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ABSTRACT

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                            ANALYSIS OF GENDERED ETHNIC
                            IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

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Adolescence is a developmental period characterized by the formation and maintenance of identity. Ethnic identity development is likely shaped by gender, such that adolescents internalize gender roles as they formulate and maintain their ethnic identity. The current study assessed gender differences in ethnic identity exploration and commitment, as well as differences in cultural socialization, consistent with the hypothesis that women are "keepers of culture." Further, the current study examined whether the relation between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity commitment varies by ethnic group and gender. Analyses from a sample of 370 adolescents from four major ethnic groups—African American, Asian American, Latina/o, and White—indicated partial support for the culture keepers hypothesis, such that there was evidence for gender differences in ethnic identity exploration. Furthermore, gender role attitudes predicted ethnic identity commitment differently across ethnic groups. The current study is among the first to explore the relation between the gender intensification hypothesis and ethnic identity development. Limitations, future directions, and applications are discussed.

CULTURE KEEPERS: A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF GENDERED ETHNIC
IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

By

Veronica Hamilton

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my mother. Thank you for your sacrifices, mom.

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Introduction

As keepers of culture (e.g., Billson, 1995) women and girls may develop greater ties with their cultural heritage than men and boys (e.g., Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Therefore, adolescent girls may have greater ethnic identity exploration or commitment than adolescent boys (e.g., Martinez & Dukes, 1997). According to the gender intensification hypothesis (Hill & Lynch, 1983), boys and girls begin to internalize gender role attitudes in early adolescence, which is the same developmental period when youth begin to explore ethnic identity (Erikson, 1953). In the current study, I investigated gender differences in ethnic identity and cultural socialization and explored the relation between ethnic identity and gender role attitudes.

Identity Development in Adolescence

Identity formation is one of the primary developmental tasks of adolescence (Erikson, 1953). Erikson's (1959) conceptualization of identity development grew from Freud's discussion of the neurotic conflict, which is the ego's mediation between internal and external demands (Radford, 1968). Like Freud, Erikson posited identity formation as the product of the conflict of intrapersonal reflections of the self and societal expectations of the individual. Erikson contextualized identity formation, *identity versus identity diffusion,* as a necessary step in the development of a healthy personality (Erikson, 1959). Erikson (1959) stated that the conflict of identity development begins at the onset of pubertal changes of the body and the interrogation of social roles. The crux of this developmental conflict is to ascertain a sense of continuity of the self within the confines of social roles and expectations. Erikson

(1959) described the ego identity, the product of the adolescent conflict, as the integration of all identifications of the self.

Marcia (1980) described identity as "an existential position, to an inner organization of needs, abilities, and self-perceptions as well as a sociopolitical stance" (p. 159). He elaborated that identity is a dynamic, reiterative internal structure that is informed by one's individual history. As the individual reaches adolescence, they transition from concrete to formal operations and their moral reasoning begins to transcend *law-and-order* to include a more critical understanding of the world (Marcia, 1980). This transition in worldview and cognitive ability aids the process of identity formation, as the individual integrates their various identifications and negotiates the need for internal consistency with external demands (i.e., social roles). Marcia (1966) proposed four stages of identity development: *identity foreclosure*, *diffusion*, *moratorium* and *identity achievement*.

Marcia (1966) situated his discussion of the four stages of identity in the development of a vocational identity; however, these stages can translate into different domains of identity (e.g., ethnic identity). *Foreclosure* is characterized by the commitment to an unexplored identity. Marcia (1966) describes this as the state in which the adolescent holds occupational and ideological goals that were chosen by the parent, rather than the self. *Diffusion* occurs when the adolescent has not committed to an identity, regardless of whether they have explored the meaning of that identity. *Moratorium* is the state of identity crisis, in which the adolescent is struggling with intrapersonal identity or ideological tension, and exploring identities. Finally, *Identity achievement* is the state in which the adolescent has explored the

meaning of their identification and has committed the identification as congruent with their identity.

Tajfel (1978) described social identities as "part of an individual's self-concept which derived from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance to that relationship" (p. 63). Although similar to Erikson's conceptualization of ego identity, social identity theory maintains focus on social categorization and stratification. Like vocational identity, social identities generally may develop through a process of exploration and commitment. Ethnic identity is a domain of social identity, the formation of which depends on the meaning of ethnicity to one's sense of self.

In discussion of American ethnic groups[1], Phinney (1996) referred to *ethnicity* as a social group categorization defined by race and cultural origin. Ethnicity is particularly salient in the context of the United States because the country is often described as multicultural and also because of oppression linked to ethnic groups, with regard to access to resources and historical subjugation (Umaña-Taylor, 2011). Psychologists disagree about the importance of *racial* identity versus *ethnic* identity (Helms & Talleyrand, 1997) and some have proposed that the field should use the meta-construct of ethnic-racial identity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014b). Many theorists

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[1] Ethnic group labels in this paper are consistent with labels used in the cited works. *White*, *European American*, and *Anglo* should be read as similar or synonymous. *African American* and *Black* may be read as similar, and Caribbean Americans may be captured under these labels. Although there are differences between *Hispanic* and *Latina/o*, there is significant overlap with regard to country-of-origin, and *Chicana/o*, *Mexican*, and *Central American* may be captured by the labels *Hispanic* or *Latina/o*. *Asian American* encompasses all countries in Asia, therefore *Chinese-*, *Filipino-*, or *Indian Americans* may be captured by this label. Although the focus of the proposed research does not include Native American individuals, the terms *Native American* and *American Indian* are sometimes considered synonymous.

of racial identity do not consider race to be rooted in biology, but instead view it as a socially constructed tool for categorization that is linked to social stratification and sociopolitical hierarchy (Byrd, 2012; Cokley, 2007; Helms, 1995; Smedley & Smedley, 2005). If there is a theoretical distinction between racial and ethnic identity, then racial identity is constructed as a response to racialized oppression, while ethnic identity develops in conjunction with cultural values, norms, and traditions (Cokley, 2007).

Phinney (1989) suggested three stages of ethnic identity that mirror Marcia's (1966) modes of identity. Phinney's stages include (1) *unexamined ethnic identity*, (2) *ethnic identity search*, and (3) *achieved ethnic identity*. These stages parallel Marcia's modes of identity, such that unexamined ethnic identity corresponds with identity diffusion and foreclosure, ethnic identity search corresponds with moratorium, and achieved ethnic identity corresponds with identity achievement. Although the stages, or statuses, of ethnic identity are included in foundational literature on ethnic identity development, they represent a simplified conceptualization of the process of ethnic identity development (see Syed & Juang, 2014). Cieciuch and Topolewska (2017) elaborated on the distinctions between the processes of exploration and commitment conceived from Marcia's (1966) model of identity development. They described the ambiguity of the relation between the constructs of exploration and commitment, such that exploration represents a period of time and commitment represents the degree of intensity of the identity. The ambiguity of these terms and their interrelations translates to ambiguity in the conceptualization of identity stages, or statuses.

Meeus (2011) reviewed adolescent identity literature from 2000-2010 and proposed that ethnic identity maintenance, rather than ethnic identity formation, is the primary task of adolescence. As such, Meeus explained that exploration is not necessarily a precursor of commitment and that identity statuses do not necessarily occur in the theorized order. Thus, rather than incorporating the theorized statuses of ethnic identity development, I included exploration and commitment as distinct, continuous dimensions of ethnic identity development in the current study.

Developmental importance of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity development can impact adolescents in important ways. The inception of ethnic identity research occurred within the context of Erikson's conceptualization of the development of a healthy personality (Erikson, 1953). Indeed, ethnic identity development seems to be a profound psychological resource, in that it can help to buffer the effects of bias and discrimination among youth of color (e.g., Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & L'Heureux Lewis, 2006). Moreover, researchers have identified that ethnic/racial identity predicts academic achievement (Miller-Cotto & Byrnes, 2016) and well-being (Smith & Silva, 2011) among adolescents. A meta-analysis by Miller-Cotto and Byrnes (2016) showed a significant, albeit small, effect size for the positive association between ethnic identity and academic achievement across 45 studies. In another meta-analysis, Smith and Silva (2011) found that ethnic identity strongly predicted psychological well-being among people of color. This link was particularly strong for adolescents and young adults. In sum, ethnic identity development can have important implications for both academic achievement and adolescent well-being.

What fosters ethnic identity development? Many factors influence ethnic identity development, including parent socialization (Garcia Coll et al, 1996), and ethnic minority group membership (e.g., Else-Quest & Morse, 2015). These and other influences on identity development can be captured in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory suggests the need for a multi-layered analysis of contextual influences on development. Five contextual layers that influence developmental outcomes are identified in this model. The layers include the microsystem (e.g., family, school, and peers), the mesosystem (i.e., the interaction between microsystems), the exosystem (e.g., the interaction between the adolescents' social settings and parents' work settings), the macrosystem (e.g., cultural values and social attitudes), and the chronosystem (i.e., the impact of time). Each of these layers likely impacts identity development. Within this framework, developmental research must examine how individual characteristics might impact socialization, which in turn may impact identity (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The current study investigated individual characteristics (gender and ethnic identification), the microsystem (parental socialization), and the macrosystem (gender role attitudes) in the context of ethnic identity development.

Variations in ethnic identity development. Much of the research on ethnic identity development is ethnic group-specific. Phinney and Alipuria (1990) were among the first psychological researchers to explore ethnic group differences in ethnic identity development. They found that ethnic identity exploration (or *search*) was most common among Black participants, followed by Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, and finally White participants. Phinney and Alipuria also found that

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ethnicity was more important to people of color than it was to White people within their sample. They suggested that people of color report higher levels of exploration because of the importance of ethnicity and the "necessity of group belonging" among people of "minority status" (p. 180).

Martinez and Dukes (1997) also found significant ethnic group differences in ethnic identity, such that Black and Hispanic adolescents were further along in development, followed by Asian American and White adolescents. Similar findings have since been replicated several times (e.g., Else-Quest & Morse, 2015). Ethnic group differences in ethnic identity development may stem from differential experiences of racism and subjugation. Because ethnic identity pertains to cultural heritage, it can also be a form of resistance for culturally marginalized groups (e.g., Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009).

Most research on ethnic identity development has focused on people of color because of the salience of race and ethnicity for people of color who experience discrimination and oppressive prejudice. Racial privilege allows White people to see ethnicity as something that people of color *have* and to think of whiteness as normative. For that reason, it can be difficult to conceptualize what exploration and commitment mean to White people. Martinez and Dukes (1997) suggest that White people may feel that they do not have ethnic heritage because they take their privileged position for granted and become unaware of their ethnic identity. That is, White group representation, values, culture, and norms dominate American culture; therefore, White people do not have to actively explore what it means to be White.

Phinney and Tarver (1988) qualitatively examined ethnic identity search and commitment for Black and White eighth graders. In their description of ethnic identity search, White people reported that being White makes life easier for them and that they prefer their privileged racial position. In contrast with patterns reported by Black participants, White participants rarely or never talked to their family and friends about what it means to be White. Instead, many White participants reported that discussions about race or ethnicity were exclusively about the attitudes or behaviors of people of color. White students who reported knowledge about and/or interest in their own culture said that they felt it is important to know where they came from. Strategies they used to learn more about their culture included reading books, talking to people, and going to museums. Phinney and Tarver included fewer examples for White students' commitment, but explained that people who scored high on commitment had a sense of clarity about their ethnicity, regardless of whether or not they could elaborate.

In sum, ethnic identity is likely more salient to people who are marginalized by racial or ethnic hierarchy. Black, Latina/o[2], and Asian American adolescents are more likely to experience racism and racialized marginalization, and are therefore more likely to explore the meaning of that social category. Yet, White adolescents are not typically confronted with comparable prejudice based on their race/ethnicities, and therefore are not likely to explore that identity to the same degree.

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[2] In this paper, I will use the forms *Latina/o* to refer to people of Latin American origin. Gender is not always lived as a dichotomous distinction and some activists and academics use the term *Latinx* to refer to the group as a whole rather than the traditional, but androcentric, Latino. We use Latina/o instead of Latinx because our analyses, and the analyses in all reviewed literature, code gender as a dichotomous variable.

Intersectionality

Although Crenshaw (1991) first coined the term *intersectionality* in her discussion of the ways in which race impacts women's experience of gender-based violence, the roots of contemporary intersectionality theory began with 19th and 20th century Black Feminist writings (see Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016). In the context of being marginalized by the abolition and Civil Rights movements for being women and by the 1st and 2nd waves of feminism for being Black, such authors described how systems of racism and sexism were interconnected. They advocated for a structural analysis of intersecting social categories; in other words, it is important to consider how the experience of one's gender might be shaped by the experience of one's race (and vice versa), which are socially constructed and include a dimension of power or inequality. Thus, an intersectional approach necessitates an understanding that each social category (e.g., gender, race) cannot be adequately investigated independently or out of context; one must simultaneously consider multiple categories as crucial to understanding the individual in their social, historical, and political context. For example, it is important to understand how ethnicity and gender intersect in the development of ethnic identity, and how ethnic identity development might differ among adolescent boys and girls within ethnic groups.

Intersectional approaches consider the specific and unique locations within intersecting social categories. In Thomas, Hacker, and Hoxha's (2011) qualitative analysis of gendered racial identity, young Black girls and women felt they could not separate their experience of being Black or African American from their experience of being female. That is, their experience of race/ethnicity was gendered. The current

study examined gender differences in ethnic identity development, using a pre-established model of ethnic identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Further, the current study assessed the relation of gender role attitudes and ethnic identity development.

Cole (2009) formally proposed that psychologists should incorporate intersectionality into their research. She outlined three questions psychologists need to consider. Cole's first question is, *who is included within this category?* To address this question, psychologists should consider the diversity within social categories. With a few exceptions (e.g., Nguyen, Wong, Juang, & Park, 2015; Qin, 2009), ethnic identity researchers have rarely considered how gender is linked to ethnic identity. Furthermore, the exploration of gender differences is rarely central to quantitative analyses of ethnic identity development. The current study examined gender differences in ethnic identity and the function of gender intensification and women's role as keepers of culture.

Cole's second question is: *what role does inequality play?* To address this question, psychologists need to consider how power is embedded within social categories and how inequalities across social categories (e.g., gender and ethnicity) are mutually reinforced (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016). Although ethnic identity researchers consider racial or ethnic power and privilege in their work, a handful of researchers have evaluated how this social category intersects with other social hierarchies. Ying and Lee (1999) described that girls might explore their ethnic identity earlier than boys because of their experiences with gender inequality within their families. Additionally, mothers are more likely to be the primary childcare providers in their families and carry the responsibility of passing on cultural traditions

to their children as keepers of culture. Although women's role as culture keepers does not inherently reflect gender inequality, some of the gendered expectations that reinforce this role can reflect gender inequality (e.g., girls experience more parental monitoring and less freedom than boys). Juan, Syed, and Azmitia (2016) found that women of color were more likely to identify connections between social hierarchies of race/ethnicity and gender than were White women. Therefore, we might expect variation in gender differences in ethnic identity across ethnic groups.

Finally, Cole suggested that researchers identify similarities across groups. She elaborated that systems of inequality are interrelated and that researchers should look for commonalities across groups often characterized as fundamentally different. Although people of color and White people differ in their ethnic identities and social status, the impacts of ethnic identity on relevant outcomes may be similar. For example, Syed and Juang (2014) assessed the relative importance of ethnic identity to people with marginalized ethnicities compared to White people. The authors referred to a dominant perspective in ethnic identity research that ethnic identity, as a developmental process, is more important to identity coherence and psychological well-being for ethnic minority youth (i.e., youth of color) than it is for ethnic majority youth (i.e., White youth). They found that ethnic identity commitment predicted identity coherence for both college students of color and White college students, although the link was less reliable for White students. Similarly, the link between ethnic identity and psychological well-being was similar in magnitude among White students and students of color. Although adolescents of color tend to report higher scores on measures of ethnic identity exploration and commitment than White

adolescents, the link between ethnic identity and theoretically relevant constructs, like identity coherence and psychological well-being, seems to be statistically similar across groups. Thus, we might expect to find similarities in the relation between gender and ethnic identity development (youth exploration and commitment and parental socialization) and gender role attitudes, such that the role of women as culture keepers is consistent across ethnic groups.

In sum, the current study contributes to the literature on ethnic identity development through the use of an intersectional perspective that considers how gender and ethnic group simultaneously contribute to ethnic identity development. That is, I attempted to replicate previous findings of gender differences in parental socialization (i.e., cultural socialization) and adolescent ethnic identity (i.e., exploration and commitment), consistent with research outlined below. The assessment of gender differences in ethnic identity and socialization contributes to the ethnic identity literature through the explicit focus on gender in ethnic identity development.

The current study also aligned with Cole's suggestion that we consider variability within groups and similarities across groups. As such, I assessed the interaction between ethnicity and gender on ethnic identity.

Finally, I assessed the relation between adolescents' ethnic identity exploration and commitment and gender role attitudes to consider the parallel developmental processes of gender intensification and ethnic identity development. Both gender intensification and ethnic identity are theoretically tied to systems of inequality. I also examined whether relation between gender role attitudes and ethnic

identity commitment differs by gender and ethnic group to assess variations within groups and similarities across groups.

Gender Differences in Identity Development

Marcia (1980) claimed that women's identity formation might be inherently different from men's because of differences in social roles based on gender. Early identity research focused on vocational aspirations, which privileged men's identity development. The gendered contrast in vocational aspirations was based on the expectation that women should exclusively aspire to marriage and motherhood. Therefore, measures of identity development needed modification to include dimensions of identity apart from occupation.

These gender differences in occupational identity may not have been consistent across ethnic/racial groups. For example, the gendered division of labor was a privilege not bestowed upon African American people (Burgess, 1994). Slavery and the economic subjugation of African Americans forced both men and women to financially contribute to the family, and thus vocational aspirations or orientations toward employment differ based on race and social class (Burgess, 1994).

However, gendered role expectations exist across ethnic groups (see Kane, 2000), therefore ethnic identity development may differ based on gender, consistent with an intersectional approach. In early adolescence boys and girls begin to internalize increasingly salient gender roles in a process known as gender intensification (Hill & Lynch, 1983). Also, girls may also be confronted with gender role expectations at a younger age than boys because of early maturation (e.g., Tanner, 1981). Therefore, we might expect that the process of ethnic identity

development would differ for boys and girls as they experience gender intensification and internalize gender roles.

Research findings on gender differences in ethnic identity and ethnic socialization are inconsistent. Sometimes gender similarities have been reported with ethnic identity (e.g., Marks, Szalacha, Lamarre, Boyd, & Coll, 2007) and ethnic socialization (e.g., Hughes & Chen, 1997). However, when gender differences have been found, girls tend to report more developed ethnic identities (e.g., greater exploration and commitment) or earlier ethnic identity development (Dion & Dion, 2004; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). Several studies have found differences in ethnic socialization, such that girls receive more cultural socialization (Dion & Dion, 2001; Thomas & Speight, 1999). For example, Dion and Dion (2004) reported that young immigrant women were more likely to participate in cultural practices, like those related to food or music, than young immigrant men. Together, these findings provide evidence for the social role of women as *keepers of culture* (Phinney, 1990).

Women have been considered keepers of culture because they are seen as responsible for socializing future generations, and preserving, or shaping, cultural traditions and values in a rapidly changing world (see Billson, 1995). Sociologist Janet Mancini Billson (1995) interviewed Canadian women from several different cultural contexts. She explained that the role of women as *keepers of culture* is evident across many cultural contexts:

> In every community I visited, women speak of their role as 'keepers of the culture.' Evelyn Beck describes Ukrainian women as 'kinkeepers.' Blood and Iroquois medicine women are 'faithkeepers.' A Jamaican woman refers to

herself as a housekeeper, not in the sense of being a domestic […], but to convey an image of herself as homemaker—literally keeper of the house.

(Billson, 1995, p. 3)

She further explained that this gendered role is often highly respected in the context of the socialization of children, and that in many cultural contexts (e.g., Jamaican, Inuit, Blood, and Iroquois) women have been integral to cultural resilience and survival through motherhood.

Across ethnic groups. Researchers often study ethnic identity development with diverse samples and compare results across ethnic groups. Several researchers who have compared ethnic groups have found gender differences across groups that support the claim that gender shapes ethnic identity development. For example, Rotheram-Borus, Lightfoot, Moraes, Dopkins, and LaCour (1998) studied ethnic identity among Anglo, African American, Latina/o, and Filipino adolescents in the United States. They found that girls were more likely than boys to report feeling similar to people within their ethnic group. Charmaraman and Grossman (2010) also found that girls reported higher ethnic/racial salience as well as greater positive regard, or pride and appreciation toward one's ethnic group, than boys. Researchers have suggested that girls might feel more positively about their ethnic identity because girls may receive more messages about cultural pride (e.g., Thomas & Speight, 1999) and feel closer ties to their families.

Similarly, Martinez and Dukes (1997) measured ethnic identity in a large (n = 12,386) and diverse sample of junior high and high school students in Colorado. They used a modified version of Phinney's (1992) classic measure of ethnic identity that

measured ethnic identity as a single dimension. Among Black and Asian American participants, girls reported higher levels of ethnic identity relative to boys, but there were no significant gender differences among Native American or Hispanic participants. Contrary to general ethnic identity trends, they found that White boys in their sample reported higher levels of ethnic identity than White girls. Martinez and Dukes suggested that women and girls of color might better understand the significance of their ethnic identity because they could recognize the intersection of their marginalized social identities (i.e., race/ethnicity and gender) and thus the salience of their social identities might impact their ethnic identity development. Martinez and Dukes posited that the gender reverse pattern for White adolescents may be due to an increased perception of "reverse discrimination" for White men, which might provoke an increase in the salience of race/ethnicity for White men compared to White women. These findings are evidence of ethnic group differences in gendered ethnic identity. Gender differences may not be consistent across groups, and ethnic or racial privilege and oppression may interact with gender privilege and oppression to impact ethnic identity or the salience of ethnicity.

Gendered ethnic identity may be particularly evident among immigrant families. Qin-Hilliard (2003) assessed ethnic identity labels among recent immigrants to the United States over the first five years after migration. Their sample included adolescents from several immigrant groups, including Chinese, Dominican, Central American, Haitian, and Mexican adolescents. They assessed ethnic identity with one open-ended item that asked participants to self-identify at two time points, five years apart. Almost all participants were less likely to report their country of origin as a part

of their ethnic identity at Year 5, regardless of gender. However, across groups, girls were more likely to retain their country-of origin (or heritage-culture) as a part of their identity. Central American girls were even more likely to report country of origin as a part of their ethnic identity at Year 5 than they were in Year 1. The gendered retention of a heritage-culture or ethnic identity may be indicative of the importance of culture to identity for immigrant girls relative to immigrant boys.

The work of French, Coleman, and DiLorenzo (2013) also provided evidence that the cultural aspects of ethnic identity are more salient or developed among women. They measured ethnic and racial identity and racial-ethnic socialization among adults across three groups: Asian American, Latin American, and African American. They reported gender similarities in racial identity and gender differences in ethnic identity. Across all three groups, women reported higher levels of achievement, affirmation, and belonging. Results are consistent with the conceptual understanding of women's role as keepers of culture, because ethnic identity diverges from racial identity with respect to culture. French and colleagues specifically differentiated racial identity and ethnic identity, suggesting that ethnic identity distinctly includes cultural experiences, whereas racial identity concerns power differences in a racialized society. Therefore, the differences in ethnic identity, but not racial identity, seem to support the claim that women are the keepers of culture.

African American/Black. Many ethnic/racial identity researchers have focused on African American ethnic/racial identity. Historically, much of the research with African American adolescents has included measures of racial identity. However, many of these measures include items that are consistent with ethnic

identity. For example, the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997) incorporates items from Phinney's (1992) ethnic identity measure to better understand Black-specific identity development.

One way that Black racial identity models and methods differ from ethnic identity is exemplified in Nigrescence models (Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1991), which conceptualize African American identity development in five stages: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, internalization, and internalization-commitment. The stages correspond with a significant experience, or *encounter*, with race and racialization that is typically in the form of racism. This experience may lead to a change in attitudes about race and the importance of a Black identity.

Although the focus of the current study was ethnic identity, when gender differences in racial identity development among African Americans are found, evidence tends to support the claim that girls have greater ethnic and racial identities or start ethnic identity development sooner. Plummer (1995) measured racial identity development among African American adolescents. They found that girls endorsed less pre-encounter attitudes than boys. This suggests that racism or racialization may be salient to girls at a younger age than boys and that girls may be further along in their racial identity development. Thomas, Hacker, and Hoxha (2011) qualitatively assessed the gendered racial identity of young Black women. They asked Black girls and women what it meant to be African American, a woman, and an African American woman. Participants discussed having to confront specific stereotypes about Black women, as well as Eurocentric beauty standards and the importance of

self-determination. Therefore, racialized sexism (e.g., Eurocentric beauty standards) and gendered racism (e.g., stereotypes about Black women) may influence girls and women as they explore their identities.

Consistent with the proposal that women are culture keepers, researchers have also found gender differences in ethnic identity development among African American adolescents. Phinney and Tarver (1988) used open-ended interviews to assess ethnic identity development among Black and White eighth graders. They found that Black girls reported particularly high levels of ethnic identity search, relative to Black boys and White girls and boys. Phinney (1989) also found an interaction for gender and ethnic identity stage with 10th-grade American adolescents. She found that, among Black adolescents, only girls were in the achievement stage. Participants gave examples about how Black girls had to overcome Eurocentric beauty standards in their exploration of their Black identity, which may suggest that Black girls are interrogating racialized sexism and gender roles as their form their ethnic identity.

In sum, gender is likely important in the development of ethnic identity for Black or African American adolescents. As keepers of culture, Black girls or women may begin identity development sooner (Plummer, 1995; Phinney & Tarver, 1988; Phinney, 1989), and have greater ethnic identity exploration and commitment relative to Black boys or men (Lam & Smith, 2009). Additionally, the experiences of gendered racism and racialized sexism (Gianettoni & Roux, 2010; Thomas, et al, 2011) may contribute to gendered ethnic identity development among Black adolescents, such that Black girls form ethnic identities that differ from those of

Black boys (Settles, 2006). Thus, we should expect Black adolescents to differ in ethnic identity development based on gender.

Asian American. Evidence suggests that gender also shapes ethnic identity development among Asian American adolescents. Much of the evidence comes from Chinese American samples, because Chinese American adolescents are frequently studied in the Asian American ethnic identity literature. For example, Yip and Fuligni (2002) explored ethnic identity salience among Chinese American adolescents. They assessed ethnic identity salience from daily diary entries using the item "How much did you feel Chinese today?" (p.1561). Participants answered using a scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely). Yip and Fuligni found that girls regularly reported higher ethnic identity salience than boys.

Qin (2009) sought to better understand how gender influences ethnic identity among Chinese immigrant adolescents. She analyzed data from a longitudinal, mixed-methods study that included Chinese American immigrants between the ages of 12 and 16 years old. Ethnic identity was assessed using items about *identity markers*, which included language use and where adolescents felt "at home" (p. 45). They found that girls were more likely to maintain their native language, describe themselves as Chinese, and feel close to their Chinese identity, whereas boys were more likely to feel at-home in the United States. Both girls and boys in this study associated academic success with being 'a good Chinese boy/girl.' Chinese boys discussed the importance of physical strength to American masculinity and the identity conflict they felt as they navigated Chinese and American masculinities. Qin explained that boys distanced themselves from their Chinese identity because it

compromised their American masculinity, whereas, for girls, being "nerdy" was not perceived to conflict with American femininity.

More broadly, Ying and Lee (1999) assessed gender differences in ethnic identity status among Asian Americans (70% East Asian). They reviewed essays written by adolescents about "Growing up Asian American" (p. 199). Essay content was coded for ethnic identity status: Foreclosure, Diffusion, Moratorium, and Achievement. Ying and Lee found that boys were more likely than girls to have a foreclosed identity, whereas girls were more likely to have an achieved identity. They suggested that the gender difference might be due to girls' early maturation or experiences of gender inequality and subordination within the household. Their supposition comes from the understanding that boys may be more likely to conform to parental expectations, and thus they would be less likely to question or explore their ethnic identity beyond their parents' perspective. This understanding positions girls as more likely to explore their own meaning of ethnicity as a response to gendered subjugation from parents or family members. Therefore, consistent with findings from African American samples, experiences of gender inequality may foster identity development.

Across several studies (e.g., DasGupta, 1997), Asian Americans in immigrant families considered 'American' and 'White' to be synonymous. Many Asian American girls and women developed their gendered ethnic identity in tandem with distancing themselves from American (White) girls and women, particularly with regard to the perceived promiscuity of American girls (Espiritu, 2001; Qin, 2009). Espiritu (2001) explained that this social distancing is a result of histories of

Americans sexualizing and dehumanizing women in Asia and Asian immigrant women. Reflecting intersectionality, the social construction of the Asian American woman is distinct from that of the Asian American man because of this history. Furthermore, such that Asian American adolescent girls develop ethnic identity as they resist racialized sexualization, development of ethnic identity may begin earlier for girls in tandem with the prevalence of the sexualization of girls (APA, 2007). Therefore, consistent with the literature, we should expect gender differences in ethnic identity development among Asian American adolescents such that Asian American girls develop a greater sense of ethnic identity (including higher levels of exploration and commitment) than boys.

      Latina/o. A similar pattern is also evident among Latina/o samples. Much of the research on this community has focused on Mexican American adolescents. Umaña-Taylor has suggested that gender intensification—that is, the rapid internalization of gendered social roles that occurs during the onset of pubertal changes and the emergence of adolescence (Hill & Lynch, 1983)-- heavily influences gender differences in ethnic identity development (e.g., Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014a).

      Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen, and Guimond (2009) investigated ethnic identity growth in Latina/o adolescents over four years beginning at around age fifteen. Most of their participants identified themselves as being of Mexican origin (77%), while other participants identified with other Central and South American countries of origin. They assessed ethnic identity with three subscales: exploration, resolution, and affirmation. Resolution is similar to commitment, in that a higher score reflects a personal understanding of one's ethnicity. Affirmation is similar to

positive regard, in that a higher score reflects positive feelings about one's ethnicity or ethnic group. They found no significant growth in exploration and resolution for boys, and that growth in exploration and resolution was both evident and significantly faster for girls. Iturbide, Raffaelli, and Carlo (2009) also found that, among Mexican American college students, women reported higher levels of ethnic identity affirmation relative to men. Their findings are evidence for gendered ethnic identity development, such that adolescent Latinas develop into their role as culture keepers in adolescence, whereas boys may not necessarily develop their ethnic identity as quickly or with as much positive regard.

However, research is inconclusive about quantifiable gender differences in ethnic identity development among adolescent Latinas/os. For example, González, Umaña-Taylor, and Bámaca (2006) studied gender differences in familial ethnic socialization and ethnic identity among bi-ethnic adolescents (e.g., one White parent and one Latina/o parent). Although they expected that adolescent girls would report higher levels of ethnic identity, they found the reverse pattern – that adolescent boys reported higher levels of ethnic identity. González et al. suggested that this pattern might indicate that Latino boys and men develop higher levels of ethnic identity as they grow into the male role of authority.

Pabon (2010) noted that very little research on ethnic identity development of Latina/o Americans has explored gender. Gender likely impacts the journey of ethnic identity development for Latina/o adolescents, such that boys' ethnic identity may develop as a result of ethnic discrimination, while girls' ethnic identity development may result, in part, from their role as culture keepers (Umaña-Taylor & Guimond,

2010). We might expect that adolescent Latinas will report more exploration and commitment than adolescent Latinos, but that gendered ethnic identity development may be contingent on socialization factors.

European American/White. There is little research on White adolescents' ethnic identity development. Identification with whiteness may have different implications compared to identification with marginalized ethnic groups. As a consequence of colonization, the cultural values, norms, and traditions of White Americans are widely represented in the United States; therefore, passing on cultural traditions may not imply the preservation of culture in the same way it does for marginalized groups. However, reflecting intersectionality (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016), it is important to include dominant groups in the study of ethnic identity development, while acknowledging that White adolescents live with cultural privilege in the United States.

Ethnic identity development may be gendered for White people as it is for other groups. Research findings on gender differences and similarities in White ethnic identity are inconsistent. Martinez and Dukes (1997) found no significant gender differences in ethnic identity among White men and women. Meanwhile, Nnawulezi and colleagues (in prep) found that White women might experience less "loss of culture" than White men because White women place more emphasis on their ethnic background and community. This "loss of culture" refers to the expressions of cultural emptiness by many White Americans as a response to the overrepresentation of their cultural practices, values, or traditions. Nnawulezi et al. connected themes of conscious whiteness-that is, an awareness of the social construction of a white

identity- and cultural emptiness, such that women may feel less culturally empty because they may be more likely to recognize how multiple identities are constructed and can intersect. Thus, White women might internalize the role of culture keeper but it is unclear whether that translates to gender differences in ethnic identity exploration or commitment.

Gendered Parenting Practices

Parents' socialization practices shape adolescent ethnic identity development (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; Hughes et al., 2006) and parents tend to socialize boys and girls differently with regard to sex-typed activities (Lytton & Romney, 1991). Gendered parenting manifests in many different ways. For example, daughters may experience more parental monitoring, while sons are granted more freedom and independence (e.g., Qin, 2009). Also, many women and girls are socialized into subordinate roles, such as wives or homemakers (Paat & Pellebon, 2012). Therefore, the overarching theme in gendered parenting practices may be parents' endorsement of gender roles (Epstein & Ward, 2011).

Parents may also teach their sons and daughters differently about race and ethnicity (Thomas & Speight, 1999). Some researchers have found that parents provide more cultural socialization to girls, and that boys may receive more messages about racial barriers (e.g., Thomas & Speight, 1999). These gender differences in ethnic identity development may be due to the expectation that girls and women are the keepers of culture (Phinney, 1990; Dion & Dion, 2001), and that daughters will be expected to transfer cultural traditions to the next generation as the primary caregiver.

Across ethnic groups. Gender differences in ethnic socialization tend to appear in multi-group analyses. For example, French, Coleman, and DiLorenzo (2013) surveyed adolescents from three ethnic groups, including Asian American, Latin American, and African American. Across all three groups, girls reported receiving more cultural socialization relative to boys. Likewise, Huynh and Fuligni (2008) also found that girls reported more cultural socialization – such as attending cultural events specific to their ethnic group – than boys across three groups: Chinese American, Mexican American, and European American.

Even when boys and girls report receiving the same amount of cultural socialization, girls may be more influenced by it. For example, Juang and Syed (2010) assessed gender and ethnic group differences in the relation between family ethnic socialization and ethnic identity exploration and commitment among college students from four major ethnic groups, including Asian American, Latina/o, White, and mixed ethnic group. They found that girls who received relatively high levels of cultural socialization reported higher levels of ethnic identity commitment than boys who received comparable levels of cultural socialization. Therefore, girls may be more impacted by cultural socialization as keepers of culture.

Some researchers have proposed that daughters are more influenced by cultural socialization because they spend more time with parents. For example, Qin-Hilliard (2003) asked immigrant adolescents about parental expectations and parental monitoring. Their sample included adolescents from several immigrant groups, including: Central America, China, Haiti, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic. They found that girls reported more parental monitoring than boys. Regardless of gender

and ethnic group, adolescents perceived more parental control over girls' activities outside of the home (e.g., dating, spending time with friends, employment). Therefore, girls were expected to be with caregivers more often and less likely to socialize outside their cultural group.

African American/Black. Although Black parents may try to teach their children gender-egalitarian values (Mandara, Varner, & Richman, 2010), researchers have found differences in the messages African American parents tell their sons and daughters about race and ethnicity (Hill, 2001). For example, Peck and colleagues (2014) found that parents were more likely to report cultural socialization to daughters, and preparation for bias messages to sons. These findings are evidence for gender differences in the formation or maintenance of ethnic identity. Black girls may form their identity as culture keepers in tandem with more parental socialization about cultural heritage, whereas and Black boys may form their ethnic identity as a response to discrimination (similar to racial identity formation).

Indeed, there is ample evidence that Black girls receive more messages about racial pride or heritage, while Black boys receive more messages about racial barriers. For example, Smith-Bynum and colleagues (2016) gave mothers two vignettes in which a child experiences discrimination either at a shopping mall or at school. Mothers were more likely to talk to their daughters about how to advocate for themselves and they were more likely to talk to sons about how to cope. Similarly, Thomas and Speight (1999) surveyed African American parents about their racial socialization attitudes. They asked parents, "What are specific racial messages taught to African American boys/girls?" (p. 157-158). They found that boys were given

significantly more messages about negative stereotypes and coping strategies and girls were given more messages about racial pride and academic goals. These findings are consistent with other research (e.g., Bowman & Howard, 1985).

Gendered socialization of African American identity may highlight differences between the constructs racial and ethnic socialization. For example, Brown, Linver, Evans, and DeGennaro (2009) also assessed the role of gender in ethnic and racial socialization. They asked African American adolescents about socialization messages they had received from caregivers. Ethnic socialization included messages about African American cultural values, African American cultural embeddedness (i.e., regular exposure to representations of African American culture including art and television shows), African American history, celebrating African American heritage, and promotion of ethnic pride (Brown et al., 2009). Brown and colleagues found that adolescent girls reported more ethnic socialization than adolescent boys across nearly every ethnic socialization category.

Although racial identity development is catalyzed by experiences of racism, racial socialization seems to differ by adolescent gender such that racial socialization messages given to girls also tend to be positive and affirmative. For example, Thomas and King (2007) asked mother-daughter dyads about racial socialization. Both mothers and adolescent daughters completed a survey that included open- and closed-ended questions about racial socialization. Participants mentioned themes of racial socialization that included self-determination, racial pride, and cultural heritage. Thomas, Hoxha, and Hacker (2013) held focus groups with African American adolescent girls and asked about their gendered ethnic identity development.

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Consistent with other research (e.g., Bowman & Howard, 1985), the girls in this study said that their parent emphasized cultural socialization and messages about racial pride and promoting education. The positive messages girls receive about their racial/ethnic identity likely shapes gender differences in ethnic identity development. Furthermore, cultural socialization may be more predictive of ethnic identity than other forms of ethnic socialization, such as preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust (e.g., Else-Quest & Morse, 2015).

For African American families, gender differences in ethnic socialization may begin in early childhood. Caughy, Nettles, and Lima (2011) surveyed African American families with young children (entering first grade) and found gender differences in cultural socialization, such that parents of girls were more likely to provide cultural socialization than parents of boys, whereas parents of boys were more likely to provide messages that combined cultural socialization with messages about bias and mistrust. These findings are consistent with research indicating that African American boys receive more messages about coping with discrimination relative to girls (e.g., Thomas & Speight, 1998).

In sum, evidence for gender differences in socialization messages about race and ethnicity from African American parents consistently indicates that girls receive more cultural socialization and messages about cultural or racial pride relative to boys. Thus, African American adolescent girls may be primed for their role as culture keepers through their parents' socialization practices, such that parents may foster cultural pride through affirmative messages about race and ethnicity.

Asian American. Much of the research about ethnic or cultural socialization among Asian American families emphasizes the role of parental monitoring and control of daughters. For example, Xiong, Detzner, and Cleveland (2004-5) asked Hmong boys and girls about their parents' parenting behaviors. Hmong girls reported that their parents were very strict with girls but lenient with boys with regard to parental monitoring practices. They attributed this differential treatment to desires for girls to have "a good reputation."

Findings seem to be consistent across cultural groups within the larger Asian American population that adolescent girls experience more restrictions from parents. DuongTran, Lee, and Khoi (1996) found gender differences in life stress attributed to parental expectations among Cambodian, Hmong, and Vietnamese immigrant adolescents. According to their results, girls reported significantly more stress from parental pressure about school performance as well as gender roles and gendered restrictions on dating and social life. Qin (2009) asked Chinese-American immigrant adolescents about gendered parental expectations. Boys were much more likely to report freedom to spend time with friends, whereas girls were often expected to go home immediately after school. Girls reported that they would be freer from parental restrictions if they were boys. This pattern of gender-differentiated socialization limits girls' acculturation and positions them to stay connected to their heritage culture, thus potentially strengthening girls' ethnic identity development.

Immigrant parents may provide differential treatment to their sons and daughters because they want to foster acculturation in boys and stronger ties to cultural heritage in girls. For example, Supple, McCoy, and Wang (2010) asked

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Hmong American adolescents about gendered socialization. Hmong girls emphasized that boys have more freedom to become Americanized while girls face more pressure to maintain ties to cultural heritage and conform to Hmong traditions. Supple and colleagues proposed that acculturation or assimilation may be more strategic toward being financially successful in the United States, and that parents encouraged Americanization among sons with the expectation that boys will share this success with their community. Therefore, the gendered expectations for cultural preservation positioned men as community leaders who bring prosperity through acculturation and women as the keepers of culture and cultural tradition. Hmong boys described their need to learn multiple cultural traditions (both American and Hmong), because they will be responsible for maintaining cultural traditions as adults despite their acculturative experiences in adolescence. Supple and colleagues found that participants largely felt neutral about gendered socialization practices. They also suggested that the freedom boys receive during adolescence leaves them ill-equipped to carry out cultural traditions in adulthood. Thus, boys and men may be expected to be leaders in cultural preservation, but parents better prepare girls to be keepers of culture.

Gendered treatment may continue beyond adolescence for many Asian American women. DasGupta (1997) interviewed second generation Indian American women, who described the ways in which their parents monitored them throughout their childhood and into adulthood. One woman discussed her brother's relative freedom to spend time with friends or move away from college, while she was expected to live with her parents until she was married. Another woman talked about

restrictions on dating, specifically that her brother was allowed to date someone who wasn't Indian, while she was not. DasGupta explained that parents felt they needed to protect daughters from the American host culture because the daughters carried their family's and community's honor, which was particularly contingent on their chastity.

Cultural preservation and chastity have been themes in gendered ethnic identity development across several studies. Epiritu (2001) interviewed adult Filipinas about Filipina identity and culture, and found that these women were frustrated about their parents' gendered restrictions. Espiritu asked parents about the sexual double standard, to which they replied that girls must remain virgins until marriage and that the restrictions are necessary to ensure their chastity. Furthermore, she explains that girls are expected to learn how to take care of the home and be a wife and mother. She referenced women as keepers of culture and the expectation that daughters need to be the "ideal ethnic subject" (p. 429).

In sum, evidence indicates that Asian American adolescent girls face more parental restrictions than boys, which can aid in girls' development as culture keepers. Gendered parental restrictions can facilitate greater ethnic identities in girls because girls may have less opportunity to acculturate (e.g., Supple et al., 2010). Additionally, parental expectations that daughters should embody an idealized cultural standard of chastity may contribute to ethnic pride (Mahalingham, Balan, & Haritatos, 2008). Therefore, Asian American adolescent girls may grow into their role as culture keepers through gendered parenting practices and differential levels of cultural socialization.

Latina/o. Research with Latina/o families indicate that adolescent Latinas may also experience more parental monitoring as well as other differential treatment based on gender. For example, Raffaelli and Ontai (2004) asked Latina/o parents about their gender socialization practices. Three themes emerged from their interviews, including differential treatment of girls and boys, enforcement of stereotypically feminine behavior for girls, and curtailment of girls' activities. Some examples of differential treatment include more freedom and leniency with boys than girls and the expectation of girls' household labor contributions. One respondent recounted that she was expected to do housework before leaving for school and that boys' did not have any responsibilities for taking care of younger siblings or household labor. Raffaelli and Ontai (2004) created survey measures of differential treatment, which confirmed this pattern among a larger group of Latina/o college students. Raffaelli and Ontai (2004) also found that parents enforced stereotypically feminine behaviors for daughters. Daughters were not allowed to play with masculine-typed toys, like bikes or Tonka trucks, and were expected to wear dresses and learn how to cook.

The third theme of gender socialization among Latina/o families regarded more restrictions for daughters (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Like many Asian American adolescent girls, Latina adolescents also face restrictions from parents who fear their daughters will be sexually promiscuous as a consequence of acculturating to US-style dating (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2001). For example, Azmitia and Brown (2002) asked Latina/o parents about their children's path of life. They found that parents of

daughters reported more restrictions and monitoring than parents of sons. Parents of daughters were also more concerned about peer influence than parents of sons.

Differential treatment is also likely dependent on parents' gender role attitudes and division of labor. For example, Lam, McHale, and Updegraff (2012) examined predictors of traditional gender attitudes and division of household labor in Mexican American families. They grouped participants based on parents' attitudes and behaviors – congruent traditional ($N = 92$), congruent egalitarian ($N = 52$), and incongruent labor ($N = 92$). *Congruent* meant that both the division of labor and gender role attitudes were either traditional or egalitarian. By contrast, *incongruent labor* indicated that the parents had more egalitarian gender role attitudes, but maintained a traditional division of labor. Lam and colleagues found that adolescent girls in the congruent traditional and incongruent labor groups spent significantly more time on housework than adolescent boys; adolescents in these two groups also spent more time with their same-gender parent. Furthermore, adolescents in the congruent traditional group, but not the incongruent labor group, had significantly more traditional gender role attitudes than adolescents in the congruent egalitarian group.

These findings are evidence for the transmission of gendered behavior and attitudes from parents to their children. Therefore, Latina/o parenting practices may encourage gendered ethnic identity development, particularly if they endorse traditional gender roles and maintain a gendered division of labor. Parents who transmit traditional gender roles to their children may make gender a salient social

category, and thus socialize their children as to what it means to be a man or a woman within their cultural context.

There is also some evidence that Latina adolescent girls receive more cultural socialization than Latino adolescent boys. Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro, Bámaca, and Guimond (2009) studied the relations between familial ethnic socialization and ethnic identity among Latina/o adolescents and found that Latina adolescents reported higher levels of family ethnic socialization. Therefore, gender seems to shape the intergenerational transmission of culture within Latina/o families, such that girls and women may receive and provide more cultural socialization.

Furthermore, as culture keepers, women may transmit culture to the next generation in their role as mothers. González and colleagues (2006) studied gender differences in familial ethnic socialization and ethnic identity among bi-ethnic adolescents (with one White parent and one Latina/o parent). They found that, compared to children with Latino fathers, children with Latina mothers reported the most maternal ethnic socialization. Knight and colleagues (2011) also found that mother's ethnic socialization highly influenced adolescent ethnic identity for both boys and girls. Both findings are evidence that women are the cultural transmitters to the next generation.

In sum, gender socialization seems to interact with ethnic and cultural socialization in Latina/o families in several different ways. Gendered expectations of Latina/o adolescents may implicate gender differences in ethnic identity development, such that adolescents learn what it means to be a part of their cultural community through the lens of their gender. Also, consistent with research from African

American families, adolescent Latinas may receive more cultural socialization than adolescent Latinos. Therefore, evidence indicates that adolescent Latinas may develop into their role as culture keepers through multiple modes of parental socialization (gender socialization and cultural socialization).

European American/White. Little research has investigated cultural socialization of European Americans in the United States within the established ethnic identity development framework. Therefore, this current study is one of the first to investigate European American parents' ethnic socialization practices and any gender differences in the reception of these practices. For these reasons, it is unclear if we should expect to see results consistent with those of other ethnic/racial groups.

Gender Intensification

Many researchers have proposed that gender differences in ethnic identity development emerge during adolescence because of the parallel process of gender intensification (e.g., Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009). The gender intensification hypothesis (Hill & Lynch, 1983) posits that boys and girls begin to become more aware of and internalize gender role expectations as they enter adolescence. Gender intensification occurs during the same developmental time period as ethnic identity development, as adolescents explore the meanings of their social identities. Traditional gender roles begin to gain more salience in adolescence as secondary sexual characteristics form and heteronormative expectations increase. Despite the parallel development of ethnic identity and gender intensification, researchers have not often investigated the relation between the two conceptually similar processes. Adolescents explore and integrate societal and parental expectations with their self-

concept through gender intensification and ethnic identity development. Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2009) explained that ethnic identity development might be more accelerated for girls because of the expectations that one of their gendered roles is to perpetuate cultural traditions (i.e., to be culture keepers). Furthermore, consistent with an intersectional perspective, I examined how gender role attitudes relate to ethnic identity development.

Psychological researchers have investigated gender roles in different ways, including sex-typed personality characteristics and gender role attitudes. Researchers have not often explored how gender roles relate to ethnic identity, with a few exceptions. Two studies assessed the relation between racial identity and gender roles among Black adolescent girls and Black men and found that Black racial identity related to less gender role conflict and androgyny. Buckley and Carter (2005) examined the relation between racial identity and sex-typed personality characteristics (i.e., femininity, masculinity, and androgyny) among Black adolescent girls using the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974) and the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (RIAS-L; Parham & Helms, 1981). The RIAS-L measures racial identity in a similar way to the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1997), such that it relates racial identity to a process of encountering racism and internalizing Black identity. The RIAS-L reconceptualizes racial identity as externally and internally defined. An externally-defined identity parallels what Phinney might consider an unexplored identity and an internally-defined identity is similar to an achieved identity. Buckley and Carter found that girls who were more androgynous

(i.e., identified with both feminine and masculine personality characteristics) also reported more internally-defined racial identity.

These findings are complemented by findings from a study of Black men. Wade (1996) assessed racial identity using the RIAS-L and men's fear of femininity using the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). Black men who reported an externally-defined racial identity reported more gender role conflict, whereas there was no relation between internally-defined racial identity and gender role conflict. These two studies together suggest that internally-defined Black racial identity may predict less rigid gender roles with regard to femininity, masculinity, and androgyny. These findings can be contextualized by the history of gender roles in Black families in the United States. Egalitarian gender role attitudes in the African American family may originate from African American women's financial need for employment as a consequence of slavery and economic oppression (Burgess, 1994).

Researchers might also assess gender role attitudes, which include a person's beliefs about the appropriate roles for men and women (McHugh & Frieze, 1997). For example, measures like the Traditional Egalitarian Sex Role scale (TESR; Larsen & Long, 1988) assess gender role attitudes, including attitudes about the gendered division of labor and patriarchal values, along a traditional-egalitarian continuum. Traditional attitudes tend to include a strict division of labor that positions women as primary caregivers who are largely subordinate to their husbands with respect to family decision-making, and men as the primary financial providers for the family. In contrast, egalitarian gender roles typically include the perspective that men's and

women's roles can be interchangeable, such that men should be able to take on the roles and responsibilities of women and vice versa. Although gender roles are pervasive and impact people's lives in a wide variety of ways, two typical domains of gender roles include household division of labor and patriarchal values.

Household division of labor. Traditional perspectives on the household division of labor include the expectation that women are responsible for all or most of the household labor, while men are expected to be financial providers to the family. In what Hochschild (2012) calls the "second shift," women who also contribute to the family financially are still expected to carry most of the responsibility of household labor. Household labor typically includes cooking, cleaning, and childcare. A feminist perspective on the gendered division of household labor argues that housework is an expression of gender relations within a home and is a consequence of gender role socialization (see Bianchi, Milki, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000). Although the division of household labor varies by racial/ethnic group, as mentioned earlier, across ethnic groups women engage in more household labor than men (see Coltrane, 2000). Therefore, women's role as household caretaker reflects traditional gender-role expectations across ethnic groups. Women's role as keepers of culture might be encapsulated within the gendered division of labor, such that women perpetuate cultural traditions through meal preparation and childcare.

Patriarchal values. Another common theme in gender role attitudes is the endorsement of patriarchal values. Patriarchy is a system of social structures that enables male dominance over women (e.g., Walby, 1989). Examples of male dominance include men's authority or power over women in decision-making (e.g.,

Crittenden & Wright, 2013), control over women's bodies or sexuality (e.g., Mahalingham et al., 2008), and men's economic privilege. Patriarchal values are prevalent across many cultures (e.g., Crittenden & Wright, 2013; Gonzalez, 1982; Mahalingham et al., 2008), in part because of Western colonialism.

Mahalingam and colleagues (2008) investigated the relation between idealized patriarchal beliefs and ethnic pride among Asian American adults. Patriarchal beliefs included chastity and hegemonic masculinity. Ethnic pride was measured using a two-item measure about model minority pride developed by Mahalingam, Haritatos, and Jackson (2007). They found that patriarchal beliefs were positively related to ethnic pride. In addition, patriarchal beliefs predicted resilience through ethnic pride, thus gender role attitudes may be related to ethnic identity development in complex ways.

Gendered roles exist across ethnic groups and adolescents have to navigate these roles while they form or negotiate their ethnic identity. Despite the similarities between identity development and gender intensification, as they relate to the integration and exploration of societal role expectations and self-concept, researchers have not assessed how gender role attitudes and ethnic identity development may be connected. The current study is among the first to consider the relation between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity development. Previous research has found links between components of ethnic/racial identity and gender role attitudes/characteristics among Black adolescent girls (Buckley & Carter, 2005), Black men (Wade, 1996), and Asian American adults (Mahalingam et al., 2008). However, the association varied by ethnic group. Thus, I expected that gender role

attitudes would predict ethnic identity commitment across groups and that the relation would vary by gender and ethnic group.

The Current Study

In the current study, I analyzed data from the Philadelphia Adolescent Life Study (PALS; Else-Quest, Mineo, & Higgins, 2013) with a diverse sample of adolescents and their parents. I investigated gender differences in ethnic identity development and cultural socialization as well as the relation of gender role attitudes to ethnic identity. Specifically, I assessed gender and ethnic group differences in ethnic identity exploration and commitment across four ethnic groups: African Americans, Asian Americans, Latina/o Americans, and White Americans. Else-Quest and Morse (2015) found ethnic group differences in ethnic identity exploration and commitment, however they did not examine gender differences. In the current study, I tested the interaction between gender and ethnic group on exploration and commitment. Although I expected that girls would report higher levels of exploration and commitment relative to boys across all four groups, I also expected that ethnicity would moderate these gender differences such that the magnitude of gender differences varies by ethnic group.

Hypothesis 1. Across ethnic groups, girls will report greater exploration of ethnic identity.

Hypothesis 2. Across ethnic groups, girls will report greater ethnic identity commitment.

Hypothesis 3. The magnitude of the gender differences in exploration and commitment will vary by ethnic group.

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Several researchers have suggested that girls develop greater ethnic identity compared to boys because they are developing their role as keepers of culture (e.g., Phinney, 1990; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014a). In previous research with the PALS sample, Else-Quest and Morse (2015) found that cultural socialization was the strongest predictor of ethnic identity when compared to preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust. Consistent with the culture keeper hypothesis, there is some evidence to suggest that parents socialize boys and girls differently with regard to ethnic identity (e.g., Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Supple et al., 2010; Thomas & Speight, 1999). In the current study, I assessed gender differences in parents' cultural socialization across ethnic groups. I expected that, across all four groups, parents of girls would report higher levels of cultural socialization practices. Similar to my expectations of gender differences in ethnic identity exploration and commitment, I expected that gender differences in cultural socialization would vary in magnitude by ethnic group.

Hypothesis 4. Across ethnic groups, parents of girls will report greater cultural socialization.

Hypothesis 5. The magnitude of gender differences in cultural socialization will vary by ethnic group.

Finally, I explored the parallel processes of gender intensification and ethnic identity development. Adolescents begin to internalize gender roles through gender intensification as they simultaneously develop ethnic identity. Although several researchers have suggested that gender differences occur in ethnic identity development because of gender intensification (e.g., Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009), few

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have examined the relation between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity. Previous research found gender role characteristics related to racial identity status (Buckley & Carter, 2005; Wade, 1996), therefore I predicted that we would find an association between ethnic identity commitment and gender role attitudes. I specifically included ethnic identity commitment, but not ethnic identity exploration, because ethnic identity commitment reflects clarity and stability of ethnicity as a component of identity. Like ethnic identity commitment, gender role attitudes may reflect commitment to socially constructed gender expectations. Therefore, I expected that traditional gender role attitudes would predict ethnic identity commitment. Researchers consistently find that girls report more egalitarian gender role across ethnic groups (e.g. Priess, Lindberg, & Hyde, 2009). However, because gender roles vary by ethnic group (see Kane, 2000), I expected that gender and ethnic group would moderate this relation.

Hypothesis 6. Gender role attitudes will predict ethnic identity commitment, such that more traditional gender role attitudes will be associated with greater ethnic identity commitment. This association will be moderated by gender and by ethnic group.

Method

Participants

The sample includes $n = 370$ parent-adolescent dyads from PALS (Else-Quest et al., 2013). The current study included data from Year 1 of the project, when adolescents were 10th grade students enrolled in diverse, neighborhood, co-educational public schools in the School District of Philadelphia. Demographic characteristics of the sample, aggregated by adolescent ethnic group, can be found in Table 1.

Adolescents. Adolescent participants ($M_{age} = 16.19$ years, $SD = .74$) included members from four major ethnic groups in the US, including Black/ African American (58 boys and 46 girls), Asian/ Pacific Islander (29 boys and 46 girls), Latina/o (36 boys and 30 girls), and White (55 boys and 58 girls). Adolescents from other ethnic groups ($n = 10$) were excluded from analyses due to low frequency. Across ethnic groups, 80.8% ($n = 299$) of adolescent participants were born in the US. Most adolescents (71%; $n = 263$) reported English as their native language.

Parents/Guardians. Parents/guardians are also members from four major ethnic groups: Black/ African American (91 women and 11 men), Asian/ Pacific Islander (51 women and 19 men), Latina/o (55 women and 7 men), and White (96 women and 16 men). There were higher numbers of female parents/guardians than male parents/guardians in our sample (85% women); research indicates that mothers tend be the primary source for socialization (Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010).

As shown in Table 1, many of the parents were born in the United States, although there was larger representation of US-born parents in the White and African American samples [$F (6, 350) = 42.13, p < .001$]. English was the native language for

more than half of the sample, however fewer of the Asian American/ Pacific Islander and Latina/o parents reported English as their native language [F (6, 350) = 42.91, p < .001].

Socioeconomic status (SES) was measured using a composite score from three variables: household annual income, maternal education, and number of books in the home (responses included in Table 1). Higher levels of income, education, and number of books in the home correspond with higher SES. Parents indicated income from the following options: Less than $20,000/year (25.1%), $20,000- $50,000/year (36.5%), More than $50,000/year (20.5%). Approximately 18% of participants selected "I prefer not to answer" or simply did not answer. Parents indicated their level of education from the following options: 8th grade or below (4.3%), 9th-11th grade (10.3%), High school graduate (or GED; 28.6%), Some college (20%), College graduate (16.5%), or Graduate school (5.1%). Approximately 15.5% of participants selected "other," "I prefer not to answer," or simply did not answer. Parents indicated number of books in the home from the following options: 0-10 (5.4%), 10-50 (36.2%), 50-100 (23%), and over 100 (31.1%). 4.3% of participants did not respond to this question. White families reported higher SES than participants from other ethnic groups [F (3, 344) = 25.39, p < .001].

Design and Procedure

The current study used a between-subjects design comparing two gender groups (girl and boy) across four ethnic groups (White, African American, Asian American, and Latina/o). Adolescent gender role ideology served as a continuous

predictor variable. Outcome variables included ethnic identity exploration and commitment and cultural socialization.

Measures

 Demographic questionnaire. As described, adolescents and parents reported gender, ethnicity, country of birth, and number of years in the US. If the participant indicated that they were born in the United States, then their years lived in the United States were estimated to equal their age. Parents/guardians also reported household income, own education, and number of books in the home.

 Adolescent ethnic identity. Adolescent ethnic identity was measured using the Multi-Group Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R, Phinney & Ong, 2007). This measure is a revised version of Phinney's (1992) MEIM, and was modified for brevity and fit (Phinney & Ong, 2007). According to a recent meta-analysis (Herrington, Smith, Feinhauer, & Griner, 2016), the MEIM-R (Phinney & Ong, 2007; $\alpha = .88$) has shown significantly higher internal consistency than the MEIM (Phinney, 1992; $\alpha = .84$). It was developed for ethnically diverse samples and includes two subscales: exploration and commitment. The *exploration* subscale has shown good internal consistency with this sample (Black/ African American $\alpha = .68$; Asian American/ Pacific Islander $\alpha = .74$; Latina/o $\alpha = .80$; White/ European American $\alpha = .86$) and includes three items, for example: "I have often done things that will help me understand my racial/ethnic background better." The *commitment* subscale has also shown good internal consistency with this sample (Black/ African American $\alpha = .68$; Asian American/ Pacific Islander $\alpha = .70$; Latina/o $\alpha = .81$; White/ European American $\alpha = .84$) and contains three items, including, "I have a strong sense of

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belonging to my own racial/ethnic group." Participants rated their agreement to the items using a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree); higher scores indicate higher levels of exploration or commitment.

Cultural socialization. Parents completed the cultural socialization subscale of a racial/ethnic socialization measure by Hughes and Chen (1997). The measure was originally used in a study with African American families (Hughes & Chen, 1997) but was adapted by Huynh and Fuligni (2008) for their diverse sample. The wording of the items was changed to be inclusive to any person who identifies with any ethnic group. The cultural socialization subscale has shown good internal consistency for this sample (Black/ African American α = .74; Asian American/ Pacific Islander α = .75; Latina/o α = .71; White/ European American α = .66) and includes five items, such as, "I have taken my child to cultural events for their ethnic/racial group." Participants indicated how often they have engaged in each of the behaviors using a scale from 1 (never) to 5 (very often).

Gender role attitudes. Adolescents indicated their level of endorsement of egalitarian gender roles using Larsen and Long's (1988) Traditional-Egalitarian Sex Role scale (TESR). This measure has also been used in previous research with non-White participants (Saez, Casado, & Wade, 2010). An analysis by Coyne (2009) indicated that this measure does not include out-dated statements. It contains 20 items, of which participants report their level of agreement with statements, including, "As head of the household, the father should have the final authority over the children" (reverse-coded). Level of agreement to the items is measured using a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree); higher scores indicate higher

endorsement of egalitarian gender role attitudes. The measure showed good internal consistency in this sample (Black/ African American $\alpha = .76$; Asian American/ Pacific Islander $\alpha = .78$; Latina/o $\alpha = .84$; White/ European American $\alpha = .87$).

Data Analytic Strategy

As preliminary analyses, I first ran bivariate correlations between all variables of interest, including adolescent gender, adolescent years in the United States, parent years in the United States, socioeconomic status, ethnic identity exploration, ethnic identity commitment, cultural socialization, and gender role attitudes. The bivariate correlation analyses were run separately for each ethnic group.

Given that socioeconomic status and years in the US varied across the four ethnic groups and that these variables also likely influence ethnic identity (e.g., Pieterse, Chung, Khan, & Bissram, 2013; Qin-Hilliard, 2003) and cultural socialization (e.g., Barbarin & Jean-Baptiste, 2013), I included them as covariates in all analyses. That is, I used adolescent years lived in US as a covariate in analyses related to the first and third aim in which the outcome variable was reported by the adolescent. I used parent years lived in the US as a covariate in analyses related to the second aim in which the outcome variable was parent reported.

The first goal of the current study was to assess gender differences in ethnic identity exploration and commitment (H_1 & H_2). To test these hypotheses, I conducted two 2 (gender) x 4 (ethnicity) analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs), with family socioeconomic status and adolescent years lived in the US as covariates. In each ANCOVA, I first tested for an interaction effect (H_3) for gender and ethnicity to assess whether gender differences varied by ethnic group. If the interaction effect was

significant, I would probe the interaction to assess whether the gender differences are consistent in magnitude across ethnic groups. If the interaction effect was not significant, I would assess the main effects of gender and ethnicity. I ran a post-hoc power analysis using GPower (Mayr, Erdfelder, Buchnew, & Faul, 2007) to estimate the statistical power for the ANCOVAs testing H_1 and H_2. Estimated power for the main effect of gender for a small effect size ($f = .10$) is .48, medium effect size ($f = .25$) is .99, and large effect size ($f = .40$) is 1.00, with $\alpha = .05$ and $u = 8$. Estimated power for the main effect of ethnicity and the interaction effect for a small effect size ($f = .10$) is .33, medium effect size ($f = .25$) is .98, and large effect size ($f = .40$) is .99, with $\alpha = .05$ and $u = 8$. Thus, the current study had adequate statistical power to detect significant medium effect sizes with these analyses.

The second goal of the current study was to assess adolescent gender differences in parental cultural socialization. I conducted a 2 (gender) x 4 (ethnicity) ANCOVA with family socioeconomic status and parent years lived in the US as covariates. I first examined the test for an interaction effect (H_5) of gender and ethnicity to assess whether gender differences in cultural socialization differ in magnitude by ethnic group. If the interaction was significant, I would probe the interaction to assess gender by ethnic group differences in cultural socialization. If the interaction effect was not significant, I would assess the main effect of gender (H_4). As with the first goal, estimated power for the main effect of gender for a small effect size ($f = .10$) is .48, medium effect size ($f = .25$) is .99, and large effect size ($f = .40$) is 1.00, with $\alpha = .05$ and $u = 8$. Estimated power the main effect of ethnicity and the

interaction effect for a small effect size ($f = .10$) is .33, medium effect size ($f = .25$) is .98, and large effect size ($f = .40$) is .99, with $\alpha = .05$ and $u = 8$.

The third goal of the current study was to examine the relation between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity commitment. I explored these relations using hierarchical linear regression in SPSS. I included ethnic identity commitment as the dependent variable. In the first step I included covariates, socioeconomic status and adolescent years in the US. In the second step, I tested main effects of gender, ethnic group, and ethnic identity commitment. In the third step, I assessed 2-way interactions of gender and ethnicity, gender and gender role attitudes, and ethnicity and gender role attitudes. In the fourth step, I assessed the 3-way interaction of gender, ethnicity, and gender role attitudes. I expected that gender role attitudes would predict ethnic identity commitment and that gender and ethnic group would moderate the relation between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity commitment. I performed a two-tailed post hoc power analysis to estimate power at $\alpha = .05$ with seven predictors. Estimated power for a small effect size ($f^2 = .02$) is .77, a medium effect size ($f^2 = .15$) is 1.00, and a large effect size ($f^2 = .35$) is 1.00. Thus, the current study has adequate statistical power to detect significant small effect sizes with these analyses.

Results

Means and standard deviations of key variables, reported separately by gender and ethnicity, appear in Table 2. Prior to analyses, I tested assumptions for ANCOVAs. The covariates—socioeconomic status and years in the United States—were not highly correlated with one another (see Tables 3-6), therefore I included both covariates in the ANCOVAs that tested hypotheses for the first and second aims. Levene's test indicated that variances were similar across groups for the analysis with dependent variable, cultural socialization, $F(7, 328) = .56$, $p = .79$, therefore the assumption of homogeneity of variance for that ANCOVA was met. Analyses of homogeneity of variances were significant for ANCOVAs with dependent variables, ethnic identity exploration $[F(7, 338) = 2.866, p < .01]$ and ethnic identity commitment $[F(7, 338) = 2.93, p < .01]$. However, the differences in standard deviations between groups were not very large, therefore the violation of this assumption is not a serious concern. Finally, analyses of skewness and kurtosis for dependent variables—exploration, commitment, and cultural socialization—indicate that the departure from normality is not extreme for the entire sample. Analysis of subgroups confirmed mild skewness and kurtosis across groups, however variance among African American girls indicated excess kurtosis and positive skew on the dependent variables, exploration and commitment. Given that all other sub-groups demonstrate acceptable levels of skewness and kurtosis and that ANCOVA is robust to nonnormality, I did not transform the data.

To address the first aim, I conducted two separate ANCOVAs for ethnic identity exploration and commitment. To test hypotheses 1 and 3, I conducted a 2

(gender) x 4 (ethnicity) ANCOVA with ethnic identity exploration as the outcome variable; SES and adolescent years in the U.S. served as covariates. There was a significant main effect of gender, $F(1, 336) = 4.76$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .01$, $d = .24$, such that girls reported significantly greater exploration than boys. There was also a significant main effect of ethnicity $F(3, 336) = 3.61$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$. Bonferroni post hoc analyses indicated that White adolescents reported significantly lower exploration relative to Black adolescents ($p < .01$, $d = .37$). All other pairwise comparisons were not significant. The interaction of gender and ethnicity was not significant, $F(3, 336) = .18$, $p = .91$, $\eta^2 = .00$.

To test hypotheses 2 and 3, I conducted a 2 (gender) x 4 (ethnicity) ANCOVA with ethnic identity commitment as the outcome variable; SES and adolescent years in the U.S. served as covariates. The main effect of gender was not significant, $F(1, 336) = .47$, $p = .46$, $\eta^2 = .00$, $d = .05$. There was a significant main effect of ethnicity $F(3, 336) = 4.35$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .04$. Bonferroni post hoc analyses indicated that White adolescents reported less ethnic identity commitment than Black adolescents, $p < .01$, $d = .41$. The interaction of gender and ethnicity was not significant, $F(3, 336) = .90$, $p = .44$, $\eta^2 = .01$. In sum, gender differences were evident in ethnic identity exploration, but not commitment, whereas ethnic group differences were evident in both ethnic identity exploration and commitment.

To address the second aim, I conducted a 2 (gender) x 4 (ethnicity) ANCOVA with parents' cultural socialization as the outcome variable; SES and parent years in the United States served as covariates. The main effect of gender was not significant, $F(1, 326) = .11$, $p = .98$, $\eta^2 = .00$, $d = .02$. There was a significant main effect of

ethnicity F (3, 326) = 8.64, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$. Bonferroni post hoc analyses indicated

that parents/guardians of White adolescents reported significantly lower cultural

socialization relative to parents/guardians of Black adolescents ($p < .001$, $d = .80$),

Latina/o adolescents ($p < .05$, $d = .45$), and Asian American/Pacific Islander

adolescents ($p = .001$, $d = .76$). The interaction of gender and ethnicity was not

significant, F (3, 326) = .11, $p = .98$, $\eta^2 = .00$. In sum, cultural socialization varied by

ethnic group, but not by gender.

To address my third aim, I conducted a linear hierarchical regression to test a

three-way interaction of gender, ethnicity, and gender role attitudes on ethnic identity

commitment, controlling for socioeconomic status and adolescent years in the United

States (see Table 7). I determined that the assumptions of linearity, homoscedasticity,

independence, and normality of data were met from my examination of residuals,

scatter plots, and the Durbin-Watson statistic. In the first step I included the

covariates, socioeconomic status and adolescent years in the United States. In the

second step, I included the three variables of interest, ethnicity, gender, and gender

role attitudes. In the third step I included the two-way interaction terms, gender x

ethnicity, gender x gender role attitudes, and ethnicity x gender role attitudes. Finally,

I included the three-way interaction term in the fourth step to assess the unique

contribution of the three-way interaction. For interaction terms that included

ethnicity, I dummy coded ethnic groups with White adolescents as the reference

group.

As shown in Table 7, number of adolescent years in the U.S., but not SES,

significantly predicted commitment in step 1. R^2 changed significantly in the second

step, $\Delta R^2 = .04$, $F (5, 338) = 2.62$, $p < .05$. Main effects of gender and gender role attitudes were not significant, however the main effect of ethnicity was significant, such that commitment scores were higher among Black adolescents relative to White adolescents, $t (338) = 3.43$, $p = .001$. R^2 changed significantly in the third step, $\Delta R^2 = .06$, $F (7, 331) = 3.02$, $p < .01$. Gender role attitudes predicted ethnic identity commitment differently for White adolescents ($\beta = -.52$) and Black adolescents ($\beta = .39$), $t (331) = 4.00$, $p < .001$. Additionally, gender role attitudes predicted ethnic identity commitment differently for White adolescents and Latina/o adolescents ($\beta = .20$), $t (331) = 2.85$, $p < .01$. The fourth step, which included the three-way interaction, did not indicate a significant ΔR^2, $F (3, 328) = .28$, $p = .84$. Total variance accounted for in the fourth step was $R^2 = .12$. In sum, the relation between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity commitment varied by ethnic group but not by gender, such that, relative to White adolescents, Black and Latina/o adolescents' egalitarian gender role attitudes were associated with higher ethnic identity commitment, whereas traditional gender role attitudes were associated with ethnic identity commitment for White adolescents. The relation between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity commitment for Asian American/Pacific Islander adolescents did not significantly differ from other ethnic groups.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to assess gendered ethnic identity development consistent with the culture keepers hypothesis, which proposes that adolescent girls develop greater ties with their cultural heritage than adolescent boys. Previous research has found inconsistent evidence of gender differences across ethnic identity domains. The first aim of this study was to assess gender differences in ethnic identity exploration and commitment. Similarly, previous quantitative research has indicated that cultural socialization may differ by adolescent gender; thus, the second aim of this study was to assess gender differences in cultural socialization. Finally, researchers have discussed gender differences in ethnic identity development, such that the internalization of gender roles (i.e., gender intensification) in early adolescence fosters ethnic identity development differently for boys and girls. The third aim of this study was to examine the relation between gender, ethnicity, gender role attitudes, and ethnic identity commitment. The results of this study provide mixed evidence of gender differences in ethnic identity as well as ethnic group differences in the association between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity commitment.

Exploration and Commitment

Consistent with previous research from PALS (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015), the results of my analyses indicated that African American adolescents reported greater ethnic identity exploration and commitment. This ethnic group difference was consistent across adolescent gender. The sociohistorical context of the U.S. may foster ethnic identity differently for marginalized groups in that, for example, ethnic

minority groups are regarded as less "American" than White Americans (Devos & Banaji, 2005).

Nonetheless, across ethnic groups I found gender differences in ethnic identity exploration, but not commitment. The inconsistency of gender differences on ethnic identity constructs may be explained by theoretical differences in exploration and commitment. Marcia (1966) defined commitment as the degree of personal investment in an identity. He originally defined crisis (i.e., exploration) as a period of meaningful engagement, in which the adolescent explores identity alternatives. Meeus, Iedema, and Maassen (2002) further conceptualized exploration as "mainly concerned with the maintenance and validation of existing commitments" (p.772). Although early conceptualizations of ethnic identity development implied that exploration precedes commitment and that high levels of exploration and commitment are qualifications of an achieved identity (Marcia, 1966), contemporary researchers no longer consider ethnic identity development to be a linear, progressive process (Meeus, 2011). Therefore, gender differences in exploration, but not commitment, do not necessarily indicate differences in the progression of ethnic identity development. Instead, the results might indicate that girls engage in more exploratory behaviors that would help them better understand their ethnic identity, whereas boys and girls seem to be comparable in their sense of belonging to their ethnic group.

In the context of the MEIM-R (Phinney & Ong, 2007), ethnic identity exploration is defined as "seeking information and experiences relevant to one's ethnicity" (p. 272) and typically involves exposure to and engagement with one's

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cultural heritage. Without adequate exploration of ethnic identity, according to Phinney and Ong (2007), one's commitment to ethnic identity might be less secure. Similar to Marcia's description of identity commitment, the measurement of ethnic identity commitment with the MEIM-R is conceptualized as a measure of one's sense of belonging to their ethnic group. As commitment alone does not imply identity achievement (e.g., see Syed, 2013), gender similarities in commitment do not necessarily imply that ethnic identity is gender-neutral. Indeed, gender differences in exploration might provide better support for women's role as culture keepers. As measured by Phinney and Ong (MEIM-R; 2007), exploration includes learning about cultural practices and attending cultural events. Therefore, the gender difference in ethnic identity exploration across groups seems to indicate that girls are more culturally engaged than boys despite having similar commitment to their ethnic group identity.

Contemporary discussions of identity formation and maintenance in adolescence challenge traditional models of identity development (Cieciuch & Topolewska, 2017). Although the MEIM-R (Phinney & Ong, 2007) is one of the most common measures of ethnic identity, its reliance on Marcia's conceptualization of exploration and commitment has been criticized for its simplicity. For example, Luyckx and colleagues (2006, 2008) have proposed three forms of exploration—exploration in breadth, exploration in depth, and ruminative exploration—as well as two forms of commitment- commitment making and identification with commitment (see Waterman, 2015). This five-dimensional model extends Marcia's identity status paradigm in order to more comprehensively analyze the process of identity

development (Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, & Beyers, 2006; Luyckx, et al., 2008). However, researchers have not yet utilized the five dimensional model to develop a measure to assess ethnic identity specifically.

Furthermore, researchers have developed ethnic group-specific measures of ethnic identity development that might better capture cultural nuances. For example, Umana-Taylor and colleagues (2009) measured cultural orientation among Latina/o adolescents and combined measures on enculturation with an ethnic identity measure to more comprehensively capture ethnic identity among immigrant Latina/o adolescents. While ethnic group-specific measures cannot be used for cross-ethnic comparisons, future research should explore gendered ethnic identity using various measures to confirm gender differences in ethnic identity formation and maintenance within specific ethnic groups.

Cultural Socialization

The second aim of this study was to confirm gender differences in parental cultural socialization across ethnic groups. I predicted that parents of girls would report more cultural socialization than parents of boys, and that the relation between adolescent gender and cultural socialization would vary by ethnic group. Previous research has identified adolescent gender and ethnic group differences in cultural socialization (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; French, et al., 2013). Consistent with a previous analysis using this sample (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015), we found ethnic group differences in cultural socialization, such that parents of White adolescents reported significantly less cultural socialization compared to parents of African American, Latina/o, and Asian American/Pacific Islander adolescents. However,

contrary to my hypothesis, results indicated gender similarities in cultural socialization across ethnic groups.

The literature is equivocal on the question of whether parents provide different levels of cultural socialization to sons and daughters. Some researchers have found evidence of gender differences in cultural socialization (e.g., Brown, Linver, & Evans, 2009; French, et al., 2013), whereas others have found gender similarities (e.g., Juang & Syed, 2010; Tran & Lee, 2010). Indeed, many aspects of cultural socialization might be similar across genders, however the inconsistency in the literature on gender differences might be due to difficulty in capturing gendered cultural socialization practices. Qualitative researchers have identified gender differences in cultural socialization, such that, for example, girls experience more parental monitoring, which might facilitate greater engagement with activities related to their cultural heritage more than boys (e.g., Supple et al., 2010). Also, girls and women are expected to be the "ideal ethnic subject," (Espiritu, 2001, p.429) and therefore are likely to receive different socialization messages. However, typical measures of cultural socialization (e.g., Hughes & Chen, 1997) may not adequately capture the varied ways in which cultural socialization is gendered or how gender socialization interacts with cultural socialization. Future research on gendered cultural socialization might benefit from measures that better define gendered cultural socialization practices.

Gender Role Attitudes

The third aim of this study was to assess the relation between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity commitment. Researchers have proposed that gender

differences in ethnic identity development can be explained by gender intensification in adolescence (e.g., Umana-Taylor et al., 2009). That is, researchers have proposed that adolescent girls internalize their responsibility as keepers of culture—an aspect of their gender role—which in turn fosters greater ethnic identity development for girls relative to boys. Furthermore, if keeping culture is an aspect of the traditional female gender role, we might expect that more traditional gender role attitudes predict ethnic identity development. However, little research has examined the relation between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity development. This study helps to fill that gap in the literature.

We expected that traditional gender role attitudes would predict ethnic identity commitment, in that traditional gender role attitudes reflect commitment to socially constructed gender role expectations and ethnic identity commitment reflects clarity of ethnicity to identity. We also expected that this association would be moderated by both ethnicity and gender. After controlling for socioeconomic status and adolescent years in the U.S., results indicated that the three-way interaction of gender, ethnicity, and gender role attitudes was not significant. Indeed, the only significant interaction was that of ethnicity and gender role attitudes. Consistent with previous research (e.g., Abreu, Goodyear, Campos, & Newcomb, 2000), traditional gender role attitudes were associated with ethnic identity commitment for White adolescents, relative to Black and Latina/o adolescents. Contrary to my hypotheses, egalitarian gender role attitudes were associated with ethnic identity commitment for Black and Latina/o adolescents, relative to White adolescents.

Yet, the results for Black and Latina/o adolescents are in line with some of the literature. For example, evidence suggests that African American parents teach gender role equality to their children (Hill, 2001). And, researchers have identified consistent racial group differences in gender role attitudes, such that Black adults and adolescents hold more egalitarian gender role attitudes than White adults and adolescents (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995; Dugger, 1988). Furthermore, previous research with Black adolescent girls has linked androgyny (i.e., gender role personality characteristics) to internally-defined racial identity (Buckley & Carter, 2005). Thus, relatively egalitarian gender role attitudes may be conceptualized as an aspect of Black identity.

Unlike previous evidence from Black and White samples, the association between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity for Latina/o adolescents is less clear. Sanchez, Whittake, Hamilton, and Arango (2017) examined whether gender role attitudes (i.e., endorsement of machismo, caballerismo, and marianismo) mediated the relation between familial ethnic socialization and ethnic identity. They described how gender role attitudes "serve as mechanisms by which messages about cultural knowledge, values, and expectations are linked to boys' and girls' engagement in ethnic-related practices and behaviors," (Sanchez et al., 2017, pp. 2-3). They found that positive gender role expectations—those associated with adaptive outcomes and related to familialism—mediated the relation between familial ethnic socialization and ethnic identity for boys, but not girls. Further research is necessary to confirm the relation between egalitarian gender role attitudes and ethnic identity development among Latina/o adolescents.

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Strengths and Limitations

The current study contributes to the literature on ethnic identity development, such that I provided evidence in partial support of the culture-keeper hypothesis across four major ethnic groups in the United States. Using an intersectional perspective (Cole, 2009), the current study evaluated (1) gender differentiation within ethnic groups, (2) the role of multiple social hierarchies (ethnicity and gender), (3) similarities in the culture keeper hypothesis across ethnic groups. Furthermore, this study is one of the first to assess the relation between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity. Future research should build on the results of this study to explore how gender role expectations shape ethnic identity development within and across ethnic groups.

Despite these strengths, the current study has several limitations. Although Phinney and Ong's (2007) measure of ethnic identity, with exploration and commitment subscales, is foundational in developmental ethnic identity research, there are different ways to approach ethnic identity development. For example, Verkuyten (2016) proposed an alternative conceptualization of ethnic and racial identity development using a social identity approach. He emphasized group-level motivations for ethnic identity development and proposed a different process for ethnic identity development, such that the individual begins to see themselves as similar to their ethnic or racial group (rather than integrating ethnic identity into self concept). Future research could use alternative approaches, such as Verkuyten's (2016) social identity approach to build on existing literature from developmental psychology and consider how gender informs ethnic identity development.

Interpretations of our findings regarding cultural socialization should be contextualized with the gender composition of our parent sample; that is, our sample included more female caregivers than male caregivers. Research suggests that children and adolescents are more likely to be exposed to gender roles by their same-gender parent. For example, Crouter, Manke, and McHale (1995) found that, during adolescence, girls spend more time with mothers and boys spend more time with fathers. Similarly, McHale and colleagues (2006) found that fathers report more cultural socialization for sons than for daughters. Furthermore, mothers and fathers seem to differ in approaches to socialization. Although we did not find gender differences in cultural socialization, future research could further consider the culture keeper hypothesis in the context of gender differences in maternal and paternal cultural socialization.

Our sample also had a substantial proportion of immigrant families. Although the measure of years in the United States might be an adequate proxy to control for acculturation, alternative approaches could more deeply consider how the process of acculturation is gendered (see Qin-Hilliard, 2003). Syed (2013) described ethnic identity and acculturation as components of a cultural identity, as such gender differences in cultural identity might be evident in acculturation processes. Furthermore, Schwartz and Montgomery (2002) found that gender and acculturation influenced identity processes and outcomes (e.g., ideological exploration and commitment) such that, for example, third generation immigrants and women reported more interpersonal commitment (i.e., interpersonal domain of identity commitment, in contrast to ideological domain). Therefore, future research should

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include measures of acculturation and acculturative stress in examination of whether gendered ethnic identity is associated with gender differences in well-being.

Finally, our measure of gender role attitudes may not capture cultural nuances in the social construction of gender roles. For example, Abrams, Javier, Maxwell, Belgrave, and Nguyen (2016) found that, although similar in some respects (e.g., caretaking, self-sacrifice), African American and Vietnamese American women differed with regard to their perceptions of appropriate behavior in interpersonal interactions and of the social inferiority of women. Similarly, Latina/o gender role attitudes are often informed by cultural ideals such as marianismo (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008), caballerismo, and machismo (Castillo, Perez, Castillo, & Ghosheh, 2010). Our findings demonstrate that gender role attitudes predict ethnic identity commitment differently across groups. However, the measure of gender role attitudes was originally created with a majority White sample and therefore likely does not contain items specific to gender role attitudes shaped by other cultural contexts. The limited cultural nuance in the gender role attitudes measure might explain why Asian American adolescents did not significantly differ from other adolescents with regard to the relation between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity commitment. Limited available evidence suggests that cultural differences in gender roles might inform ethnic identity development. Future research could explore specific themes of gendered expectations more directly, including culturally specific prescriptions of masculinity and femininity, gendered parental expectations and intersections with other social identities, including sexual orientation, social class, and ability.

Applications

Evidence of gender differences in ethnic identity exploration can inform interventions related to ethnic identity. For example, counseling psychologists should consider the ways in which ethnic identity development might be gendered. In a meta-analysis, Smith and Silva (2011) found that ethnic identity strongly predicted psychological well-being for people of color. Another meta-analysis (Lee & Ahn, 2013) indicated that the association between racial identity and distress was less pronounced for women, such that Black women characterized by pre-encounter/ assimilation may experience less stress than their Black male counterparts. Our findings indicated gender differences in exploration, which could inform practitioners' understandings of outcomes associated with ethnic identity, such as those related to distress and well-being. Likewise, consistent with the recommendations by Chao and Nath (2011), counselors should become aware of their own ethnic identity and gender role attitudes to be culturally competent.

The findings regarding ethnic group differences in the association between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity might also inform interventions related to career decision making. For example, Gushue and Whitson (2006) assessed the association between gender role attitudes, ethnic identity, and career decision self-efficacy among Black and Latina adolescent girls. They found that gender role attitudes and ethnic identity positively predicted career decision self-efficacy, such that more gender-egalitarian attitudes and greater ethnic identity were associated with more confidence in career-decision making. Results of the current study both contribute to and expand on these findings, such that gender role attitudes were

associated with ethnic identity differently across ethnic groups. Therefore, counselors could consider the ways in which adolescents differ with regard to gender role attitudes and ethnic identity as they develop interventions related to vocational exploration and aspirations.

Finally, evidence of gendered ethnic identity development can inform youth interventions. Loyd and Williams (2017) reviewed the efficacy of youth programs that were meant to support positive outcomes among African American youth through ethnic/racial identity development. Several of the programs they reviewed showed gender differences in outcomes. For example, one of the programs that was more effective for adolescent girls sought to promote youth resilience (e.g., self-esteem) through education about African culture. Our findings of gender differences in exploration and links between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity commitment among Black adolescents can inform future interventions, such that interventions can incorporate strategies associated with gender differences in ethnic identity or the development of gender role attitudes in tandem with ethnic identity development. Furthermore, if adolescent girls are more culturally engaged, then youth development programs could find ways to promote cultural engagement among adolescent boys, especially boys of color. Further research is necessary to determine how gendered ethnic identity is associated with educational outcomes and well-being.

Conclusion

Previous researchers have conceptually connected the developmental processes of gender intensification and ethnic identity development, such that girls develop into their role as keepers of culture in adolescence. The purpose of this study

was to (1) confirm previous findings regarding gender differences in cultural socialization and ethnic identity exploration and commitment, and (2) to explore gender and ethnic group differences in the association between gender role attitudes and ethnic identity commitment. The results indicated gender differences in ethnic identity exploration and gender similarities in ethnic identity commitment and cultural socialization. Further, gender role attitudes were associated with ethnic identity commitment differently for White adolescents and Black and Latina/o adolescents. This study underscores the need for intersectional approaches and the development of more comprehensive measures to further identify women's role as keepers of culture across diverse ethnic groups.

Appendices

Appendix A

Table 1
Demographic characteristics of sample, aggregated by adolescent ethnic group.

	White		African American		Latina/o		Asian American Pacific Islander	
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
Adolescent gender								
Female	58	51.3	46	44.2	30	45.5	47	61.0
Male	55	48.7	58	55.8	36	54.5	30	39.0
Adolescent country of origin								
U.S.- born	92	81.4	97	93.3	60	90.9	44	57.1
Foreign- Born	21	18.6	7	6.7	6	9.1	33	42.9
Adolescent native language								
English	88	77.9	98	94.2	47	71.2	24	31.2
Other	24	21.2	4	3.8	16	24.2	53	68.8
Parent gender								
Female	96	85.0	91	87.5	55	83.3	53	68.8
Male	16	14.2	11	10.6	7	10.6	19	24.7
Parent country of origin								
U.S.- born	80	70.8	89	85.6	28	42.4	1	1.3
Foreign-born	32	28.3	13	12.5	33	50.0	72	93.5
Parent native language								
English	82	72.6	92	88.5	22	33.3	5	6.5
Other	30	26.5	10	9.6	39	59.1	68	88.3
Parent Education								
< 8th grade	1	0.9	0	0	3	4.5	12	15.6
9th- 11th grade	10	8.8	10	9.6	12	18.2	5	6.5
High school graduate	23	20.4	40	38.5	19	28.8	22	28.6
Some college	26	23.0	27	26.0	11	16.7	9	11.7
College graduate	28	24.8	14	13.5	6	9.1	11	14.3
Graduate school	14	12.4	3	2.9	1	1.5	1	1.3
Prefer not to answer	1	0.9	3	2.9	3	4.5	9	11.7
Household income								
< $20,000	15	13.3	31	29.8	26	39.4	19	24.7
$20,000 - $50,000	45	39.8	45	43.3	21	31.8	21	27.3
> $50,000	43	38.1	14	16.3	6	9.1	8	10.4
Prefer not to answer	6	5.3	7	6.7	9	13.6	19	24.7
Number of books in the home								
0-10	2	1.8	6	5.8	7	10.6	5	6.5
10-50	27	23.9	32	30.8	33	50.0	36	46.8
50-100	23	20.4	31	29.8	12	18.2	18	23.4
>100	60	53.1	29	27.9	10	15.2	14	18.2
Full sample	113		104		66		77	

Table 2
Means (standard deviations) for key variables across race/ethnicity and gender.

		White	Black	Latina/o	Asian American/Pacific Islander
Ethnic Identity- Exploration	Girls	3.25 (1.15)	3.67 (0.81)	3.38 (0.95)	3.63 (0.89)
	Boys	2.99 (0.93)	3.34 (0.88)	3.27 (1.09)	3.41 (0.84)
Ethnic Identity- Commitment	Girls	3.48 (1.13)	4.02 (0.82)	3.59 (0.94)	3.73 (0.78)
	Boys	3.45 (0.93)	3.71 (0.82)	3.68 (1.02)	3.79 (0.93)
Cultural Socialization	Girls	2.58 (0.83)	3.22 (0.83)	2.94 (0.77)	3.23 (0.87)
	Boys	2.60 (0.85)	3.29 (0.82)	2.97 (0.87)	3.20 (0.93)
Gender Role Attitudes	Girls	4.16 (0.52)	3.93 (0.46)	3.92 (0.68)	3.89 (0.49)
	Boys	3.69 (0.68)	3.53 (0.56)	3.53 (0.50)	3.65 (0.51)

Appendix C

Table 3
Correlations among key variables for Black participants. Correlations for girls are indicated below the diagonal, boys are above diagonal.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Adolescent Years in U.S.		0.58**	-0.12	0.11	-0.00	0.35**	0.35**
2. Parent Years in U.S.	0.45*		-0.10	-0.04	-0.14	0.11	-0.07
3. Socioeconomic status	0.11	0.01		-0.03	0.21	0.01	0.11
4. Ethnic Identity- Exploration	0.10	0.01	0.00		0.30*	0.04	0.13
5. Ethnic Identity- Commitment	0.01	0.13	-0.22	0.47**		0.11	0.17
6. Cultural Socialization	0.00	0.06	-0.19	0.21	0.15		0.27*
7. Gender Role Attitudes	0.02	0.05	0.04	0.13	0.29	-0.16	

Note: $n_{girls} = 46$, $n_{boys} = 58$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 4
Correlations among key variables for Asian American/Pacific Islander participants. Correlations for girls are indicated below the diagonal, boys are above diagonal.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Adolescent Years in U.S.		0.73**	-0.23	-0.19	-0.47**	-0.18	0.49**
2. Parent Years in U.S.	0.50**		-0.16	-0.01	-0.28	0.06	0.26
3. Socioeconomic status	-0.04	0.13		0.21	0.37*	0.07	-0.17
4. Ethnic Identity- Exploration	0.11	-0.12	0.09		0.61**	0.42*	-0.12
5. Ethnic Identity- Commitment	-0.06	-0.12	0.12	0.49**		0.23	-0.13
6. Cultural Socialization	-0.15	-0.19	0.29	-0.05	0.25		-0.26
7. Gender Role Attitudes	0.57**	0.26	0.10	-0.09	-0.20	-0.08	

Note: n_{girls} = 47, n_{boys} = 30; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5
Correlations among key variables for Latina/o participants. Correlations for girls are indicated below the diagonal, boys are above diagonal.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Adolescent Years in U.S.		0.31	-0.13	-0.03	-0.06	0.10	0.01
2. Parent Years in U.S.	0.50*		-0.11	-0.08	-0.24	0.07	-0.05
3. Socioeconomic status	0.30	0.40		0.26	0.21	0.16	0.07
4. Ethnic Identity- Exploration	-0.35	-0.12	0.02		0.69**	0.38*	0.03
5. Ethnic Identity- Commitment	-0.32	-0.29	0.04	0.56**		0.35*	0.08
6. Cultural Socialization	0.05	-0.10	0.04	0.21	0.09		-0.02
7. Gender Role Attitudes	0.13	0.37	0.12	0.29	0.21	-0.28	

Note: $n_{girls} = 30$, $n_{boys} = 36$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 6
Correlations among key variables for White participants. Correlations for girls are indicated below the diagonal, boys are above diagonal.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Adolescent Years in U.S.		0.72**	-0.04	-0.24	-0.12	-0.19	0.26
2. Parent Years in U.S.	0.71**		0.12	-0.34*	-0.13	-0.23	0.14
3. Socioeconomic status	0.08	0.12		0.02	0.02	-0.06	0.31*
4. Ethnic Identity- Exploration	-0.22	-0.26	0.10		0.48**	0.40**	-0.08
5. Ethnic Identity- Commitment	-0.24	-0.20	0.12	0.71**		0.39**	-0.25
6. Cultural Socialization	-0.20	-0.27*	-0.02	0.07	0.32*		-0.23
7. Gender Role Attitudes	0.31*	0.37**	0.14	-0.18	-0.30*	-0.20	

Note: $n_{girls} = 58$, $n_{boys} = 55$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Appendix G

Table 7.
Hierarchical regression analysis of gender, gender role attitudes, and ethnicity with ethnic identity commitment as the outcome variable.

Variable	B	SE (B)	β	ΔR^2
Step 1				.02*
SES	0.06	0.08	0.04	
Years in U.S.	-0.03	0.01	-0.14**	
Step 2				.04*
SES	0.14	0.09	0.10	
Years in U.S.	-0.03	0.01	-0.15*	
Black	0.45	0.13	0.22**	
Latina/o	0.30	0.16	0.12	
AAPI	0.24	0.15	0.10	
Gender	-0.12	0.11	-0.06	
Gender role attitudes	-0.04	0.10	-0.02	
Step 3				.06**
SES	0.17	0.09	0.12*	
Years in U.S.	-0.03	0.01	-0.14*	
Black	0.37	0.19	0.18	
Latina/o	0.01	0.23	0.01	
AAPI	0.05	0.20	0.02	
Gender	-0.29	0.19	-0.16	
Gender role attitudes	-0.52	0.19	-0.32**	
Black x gender	0.12	0.27	0.05	
Latina/o x gender	0.47	0.31	0.15	
AAPI x gender	0.31	0.29	0.09	
Gender x gender role attitudes	0.06	0.18	0.11	
Black x gender role attitudes	0.91	0.23	0.29***	
Latina/o x gender role attitudes	0.72	0.25	0.20**	
AAPI x gender role attitudes	0.40	0.27	0.10	
Step 4				.00
SES	0.17	0.09	0.12*	
Years in U.S.	-0.03	0.01	-0.13*	
Black	0.31	0.21	0.15	
Latina/o	-0.05	0.24	-.02	
Asian American/Pacific Islander	0.01	0.21	0.00	
Gender	-0.33	0.20	-0.18	
Gender role attitudes	-0.63	0.24	-0.39**	
Black x gender	0.15	0.28	0.06	
Latina/o x gender	0.50	0.32	0.16	
AAPI x gender	0.34	0.30	0.10	
Gender x gender role attitudes	0.23	0.30	0.10	
Black x gender role attitudes	1.13	0.38	0.36**	
Latina/o x gender role attitudes	0.92	0.36	0.25*	
AAPI x gender role attitudes	0.47	0.37	0.11	
Black x gender x gender role attitudes	-0.35	0.48	-0.09	
Latina/o x gender x gender role attitudes	-0.38	0.51	-0.07	
AAPI x gender x gender role attitudes	-0.08	0.54	-0.13	

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed). White adolescents are the reference group. AAPI = Asian American/ Pacific Islander.

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