | | | |
| Social self-efficacy | .14 | -.21* | -.09 | -.14 |
| Peer acceptance | -.30** | .18* | .37** | .41** |
| Academic Achievement | | | | |
| Social Efficacy for Academic Achievement | .15 | -.17* | -.02 | -.11 |
| Psychological functioning | | | | |
| Self-esteem | .43** | -.09 | -.37** | -.49** |
| Externalizing behavior (Target Report) | | | | |
| Delinquent behavior | -.20* | .02 | .13 | .20* |
| Aggressive behavior | -.18* | -.07 | .17* | .22** |
| Externalizing behavior (Teacher Report) | | | | |
| Delinquent behavior | -.23* | -.10 | .19 | .26* |
| Aggressive behavior | -.26* | -.01 | .24* | .31** |
| Social stressors | | | | |
| Collective racism | -.05 | .01 | .06 | .07 |
| Institutional racism | -.03 | -.2 | .05 | .05 |
| Individual racism | .09 | -.03 | -.11 | -.12 |

*Note*. * $p<.05$. ** $p<.01$.

Table 16.
*Correlation Between the Racelessness Scale and Other Measures for African American Participants (Wave 7 – Boys Only)*

| Scale | Racelessness | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Achievement Attitudes | Alienation | Impression Management | Academic Apathy |
| Family Relationship Quality (IBQ) | .23 | -.00 | -.07 | -.18 |
| Maternal functioning | | | | |
| Self-esteem | -.17 | .14 | -.09 | .04 |
| Prosocial behavior | | | | |
| Social self-efficacy | .11 | -.39** | -.09 | -.13 |
| Peer acceptance | -.29** | .27** | .35** | .39** |
| Academic Achievement | | | | |
| Social Efficacy for Academic Achievement | .06 | -.28* | -.09 | -.09 |
| Psychological functioning | | | | |
| Self-esteem | .44** | -.10 | -.38** | -.50** |
| Externalizing behavior (Target Report) | | | | |
| Delinquent behavior | -.27* | .07 | .10 | .23 |
| Aggressive behavior | -.22 | -.02 | .12 | .21 |
| Externalizing behavior (Teacher Report) | | | | |
| Delinquent behavior | -.29 | -.10 | .09 | .22 |
| Aggressive behavior | -.33* | .06 | .21 | .31* |
| Social stressors | | | | |
| Collective racism | -.20 | .29* | .10 | .18 |
| Institutional racism | .03 | .13 | .01 | -.01 |
| Individual racism | -.01 | .15 | -.01 | -.00 |

*Note*. * $p<.05$. ** $p<.01$.

Table 17.
*Correlation Between the Racelessness Scale and Other Measures for African American Participants (Wave 7 – Girls Only)*

| Scale | Racelessness | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Achievement Attitudes | Alienation | Impression Management | Academic Apathy |
| Family Relationship Quality (IBQ) | .17 | -.05 | -.09 | -.17 |
| Maternal functioning | | | | |
| Self-esteem | .28* | .10 | -.20 | -.30** |
| Prosocial behavior | | | | |
| Social self-efficacy | .15 | -.03 | -.04 | -.12 |
| Peer acceptance | -.31** | .07 | .34** | .39** |
| Academic Achievement | | | | |
| Social Efficacy for Academic Achievement | .24* | -.05 | .03 | -.16 |
| Psychological functioning | | | | |
| Self-esteem | .42** | -.09 | -.32** | -.46** |
| Externalizing behavior (Target Report) | | | | |
| Delinquent behavior | -.10 | -.03 | .01 | .08 |
| Aggressive behavior | -.12 | -.13 | .05 | .12 |
| Externalizing behavior (Teacher Report) | | | | |
| Delinquent behavior | -.08 | -.04 | -.01 | .07 |
| Aggressive behavior | -.11 | -.03 | -.16 | .02 |
| Social stressors | | | | |
| Collective racism | -.08 | .13 | .36** | .23* |
| Institutional racism | -.15 | -.01 | .03 | .11 |
| Individual racism | -.07 | .23 | .13 | .10 |

*Note*. * $p<.05$. ** $p<.01$.