Title

Black American Diversity: Academic Achievement, Ethnic Identity, and Ethnic Socialization among African American and Nigerian Youth

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Publication Date

2012

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Black Americans Diversity: Academic Achievement, Ethnic Identity, and Ethnic Socialization

among African American and Nigerian American Youth

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of

Philosophy in Psychology

by

Basirat O. Alabi

2012

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Black Americans Diversity: Academic achievement, ethnic identity, and ethnic socialization among African American and Nigerian American youth

By

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African immigrants are a growing part of the American population. The social adjustment of youth from these families has not been systematically examined by psychologists. More detailed consideration of outcomes of youth in these families can expand research on children of immigration in useful directions. The present study compared academic outcomes of youth from African immigrant families with those of African American youth—i.e., native born Black Americans whose family have resided in the America since the 19th century. It was hypothesized that socialization and individual conceptions of the ethnic group would influence academic achievement.

A mixed method approach was employed to address the historically ambivalent relationship between ethnic identity and achievement. Mediating variables – socialization, students' attitudes and students' orientations – were proposed to explain both a general and ethnic-socialization model of academic achievement. Among the quantitative measures, reported parental education attainment was the strongest positive predictor of achievement in the general model. Significant, moderated mediation effects were found in the ethnic-socialization model, which examined the positive and negative association between ethnic identity and academic

outcomes simultaneously. Particularly, the interaction term of embedded ethnic identity and private regard positively predicted grades, such that students for who viewed achievement as important to the ethnic group reported earning higher grades than their peers when they also held a positive view of their own ethnic group. Equally, the interaction term of stigma consciousness and public regard negatively predicted Grades, such that students who believed outgroup members viewed their ethnic group positively reported earning lower grades when they were concerned about being negatively stereotyped than did their peers. Findings from the case studies suggest that Black youth may discount the role of negative intergroup experiences and discrimination in their academic careers. They further highlighted parent expectation and a yoked sense of achievement and ethnic group belonging as motivating for achievement orientation.

Results from the current study provide support for the utility of jointly examining the dual relationship between ethnic identity and academic outcomes.

This dissertation of Basirat O. Alabi is approved.

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2012

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Curriculum Vita

Education

University of California, Los Angeles
  M.A., Developmental Psychology, 2007

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Publications

Brown, C. S**.**, Alabi, B., Huynh, V., & Masten, C. (2011). Gender and ethnicity in middle childhood and early adolescence: Individual and contextual differences. *Developmental Psychology, 47*, 463–471.

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Black Americans Diversity: Academic Achievement, Ethnic Identity, and Ethnic Socialization

among African American and Nigerian American youth

Immigration of individuals from African nations to the United States (U.S.) dramatically

increased during the past four decades. Official estimates of the size of this population vary,

suggesting that between 25,000 and 50,000 African immigrants have arrived annually since the

1980s[1] (Rong & Brown, 2007; Takougang, 2003). The increased growth rate for this group of

Americans fits within the general trend of recent immigration patterns. Despite this, very little

research has examined the nature and conditions of this population's social adaptation.

African immigration to the U.S. has contributed to greater intraethnic diversity among

Black Americans. The majority of this panethnic group are African Americans, African

descended Americans whose families have resided in the U.S. since the 19th century. However, a

small but growing proportion of Black Americans is immigrants or the children of immigrants,

whose ethnic identities and culture of reference may be rooted in their families' immigrant

origins. This presents psychologists with an opportunity to explore how ethnic identification and

responses to the pervasive negative stereotypy of Black Americans vary among individuals and

between groups.   Equally, by examining the relationship between these factors and academic

outcomes among youth from African immigrant families, the role of social reception in the

adaptation processes faced by ethnic minority immigrants may be further developed.

Consequently, theories of immigrant social adaptation may be expanded. As stigmatization of

Black Americans is an insidious and common trait of American culture, race-based

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[1] Discrepant rates of growth and size are due to the use of different data sets. According to Rong and Brown (2007) who used 1990 Census Bureau data, approximately 50,000 African immigrants have arrived annually since 1990's, but Takougang (2003) who used Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) data has stated that half of that rate, approximately 500,000 African immigrants, arrived between 1981 and 2000. Both estimates are dramatically larger than the sum of African immigrants who arrived between 1963 and 1965 (46326, Konadu-Agyemang, Takyi, & Arthur, 2006, p.6). Discrepancies in the estimated rates have to do with the original parameters defining the study sample. The Census and INS differ in how they define geographic regions, and only the INS distinguishes legal residents from naturalized citizens, both of whom are considered immigrants (Department of Homeland Security, 2009).

discrimination may uniquely restrict the social adjustment of individuals with recent African immigrant origins more so than other ethnic immigrants (see *Black exceptionalism*, Sears & Savelei, 2006).

In order to explore these issues, it is necessary to consider several research literatures. Reviewing pertinent aspects of research conducted with ethnic minority immigrant youth, particularly Afro-Caribbeans as an African-descended immigrant group, will inform a general sense of the adaptation processes faced by African immigrants as youth from immigrant families. Equally, reviewing the ways in which ethnic identity has been examined as central in the lives and development of African American youth can shed light on measurement paradigms that appropriately assess the theorized role of ethnic identity attitudes on academic outcomes. Socialization is a central theme across these literatures, and examining differences in the socialization of culturally distinct Black youth (e.g., African American and African immigrant youth) may provide explanations for differences in the academic outcomes of these diverse groups.

It is important to acknowledge that specific socioeconomic factors, such as household or family composition, access to community resources, and residential neighborhood are demonstrated predictive factors in the socialization and outcomes of African American youth (Hofferth, 2003). However it is difficult to speculate about the nature of these factors for African immigrant families. No study has compared the prevalence of two-parent households among African American and African immigrant samples (McAdoo, Younge, & Getahun, 2007). Data collected from the most recent U.S. Census suggest that children from African immigrant families may be more likely to come from two-parent households than African Americans (Census, CPS 2009). As will be discussed, what is known is that African Americans and African immigrants often reside in the same communities (McAdoo *et al.*, 2007; Arthur, 2000).

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Although a strictly controlled study that predicts *a priori* how these factors contribute to the effects of academic and ethnic socialization is not possible at this time, an exploratory study such as the one being proposed may assess these factors and use them as covariates.

Children from immigrant families. Today, non-minority Whites make up less than half of U.S. births (Pew, 2012). The ethnic minority population has been growing increasingly larger for decades. This trend has been driven in part by the immigration of ethnic minorities and expansion of families with immigrant origins. Since the 1960s, the foreign born share of American citizens has more than doubled from 4.7 to 11.1 percent (Gibson & Jung, 2006). Passage of the 1965 Hart-Cellars Act marked a turning point in American immigration law, which has continued to affect the demographic character of the U.S. Subsequent to its passage, non-European immigration has accounted for increasingly larger shares in growth of the American populace. The most striking growth has occurred among American youth. In the last decade, children from immigrant families, who are either themselves immigrants or are the children of immigrants, have come to account for one-fifth of Americans under the age of 18 (Mather, 2009). As the families of these youth represent the two largest, panethnic immigrant communities – Asian and Latin American – more youth today than at any other period of American history are ethnic minorities. Consequently, the majority of the *children of immigration* research has focused on these two panethnic groups (Behrman, Shields, & Hernandez, 2004). Immigrant research that focuses on African-descended populations is much less well defined and integrated into the larger body of immigrant literature (see Dodoo, 1997; cf. Shaw-Taylor & Tuch, 2007).

An increase in the amount of school-aged children with ethnic minority backgrounds has generated an increase in research that considers how cultural socialization promotes positive youth outcomes (García Coll *et al.*, 1996) and how family resources support child development.

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Results from cross-disciplinary research has cultivated our understanding of the unique challenges faced by these youth, both as children from immigrant families (e.g., language brokering, Morales & Hanson, 2005 Orellana, 2001; English language acquisition; residential mobility and migration, Aronowitz, 1984; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001) and as ethnic minorities (e.g., family obligation, Fuligni & Tseng, 1999; access to adequate child care, Brandon, 2004; Hofferth & Phillips 1987; health care, Huang, 1997; Takanishi, 2004; and under-resourced communities and schools, Behrman *et al.*, 2004; McLoyd, 1998).

Results from this research have contributed to a paradigm shift in immigration theory. The focus has shifted away from assimilation into a *White middle-class* culture being viewed as normative towards segmented-assimilation, in which social barriers to integration into the dominant culture are recognized (Perreira, Harris, Lee, 2006; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Similarly for developmentalists, results of this research have substantiated a perspective of child development that considers multiple pathways of normal development rather than a singular normative development (see García Coll, Akerman, & Cicchetti, 2000). It is unclear how well current theories of and conclusions drawn from these developments apply to youth from African immigrant families, because so little research that has included this population has contributed to our developing knowledge or examined social contexts that may be unique to this group.

The proposed study will use a comparative approach to determine how cultural socialization and perceptions affect the outcomes of ethnically distinct Black youth – African Americans and youth from African immigrant families. A common outcome of study across immigrant and American ethnic minority developmental research is academic achievement, because educational attainment is one of the best predictors of quality of life and social outcomes later in life (Fuligni & Fuligni, 2007; Tseng, 2006). In order to contribute to both immigrant and African American developmental research literature, the academic achievement of culturally

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distinct Black youth will be examined with respect to the types of socialization that they receive. A statement of the problem guiding this study is followed by a review of pertinent literature.

Statement of the Problem

One problem that overlaps both African American and children of immigrant literature is the way in which academic achievement and academic processes are framed for Black youth. Diversity in the academic outcomes of Black youth coexists with cultural diversity. Neither has been addressed by achievement literature that has examined either group of ethnic minority children.

The academic achievement of Black youth in the U.S. is framed in terms of persistent underperformance on standardized tests relative to European Americans (National Council of Education Statistics 2004; Slaughter-Defoe *et al.*, 1990). The achievement gap has become a shorthand phrase for a portrait of African American education that includes earning lower grades, higher rates of high school drop outs, lower rates of college entry and completion, and very low odds of earning a higher education degree (National Council of Education Statistics, 2004). The portrait misrepresents variability in the academic achievement of Black youth, which include African Americans and African-descended youth from families with recent immigrant origins.

It is typical for achievement research conducted with Black populations to include samples that reside in densely populated urban areas, come from families whose economic background can be described as working poor[2] or working class, and who are largely African American. The most prominent research that examines the achievement of Black youth is motivated by and conducted in terms of explaining relative underperformance. It is also

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[2] The term working poor often time indicates that the family falls below the poverty line but the adults in the household are gainfully employed.

common for these studies to include academically at-risk students, those who are at-risk for dropping out of school or who qualify for an academic intervention program due to a low cumulative GPA (for example see, Oyserman, Harrison, & Bybee 2007; Chavous *et al.*, 2003). In truth, U. S. Census data indicated that most Black Americans reside in the South, where urban settings are typically less dense and have working or lower middle class backgrounds (Rastogi, Johnson, Hoeffel, & Drewery, 2011). Less than nine percent of Blacks are foreign born, the majority of whom reside in or near the large urban settings – common sites for achievement gap research – but factors affecting their achievement outcomes have not been examined systematically (Dixon 2006; Capps *et al.,* 2012). Research conducted in terms of the achievement gap may best approach an explanation of processes for students who are most at-risk, but it misrepresents ethnic variability of the Black community and variance in their achievement.

Recent immigration has added cultural diversity to Black America. Demographic research suggests that immigrant ethnic Blacks are academically outperforming African Americans, but no current studies have suggested an explanation for this phenomenon. Contemporary social psychological theories of stigmatization and social threats offer promising hypotheses which may partially explain group differences in academic achievement of student who come from African American and African immigrant families. Ogbu's Cultural-Ecological Theory (CET) is often used to compare the academic achievement of immigrant and non-immigrant ethnic minorities in the U.S. and may offer a useful framework to guide this study (Gibson & Ogbu, 1991).

Although specific tenets of CET have been used to explain the general underperformance of African American youth (e.g., *oppositional identity* and *secondary cultural differences*), few studies have supported its claims as originally formulated (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu,

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1978). More recent quantitative and qualitative studies have contested claims that African Americans more so than students of other ethnicities (e.g., European and Latin America) publicly avoid reputations based on academic success (Fryer & Torelli, 2005; Tyson, Darity, & Castellino, 2005). Rather, ethnic difference in the rates of avoiding an academic reputation has appeared to covary with the ethnic composition of the schools that African Americans attend. African Americans may appear to avoid being seen as academically competent when they attend schools that employ academic tracking (Fryer & Torelli, 2005). In such schools, academic tracks often tend to ethnically segregate students (Lucas & Berend, 2002). To attribute the ethnic stratification of academic achievement in such schools to an oppositional culture obscures the socialization practices of families who may differ in their approach to such schools. Further it confounds socialization practices with engagement or reaction to segregated schools (Galleta & Cross, 2007; Tyson *et al.*, 2005; c.f. Ford, Grantham, & Whiting, 2008).

CET remains an appropriate framework for this study for several reasons. First, the present study compares the academic performance of culturally diverse Black Americans. Rather than assuming the importance of ethnic identity to these youth, variation in importance is assessed within and between groups. Diversity in perception of anti-Black attitudes was assessed. Variation in these ethnic group attitudes is explored as elements of the socialization of culturally distinct Black youth.

Immigrant Black Americans

In order to understand social influences on the academic outcomes of Black youth from nonimmigrant and immigrant African families, it is helpful to know about the families from which they come.

Economist Thomas Sowell (1978) conducted one of the first studies that used census data to suggest that African-descended immigrants, primarily Afro-Caribbeans, fare better in the

labor market than African Americans. Since then, social scientists have proposed that immigrant

origin serves as a form of social capital for Blacks (Butcher, 1994). However, several issues

present challenges to this claim. First, studies that include Black immigrants tend to be

dominated by Afro-Caribbean groups. It is unclear whether this advantage extends to African

immigrants. Equally, as African immigrants represent a diverse group, within whom specific

demographic profiles exist (for example, asylum status immigrants may be much poorer and less

educated than immigrants who come based on an occupation inclusion or a student visas),

differences in social capital might better explain different quality of life outcomes (including

academic achievement and attainment) that exist between African immigrants and African

Americans rather than immigrant advantage (Dodoo, 1997; Halter, 2007; Kusow, 2007; see also

Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, p.84 -91). If group differences in the economic resources of culturally

distinct Black families exist, differences in educational outcomes may better be explained in

these terms rather than cultural differences.

      Employment and Education. Subsequent to Sowell's study, qualitative investigations

have suggested that differences in earned income between immigrant and non-immigrant Blacks

are influenced by stereotypes about work ethic. Waters interviewed both Afro-Caribbean

employees and their European American employers (2001). Both groups of participants

confirmed hiring preferences for immigrant Blacks compared to African Americans, endorsing

the stereotype that immigrants worked harder and were less likely to be disruptive in the

workplace (Waters, 2001; see also Arthur 2000). Black immigrants may benefit from and

perceive less hostile social reception than African Americans.

      However, Shaw-Taylor and Tuch (2007) critically reviewed extant research that

contributed to the debate about the relative advantage of immigrant origin for Blacks. When the

data used in quantitative studies were disaggregated to examine specific national profiles and

excluded White African immigrants, it became clear that the *immigrant advantage* was more nuanced. Across the studies that they reviewed, the advantage disappeared for men and only a slight advantage remained for women (Model, 2001; Shaw-Taylor & Tuch, 2007). After accounting for education and skill, no consistent, significant difference existed in the earnings of Afro-Caribbeans and African Americans. In contrast, an appreciable negative effect appeared for African immigrants (Shaw-Taylor & Tuch 2007; Dodoo, 1991), meaning that African immigrants earned less or were underemployed relative to their level of education and skill. This finding is especially surprising but supported by U.S. Census data, given that African immigrants are among the most highly educated, but earn one of the lowest incomes of all immigrant groups (Butcher, 1994, p. 269; for Nigerians, Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, pp. 60, 81; N. M. Rivers, personal communication, 2007).

Although the relative underemployment of immigrants compared to their human capital may be an immigrant general pattern, something unique may be occurring for Black African immigrants. Previous research has found that among Black immigrants, Africans were relatively disadvantaged compared to Afro-Caribbeans. When accounting for education and work experience, Afro-Caribbeans earned an income commensurate to their skills (Shaw-Taylor & Tuch, 2007). Africans did not. This is a unique event, given that African immigrants tend to gain entry to the U.S. through the diversity lottery, which requires greater work and education history than other visas (Capps, McCabe, & Fix, 2012). Further, where the relative underemployment of Latino and Asian immigrants may also be influenced by language barriers, Africans have one of the highest rates of English fluency among all immigrants (Capps *et al.*, 2012). What is certain is that African immigrants are not advantaged by the human capital that they possess.

More research is needed to determine in what ways an immigrant advantage may exist for youth from African immigrant families compared to African Americans. The relative academic success of Black youth from African immigrant families may be directly related to academic socialization. African parents who are more educated or knowledgeable about what it takes to enter higher education may provide a kind of academic socialization that is most supportive of academic achievement (Bempechat, Graham, & Jimenez, 1999).

Education Attainment. Research that aggregates African immigrants from different nations and regions provides some information about their experience with education. African-descended immigrants have demonstrated high academic attainment (Rimer & Arenson 2004; Rong & Brown, 2001; 2007; c.f. Perreira, Harris, Lee, 2006). Using census data from 1990 and 2000, Kusow reported that on average, African immigrants attained more years of education than African Americans and most other immigrant and American ethnic minorities[3] (2007). Also a study conducted by Massey, Mooney, Torres, & Charles (2007) examined the demographic profile of Black students apparent in the National Longitudinal Survey of Freshman database. They found that among Black students, those with immigrant origins were greatly over-represented. Immigrants represented 27% in the students sample compared to 8% in the population (Dixon, 2006; Greico, 2004; Massey *et al*. 2007). The rate of over-representation increased when examining highly selective colleges (e.g., Ivy League schools). Of this rate, African immigrants represented one-third of the Black immigrant students (9% of Black students) which is a large proportion considering they only represent 2.8% of the foreign born population (Dixon, 2006; U.S. Department of Commerce, 2012). These findings suggest that the parents of African immigrant families are highly educated on average.

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[3] African Immigrants attained on average 14 years of education which was comparable to that of Asians (13.9) but earned significantly less than latter immigrant group.

As African-descended and African American youth typically come from the same communities and no disparity in economic resources is apparent between these groups, differences in social capital might stem predominately from parents' educational attainment (Arthur, 2000; Massey, 2007; Rong & Brown; 2007). Coupled with the report that suggests that having an African immigrant father predicts greater persistence in college and attending a selective college (Jenkins, Harburg, Weissberg, & Donnelly, 2004; see also Bennett & Lutz, 2009), it is worth exploring how parent education contributes to group differences in the academic achievement and school engagement of Black youth. Research conducted by Lopez (2001) has suggested that parents in Mexican immigrant families communicate the value of education and hard work to their children. A question that needs to be answered is whether this kind of socialization towards academic success exists for African immigrants.

Academic Socialization

The predictive value of cultural differences in academic socialization for GPA has been studied among American ethnic minorities (contrasting African Americans with European Americans, Boykin &Toms, 1985) and systematically examined cross-culturally (contrasting Asians and European Americans, Stevenson *et al.*, 1990). Differences in the academic attainment of African immigrants and African Americans pose a question about the role of academic socialization in these families. A review of literature may indicate the ways in which this socialization exhibits group differences. As with other forms of culture, significant others in students' social environments are thought to influence their academic development by transmitting standards and encouraging behaviors that are considered normative for the group (see Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). For ethnic minority youth, the most important agents should be those with whom they establish relatively enduring, intimate relationships, parents and peers. To explore social influences on group differences in academic achievement, it

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is important to examine the kinds of messages that both parents and peers communicate to Black youth about achievement.

Parents. There are multiple ways to assess parents' investment, interest and commitment in their child's academic careers. Parent involvement with school is a strong predictor of adolescents' academic achievement for both American (Gonzales, Cauce, Friendman, & Mason, 1996, Simpkins *et al.,* 2009) and immigrant ethnic minorities (Levitt, Lane, & Levitt, 2005; García Coll *et al.*, 2002). By adolescence parents' involvement in school becomes less hands-on and may be more difficult for adolescents to accurately report. In contrast students' perceptions of parents' performance expectations tap the same underlying construct and may be self-reported.

Some research has demonstrated that expectations for performance and college attendance predict academic achievement (Fuligni, 1997). The expectations that parents hold for their children's academic careers appear to be one of the most enduring predictors of student's outcomes both in adolescence and young adulthood. Expectations convey a message that academic achievement is a valued goal (Pomerantz, Grolnick, & Price, 2005). To the extent that adolescents have normal, supportive relationships with their parents, they may view parental goals as standards to be met. Immigrants may view meeting academic expectations as an obligation to the family (Fuligni, 2001; Pomerantz, *et al.,* 2005). Parents' expectations for their children may be limited by parents' own experience with education and the level that they attained.

Although the predictive value of parental expectations differs across family context, they remain a good predictor of student achievement. Examining the High School and Beyond data set, Mulkey, Crain, and Harrington (1992) found that adolescents from single-parent homes earned lower grades than did those from two-parent homes. Similarly, examining the National

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Education Longitudinal Study data, Downey (1995) found that adolescents raised with step-parents also earned lower grades than those from biological two-parent families. Importantly, both studies suggest that behavioral factors significantly reduce the difference in grades among adolescents from both families. The difference in grades between students decreased when they controlled for reports of school-behavioral problems, which were reported more often for students of single parents (Mulkey, *et al.* 1992). Equally, Donnelly found that students with step-parents reported significantly fewer discussions about academic messages than did those from biological two-parent families.

To the extent that the family structure of African Americans and African immigrants differ, the predictive value of parental expectations may also differ. However, when family composition is controlled for, this factor should significantly and positively predict the grades that children from diverse families earn (c.f. Taylor, Hinton, & Wilson, 1995). The utility of using parental expectation as a measure is that it can gauge the extent to which academic messages are communicated by parents to children in the home as distinct from other forms of social capital that are more directly tied to economic resources (Taylor *et al,.* 1995).

Academic orientation. Finally, academic achievement may also be predicted by the students' own academic attitudes. Similar to parental expectations, students' own expectations may serve as a standard to work towards. Students' own evaluations of their performances might motivate their academic striving. Some research has suggested that attributions that adolescents make to success and failure are related to the grades that students earn (Marsh, Cairns, Relich, Barnes, & DeBuss, 1987). This research uses Bernard Weiner's (1986) framework for attribution motivation: that motivation towards a goal can be indicated by the attributions that individuals make towards success and failure outcomes. Students can explain these outcomes as resulting from effort, ability, or some external factor (e.g., luck).

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This relationship for attributions was found among Afro-Caribbeans (Waters, 2001). Some of the Afro-Caribbean youth who were interviewed by Waters reported that their parents tried to instill an ethos that success is determined by effort. The extent to which youth espoused this varied (Waters, 2001). Little research exists that directly speaks to the kinds of academic attributions that African Americans would make (Graham, 1988). However, given the amount of messages about the efforts taken to immigrate in pursuit of education which children from some African immigrant families may receive (e.g., Nigerians), one might expect youth from African immigrant families to make relatively more attributions for academic outcomes to effort than youth from African American families.

Taken together, the amount of instrumental support, guidance, and mentorship to which culturally distinct Black youth have access may differ in predictable ways. The literature reviewed above suggests that students' perceptions of parents' and peers' academic attitudes reliably predict their own academic orientation and GPA. When ethnic groups come from societies that have similar systems of education, cultural differences in academic socialization may be better characterized as differences in frequencies of specific socialization behaviors rather than in the kind of academic socialization. The relative frequency of perceiving high parental expectations and having friends who are highly motivated may differ among culturally distinct black youth, and partially explain group differences in GPA (c.f. Dornbusch, Ritter, & Steinberg, 1991).

Direct examination of academic factors as distinct from ethnic factors will allow researchers to determine the extent to which ethnicity is a significant predictor of ethnic group differences in achievement. Once cultural differences in academic socialization are accessed, we can then examine the ways in which ethnicity – ethnic group membership and socialization – plays a role in the academic achievement of culturally distinct Black youth.

Ethnic Socialization and Identity

Apparent endurance of institutional race-based discrimination in the U.S. has lead researchers to make ethnic socialization and interactions central constructs in theories of African American school engagement and development (Tyler, Boykin, Miller, & Hurley, 2006). As both a social welfare and public policy problem, explaining the relative underperformance of African Americans has become both an explicit and implicit objective that has shaped exploration of processes contributing to the academic achievement of Black Americans (Spencer, 2006; Slaughter-Defoe *et al.*, 1990).

Ethnic socialization. Studies conducted by Clark and Clark (1939, 1950) revealed that African-American children were aware of negative stereotypes about their ethnic group and that ethnic stigmatization affected their sense of self from a young age. Consequent to these studies, researchers have been interested in how messages about ethnic groups, both positive and negative, are conveyed to children (see McAdoo, 1993; Stevenson, 1994a). Ethnic socialization encourages and sequentially precedes the development of ethnic identity in minority youth (Phinney, 1992; 1996). Although ethnic socialization is not theorized to have a direct relationship with the academic performance of ethnic minority youth, it is conceptually important because of its relationship with ethnic identity. The relationship between ethnic identity and academic performance that will be discussed later will be aided by reviewing theories of ethnic socialization (Lee, Spencer, & Harpalani, 2003).

In the U.S., theories of ethnic socialization largely have been developed for African American populations. Differences between contemporary theories reflect disciplinary origins and fall into two groups, those influenced by social and developmental psychology or those developed within ethnic studies (e.g., Afro-American Studies). Theories that have developed from interdisciplinary, ethnic studies assume cultural continuity among African descended

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groups and tend to focus on patterns of engagement and organization (for example, agency, communalism, family structure) rather than mechanisms of transmission. The most prominent of these theories is M. K. Asante's theory of Afrocentricity (Mazama, 2001; Myers, 1987). M. K. Asante and his colleagues suggest that African American underachievement results from culturally inappropriate socialization suitable for *middle class Whites*, which marginalizes Black youth engagement in their own education processes. Theories like *Afrocentricity* are limited in their ability to offer explanations of how affective meanings about the group and the importance of group belonging are conveyed to minority youth, because they must invoke other, complementary theories of development (i.e., social learning, attachment, *etc.*) to explain how culturally appropriate norms are transmitted to Black youth.

Though there may be continuity in the valued and normative practices of African Americans and Africans, it is unclear whether the dimensions of focus for these theories are actually continuous and equally important among culturally diverse black youth.

In contrast, ethnic socialization theories advanced by developmental psychologists place social psychological constructs like stigma and pride at the center. African American parents have the dual task of trying to promote positive development and mitigate the effects that negative stereotypes have on their children's developing sense of self. To this end they are expected, both, to convey positive messages about what it means to be an ethnic group member and prepare them for the experience of being stigmatized or suffering discrimination (see Oyserman & Markus, 2007). Two measurement models reflect this approach. Howard Stevenson's Scale of Racial Socialization models four factors: spiritual and religious coping, extended family caring, cultural pride reinforcement, and racism awareness teaching (1994b). The model developed by Diane Hughes and Lisa Chen (1997) has three factors: cultural pride, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust.

Of the two developmental models of ethnic socialization, both have been used with ethnically diverse populations. The Hughes and Chen model, however, may be more useful to examine cultural difference. It is conceptually more parsimonious, including only dimensions related to conveying messages about attitudes toward the ethnic group. The relationships of spiritual and religious coping and extended family caring to stigmatization or academic achievement fall outside the scope of the present study.

Ethnic identity. The ethnic groups to which minority youth belong place them in developmental contexts, wherein simple group membership can send cues to outgroup members about their abilities and preferences that misrepresent their actual ability and preferences (Eccles, Wong, & Peck, 2006). For example, in the context of schools, this may result in teachers' mischaracterizing the agentic behaviors of African American youth as willful disruptions, because that fits the ethnic stereotype of African Americans as disengaged and oppositional. Social Identity Theory suggests that in spite of stigmatization, more than simple ethnic group belonging, identifying with the ethnic group provides a person with an internal orientation toward their ethnic group which informs their affective appraisal of their ingroup and conception of the relative social strengths and weakness that the ethnic group possesses (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; see also Oyserman & Markus, 2007).

One body of research that examines ethnic identity development among children from immigrant families has suggested that the ethnonym or ethnic label that youth choose matters. Among other group attitudes, whether youth choose to use a label that combines their families' nation of origin with American with or without hyphenation is supposed to indicate how well they identify with either or both groups (A. Marks, personal communication, 2007). Research conducted with other immigrant groups has demonstrated considerable variability in ethnic labeling within and across ethnic groups across adolescent development (Fuligni, Kiang,

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Witkow, & Baldelomar, 2008). Similar variability has been demonstrated among diverse Afro-Caribbean youth (Kasinitz, Battle, & Miyares, 2001; Stepick, Eugene, Teed, & Labissiere, 2001). Further the research conducted by Waters (2001) with West-Indian youth suggests that the ethnonym that Blacks from immigrant families choose indicates their reference group affiliation (e.g., ethnic identity).

Theories and measurement. Theories of ethnic identity differ on the developmental period in which ethnic identity becomes primary, but suggest that ethnic identity exploration begins in earnest during adolescence (Cross & Cross, 2008; Erikson, 1968). Because adolescents' increased search to define the meaning of ethnic group belonging during adolescence co-occurs with increased perception of discrimination in school contexts (French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006), developmental psychologists have tended to use measures of ethnic identity that have modeled exploration and commitment. Social psychologists, in contrast, use component models of ethnic identity, which in addition to commitment (centrality), can tap other aspects of ethnic identification, such as affect (private regard), stereotype knowledge (public regard), and intergroup appraisals (political ideologies) (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004).

Despite copious research examining the relationship between ethnic identity and academic outcomes, no consistent direct relationship has been found in studies that use either of the previously described, conventional measurement models (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). The failure of ethnic identity to predict academic achievement for African Americans is not surprising when we consider the impetus in proposing the relationship. To the extent that stereotypes exist about ethnic minorities and school is a stigmatizing context, ethnic identity should be related to predicting or buffering the robust negative association between

experiences of discrimination and academic achievement and mental health (see Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, and Lewis, 2006).

Ethnic identity and academic achievement represent conceptually distinct domains—identity and competence. Ethnic identity should predict academic achievement only to the extent that these two constructs overlap or are blended. Evidence for this proposition has been demonstrated in the qualitative work conducted by O'Connor (1999) and the quantitative work conducted by Oyserman and her colleagues (Oyserman, Brickman, Rhodes, 2007). In her studies of academically at-risk African American students, Oyserman's measure of ethnic identity positively predicted GPA (Oyserman, Gant, Ager, 1995; Oyserman, Harrison, & Bybee, 2001). One subscale of Oyserman's racial-ethnic-identity is *embedded ethnic identity* (EEI). EEI is a fusion variable that measures the extent to which ethnic minorities perceive academic achievement to be important to and defining the ethnic group.

Although Phinney's Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (1996; for review see Akiba, Szalacha, & García Coll, 2004) is the standard instrument used in comparative studies with immigrant samples, Sellers's Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI, Sellers *et al.*, 1997) and Oyserman's embedded ethnic identity scale are more appropriate for the current study. The degree to which culturally distinct Black youth perceive achievement to define ethnic group membership may be moderated by the degree to which they feel like a member (*centrality*) and their assessment of the group (*private regard*). Together these measures may able to capture important variations, both group and individual, in the ways ethnic identity may positively predict group differences in GPA. This same measurement approach might also be applied to examine a negative relationship between ethnic identity and academic achievement.

Discrimination: Stigma and Threat Responses.

Stigma has a central role in stereotype threat research. Stereotype threat effects are robust. These are events in which an individual's concern over his or her performance being evaluated with respect to a domain specific negative stereotype about the ethnic in-group (for example, African Americans are intellectually incompetent) causes the individual to under-perform relative to their ability (Steele & Aronson, 1995; c.f. Shapiro & Neuberg, 2007). It has been demonstrated consistently for African Americans, among other social groups, and in children as young as 6 years of age (Ambady, Shih, Kim, & Pittinsky, 2001; McKown & Weinstein, 2003).

Lowered academic performance of African Americans has been proposed to be the result of repeated exposure to stereotype threat situations over the course of students' academic careers (for example standardized testing). The process of separating evaluations of academic performance from evaluations of self is termed academic disidentification and provides a psychological explanation of the processes of academic disengagement proposed by CET. Academic disidentification has been demonstrated in African American college students (Osborne, 1997). Rather than being socialized by parents or peers, it appears that repeated exposure to stigmatizing settings fosters students' disidentification.

Further, the extent to which stigma is perceived by students may amplify disidentification and predict GPA. Although there is a popular conception that strength of ethnic identity (i.e., centrality) moderates the relationship between ethnic identification and stereotype threat effects, it is difficult to find empirical documentation of this phenomenon (Steele, 1997). In contrast, an experiment conducted by Brown and Lee (2005) demonstrated that African American students who were higher on stigma consciousness showed greater stereotype threat effects (i.e., situational deficits in their performance). Stigma consciousness is a trait, a characterological

concern about being evaluated with respect to a negative group stereotype (Pinel, 1999). These results suggest that the individual differences in concern about stereotypes may interact with an academic environment and result in depressed performance.

Some research suggests that there are group differences in stigma consciousness. An experiment conducted by Deaux *et al.* found that stereotype threat effects in college students from Afro-Caribbean families depended on their generation status (2007). On average, first generation students believed that out-group members held more positive evaluations of Afro-Caribbeans than did (American-born) second generation students. Only the second generation Afro-Caribbean students showed a stereotype threat effect. This suggests that first generation Black youth are less aware of or less reactive to stigmatization. If African Americans are both more aware of and reactive to stigma than students from African immigrant families, different rates of stigma consciousness may partially explain group differences in their GPAs.

Similar to stigma consciousness, cultural mistrust has been used to assess the extent to which ethnic minority children expect to face discrimination. Some research has focused on the role of cultural mistrust in the academic outcome of African descended young men on the premise that young men may express greater amounts of this attitude than young women. African American high school students who reported greater cultural mistrust had significantly less positive expectations about and values for future educational outcomes (Irving & Hudley, 2005). Biafora, Taylor, Warheit, Zimmerman, and Vega (1993) examined racial mistrust, racial awareness, and pride. They found no clear pattern relating level of cultural mistrust with foreign-born status among culturally distinct Black young men. Biafora *et al.* found that Haitians, both foreign-born and second generation Americans, reported greater levels of mistrust than either African Americans or Afro-Caribbeans. Ethnic variations in cultural mistrust have been demonstrated in research conducted with Black populations, and may negatively predict

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academic outcomes, including GPA, for culturally distinct Black youth who express greater amounts of it.

Although Blacks from foreign-born families may be less aware of race based discrimination (Waters, 2001), it does not directly predict the amount of cultural mistrust that they express (Biafora *et al.*, 1993). However, because both experiences of discrimination and mistrust negatively predict academic outcomes and have shown group differences, they are important factors to consider with regard to the academic achievement of Black youth. Across these studies that consider intergroup perception and ethnic group attitudes, it appears that the more youth expect to experience stigmatization the less positive the academic outcome.

Substantively, the extent to which stereotype threat indicates the type of stigma that is experienced by youth in natural, non-laboratory or non-experimental settings remains unclear. Employing a survey measure to gauge individual differences in students' trait stigma would clarify the extent to which laboratory-based stereotype threat effects provide a real explanation for the underperformance of Black youth.

Equally, attitudinal factors may clarify the relationship between stigmatization and academic achievement. The effect of stigmatization on academic achievement may be moderated by the specific attitudes Black youth hold about their ethnic group membership. Research conducted with the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity has demonstrated that individuals hold distinct attitudes about ethnic group belonging with regard to specific aspects or domains of ethnic identity (Sellers *et al.*, 1997). Research conducted by Robert Sellers and his colleagues has demonstrated that people simultaneously maintain distinct attitudes toward the ethnic group that depend on the specific aspect of the ethnic group that is being considered. For example, the extent to which ethnic group belonging is a defining trait (i.e., centrality) is a distinct attitude from how positive the one may feel about one's ethnic group

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belonging (i.e., private regard). These attitudes about the ethnic group may amplify the relationship between stigma consciousness or discrimination and academic achievement. The extent to which Black youth feel positive about being Black and believe it to be a defining trait of their self may magnify the relationship between perceptions of discrimination and academic achievement. For example, grades may be lower for students who experience discrimination and for whom the ethnic group is important than those who experience similar discrimination but for whom the ethnic group is less important. A similar but positive interaction may exist for EEI and academic achievement. The nature of youths' attitude towards the group and the domains of their ethnic group identity may be important in understanding when ethnic identity is positively or negatively related to achievement.

The Current Study

The absence of African immigrants in either African American or children of immigrant research is stark given the parallel developments of each literature. (For review, see García Coll, *et al.*, 2000.) To address the limitations of previous research, factor models of academic achievement were examined in two Black populations, those with African American and Nigerian heritage. Rather than examining ethnic-specific socialization as a cause for differences in academic achievement, a common factor model allows for comparison of the levels of both general academic and ethnic-specific socialization. To that extent, the current study examined the associations between socialization and students' own attitudes in predicting academic achievement (Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfus, & Harpalani, 2001). These common factors were modeled as mediators that could explain ethnic group differences in academic achievement outcomes.

Between 2000 and 2010, the share of Black foreign-born individuals from Africa increased from 23.6% to 33.2% (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2012a). Nigerian immigrant

families were chosen as the representative Black African immigrant group due to their demographic profile. Nigerians are one of the largest African immigrant groups to the U.S. (Hernandez, 2012). In terms of appearance, the range of phenotypes within the population is largely similar to the variation that occurs within the African American population. Withstanding perceptual similarity, some differences do exist between Nigerian and African American households. Based on entry criteria, previous research and current census data indicate that they are among the most highly educated immigrant groups (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Hernandez, 2012). Nigerian households are more likely to be two-parent households than African Americans (Hernandez, 2012). Variations within the collected sample were expected.

A sequential mixed-method approach was employed in the study. Survey data from 152 Black youth were collected. Preliminary analyses of the distribution of high, average, and low achievement were used to identify and recruit some participants to a follow-up interview (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Although quantitative and qualitative methods were utilized to achieve equal representative samples of high, average, and low achieving Black youth, the response to the qualitative interview was low. Three survey participants agreed to participate in the semi-structured interview, which provided case studies that offer context for the collected survey data. A holistic picture of the influence of academic and ethnic socialization on GPA, the qualitative portion of the study could not be obtained, but the case studies provide a background to understand inconsistencies within the survey data.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

    Question 1. Do African American and Nigerian American students differ in academic achievement, and how much of this difference is attributable to variations in family socioeconomic background, parent aspirations and performance expectations, peer support, and the students' own academic attitudes? (See Figure 1.)

1. Nigerian Americans and African Americans will self-identify with an ethnic label consistent with their parents' ethnocultural background.

2. Nigerian American students will report higher GPAs than African American students.

3. The parents of Nigerian American students will have attained higher levels of education than African American students.

4. Nigerian American students will report greater parent aspirations for their academic attainment, performance expectations, and academic guidance than African American youth.

5. Nigerian American students will report higher levels of peer support for academic achievement than African American students.

6. Although Nigerian American and African American students will have similar aspirations for academic attainment, Nigerian American students will have higher expectations for attainment, report stronger academic values, and make more attributions to effort than African Americans.

7. Group differences in parent education, parental aspirations and performance expectations, peer support, and students' own attitudes are expected to significantly mediate group differences in GPA.

Question 2. What roles are played by stigma consciousness, ethnic socialization, and ethnic identity in the differences in GPA between Nigerian American and African American students? (See Figure 2.)

8. Although Nigerian American and African American students will report similar amounts of cultural pride socialization, Nigerian American students will report lower levels of preparation for bias and mistrust socialization.

9. Nigerian American students will report higher levels of academic embedded ethnic identity scores than African American students.

10. Although Nigerian American and African American students will report similar amounts of discrimination, Nigerian American students will report lower stigma consciousness scores than African American students.

11. Group differences in stigma consciousness, ethnic socialization, and embedded academic ethnic identity will significantly mediate group differences in GPA. The associations between two of the mediators and GPA will be modified by additional aspects of ethnic identity, specifically:

    a. The positive association between academic embedded ethnic identity and GPA will be strengthened by greater reports of ethnic centrality and private regard.

    b. The negative association between stigma consciousness and GPA will be strengthened by greater reports of centrality and private regard.

Method

Participants

One-hundred fifty-eight participants who were enrolled in high school or college during the 2009-2010 school year participated in the current study. Six participants were excluded from analyses because they did not meet the ethnic inclusion criteria. These students were from non-Nigerian, African immigrant families (e.g., Beninese, Egyptian, Eritrean, and Ghanaian). The effective sample size totaled 152. This sample was comprised of 45.4% male, 48.68% high school, and 44.74% American students. High school students were on average 15.69 years of age and sophomores when they completed the survey. College students were on average 20.76 years of age and also sophomores when they participated in the study. Female students were slightly younger than male students, $(F(1, 134) = 6.69, p = .011)$. On average female students were 9 months younger than their male peers (respectively, $\bar{X}_F = 17.88, SE_F = .21; \bar{X}_M = 18.66, SE = .22$).

Inclusion Criteria and Recruitment. The study recruited youth who came from "Black, African, and African American" families that were either American or Nigerian. Therefore all participants self-identified into at least one African-descended category. They were classified into one of two ethnic backgrounds, which is discussed in the *Ethnic Background* subsection. These two categories are American or Nigerian. For simplicity use of the terms African-American and Nigerian-American is limited in favor of American and Nigerian to refer to the participants' background that clearly identifies national origin or heritage of immediate family. These terms are also used to distinguish family origin from participants' ethnic identification (i.e., responses to measures within the study) and specific ethnicity (i.e., heritage and place of birth).

Individuals recruited from community, ethnic, and religious groups that served Americans and Nigerians were allowed to self-select into the study. After survey data were collected, the principal investigator (PI) verified that participants met the inclusion criteria by examining some demographic items within the survey. Participants were asked to respond to multiple prompts that indicated whether they were born outside of the United States, the American-born child of foreign-born parents, or the American-born child of American-born parents. They provided information about their place of birth, their year of entry if born outside of the United States, and identical information about their parents. This information about themselves and their parents was used to discern specific ethnicity and ethnic background. For example, if a participant indicated that both of their parents were foreign born, did not provide a place of birth for themselves, but indicated that they were born before their parents immigration, these participants were classified as foreign-born.

Recruitment. Individuals were invited to participate in the study by the PI through recruitment at a religious organization, a community group, or a college club that served the target populations. Persons from several religious organizations (seven churches and three mosques), three community organizations, and two college clubs were enrolled. All participants were directly recruited by the PI, although the study was open to referrals. Prior to recruitment, the PI sought permission to recruit from each site.

Ethnic Background. Two rules guided the classification of participants' ethnic background. All participants who were born to parents of the same ethnic background were categorized according to their parents' ethnic heritage. They were classified as either Nigerian (Nigerian background) or American (American background).   Participants who had bi-ethnic parentage were classified according to their self-identification within the parameters of this study (Black, African American), unless they had one Nigerian parent. For example, a participant with

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one Nigerian parent and one Jamaican parent or a participant with one Nigerian parent and one American parent were both classified as Nigerian-background. A participant with one American parent and one Korean parent or another participant with one African American parent and one Latino parent were both classified as American-background. This classification of participants with one non-Black parent as Black is justified by the participants' self-selection into the current study. Also, as the proportion of bi-ethnic Blacks with non-Black heritage has risen, the U.S. Census has employed a similar system of classification counting these individuals as Black Americans (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2012b). Slightly more Nigerians ($n = 84$) participated than Americans ($n = 68$).

All Nigerian parents in the sample were foreign-born. Participants who had one Nigerian parent were classified as Nigerian when they self-identified as such or did not have an American parent. Participants who had one African American parent were classified as American-background when they so identified or did not have a Nigerian parent.

Ethnicity. Given the demographic information collected, it was not possible to ascertain the generation status of the American-background sample in particular or any participant beyond the parents' generation. For this reason the term *ethnicity* was used to distinguish ethnic group classifications based on heritage (i.e. ethnic background) and those based on heritage and place of birth (i.e., ethnicity). The ethnicities captured within the sample were foreign-born Nigerians (i.e., first generation Nigerian Americans), American-born Nigerians (i.e., second generation Nigerian Americans), and Americans. These categories were employed in order to analyze whether group differences in the population were localized to a particular generation of Nigerian-American. Each of the heritage-by-birth place ethnic group was evenly represented in the sample (28% foreign-born Nigerian, 28% American-born Nigerian, 41% American). The ethnic distribution among these generations followed expected trends. All foreign-born

participants were Nigerian (nN n_N= 43). The majority of American-born participants with at least one foreign-born parent were Nigerian (n_A = 5, n_N= 38). All U.S.-born students of U.S.-born parents were American. Americans who had at least one foreign-born parent were not used in analyses of localized ethnic background (n_A = 62). The ethnicity of four individuals could not be determined by the information they provided.

Compensation. Participation in the study was voluntary. Those who participated in the survey received a $5.00 gift card to a hypermarket.. Those who participated in the interview received a $15.00 to the same store.

Survey Measures

Achievement. Academic achievement was assessed as two self-reported measures. Participants were asked to report their GPA for the last completed school term. As schools vary in the range of their GPA scales, participants also responded to the question, "What sort of grades do you usually earn?" with one of the following options: "Mostly A's," "A's and B's," "Mostly B's," "B's and C's," "Mostly C's," "Mostly C's and D's," "Mostly D's," "Mostly D's and F's," or "Mostly F's." Previous research has found that this style of self-reported GPA was highly and positively correlated with actual grades earned (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleight, 1987; c.f. Zimmerman, Caldwell, Bernat, 2002). These two measures of achievement, GPA and Grades, were positively correlated for both American and Nigerian participants. Respectively $r(56) = 0.57$, $p < 0.001$ and $r(73) = 0.73$, $p < 0.001$.

Parental Education. Participants were asked to report the highest level of education attained by both their mothers and their fathers. Responses ranged from "did not complete high school" to "earned a graduate degree." Participants were also allowed to choose "other" and describe their parents' education attainment, when the scaled responses were not appropriate. (See Appendix A.)

Academic Variables.

 Academic Values. Participants endorsed statements describing how useful and enjoyable they find schoolwork that indicated their academic values (Fuligni, 1997). An example item is "In general, I find working on math [English] assignments very interesting" or "How useful do you think math will be when you go away and get a job?" Responses to items lie on a scale ranging from 1-Not at All to 5-Very Often. The internal consistencies for this scale were $\alpha_A = .83$ and $\alpha_N = .73$. (See Appendix B.)

 Achievement Aspiration, Achievement Expectation, and Parent Expectations. Participants responded to single item indicators of aspiration and expectation. They responded to the aspiration question, " How far do you want to go in school?" by completing the sentence "I would like to" with one of the following options. 1-Finish some high school, 2-Graduate from High School, 3-Graduate from a 2-year college, 4-Graduate from a 4-year college, or 5-Graduate from a law, medical, or graduate school. Responses to parallel questions that substituted "expect" for "want" indicated students' own expectations for their academic career as well as their perceptions of parents' expectations for their academic attainment. (See Appendix C.)

 Parent Academic Values. Participants reported their parents' expectations for school performance by indicating the importance of particular academic behaviors, for example "Getting an 'A' on almost every test," or "Going to the best college after high school." Responses to these items lie on a scale ranging from 1-Not Important to My Parents At All to 5-Very Important to My Parents (Fuligni, 1997). The internal consistencies for this seven item scale were $\alpha_A = .87$ and $\alpha_N = .83$. (See Appendix C.)

 Peer Support. Three items were used to indicate whether participants engaged in academically supportive behaviors with their friends (Fuligni, 1997). For example, one item was

"Indicate how often you and your friends share class materials." The scale internal consistencies were α_A = .81 and α_N=.80. (See Appendix B.)

Identity and Socialization Variables.

      Ethnic Identity. The Multiple Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) was used to assess how participants' ethnically identified as a blended sense of their identity exploration and attachment toward their ethnic groups (Phinney, 2007). The internal consistencies were α_A= 0.89 and α_N= 0.58. A sample item is "I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership." (See Appendix D for the 14-item measure.)

      Embedded Ethnic Identity. A main goal of this research was to determine whether a blended sense of academic achievement as being important to the ethnic group and to one's self provides a better prediction of academic outcomes than either academic values or ethnic identity, alone. Embedded ethnic identity (EEI) is a fusion variable on the Racial/Ethnic Identity Scale developed by Oyserman and her colleagues (Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995; Oyserman, Harrison, & Bybee, 2001). This 4-item measure is the only scaled indicator of this construct that exists. An example item is "It is important for my family and the African American community that I succeed in school." Participants were asked to endorse scale items by using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1-Strong Disagree to 5-Strongly Agree. The reliability for each group was α_A= 0.62 and α_N= 0.79, which was consistent with previous research (Oyserman, Brickman, & Rhodes, 2007). (See Appendix E.)

      Sellers Identity Components. Participants also indicated their orientation toward their ethnic group by completing the centrality (i.e., "I feel close to other [ethnic] people"; α_A= 0.82 and α_N= 0.89), private regard (i.e., "I am happy that I am [ethnicity]"; α_A= 0.23 and α_N= 0.70), and public regard (i.e. "Most people think that [ethnicity] are as smart as people of other races." α_A= 0.86 and α_N= 0.86) inventories of Sellers' Multidimensional Inventory of Black

Identity (MIBI; Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyen, 2008). These domain specific identity components were included in order to clarify whether and how specific elements of ethnic identification could predict academic achievement. Centrality was significantly correlated with Private Regard for both African Americans and Nigerian Americans. All components were significantly positively related for Nigerian students. (See Appendix F.)

Ethnic Socialization. The Hughes and Chen (1997) measure of ethnic socialization was employed. The measure taps three dimensions of parental ethnic socialization that are cultural pride, racial mistrust, and preparation for bias. Five *Cultural Pride* items assessed the degree to which parents' convey messages encouraging pride in one's ethnic-cultural heritage ($\alpha_A = 0.86$ and $\alpha_N = 0.71$). An example item is "My parents have taken me to [ethnic group] cultural events." Three *Racial Mistrust* items assessed the degree to which parents' conveyed messages that promote distrust and distancing from other races. Parallel items were created to assess distancing from Whites ($\alpha_A = 0.69$ and $\alpha_N = 0.92$) as well as from other Blacks ($\alpha_A = 0.71$ and $\alpha_N = 084$). An example item is "My parents told me to distrust Whites." Nine *Preparation for Bias* items assessed the degree to which parents conveyed messages that prepare their children to be stigmatized ($\alpha_A = 0.83$ and $\alpha_N = 0.69$). An example item is "My parents told me that I must be better than White kids to get the same rewards." Endorsement for the items is on a 4 point Likert scale ranging from 1-strongly disagree to 4-strongly agree. (See Appendix F.)

Attitudinal Variables.

Stigma Consciousness. An adapted form of the stigma consciousness measure developed by Pinel was used in the current study (1999). In order to address possible intraethnic distinctions made among African American and Nigerian American students, participants responded to a measure of stigma consciousness (SC) that contained parallel items. These items positioned either Whites or other Blacks as the outgroup and a source of the stigmatization.

Other Blacks were identified in the items as a different ethnic and same panethnic outgroup member. An "African American" reference defined the Other Black for Nigerian participants whereas "African Immigrant" defined Other Black for African American participants. Example items for African Americans are "Most Whites are unfairly accused of being racist" and "Most African Immigrants are unfairly accused of being racist." Example items for Nigerian participants are "Most Whites have a lot more racist thoughts than they actually express" and "Most African Americans have a lot more racist thoughts than they actually express." The internal consistencies for White stigma consciousness were ($\alpha_A = 0.67$ and $\alpha_N = 0.73$) and for Black stigma consciousness were ($\alpha_A = 0.67$ and $\alpha_N = 0.63$). (See Appendices G and H.)

Perceived Discrimination. An adapted version of a discrimination measure developed by Niobe Way in an unpublished manuscript was used (V. W. Huynh, personal communication, October 26, 2009). Seven identical items addressed perceptions of discrimination from adults ($\alpha_A = 0.88$ and $\alpha_N = 0.66$) and peers ($\alpha_A = 0.91$ and $\alpha_N = 0.90$). (See Appendix I.)

Achievement Attributions. Participants were asked to indicate how much they perceived their academic successes or failures to be the result of effort and ability by indicating their level of agreement in response to a scenario. For example, a participant was presented with a scenario that indicates either a success ("Suppose you did well on a Math Test") or a failure ("Suppose you did poorly on an English exam"). The participant was then asked to use a 5-point scale, (i.e., 1 – False, 2 – Mostly False, 3 – Sometimes False, Sometimes True, 4 – Mostly True to 5 – True) to rate agreement with explanations of the result that indicate attributions to ability, "I always do badly on math tests," or attributions to effort, "I spend too little time studying." The measure developed by Marsh and his colleagues (1984) is one of the few standardized, trait measures of self-attributions. Both items that are domain specific (e.g., English exam) and domain general (e.g., "school work") are included in the scale. The internal consistency for each ethnic

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background per domain follows. Positive indicated an attribution made for success, a positive outcome, and negative indicated an attribution for failure, a negative outcome: Positive Ability (α_A= 0.33 and α_N= 0.60), Positive Effort (α_A= 0.42 and α_N= 0.72), Positive Luck (α_A= 0.22 and α_N = 0.68), Negative Ability(α_A = 0.70 and α_N = .69), Negative Effort(α_A= 0.69 and α_N= 0.77) and, finally, Negative Luck (α_A= 0.70 and α_N= 0.78). (See Appendix J.)

Interview Measures

A semi-structured interview was developed to obtain more in-depth information on the central themes including 1) parent and peer influence on students' academic values, 2) the academic support provided by peers and parents, 3) the role of ethnicity in their academic lives and 4) students' awareness and experiences of stigmatization and discrimination in school contexts. The interview component is fully discussed in the Qualitative Results section. (See Appendices K and L.)

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Quantitative Results

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Results are presented in the order in which the hypotheses were introduced for each research question. Group differences in the predictor variable (i.e., ethnic background or ethnicity) and mediators are presented before a formal model of the direct and indirect relationship among within the mediation models. No *a priori* hypotheses about differences among Americans, foreign-born Nigerians, and American-born Nigerians were formulated. As a relatively even distribution of these groups existed in the observed sample, analyses were repeated to examine the occurrence of group differences by ethnicity as well as ethnic background. For this reason, analyses by ethnicity, which takes place of birth into account, are presented under the subheading *"Localized Differences"* and always follow analyses conducted by ethnic background.

Question 1. Do African American and Nigerian American students differ in academic achievement, and how much of this difference is attributable to variations in family socioeconomic background, parent aspirations and performance expectations, peer support, and the students' own academic attitudes?

The first research question implies that consistent group differences in group identification and achievement exits between American and Nigerian students. These foundational assumptions are addressed by hypotheses 1 and 2.

Hypothesis 1: Nigerian Americans and African Americans will self-identify with an ethnic label consistent with their parents' ethnocultural background. For the frequency and list of ethnic name labels (ethnonyms) please see Tables 1 and 2.

A chi-square test of independence was conducted. The ethnic identity labels, ethnonyms, used by participants were coded as either being consistent or inconsistent with their parents' ethnic origin. This simple code was used in lieu of making assumptions about difference in meaning among hyphenated and unhyphenated ethnonyms (i.e., Nigerian American, Nigerian-American) or having to infer the exact meaning of (i.e., African-American, or African American for Nigerians). It also simplified ethnic distinctions that students made between their own identity and their parents' ethnicity and allowed for similar coding between students with multiethnic and mono-ethnic heritage. An example of a consistent code would be an American participant writing in "Black and Latina" for herself and identifying her parents as "Latino" and "Black," respectively. An example of an inconsistent code would be a Nigerian identifying himself as "African American" and identifying both of his parents as "Ijaw".

Nigerian American participants more often used inconsistent ethnonyms, $X^2 (2) = 24.97, p <$ .001. They more frequently applied different ethnic labels to themselves than their parents. On average, both American and Nigerian participants typically used ethnonyms consistent with the

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national origin of their family heritage. There was a gender by ethnic difference. The ethnonyms used for self and parents were more often different for male Nigerian participants than male American participants. X^2 (1) = 3.49, p < .05.   There was no difference in use of ethnonyms among female participants. Overall these findings indicate that participants identify with their family's nation of origin.

Hypothesis 2: Nigerian American students will report higher GPAs than African American students. The achievement means are presented in Tables 3 through 6.

A t-test was used to analyze ethnic group differences in the academic achievement self-reports. Nigerian students reported usually earning higher grades, t(145) = 2.98, p = 0.003, and having higher GPAs, t(132) = 3.45, p = 0.001 than did American students. However, when the self-reports of academic achievement were examined among generations, only the difference in GPA remained.

Localized Differences. A one-way MANOVA revealed no significant difference in participants' reports of grades earned among the different generations, F(2, 127) = 1.74, p = 0.18. However, a main effect for ethnicity was found, F(2, 127) = 4.67, p = 0.01, which was clarified with Bonferonni corrected post-hoc t-tests. Foreign-born Nigerians reported having higher GPAs than did the Americans, t(91) =3.07 , p = 0.10. There was no difference in GPAs between the Foreign-born Nigerians and Americans, t(92) = 1.94, p = 0.23

The group differences that underpin research question 1 were supported by tests of hypotheses 1 and 2. Both groups identified with their parents' ethnic background. Nigerians more often self-identified with a foreign ethnic or hyphenated foreign and American identity than did Americans. This result is consistent with other research that has examined the ethnic identification of youth from immigrant families but was not a certainty for this population, because the available ethnic options for Black Americans (i.e., Black or African American)

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compared to Asian Americans (e.g., Korean-, Chinese-, or Japanese-American) tend to lack origin-specificity. Equally, consistent with research that suggests that immigrant youth and the children of immigrant parents attain higher academic achievement than their American peers, Nigerians reported earning higher grades than did Americans. Taken together these results demonstrate there is an ethnic group difference in self-reported academic achievement, but alone, they do not suggest a mechanism that explains this ethnic group difference in achievement. The next set of hypotheses was formulated to examine explanatory pathways that link ethnic background with differences in academic achievement.

Research suggests that the guidance students receive from parents and the support received from friends influences their academic orientation, behaviors, or engagement (Matute-Bianchi, 1991). Hypotheses 3, 4, 5, and 6 address whether factors that traditionally support academic achievement are plausible intervening variables in the relationship between achievement and group identification.

Hypothesis 3: The parents of Nigerian American students will have attained higher levels of education than African American students.

A 2 x 2 x 2 MANOVA was conducted to examine ethnic background by gender by age group differences in parent education. Significant main effects of ethnic background for maternal and paternal education were found, respectively $F(1, 117) = 16.48$, $p < 0.001$ and $F(1, 117) = 64.57$, $p < 0.001$. On average, higher formal educational attainment was reported for Nigerian mothers ($M_N = 4.97$, $SD_N = 1.10$) than American mothers ($M_A = 4.11$, $SD_A = 1.40$). Similarly, Nigerian fathers were reported to have attained higher formal education than American fathers ($M_N = 5.62$, $SD_N = 1.26$ and $M_A = 3.48$, $SD_A = 156$). There were no effects for either gender or age.

This pattern was reflected in the sample distributions of parental education attainment. The distributions for American maternal and paternal attainment were bimodal. Most American mothers were reported to have earned either a high school diploma (24.2%) or a bachelor's degree (30.6%). In contrast, most American fathers were reported to have attained either a high school diploma (34.5%) or an Associate's degree or attended some years of college (24.1%). For Nigerians, both maternal and paternal education were unimodal. Nigerians reported that most mothers earned a bachelor's degree (36.8%), whereas most fathers were reported to have earned a master's degree (32.9%). (See Figure 3.) The same pattern held when parental education attainment was examined by generation.

Localized Differences. A 3 (ethnicity) x 2 (gender) x 2 (age) MANOVA was conducted on maternal and paternal education attainment. A main effect of ethnicity was found for both maternal and paternal education attainment. The significant main effect for generation on maternal education attainment, $F(2, 112) = 5.74$, $p = 0.004$, was clarified by Bonferonni-corrected post-hoc t-tests. The main effect was driven by the difference between American-born Nigerians and Americans. The American-born Nigerians reported higher maternal education attainment than did the Americans, $t(94) = 3.86$, $p = 0.003$. No other differences were found in reports of maternal education attainment. (See Figures 4 and 5 for the distributions of paternal education by generation.)

The significant main effect for localized ethnicity on paternal education attainment, $F(2, 112) = 34.60$, $p < 0.001$, was clarified by Bonferonni-corrected post-hoc t-tests. The American-born Nigerians reported higher paternal education attainment than both the foreign-born Nigerians, $t(72) = 3.26$, $p = 0.025$, and the Americans, $t(87) = 7.81$, $p < 0.001$. Additionally, foreign-born Nigerians reported higher paternal education attainment than did the Americans, $t(89) = 1.56$, $p < 0.001$.

Hypothesis 4: Nigerian American students will report greater parental expectations for their academic attainment and parental academic values than African American youth. (See Tables 7 and 8 for the means of parent expectation and academic values.)

A 2 (ethnic background) x 2 (gender) x 2 (age) MANOVA was conducted on parental expectations and parental academic values. Significant main effects of ethnic background for parent expectation, $F(1, 142) = 14.99$, $p < 0.001$ and parental academic values, $F(1, 142) = 7.07$, $p = 0.009$, were found. Nigerians reported higher parental expectations ($M = 4.71$, $SD = 0.65$) and academic values ($M = 4.44$, $SD = 0.60$) than did Americans (respectively, and $M = 4.33$, $SD = 0.64$ and $M = 4.10$, $SD = 0.80$).

A significant main effect of age group was found for parental academic values, $F(1, 142) = 8.15$, $p = 0.005$. High school students reported higher parental academic values than did college students ($M_H = 4.47$, $SD_H = 0.58$ and $M_C = 4.11$, $SD_C = 0.97$).

Localized Differences. A similar pattern of results was revealed when localized ethnic group differences were examined. A 3 x 2 x 2 MANOVA was conducted to explore ethnicity by gender by age group differences in parental expectations and parental academic values. (See Tables 9 and 10.) The main effect of age on parental academic values remained significant, $F(1, 134) = 7.33$, $p = 0.008$. High school students reported higher parental academic values than did college students ($M_H = 4.46$, $SD_H = 0.59$ and $M_C = 4.12$, $SD_C = 0.78$).

A main effect of ethnicity was found for both parental expectation, $F(1, 134) = 7.39$, $p = 0.001$ and parental academic values $F(2, 134) = 5.77$, $p = 0.004$. These differences in parental expectation were driven by the difference between the American-born Nigerians and Americans. On average, American-born Nigerians participants reported higher parent expectations than did Americans participants $t(100) = 4.13$, $p = 0.003$. The localized ethnic main effect for parental academic values was driven by differences between the foreign-born Nigerians and American-

born Nigerians as well as the difference between Foreign-born Nigerians and Americans. On average, foreign-born Nigerians reported higher parental academic values than either the American-born Nigerians ($t(84) = 3.07$, $p = 0.017$) or Americans ($t(98) = 4.27$, $p = 0.001$).

Hypothesis 5: Nigerian American students will report higher levels of peer support for academic achievement than African American students. Ethnic, age group, and gender differences in supportive peer behaviors were examined with a factorial ANOVA. Reports of peer support received did not differ by the groups to which participants belonged (respectively $F_{Ethnic}(1, 142) = 0.002$, $p = 0.962$; $F_{AgeGroup}(1, 142) = 0.63$, $p = 0.429$, $F_{Gender}(1, 142) = 1.38$, $p = 0.242$). (See Tables 11 and 12.)

Hypothesis 6: Although Nigerian American and African American students will have similar aspirations for academic attainment, Nigerian American students will have higher expectations for attainment, report stronger academic values, and make more attributions to effort than African Americans. (See Tables 13 through 20 to compare the specific ANOVA results and for relevant means).

Ethnic, age group, and gender differences were examined by conducting a factorial MANOVA.

Ethnic Background. Significant differences in participants' reports of education attainment aspiration ($F(1, 140) = 9.92$, $p = 0.002$) and expectations ($F(1, 140) = 28.61$, $p < 0.001$.) were predicted by ethnicity. Nigerians reported both higher aspirations ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 0.77$) and expectations ($M = 4.36$, $SD = 0.68$) for their education attainment than did Americans, ($M = 3.95$, $SD = 0.65$ and $M = 3.80$, $SD = 0.78$). Ethnic background did not differentially predict academic values ($F(1, 140) = 0.20$, $p = 0.656$) or attributions made to ability for positive academic outcomes ($F(1, 140) = 2.31$, $p = 0.131$).

Age Group. Similarly, differences in participants' reports of education attainment aspiration ($F(1, 140) = 106.51$, $p < 0.001$) and expectations ($F(1, 140) = 68.09$, $p < 0.001$) were predicted by age group. High school participants reported both higher aspirations ($M = 4.62$, $SD = 0.59$) and expectations ($M = 4.55$, $SD = 0.75$) for their education attainment than did college students, ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 0.55$ and $M = 3.69$, $SD = 0.52$). Age group did not differentially predict attributions made to ability for positive academic outcomes ($F(1, 140) = 0.54$, $p = 0.464$), but it was marginally significant for academic values ($F(1, 140) = 2.68$, $p = 0.104$) .

Gender. Finally, gender predicted differences in participants' reports of education attainment aspiration ($F(1, 140) = 4.96$, $p = 0.0.28$), academic values ($F(1, 140) = 7.58$, $p = 0.007$), and attributions made to ability for positive outcomes ($F(1, 140) = 5.54$, $p = 0.02$). Young women reported higher aspirations ($M = 4.24$, $SD = 0.68$), academic values ($M = 4.15$, $SD = 0.46$) and more greatly endorsed ability for positive academic outcomes ($M = 3.77$, $SD = 0.78$) than did young men (respectively $M = 4.01$, $SD = 0.79$; $M = 3.89$, $SD = 0.69$; and $M = 3.46$, $SD = 0.78$). Gender did not differentially predict participants' expectations for academic attainment ($F(1, 140) = 1.63$, $p = 0.205$).

Two ethnic-by-age group interactions modified the previous main effects found for aspirations and expectations. Bonferonni post-hoc *t*-tests clarified the ethnic-by-age group interaction on aspiration ($F(1, 140) = 4.99$, $p = 0.027$), which was driven by a significant difference among the high school students. Nigerians in high school reported greater attainment expectations than their American peers, $t(72) = 3.96$, $p \leq 0.002$, but no ethnic differences existed among college participants, $t(74) = 0.39$, $p = 0.703$. A similar pattern existed for the ethnic-by-age group interaction on expectation $F(1, 140) = 6.49$, $p = 0.012$), which was driven by an ethnic difference among high school participants. In high school, Nigerians reported significantly

greater attainment expectations than did their peers $t(71) = 4.93$, $p = 0.002$. No significant

difference in the expectations of college students was found, $t(74) = 2.22$, $p = 0.58$.

Localized Differences. A factorial MANOVA was used to examine ethnicity, age

group, and gender differences. (See Tables 21 through 24 for the relevant means.) Significant

differences in participants' reports of education attainment expectations ($F(2, 132) = 6.22$, $p = 0.003$) and academic values ($F(2, 132) = 4.54$, $p < 0.012$.) were predicted by localized ethnic

group. The main effect of localized ethnicity on expectations was driven by differences between

the Americans and both Nigerian groups. Both the foreign-born and American-born Nigerians

reported higher attainment expectations than did the Americans, (respectively $t(100) = 3.33$, $p = 0.005$ and $t(101) = 2.36$, $p = 0.029$). The main effect of localized ethnicity on academic values

was driven by reports from the Nigerians. Foreign-born participants reported higher academic

values than did the American-born Nigerians ($t(84) = 3.42$, $p = 0.009$). Ethnicity marginally

predicted attainment aspirations ($F(2, 132) = 2.70$, $p = 0.071$) but did not predict attributions

made to ability for positive academic outcomes ($F(1, 132) = 1.71$, $p = 0.185$).

Age group remained a significant predictor of aspirations and expectations (respectively, $F(1, 132) = 94.46$, $p < 0.001$, $F(1, 132) = 58.40$, $p < 0.001$). No age main effects were found for

academic values $F(1, 132) = 1.48$, $p = 0.224$ or ability attributions made for positive outcomes $F(1, 132) = 0.78$, $p = 0.385$.

Gender remained a significant predictor of aspiration ($F(1, 132) = 6.85$, $p = 0.010$) and

academic values ($F(1, 132) = 6.01$, $p = 0.016$) but a marginal predictor of attributions made to

ability for positive outcomes ($F(1, 132) = 3.07$, $p = 0.082$). Gender did not predict expectations $F(1, 132) = 1.51$, $p = 0.222$.

Taken together, the results from hypotheses 3 – 7 provide support for the indicators of parent

guidance and student's own academic orientation as likely intervening variables. The lack of

group difference in reports of peer support may be consistent with previous research, which indicates that friendships among Black youth are less defined by similarity in academic achievement than other ethnic groups (Hamm, 2000; 2005). When not significantly defined by academic orientation, it is not surprising that a group difference in reports of academic support from peers failed to emerge. However the group differences in parent education is consistent with previous research that suggests the Nigerian population in the U.S. demonstrates selective immigration (Capps *et al.*, 2012). Whether this selection demonstrates that Nigerians come to the U.S. with higher levels of education than that possessed by their American counterparts or they have immigrated in order to continue their education the unclear (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; N. M. Rivers, personal communication, 2007).

As group differences have been found in some of the proposed intervening variables, tests of models examining the direct and indirect relationship between the predictor, mediators, and outcome variable were conducted to directly address the first research question. Hypothesis 7 proposed the full mediation model of the general model of participants' self-reported academic achievement. This model included factors that were domain specific to academics.

Hypothesis 7: Group differences in parent education, parental aspirations and performance expectations, peer support, and students' own attitudes are expected to significantly mediate group differences in GPA. (See Figures 6 and 7.)

To determine whether a set of academic variables explained the ethnic group differences in academic achievement, two separate sets of mediation regressions were conducted. The academic variables were examined as simultaneous mediators (Model 4, see Hayes, 2011). One set of regression questions modeled the relationship between ethnic background and GPA. The other set modeled the relationship between ethnicity and grades. In step 1, academic achievement was regressed on ethnicity. In step 2, each mediator was regressed on ethnicity. In

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step 3, academic achievement was regressed on the linear combination of ethnicity and the set of academic variables.

The general model of GPA. (See Table 25). The proposed set of academic variables significantly explained the relationship between participant's ethnic background and self-reported GPA. The relationship between ethnicity and GPA was fully mediated, but only parent education was a significant mediator between ethnic background and GPA.

The general model of Grades. (See Table 26.) This set of academic variables significantly explained the relationship between participants' ethnic background and self-reported GPA. However, only three of the set of academic mediators were significant. The paths linked by parent education, parent expectation, and students' own aspirations were significant. Full mediation was demonstrated in this model.

For both indicators of academic achievement, students' perceptions of their parents' education attainment was a consistent mediator, which largely or fully explained the relationship between ethnic background and reported academic achievement.

Ethnicity-specific general models of academic achievement. Mediation was not found in the general models of academic achievement predicted by participants' ethnicity. Ethnicity significantly predicted parent education, but failed to predict any other mediator or either outcome variable.

The results from hypothesis 1 – 7 answer research question 1. Ethnic differences are mediated by group differences in traditional factors that are specific to the academic domain. Particularly, parent education and student aspiration explain group differences in self-reports of academic achievement in this sample. The failure of the other mediators to be significant predictors, despite strong positive relationships among the variables will be addressed in the discussion section.

Question 2. What roles are played by stigma consciousness, ethnic socialization, and ethnic identity in the differences in GPA between Nigerian American and African American students?

Research question 2 is an identity-socialization model of self-reported academic achievement. Similar to the incremental hypotheses subsumed by research question 1, Hypothesis 8, 9, and 10 predict group differences in the identity and socialization variables that are posited to explain group differences in academic achievement. The formal mediation model was examined in hypothesis 11. As will be described below, the moderated-mediation proposed in hypothesis 12 was not analyzed because important mediators failed to be related to either the predictor (ethnicity) or the outcome variables.

Hypothesis 8: Although Nigerian American and African American students will report similar amounts of cultural pride socialization, Nigerian American students will report lower levels of preparation for bias and mistrust socialization.

Ethnic background, age group, and gender differences in ethnic socialization were examined using a mixed ANOVA. Bias preparation, cultural pride, racial mistrust of whites and racial mistrust of blacks comprised the ethnic socialization within-subjects factor. As the sphericity assumption was violated for ethnic socialization ($\chi^2(5) = 93.44, p < 0.001$), the Greenhouse-Geisser corrected values are reported for the following analyses.

A significant main effect for ethnic socialization was found ($F(3, 317) = 194.94, p < 0.001$), which was modified by a socialization-by-ethnic group interaction ($F(3, 317) = 9.61, p < 0.001$). Post-hoc analyses revealed that Americans reported receiving significantly more preparation for bias ($t(147) = 2.35, p = 0.020$) and less cultural pride socialization ($t(147) = -3.43, p = 0.001$) than did Nigerians. No ethnic differences in the socialization of racial mistrust were reported ($t(147) = -0.84, p = 0.402, t(147) = -1.41, p = 0.160$). (See Tables 27 through 30.)

Localized Differences. The same analyses as above were conducted. As the sphericity assumption was violated for ethnic socialization ($\chi^2(5) = 91.70$, $p < 0.001$), Greenhouse-Geisser corrections were used. A significant main effect for socialization was found ($F(3, 305) = 184.45$, $p < 0.001$), which was modified by an ethnicity-by-socialization interaction ($F(3, 305) = 3.74$, $p = 0.004$). Post-hoc analyses indicated the interaction was driven by group differences in preparation for bias and cultural pride socialization. Americans reported receiving significantly more preparation for bias socialization than the foreign-born Nigerians ($t(100) = 2.89$, $p = 0.018$), and marginally less cultural pride socialization than the American-born Nigerians ($t(100) = -1.52$, $p = 0.087$). As one might expect, Americans are socialized with more preparation for bias than foreign-born Nigerians. The context of stigma for these two groups would be the starkest. The parents of foreign-born Nigerians would not have had reason to deliver socialization messages preparing them for the specific race-based bias they may face in a foreign nation. In contrast the trend in cultural pride is less clear cut. This result may indicate the greater importance that foreign-born parents place on holding onto the culture of origin for their American-born children. The parents of second-generation Nigerians have experienced two cultures and increased cultural socialization may be a means of emphasizing family heritage. (See Tables 31 through 34 for all of the socialization means group by ethnicity, age group and gender.)

Hypothesis 9: Nigerian American students will report higher levels of academic embedded ethnic identity scores than African American students. (See Tables 35 and 36.)

Group differences in embedded ethnic identity were examined with a factorial ANOVA. Ethnic background, but not age group or gender, significantly predicted participants' reports of embedded ethnic identity (respectively, $F(1, 143) = 15.40$, $p < 0.001$; $F(1, 143) = 2.44$, $p = 0.121$ and $F(1, 143) = 0.30$, $p = 0.583$). Americans indicated that achievement was important to their

concept of the ethnic group significantly less than did Nigerians (respectively, $M = 3.59$, $SD = 0.96$ and $M = 4.17$, $SD = 0.85$).

Localized Differences. The localized analyses indicated that the difference in embedded ethnic identity did not vary by the generation status of Nigerian students. Ethnicity significantly predicted embedded ethnic identity ($F(2, 135) = 5.75$, $p = 0.004$) in an identical manner as ethnic background. American participants, significantly, reported having less of a sense of achievement being important to the ethnic group than either the first or second generation Nigerians, ($t(102) = -3.31$, $p = 0.21$ and $t(102) = -2.60$, $p = 0.012$).

Hypothesis 10: Although Nigerian American and African American students will report similar amounts of discrimination, Nigerian American students will report lower stigma consciousness scores than African American students.

Separate mixed ANOVAs were used to examine group differences in reports of perceived discrimination and stigma consciousness. The within-subjects factors modeled in each ANOVA were discrimination, which was comprised of perceived discrimination from adults and kids, and stigma consciousness, which was comprised of both the White and Black stigma consciousness measures. (See Tables 37 and 38 for group means.)

No significant ethnic group differences in reports of discrimination were found, $F(1, 140) = 0.03$, $p = 0.067$. The same analyses as above were repeated to explore specific ethnic differences. No significant gender group differences in reports of discrimination were found. There were no differences in reports of discrimination between young men and young women $F(1, 132) = 0.02$, $p = 0.872$).

A main effect of stigma was found ($F(1, 135) = 4.50$, $p = 0.036$). Participants indicated being more concerned about being negatively stigmatized in the presence of outgroup member Blacks than among Whites. Apprehension of stigmatization is greater within Black communities

(an intragroup context) than in a Black-White, intergroup context. This finding is unexpected given that the communities of foreign-born Blacks are small and dispersed across large urban communities (Massey, 2007; Capps *et al. 2012*). These two factors would suggest that Blacks with recent foreign origins may be a salient population in the minds of Americans.

Hypothesis 11: Group differences in stigma consciousness, ethnic socialization, and embedded academic ethnic identity will significantly mediate group differences in GPA.

To determine whether a set of identity-socialization variables explained a bivalent relationship between ethnic background and academic achievement, two sets of mediation regressions were conducted. The first set modeled the hypothesis as proposed and examined moderated mediation. The second set modeled the hypothesis without the mediation terms. Results from the simple, multiple mediator models modify interpretation of those derived from the moderated mediation results. (See Figures 8 through 11.)

Two versions of several of the research variable were measured. Ethnic group was measured as ethnic background and ethnicity. Stigma consciousness was assessed with respect to a White outgroup and a Black outgroup. Academic achievement was measured as Grades and GPA. Finally, identification with the ethnic group was assessed using the MEIM and as embedded ethnic identity. The analyzed models included one version of each of these measures. These constraints required eight versions of the identity-socialization model to be analyzed. Of these models, three were significant. Each of the significant models predicted Grades from ethnic background. For clarity only one of the models will be fully illustrated. Departures in these results by the remaining models will be discussed at the end of the following section.

The identity-socialization model of Grades. An intervening relationship between ethnic background and Grades was analyzed, in which Black stigma consciousness, preparation for bias, cultural pride socialization, Black mistrust and embedded ethnic identity were

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mediators. Additionally, public regard and centrality were modeled as moderating Black stigma consciousness, and private regard and centrality were modeled as moderating embedded ethnic identity.

Significant moderated mediation was found for this model. As can be seen in Table 39, most of the predictor variables were significantly related to ethnic background. In the full model, only two of the interaction terms, Black stigma consciousness crossed by public regard (SCBxPU) and embedded ethnic identity moderated by private regard (EEIxPI), remain significant. (See Table 40.) These two terms significantly reduced the relationship between ethnic background and grades. Where the total effect was significant, the direct effect fell to marginal significance when SCBxPU and EEIxPI were included in the model. Finally, the 95% bias-corrected bootstrap confidence interval also indicated that these two interaction terms were significant. (See Tables 41 and 42.)

These findings indicate that a small part of the relationship between ethnic background and grades is explained by SCBxPU and EEIxPI. Of the first, students who believe that outgroup members hold positive views of their ethnic background earn lower grades than their peers when they are very concerned about being stereotyped by outgroup member Blacks (B =-0.09, $SE = 0.03$, $p = 0.0114$). Of the second finding, students who have a greater sense of achievement as being important to the ethnic group earn higher grades than their peers ($B = 0.13$, $SE = 0.05$, $p = 0.0091$). These findings, which provide support for a bivalent relationship between ethnic identity and academic achievement, will be more fully addressed in the discussion section.

The two remaining significant models are broadly similar to the model just described. In both of these models, the stigma consciousness by public regard and identity by private regard terms were significant mediators .The second significant moderated mediation model differed

from the above in that it included stigma consciousness with respect to a White outgroup. Students who believe that Whites hold positive views of their ethnic background earn lower grades than their peers when they are very concerned about being negatively stereotyped. Partial mediation occurred for this model but was slight. For this model, the direct effect of ethnic background remained significant although the magnitude was reduced. Similarly, the third moderated mediation model differed from the first in that it included ethnic identity (i.e. MEIM, as opposed to embedded ethnic identity). The key difference for this model was that students to who viewed their group positively earned higher grades than peers when they also indicated having an affective attachment to the ethnic group, whose meaning they explored (MEIM).

Correlation analyses conducted prior to the regressions indicated that the identity measures (ethnic identity and embedded ethnic identity) were related to academic achievement. A second set of mediation models that excluded the moderation terms were conducted, to explore whether the identity measures' failure to predict the outcome was due to a lack of unique variance. This second set contained eight structurally similar regressions as described above, however these excluded the interaction terms. Results from these analyses are presented in the following section.

The identity-socialization model of GPA without moderators. As established by the correlation analyses, Stigma Consciousness (with respect to either a White or Black ethnic group) failed to predict GPA, and so failed to mediate the relationship between ethnic background and GPA. Ethnic background predicted cultural pride and bias preparation socializations, but both types of socialization failed to predict GPA. Embedded ethnic identity emerged as the only intermediate predictor of the relationship between ethnic background and GPA. (See Tables 43 and 44).

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The identity-socialization model of grades. (See Tables 45 and 46.) Embedded ethnic identity emerged as the sole intermediate predictor for the model of grades, but the relationship between ethnic identity and embedded identity was only marginally significant. The relationship between participant's ethnic background and grades was not significantly explained by the proposed set of identity socialization variables. The effect of ethnic group was reduced in the full model. Both the total effect ($\beta = 0.61$, $SE = 0.21$, $p = 0.039$) and the direct effect of ethnic group ($\beta = 0.51$, $SE = 0.23$, $p = 0.031$). Partial mediation did not occur, because each proposed mediator failed to predict GPA.

Results from hypotheses 8 – 11 provide a conditioned answer to research question 2. Broadly, the interaction of stigma consciousness with public regard and that of ethnic identity with private regard explained part of the group difference in academic achievement between Nigerians and Americans. Particular knowledge about how students orient themselves with respect to their ethnic background may allow for the modeling of a positive and negative relationship between ethnic identity, broadly, and academic achievement.

This view, however, is complicated by the differential relation of the identity variables between the Nigerians and Americans within this sample. The Sellers components—i.e., centrality, public regard, and private regard—differentially predicted the achievement measures, GPA and Grades, for Nigerians and Americans. GPA was better predicted for Nigerians whereas Grades were better predicted for Americans. (See Tables 47, 48, and 49.) As the patterns of association were not orderly or readily explained by ethnic background, the associations were re-analyzed by ethnicity. Once the generation of Nigerians was taken into account, one thing did become clear. Ethnic identity factors were not associated with the achievement variables for second generation Nigerians. This suggests that the mediation analyses results relied on pooled variance, which limits interpretation of the results as will be addressed in the discussion section.

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Qualitative Results

Sampling and Data Collection

Midway through data collection, interview solicitation began. Participants who had completed the survey were contacted to participate in a follow-up interview developed to explore the factors examined by the survey measures. Twenty percent of participants who fell into one of three achievement ranges — high, average, or low achievement — relative to the observed sample were invited to participate in the interview. Two women and one man agreed to participate and completed interviews. Each fell into the upper third of the distribution on the achievement measures, so these interviewees were high achievers relative to the sample.

Each interviewee had initially been recruited directly by the interviewer from a church with an ethnic congregation. The interview was designed to take a conversational style by employing a semi-structured interview. This strategy was intended to bolster participants' ease and enable them to voice their experiences as naturally as possible. Due to the location and availability of some participants, only one of the three interviews was conducted in-person. The remaining two were conducted as phone interviews. All interviews were conducted in the afternoon at a time coordinated between the interviewer and the participants. At the end of each interview, participants were thanked and received a gift card.

Consequent to the limited response, the interviews of the participants presented below are not representative of the survey sample. However, they do illustrate how some youth within the sample think about group belonging and interactions among both ethnic ingroup and outgroup members.

Measures

In contrast to grounded theory, a set of interview questions was developed by the interviewer prior to conducting the study. Questions were developed to explore four themes that

were complementary to the factors examined in the survey (see Appendix A and B for the themes and full set of questions). These themes were ethnic identification, ethnic socialization, academic socialization, and group attitudes. Each set of questions was designed to get a richer sense of these factors in the lived experiences of students. In particular, the young men and women were prompted to discuss how ethnicity – group membership and intergroup perceptions – and achievement orientation may have been blended in their socialization and school engagement. To go beyond the quantitative model, the questions were designed to have participants give a sense of how these dual factors operated in their own academic careers.

Semi-structured interviews allowed for guided dialogues that did not constrain the natural flow of the conversations. As will be seen, the interviewees varied in how much they chose to disclose in the study, and in keeping with their varied experiences, they illustrated different aspects of the thematic objects of study.

Three focal themes emerged across the interviews. The most salient ways in which ethnicity as group attitudes or socialization played roles in their school experience came across in how they prepared for college, how they ethnically identified, and their experiences of discrimination. For that reason, the qualitative data are organized to present these three elements from the interviews. Following a brief biographical sketch, the text of the interviews addressing *preparation for college, ethnic identification,* and *group attitudes and discrimination* will be presented and analyzed in the context of the larger study.

Marie

Marie was a second-generation, Nigerian female college student. Many members of Marie's family were employed in health sciences related fields, including her mother who was a nurse. The oldest of three, she was the first child from her family to attend college. She was a

student athlete, who had high enough marks to enter college competitively on that merit, but whose choice of undergraduate institution was determined by an athletic scholarship.

Marie was in her second year of undergraduate study at a state university with plans to transfer to a small, specialized university. She intended to become a nurse at the end of her schooling like her mother. Marie had completed the survey three months prior to the interview.

Preparation for College. One goal of the study was to determine whether differences in achievement may result from differences in the goals (i.e., college or career after high school) or goal preparation that Black youth receive. Where parent behaviors or expectations may inform student's goals, the schools that youth attend contribute to the quality of preparation they receive to achieve these goals. On average, factors such as differences in school funding, whether they are private or public schools, or, whether they are residential or specialized schools that emphasize a particular academic faculty (e.g., magnets) are directly related to the achievement of students from these schools. Further, the extent to which students utilize available resources within their schools affects their achievement. The interplay among these factors, parent support, school support, and students' own involvement are likely to have contributed to their decisions to attend college.

Marie stated that she attended an all-female, religious school that had a preparatory curriculum and indicated that she benefited both from institutional and family support. Academic guidance is a strong predictor of students' academic trajectories. Typically, parents and school faculty are the sources of such support, and Marie received guidance from both. Her parents had communicated their expectations for her academic career from early childhood and supported college expectations for their child by enrolling her in as many enrichment programs as they could. Additionally, Marie formed a personal relationship with a faculty member that bolstered her college-orientation.

Interviewer: Are there any people in your life that have helped you or shaped your career goals?

Marie: Yes. My parents, pretty obvious.

Interviewer: Really, how so?

Marie: Just pushing me to be the best I could be. At first, I didn't really understand, because I felt they were pressuring me. I don't know maybe it [is part of the] culture being Nigerian, parents always want their children to be nurses and doctors and lawyers.

I've always wanted to be a doctor, but that you know just changed as life went on. I thought you know what, maybe nursing is best for me. But yeah, parents, my parents have a lot to do with everything really.

At the end it's all really what I want to do. At first I thought it was more what they wanted, but I grew to understand that what they wanted for me was what I wanted for myself too. It wasn't just like them.

In addition to career or academic expectations Marie indicated that her parents encouraged her to take college courses during high school, to prepare her for the next stage in her academic career. She completed courses at local community colleges during every summer of high school. In conversation, she indicated that she felt that this had advantaged her by the time she had reached college.

Marie: I was also prepared too, and it had a lot to do with my parents. I was taking college courses during high school, but it wasn't a [program] at my high school. Even though my school [was a preparatory academy]. I did this on my own, aside from the college prep that we did at school. I did college classes like in the summer, winter, because of my parents, and I didn't

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understand why until now. I was in various programs, health careers programs. So I feel ahead of the game when it comes to anything that has to do with health. I have known the circulation of blood and the heart since 9th grade. I've known all of that, stuff like that.

Marie felt confident in the basic knowledge required of her major. Her response indicated that she utilized the resources available to her at school and now appreciated being pushed by her parents to prepare for the next stage of her life. When asked about any other preparation or sources of influence when she was choosing colleges, Marie initially responded that the period was a blur. Specifically, she said that being an athlete made the process more complicated. Marie indicated that she had the scholastic background to attend college on merit, however she was offered an athletic scholarship, which she accepted. She sought the opinion of friends who had also attended this college and entered as student athletes as part of her vetting of the program.

Marie: That process was kind of shaky. I really don't remember, because athletics was thrown in there and when athletics is thrown in there, athletics takes over everything.

After more discussion, Marie eventually also identified a particular teacher as a crucial support, though it was unclear whether and to what degree this teacher was used in guiding Marie through the college application process. Marie indicated a strong affinity toward this teacher, who was a science faculty member, with whom she would discuss multiple aspects of her life, academic, personal and interpersonal.

Ethnic Identity. The multiple ways in which ethnic identity affects the school lives of youth has been studied extensively. This portion of the interview sought to assess the degree to which ethnic group belonging defined these youth and the meaning that they took from such group membership. Marie expressed a clear sense of ethnic belonging that was tied to cultural expectations of success.

Marie: Being Nigerian for me it is more just being Nigerian. I have a lot of footsteps, I mean I have a lot of people following in my footsteps being the oldest child and feel like people are always watching me. Not just my parents, the whole Nigerian community. Being Nigerian to me means being a leader for sure, being aware of what you do in public for sure, because word gets out. Um...I honestly can't even get it out in words. I know! I know. I am always talking about this, but for some reason I can't get it out in words today. I have to be in the zone. I'm in the zone, but I'm still warming up. I like talking about stuff like this.

Interviewer: Well more how did you come to this [sense] of what the values are?

Marie: Being opened up to other cultures, I guess you can say [is] how [I came to understand what it means]. Really in high school, I got this appreciation for it [i.e., being Nigerian] more. When I was growing up, I hated it. Oh I hated it. I wanted to give them what my real first name was, which is American instead of my middle name [which identifies me as foreign]. When I was exposed to other cultures, I was like wow. I'm Nigerian and I'm going to accept it. I love it. That was pretty much how.

In this exchange, Marie has indicated elements addressed by researchers Robert Sellers as well as Jean Phinney. Of the first, Marie stated awareness of how public appraisals are being made about her as a representative of her ethnic group. Of the latter, her seeming inability to

make a clear statement of the root meaning gets at a sense of belonging that is not easy to define or break into component parts. As a whole her response indicates an affective attachment to the group, which appears to have changed across her development or due to contexts. Illustrating this point, she points to her name and how she is addressed by others. Although her given first name is Marie, a common English name, she was more frequently addressed by her family and most others by her Nigerian name, which she found, at least, embarrassing at school. By young adulthood, she has made peace with how she is seen in the world and embraced being a representative of her particular ethnic group.

Group Attitudes & Discrimination. Finally, participants were asked to talk about their experience with or attitudes that have been shaped by engaging individuals who are ingroup and outgroup members of their ethnic group.

Marie indicated having multi-ethnic friends with whom she felt at ease and had true friendships and that she sometimes felt it necessary to distinguish her ethnic background from panethnic ingroup members (e.g., non-Nigerian Black Americans). This is clearly illustrated in her description of a discriminatory incident at school.

Interviewer: Moving on to group attitudes. Have you ever had an experience that has influenced your attitudes toward other ethnic groups like negative or positive?

Marie: It's sad. I don't really like to talk about it but I'll share. That's another reason why when people ask what I am, I just say Nigerian. Of course I'm Black, but I'm Nigerian. I just have…how do I say this. I feel like sometimes. This might sound a little racist. It has to do with Black people. Generally, just the background of African Americans in the U.S. it's not so good.

I've just had experience with people thinking I was just Black that I didn't even come from a culture.

 I was taking a summer class and we [the students] had to pair up, for example. It was at [a local community college]. A majority of the race there is Armenian. I was taking a bio class lab. The very first day of class, the teacher told us that the person sitting next to us was going to be our partner. The person sitting next to me was Armenian, and she looked at me and got up. She went to sit next to another Armenian. So a couple of weeks later, I'm passing all of my labs, A's on everything, A+, 100, 105. Theirs were 78, 70, 80. I guess she saw my paper(s). By the third week, she asked the teacher if she could switch and sit next to me. So she does. [Inaudible]. So I asked her. Wait, you want to sit next to me now. What happened to the first day when you got up and sat next to somebody else? She said, "Well, I don't mean to be racist but" and whenever you say that you're about to make a racist slur. So she said, "Well, I didn't know you were bright, because I've had experiences with other African Americans, and they don't take education seriously." And I said, "I know I'm Black, but you don't know my cultural background, you don't know what I am. I'm Nigerian."

Despite being able to recall a detailed experience of discrimination, Marie was reluctant initially to discuss it as such. In the face of blatant, interpersonal discrimination, Marie felt the need to state that it was wrong to make race-based assumptions and to distinguish her particular ethnic background. On the surface, Marie's response may speak to intragroup tension, in which Nigerians view themselves as better than African Americans, but the view of intragroup attitudes is more complicated. Beyond having many close African-American friends, Marie acknowledged that she is often judged by non-familiar others as a Black American which is synonymous with being an African American. She does not want to be judged as an African-

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American, due to 1) the negative history and stereotypes pinned to African Americans in the U.S., 2) the impression that African Americans "did not belong to a culture," and 3) a deeply held attachment to being Nigerian which she feels is culturally distinct.

Kenny

Kenny was a second generation, Nigerian male college student. He was the second child from his family to attend college. Kenny was in his first year of undergraduate study. He had completed the survey seven months prior to his interview. He had completed one semester of college. He attended a prestigious HBCU located in the Northeastern U.S. Kenny intended to become an engineer at the end of his schooling. At the time of the interview, Kenny had completed the survey eight months prior.

Preparation for College. Kenny utilized institutional support in his preparation for college as well as actively seeking information on which he based his decision of college choice. The second of two children from an immigrant family, Kenny indicated that his mother invoked the *immigrant opportunity* script with regard to expectations for his academic trajectory. Pointedly when asked about the general expectations of being a group member, his response indicated an expectation for achievement.

Interviewer: Did your parents or anyone close to you ever talk about being Nigerian in the U.S.? Like any sort of expectations for you or just ways that they think you should carry yourself?

Kenny: Um, yeh. As far as like, well, shoot! My mom talks about coming from a different country, so we have to walk harder.

Interviewer: How did you go about choosing your college or the colleges that you applied to?

Kenny: Um, word of mouth, some research. That's basically it.

Interviewer: When you say research, research on your own?

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Kenny: Um, first off, I researched the education statistics, and then what they have to offer and everything. Then I researched the actual campus social life [so I looked up] YouTube videos and stuff like that.

Interviewer: When you say word of mouth, whose advice did you [use] or input did you seek?

Kenny: My sister.

Interviewer: Your sister, is she older than you?

Kenny: Yes.

Interviewer: So she's already been through the processes.

Kenny: Yes. She goes to [the same prestigious HBCU].

Like Marie, Kenny indicated a long standing expectation from his parents for him to attend college. In contrast to Marie, Kenny specifically located this expectation as being driven by his status as the child of immigrants. Their sacrifice in uprooting their lives was expected to be repaid in his career success, the foundation of which was academic.

Equally, beyond using resources available to him at his school, Kenny took initiative to research the colleges and specific programs within these colleges to which he was interested in applying. Beyond the schools' reputations he relied on the evaluations of close others to make his decision. His preparation for college demonstrated the use of social and institutional support.

Ethnic Identity. When asked, Kenny indicated that he considers himself to be African American and that he does make intragroup distinctions, but they were not usually of primary importance.

Interviewer: Okay. In terms of ethnic group membership, what do you consider yourself to be?

Kenny: African American.

Interviewer: Okay then [just to clarify] are both of your parents Nigerian?

Kenny: Yes.

Interviewer: But you consider yourself African American?

Kenny: Yes.

Interviewer: What does that mean to you to be [African American]?

Kenny: That I was born in the U.S., and both my parents are African [Nigerian]. So technically, I am African American.

Interviewer: Do you make any distinction between yourself and other African Americans, regardless of whether they have African-born parents? Or is it all the same to you?

Kenny: I make distinctions, but it's not like one's better than the other.

Interviewer: Well, is being Nigerian American at all important to you?

Kenny: Yes.

Interviewer: How so?

Kenny: It's my culture. I feel like, if I don't embrace that, then I'm losing part of me.

Interviewer: Okay. What traits, traits or values, do you think define that cultural identity?

Kenny: Um – Determination, tenacity, … I guess that's it.

Group Attitudes & Discrimination. Kenny was less interested in discussing his experiences of discrimination. His responses to the portion of the interview were brief. In response to questions about intergroup attitudes, he underscored the fact that he has multiracial friends and that he doesn't judge people based on their ethnic group belonging. He talked around incidents of interpersonal discrimination when he was "growing up," eventually stating that "African Americans felt that they were better than Nigerians growing up." The event could

speak to intragroup distinctions and tensions among diverse Black youth but not enough detail was provided in the given examples. He conveyed that intragroup hostility existed to some degree during his youth, which appeared to inform the considered and balanced way with which he discussed his attitudes toward race.

As a member of the second generation, Kenny has come to define himself utilizing the ethnonym with the most ethnic ambiguity. In all senses of the term, he is an African American, but this ethnonym obscures his specific ethnic heritage. Despite the use of this ethnonym, Kenny consistently indicated that his specific heritage was important to him in motivating his approach to school and to his sense of self.

Due to the motivational and definitional importance that Kenny did place on being Nigerian American, his first response choice becomes significant when emphasizing that he doesn't think that any one cultural background is better than another. The interview was designed to elicit participants' true feelings, so no questions were worded with comparatives (better or worse). As shall be discussed, despite this, the interpretation of making distinctions as implying a comparative evaluation was a recurrent theme within the several of the survey settings. Presenting oneself to the world as African American may be the simplest choice when 1) others don't distinguish among Black Americans or 2) when an evaluative dimension is assumed to motivate ethnic distinctions. Either motivation would diminish the extent to which youth would fully represent themselves as culturally distinct.

Jennifer

Jennifer was an American-born female college student whose parents were also American-born. She was the third oldest child and the third from her family to attend college. Her mother was African American and had completed college. Her Mexican American father

had not completed college. At the time of the interview, Jennifer was in her final year of undergraduate study. She had completed the survey 11 months prior to her interview. She had completed four years of college at an HBCU located in the Southeastern U.S. and had just matriculated to a state school in the Southwestern U.S. to complete her undergraduate degree. As will be discussed her biracial heritage did not preclude Jennifer from identifying as a Black woman. Jennifer's life experiences, her choice of college, self-presentation, and participation in this study underscore this self-perception.

Preparation for College. Jennifer indicated that at the point of her transition from high school to college, she felt adequately prepared and confident in choosing the colleges to which she would apply. Her preparation was supported by both institutional preparation and parenting. Jennifer indicated that she attended a college preparatory high school that required her to take college courses during her high school career. She communicated that from her maternal family she felt her college attendance was always assumed.

Interviewer: How did you go about choosing the colleges that you applied to?
Jennifer: [In high school] we had academic counselors, and we had a college center that we could go into to apply for colleges and look up colleges. Stuff like that. [I chose colleges based on] pretty much location. I applied to all California colleges, and I went to a Black college expo. I applied to an HBCU.

In addition to utilizing the resources at her high school, Jennifer also indicated that her mother influenced her decision to attend college. She affirmed that it was always important to

her mother for her to graduate from high school and college. Her two elder sisters had taken the same path also guided by their mother.

Interviewer: How did your mother play a role?

Jennifer: She was just basically college educated as well. She taught me how to apply for colleges and things like that.

Jennifer's school orientation appears to have been strongly influenced by the parent and institutional support that she received. In further discussion, she stated that she chose colleges based on her initial major, business, but did not give clear details as to how she evaluated those programs. Although she also researched colleges that she applied to, the extent to which she gathered evaluations from close others or the degree to which she evaluated the programs is less clear.

Ethnic Identity. Being bi-racial, Jennifer indicated a complex ethnic identity in which heritage and socialization appeared to operate independently in her self-conception. Her parents divorced in her childhood, and she was raised primarily by her African American mother although she spent time with both sides of her family. Many of her behaviors, including attending an HBCU and volunteering for this study, indicated that she identified as a young Black woman. When asked about her ethnic group belonging, her responses were nuanced.

Interviewer: In terms of ethnic group membership, what do you consider yourself to be?

Jennifer: African American and Mexican.

Interviewer: What does it mean for you to be part of those groups?

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Jennifer: The reason why – I mostly embrace with the African American side more, because my parents were divorced and my mother is African American. [I mostly lived with her.] I identify with my Hispanic side, but not as much.

Although she identifies as multiracial, when asked what it means to belong, she narrowed the scope of her response to *being* African American. Direct inquiry prompted a response from Jennifer that acknowledged her multiethnic heritage. Further inquiry suggested that she had only developed a sense of cultural belonging among African Americans. This interpretation is supported by her choice of college, the friends to whom she said she was close, and the prominent role her mother had played in directing her college-bound career during her development.   Interestingly, rather than describing innate aspects of African American culture in response to the questions concerning group membership, her response was rooted in comparison. Belonging to the ethnic group was rooted in behaviors, appearances, and socialization in contrast to other ethnic groups.

Interviewer: Okay. So what sort of traits or characteristics or values do you think define being African American?

Jennifer: Oh my goodness. I would say just household – the diction that you use, how you look. I would say how you act sometimes can identify you to be African American. Mostly how you grow up. There are a lot of differences in how other cultures grow up. I think compared to Hispanics or Asians or Caucasian people, African Americans tend to grow up differently.

Interviewer: How did you come to this perception of being [African American?].

Jennifer: Okay. I would have to say just being multiracial helps you decipher the two. You know being from two different [cultures]…identifying or going to something [like a family event] that

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is my Hispanic side or going to something that was my African American side was just

completely different. Observing that and the school I go to.

More so than any other participant, Jennifer's response speaks to a blended sense of what

it means to be a Black woman. Jennifer acknowledges her biracial identity and asserts that this

status does not preclude her from being a Black woman. Though for research, it would be

analytically cleaner if she felt more *Black* than *Latina*, for many that is an unrealistic sense of

ethnic identification. Despite the cultural acceptance of the *one drop rule*[4] many presumed

Black Americans and African Americans are in fact bi- or multi-racial. What is striking is the

sense of belonging to the Black group, that is strongly affective and often comes to the fore with

regard to those with whom these individuals choose to associate and how they choose to present

themselves to the world. Jennifer chose to attend a historically Black college and remarked that

most of her close friends are Black, both immigrants and Americans. Jennifer's imprecise

definition of what it means to be African American is rooted in a blended sense of belonging that

stems from how she was raised, the examples set by her maternal family, her witness to their

treatment by others, and a strong affective attachment to African Americans.

Group Attitudes & Discrimination. Jennifer could not recall a time being discriminated

against because she was Black. Jennifer appears phenotypically ambiguous, not particularly

African American, Mestiza, nor any combination of the two. Given the *one drop rule* applied by

many in American society, Jennifer is within the range of phenotypes displayed by African

Americans. Notably, Jennifer did recall a time of being discriminated against because she was

not perceived as a Black American. This speaks to the less discussed aspect of intragroup

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[4] The one drop rule is the cultural meme that purports that any direct genetic relationship to a person of African
descent makes the person in question a Black American.

perception among Black Americans. Although Jennifer indicated that most of her close friends are Black Americans, in many other social settings her group membership was frequently questioned.

Jennifer: Um. Some people don't understand it when they first see me. They don't identify me with being African American, because I am lighter. I don't have a dark shade of skin. My first year, or my first two years of school, I went to an HBCU and I had a lot of backlash from African American people about me being Hispanic and saying I'm African American – being mixed. Kind of like, what are you doing here kind of stuff.

Finally, Jennifer indicated some awareness of inter and intra-group anti-Black discrimination. She stated that her mother didn't really discuss the day-to-day impact of discrimination. When discrimination did come up, it was in reference to historical discrimination. Jennifer's awareness and group attitudes appear to have developed from her own experiences and discussions among her close friends.

Interviewer: What has influenced your thoughts about discrimination? What or who?

Jennifer: Going…probably going to the school I went to – coming to LA. I didn't used to live in L.A. My mom, she didn't really talk about discrimination. She talked about civil rights and stuff about how it used to be. But we never really used discrimination in our household. So I would say outside influences, like school and friends. Things like that.

Interviewer: Have you ever discussed African immigrants' perceptions of African Americans?

Jennifer: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay. What do you feel that the general sentiment of African immigrants is towards African Americans, generally?

Jennifer: Generally, they think that they're lazy [i.e., African Americans], and that they don't take advantage of what they're given. They're ungrateful …

Interviewer: Is this based off your discussion with your friend or just broadly?

Jennifer: From discussions with my friend about like… Well she has friends. Of course she has family and friends that are Nigerian. She doesn't necessarily feel that way, but she has said that her cousins or aunts or some of her other friends feel that way.

These three case studies indicate how ethnic definition and intergroup interactions jointly influence how Black Americans view themselves. Although not representative of the study sample, several themes within the interviews bring to the fore issues that appeared within the survey data.

Each interviewee pointed to their parents as motivators for their college attendance and doing well enough to have the option to attend college. However, the role of parental academic support varied. Whereas each participant indicated that parental expectation was a motivator, the examples given of specific supportive behaviors varied. These processes may be at play in the larger sample as well. Each set of parents sent their children to schools with available college preparatory resources, but some parents actively pushed their children to participate in extracurricular enrichment programs. Equally, it appears that the degree to which students actively sought out opportunities to bolster their college preparation varied. It may be the case that while parent expectation is a strong predictor of academic achievement in late adolescence

and young adulthood, internal motivation or agency and the structure of parental involvement are better, specific predictors of the school achievement.

Akin to Daphna Oyserman's notion of "embedded ethnic identity," a sense of achievement striving based in ethnic group belonging emerged across participants. In her interview, Marie discussed achievement as being an ethnic group member in good standing. In response to negative stereotyping and out of affective attachment, ethnic ingroup members must present the group in the best possible light, and "doing well" is part of being Nigerian. Similarly, Kenny presented achievement as an expectation to be fulfilled as repayment for opportunity costs forgone by his immigrant parents. The expectation for achievement and his sense of belonging to the ethnic group are rooted in being Nigerian. Finally, Jennifer's sense of achievement has been shaped and is clearly rooted in the example set by her mother and sister all of whom are African American. Participants' sense of embeddedness may vary in ways that parallel these interview responses with who has shaped their sense of ethnic group belonging. Marie mentioned her parents and the ethnic group, presumably unrelated others, whereas Kenny and Jennifer's responses focused on their familial exemplars.

Finally the discussion of group attitudes and discrimination were multifaceted. Intragroup tension or hostility were raised by Kenny and Jennifer as immigrant vs. nonimmigrant Blacks and as a matter of perceptual salience based on physical appearance (i.e., atypical phenotype). Each spoke to different aspects of the salience of discrimination. The tone of Kenny's interview suggests that, while aware of and perhaps the target of intragroup conflict, many young Black Americans may be less willing to discuss it. If this is a common response, then survey measures would be less likely to capture or be related to many outcome variables. There appears among these interviewees a tendency to discount race or discrimination as factors affecting their achievement. Both Marie and Kenny stated that no matter how people judged

them, they had to perform to their own and their community's high expectations. In a different way, Jennifer was the target of intragroup hostility, because her ethnic group membership was less salient (due to physical appearance). Salient group members may be unwilling to incorporate discrimination in their achievement schema, whereas phenotypically ambiguous members may escape the Black underachievement script only to be confronted by other group members about their standing.

Taken together the case studies partially support the findings of the survey and inform gaps that are not fully accounted for in the quantitative model.

Discussion

The goals of this dissertation were multifold. The first goal was to document intragroup ethnic variation among Black Americans and to conduct research that could provide information about the adjustment of a recent, Black immigrant population beyond demographic variations. The second goal of the study was to place the adjustment of this immigrant group, Nigerians, in the context relevant to the development of Black American youth. The third goal was to address the ambiguous relationship that ethnic identity has with academic achievement for Black Americans by specifying the nature of the relationship and using fusion variables. The fourth goal, strongly tied to the second and third, was to explain an ethnic group difference in achievement through common, intervening variables.

Although there was partial support for both the general and identity-socialization models when they were analyzed separately, the results of the study did not support the research hypotheses as originally formulated. Particularly, despite group differences being found among many of the research variables in expected ways (e.g., higher preparation for bias among Americans and greater cultural pride among Nigerians), they were largely unrelated to academic

achievement in the study sample. Nevertheless, both the general and identity-socialization models did predict some amount of variation in academic achievement.

Research Question 1: Do African American and Nigerian American students differ in academic achievement, and how much of this difference is attributable to variations in family socioeconomic background, parent expectations and academic values, peer support, and the students' own academic attitudes?

General model of achievement. Common factors that indicate the kinds of support family and peers provide were proposed as mediators for students' self-reported achievement outcomes. Achievement behaviors shared with peers, parent expectations, and students' own expectations were predicted to mediate group differences in achievement beyond the differences accounted for by socioeconomic status (SES), but they did not. Previous research has indicated that friendship among Black students is determined less by academic similarity in contrast to those of Latino and White adolescents (Hamm, 2000, 2005; Graham, Taylor, & Hudley, 1998; Hudley & Graham, 2001). The extent to which Black youth engage in supportive academic behaviors with their friends could have affected the validity of the peer measure. Low frequency of this behavior may have undermined the predictive power of the peer motivation measure included in this study. This perspective is bolstered by elements of the case studies. In these, parents but not friends were implicated as primary sources of academic socialization. Although each interviewee mentioned over the course of the interview that he or she associated with high-achieving peers, the nature of academic support provided by peers was never made explicit. A measure that examines the basis of existing relationships may best tap how Black Americans' peers motivate them to strive academically (see Ryan, 2003).

The sole indicator of family SES in this study – student reports of parent education attainment – was the lone, consistent predictor in the general model of achievement. Students'

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reports of their parents' educational attainment mediated both measures of academic achievement (i.e. Grades and GPA). Higher academic achievement reported by Nigerians was explained by the greater academic attainment reported for Nigerian than American parents. In keeping with previous research, this result suggests that beyond students' own motivation, their parents' experience with the education system appears to anchor students' academic socialization.

This effect of parental education on academic achievement has been found for African Americans at an earlier developmental stage (middle childhood and early adolescence, Davis-Kean, 2005). The result is consistent with previous literature which has demonstrated that by late adolescence and young adulthood, parents' role in students' education is less hands-on than at other developmental periods (Pomerantz *et al.,* 2005). By this stage of students' lives, parental guidance, expectations and aspirations for their children's academic career likely have been transmitted to the point that it has been internalized by the children.

The generalizability of this finding is tempered by the correlation of parent attainment with parent ethnic background. Data from the past three censuses have indicated that Nigerians are one of the most highly educated ethnic groups in the U.S. (McCabe, 2011; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). A similar pattern was evident within the study sample. Nigerian students' reports of higher achievement than American peers may have been driven by differences in parent education attainment. Parents' experience within an education system is to a certain extent an index of their ability to provide supportive academic socialization. It is possible that the higher reports of education attainment for Nigerians are due to immigrant selection effects. If the majority of Nigerians enter the country through either the diversity lottery[5] or with an

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[5] As mentioned in the beginning of this dissertation. Both the previous work and education requirements needed to obtain a visa from the diversity lottery are greater than entry requirements for other types of visas. See Capps *et al* (2012) for a full discussion of entry requirements among African immigrants.

education visa as has been indicated by recent demographic research (Capps *et al.*, 2012; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), then on average Nigerians immigrants are likely to be more highly educated than Americans. Differences in academic socialization may then be specifically attributed to this aspect of human capital. Whether the *immigrant advantage* conferred to youth in immigrant families may be reduced to experience with higher education requires further investigation.

Research Question 2. What roles are played by stigma consciousness, ethnic socialization, and ethnic identity in the differences in GPA between Nigerian American and African American students?

The Identity-Socialization Model of Academic Achievement.

Results from the identity socialization model were mixed. Although the model explained little of the variance in academic achievement, significant mediation was found in the identity-socialization model.

When moderator terms were included in the mediation model, partial support was found for the heart of this dissertation. Ethnic background became a less significant predictor of grades. More importantly, the reduction in this relationship was achieved by simultaneously modeling the negative and positive relationship pathways connecting ethnic background with academic achievement. Specifically, stigma consciousness modified a negative relationship between ethnic background and achievement, whereas embedded ethnic identity modified a positive relationship between the two. Strong claims cannot be made for the statistical model, because of the small ratio of indirect effects. However the pattern of results does provide support for the conceptual model of a bivalent relationship existing between components of identity that reflect intergroup attitudes and academic achievement.

The conceptual support stems from the performance of the fusion variables. Despite being unrelated as a direct predictor, stigma consciousness moderated the relationship between

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private regard and ethnic background in a way that is consistent with previous research. Brown and Pinel (2007) found that stigma consciousness amplified stereotype threat effects. Although proposed as a predictor in this study, stigma consciousness is likely a mediator in this relationship as well. Whereas stigma consciousness was unrelated to other research measures, the Sellers' identity components correlated with the achievement outcomes and ethnic backgrounds. Similarly, an interaction with embedded ethnic identity – the other fusion variable – but not the measure of identity that tapped exploration and affective attachment (i.e., the MEIM), was found to be a significant mediator. In contrast to stigma consciousness, because embedded ethnic identity was a significant predictor for Nigerian but not American achievement, it is unclear whether this result is purely an artifact of shared variance.

The second set of mediation models excluding moderation were conducted to explore whether lack of unique variance affected results of the moderated mediation analyses. Embedded ethnic identity emerged as the sole significant mediator. As discussed at the end of the results section, it is unclear how true this is for African Americans youth.

Despite the fact that Oyserman and her colleagues validated the embedded ethnic identity measure on African American populations (Altschul, Oyserman, & Bybee, 2006; Oyserman *et al.*, 2006; Oyserman *et al.,* 1995; Oyserman *et al,*, 2001; Oyserman *et al.,* 2007), this measure did not relate to the achievement outcomes for the African American sample in this study. One salient difference between the validating sample and the study sample exists. The samples frequently used in research conducted by Oyserman are working-class, urban African American youth who are at times described as at-risk. Although the sample for the current study was drawn from diverse urban settings (e.g., the Southwest, the Southeast, and Midwest of the United States), none of the sample could be described as at-risk.

Previous research has demonstrated strong links between academic achievement and the various socioeconomic factors (e.g., community and familial, Henderson and Mapp, 2002). It is possible that the relationship between embedded ethnic identity and academic achievement is nonlinear and affected by the resources, both social and economic, that are available to Black youth. Embedded ethnic identity may be a stronger predictor for "at-risk" African American youth than those who have access to greater socioeconomic support. The nonlinear relationship predicated on support could also account for why embedded ethnic identity was significantly correlated for the Nigerians but not the Americans in this sample. It is plausible that being a member of an immigrant family heightens messages of achievement in a manner similar to that described in the interviews.

The extent to which ethnic identification factors — meaning, affect, belonging, outgroup evaluations, etc. — and ethnic socialization were related to academic achievement varied by ethnic group. This study employed multiple indices of ethnic identification to isolate the different aspects of this identity that might be important in an academic context. If the relative underperformance of African Americans is a result of systemic, institutional discrimination and devaluing of effort as has been proposed by stigma researchers (e.g., Steele, 1997), then individual orientation towards the ethnic group could be expected to affect the relationship between ethnic identification and achievement (Wong, Eccles, & Samerhoff, 2003).

The distinct modeling of the negative and positive associations of these variables was proposed to explore this dual relationship. Limited support was found for the negative association between identity and achievement. Further, although some predicted differences in ethnic socialization were found, no socialization factors mediated the relationship between ethnic identity and achievement. Ethnic identity measures were the best predictors within this model.

Of the three student ethnic groups, one might expect that second-generation Nigerians undergo the most identity negotiation. Ethnic identification and identity processes may be more complicated for U.S. born Nigerian-Americans. For African Americans ethnic identity is clearly rooted in the U.S. with some regional differences. For foreign-born Nigerians, ethnic identity is rooted in Nigeria. It is likely that second generation Nigerian must reconcile parent socialization derived from a foreign nation with which they may have little experience and being perceived and reacted to as if they were African Americans (Waters, 2001). It is telling that different aspects of ethnic identity were associated with the achievement measures for both foreign-born Nigerian and American participants. Both point to a sense of achievement as being part of the group, but the differential relationship patterns among the ethnic groups makes a parsimonious explanation difficult.

Though these results may point to differences in the measures' suitability for the three populations, they may also reflect different functions for the two academic outcomes. Although the source of the group variation is unclear, differences in the pattern of relation between the academic outcome measures and components of ethnic identity existed. (See Tables 47 through 49.) This pattern suggests that GPA, a more specific and recent indicator of achievement (e.g., "What was your GPA last term?") and Grades, a less strict overall assessment of achievement (e.g., "What grades do you usually make?"), may be interpreted differently across the three cultural contexts. Grades may be viewed as a global self-assessment that indicates what kind of student one is generally, such that one discounts atypical, poorer grades. This sort of discounting speaks to the moderate, positive correlation between Grades and GPA. The extent to which different Black youth my need to buffer relatively negative academic comparisons to peers (e.g., the academic achievement of Blacks compared to Whites or East Asians) may indicate how and possibly when the discounting of "atypical" or "lower frequency" poor grades occurs. A

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buffering process like this could account for ethnic variations in the validity of the two self-report measures of academic achievement.

Socialization Context of Racism. Finally, the role of stigmatization in the academic trajectory of Black youth was a pronounced element within the case studies and provided context for the associations of these variables within the survey responses. The failure of perceived discrimination and stigmatization to be associated with academic achievement, despite being associated with each other was surprising. The current study proposed that perceived discrimination and stigma consciousness measured related but distinct phenomena. Perceived discrimination reflects students' experiences of negative treatment due to their ethnic group membership, whereas stigma consciousness indicates participants' trait level responsiveness to the potential of being stigmatized based on group belonging (Pinel 1999; 2001). Despite the low frequency of reports of discrimination, greater reports of perceived discrimination have been associated with lower academic achievement (Wong *et al.,* 2003).

Discrimination is difficult to measure, because one must know the intent and the evaluation of the target by the perpetrator to identify an action as discriminatory. Perceived discrimination is an accepted factor, because it is the feeling of being discriminated against that carries psychological weight and affects the targets' thoughts and behaviors. Perceived discrimination requires the respondent to self-disclose being a target. The extent to which participants are reluctant or unwilling to self-disclose being the target of discrimination limits the utility of this measure. Within this study, each interview participant was reluctant to disclose their experiences of discrimination, despite being able to present defined instances in which they were targets.

Given that young Black Americans were the subject of study, the social context in which these youth have developed their sense of appropriate *race* talk is worth considering. Within,

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hours of the election of the first minority president, pundits had declared a "post-racial America."

Phrases like the "race card" are still frequently used in discussions of racial discrimination. The

population increase of non-White minority Americans may belie an increased unwillingness to

discuss or consider the likelihood of being the target of race-based discrimination (c.f. Womack,

2010). Previous research has noted varied consequences to raising the issue of discrimination

when one is a target (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2007). The current generation may be less willing to

self-disclose being the target of discrimination, because of a greater social press to discount race-

based discrimination. This does not mean that stigmatization does not have a deleterious effect

on achievement, but does mean that it is less likely to be used as an explanatory factor by targets.

This possibility is particularly troublesome as previous research has indicated that

acknowledging discrimination and understanding the process could alleviate its negative effects

on academic performance (Aronson, Fried, & Good, 2002; Johns, Schmader, & Martens, 2005).

Limitations

Interpretation of results from this study is limited by several aspects of its design. All of

the survey measures were self-report. A stronger case could be made about the predictive power

of parent education in academic socialization by obtaining objective measures of academic

achievement (e.g., school-reported grades) and parent reports of their own attainment. The

difficulty in obtaining the objective or self-report of parent attainment from the parents of college

students may be outweighed by the accuracy gained by these objective measures. Despite being

self-reported, Grades and GPA appeared to function appropriately as indicators of the grades

actually earned. Additionally, they appeared to function differentially in their relations to the

identity-socialization variables and for each ethnic group. Students' understanding of these self-

reported measures (Grades vs. GPA) may be ascertained by comparing the relationship between

these self-reports and school-documented academic achievement with the research variables. It

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may be useful to understand the source and magnitude of differences in the actual academic performance of students and their self-perceptions of their own performance.

As a non-random sampling technique, purposive sampling was appropriate to the study but limits the implications drawn. Particularly, previous research has suggested that youth who attend church may also earn higher grades. Youth who regularly attend church may come from families who are more connected to their community, such that parents, friends of the family, and school officials are all aware of the academic progress of these youth and communicate with each other. Further, these youth benefit from greater social support for their academic achievement. The "B" average within the study suggests that the observed sample may not be representative of the larger African American and Nigerian population. Future researchers interested in these populations should employ a more expansive sampling strategy to capture a larger sample and the associates of the participants who may not be regular church attendees but are otherwise demographically similar.

Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation was to model the dual relationship that ethnic group belonging has with academic achievement and to provide a cursory substantive profile of a Black African immigrant group. Through quantitative measures and in their own words, Black youth demonstrated strong, positive attachment to their specific ethnic heritage. In addition to identifying as Black or African American, ethnic heritage and origins are distinct, salient categories of belonging among contemporary Black youth (Womack, 2010).

Approaching how distinctions within the superordinate categorical belonging (i.e., Black) might matter is best approached through a mixed method design. The quantitative portion of this study demonstrated challenges to the general utility of previously established identity measures and the qualitative portion suggested avenues that were not addressed by these measures.

Limited support for both a positive and negative association was found. The significant additive effect found for the identity-socialization model suggests that the negative pathway linking ethnic background or ethnicity with achievement may be more complex than the positive pathway. That the identity-socialization factors fail to be significant when parent attainment was included underscores the importance of academic socialization in the academic trajectory of Black youth. Both models demonstrate that common factors, rather than ethnic-specific socialization, can explain ethnic group differences in academic achievement (see also Cooper & Smalls, 2009).

As previous research has indicated, parents appear to be the strongest source of academic support or socialization. Although this study provided no evidence for peers as a source of support, previous research has indicated that peers matter (Ryan, 2001; Wentzel & Caldwell, 1998). Future research could determine whether close friendships, as defined by a specific emotional connection, are related to students' academic orientation. Across the quantitative and qualitative portions of the study, the results suggest the need to examine the puzzling negative association between ethnic identity and achievement. Finally, future comparative studies could benefit from making certain at the outset that the measures employed are equally meaningful and valid for both populations.

Table 1.
Frequency of ethnonyms among American and Nigerian participants.

	American	Nigerian
No Response, Christian	4	3
Black(African-American and White, Creole, Brown	8	-
Black (African-American) and Latin American[1]	7	-
Black and Native American	2	-
African American, African-American, African & American	26	20
Black, Black African American	20	10
Nigerian, Nigerian American, specific Nigerian Ethnicity[2]	-	50
African Descent	-	1

[1] Hispanic, Salvadoran, Puerto Rican, Dominican/Belizean, Mexican, Mexican American

[2] Yoruba, Igbo, Ijaw,

Table 2.
Frequency of consistent ethnonym use between self and parent identification.

		Consistent Ethnonym		Inconsistent Ethnonym	
		American	Nigerian	American	Nigerian
High School	Men	12	8	3	8
	Women	13	21	2	4
College	Men	12	15	1	5
	Women	13	15	7	4

Table 3.

Grades means and standard deviations of participants by student ethnic background, gender, and age group.

	American		Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	6.93 (1.21)	6.86 (1.99)	7.44 (1.20)	8.15 (1.05)
College	6.79 (1.12)	7.48 (1.16)	7.55 (1.24)	7.45 (.96)

Table 4.

GPA means and standard deviations of participants by student ethnic background, gender, and age group.

	American		Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	2.87 (.59)	3.23 (.47)	3.34 (.64)	3.59 (.64)
College	2.87 (.82)	3.01 (.58)	3.20 (.42)	3.21 (.39)

Table 5.
Grades means and standard deviations of participants by student ethnicity,
gender, and age group.

	American		Nigerian-born		American-born Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	7.17 (1.12)	6.83 (2.13)	7.17 (1.47)	8.12 (1.22)	7.33 (1.30)	8.11 (0.93)
College	6.79 (2.87)	7.52 (1.17)	7.38 (1.33)	7.31 (0.89)	7.86 (1.07)	7.46 (1.05)

Table 6.
GPA means and standard deviations of participants by student ethnicity,
gender, and age group.

	American		Nigerian-born		American-born Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	2.96 (0.55)	3.25 (0.49)	2.89 (0.55)	3.50 (0.77)	3.40 (0.74)	3.81 (0.24)
College	2.87 (0.82)	3.00 (0.60)	3.26 (0.40)	3.02 (0.29)	3.11 (0.46)	3.31 (0.40)

Table 7.
Means and standard deviations of parent expectations by student ethnic background, gender, and age group.

	American		Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	4.33	4.20	4.89	4.69
	(0.62)	(0.56)	(0.32)	(0.88)
College	4.21	4.50	4.48	4.84
	(0.70)	(0.67)	(0.66)	(0.38)

Table 8.
Means and standard deviations of parental academic values by student ethnic background, gender, and age group.

	American		Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	4.25	4.37	4.50	4.63
	(0.87)	(0.58)	(0.52)	(0.37)
College	4.02	3.86	4.47	4.10
	(0.93)	(0.77)	(0.56)	(0.82)

Table 9.
Means and standard deviations of parent attainment expectations by student ethnicity, gender, and age group.

	American		Nigerian-born		American-born Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	4.23	4.15	4.67	4.53	5.00	4.89
	(0.60)	(0.56)	(0.52)	(1.07)	(0.00)	(0.33)
College	4.21	4.55	4.46	5.00	4.50	4.62
	(0.70)	(0.69)	(0.78)	(0.00)	(0.50)	(0.51)

Table 10.
Means and standard deviations parental academic values by student ethnicity, gender, and age group.

	American		Nigerian-born		American-born Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	4.23	4.35	4.75	4.66	4.33	4.57
	(0.93)	(0.59)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.51)	(0.34)
College	4.02	3.91	4.69	4.31	4.17	3.85
	(0.70)	(0.62)	(0.32)	(0.67)	(0.68)	(1.05)

Table 11.

Peer support means and standard deviations by ethnic background, gender, and age groups.

	American			Nigerian	
	Men	Women		Men	Women
High	3.15	3.56		2.83	3.32
School	(0.99)	(0.96)		(1.04)	(1.09)
College	3.45	2.97		3.29	3.73
	(0.96)	(1.40)		(1.17)	(0.78)

Table 12.

Means and standard deviations of peer support by ethnicity, gender, and age groups.

	American		Nigerian-born		American-born Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High	3.10	3.58	2.72	3.63	3.28	3.12
School	(1.03)	(1.02)	(1.05)	(1.20)	(1.10)	(0.99)
College	3.45	3.02	2.89	3.59	3.58	3.65
	(0.96)	(1.38)	(0.99)	(1.00)	(1.24)	(0.94)

Table 13.
Group differences in student aspiration (MANOVA).

	df	*MSE*	*F*	*p*
Ethnic Background	1, 140	2.76	9.92	0.002
Gender	1, 140	1.378	4.95	0.028
Age Group	1, 140	29.67	106.51	0.000
Ethnic Background x Age Group	1, 140	1.391	4.99	0.027
Ethnicity	2, 132	0.200	2.70	0.071

Table 14.
Means and standard deviations of student aspirations by ethnic background, gender, and age groups.

	American		Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	4.27 (0.60)	4.40 (0.63)	4.78 (0.43)	4.85 (0.46)
College	3.57 (0.51)	3.68 (0.48)	3.45 (0.70)	3.95 (0.41)

Table 15.
Group differences in student expectation (MANOVA).

	df	*MSE*	*F*	*p*
Ethnic Background	1, 140	9.57	28.61	0.000
Gender	1, 140	0.54	1.63	0.205
Age Group	1, 140	22.79	68.09	0.000
Ethnic Background x Age Group	1, 140	2.17	6.49	0.12
Ethnicity	2, 132	2.46	6.22	0.003

Table 16.
Student attainment expectations means and standard deviations by ethnic background, gender, and age groups.

	American		Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	3.93	4.27	4.89	4.84
	(1.03)	(0.70)	(0.32)	(0.47)
College	3.57	3.55	3.70	3.95
	(0.51)	(0.60)	(0.46)	(0.41)

Table 17.
Group differences in academic values (MANOVA).

	df	MSE	F	p
Ethnic Background	1, 140	0.06	0.20	0.66
Gender	1, 140	2.44	7.58	0.007
Age Group	1, 140	0.86	2.68	1, 140
Ethnicity	2, 132	1.34	4.54	0.012

Table 18
Academic values means and standard deviations by ethnic background, gender, and age groups.

	American		Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	3.74 (0.85)	4.04 (0.50)	3.71 (0.60)	4.18 (0.41)
College	3.91 (0.76)	4.26 (0.37)	4.14 (0.52)	4.05 (0.60)

Table 19.
Group differences in ability attributions for positive outcomes (MANOVA).

	df	*MSE*	*F*	*p*
Ethnic Background	1, 140	1.40	2.31	0.131
Gender	1, 140	3.37	5.54	0.02
Age Group	1, 140	0.33	0.54	0.464
Ethnicity	2, 132	1.05	1.71	0.185

Table 20.
Attribution for positive outcomes means and standard deviations by ethnic background, gender, and age groups.

	American		Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	3.44 (0.79)	3.58 (0.51)	3.63 (0.72)	3.89 (1.02)
College	3.19 (0.82)	3.78 (0.63)	3.51 (0.79)	3.72 (0.72)

Table 21.
Means and standard deviations of student attainment aspirations ethnicity, gender, and age groups.

	American		Nigerian-born		American-born Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	4.31	4.46	4.50	4.82	4.75	4.78
	(0.63)	(0.66)	(0.55)	(0.53)	(0.45)	(0.44)
College	3.57	3.70	3.29	4.00	3.67	3.85
	(0.51)	(0.47)	(0.75)	(0.00)	(0.50)	(0.56)

Table 22.
Means and standard deviations of student attainment expectations by ethnicity, gender, and age groups.

	American		Nigerian-born		American-born Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	4.15	4.31	4.83	4.81	4.50	4.78
	(0.70)	(0.75)	(0.55)	(0.54)	(1.17)	(0.44)
College	3.57	3.55	3.63	4.00	3.78	3.85
	(0.51)	(0.61)	(0.48)	(0.00)	(0.44)	(0.56)

Table 23.
Means and standard deviations of academic values by ethnicity, gender, and age groups.

	American		Nigerian-born		American-born Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	3.88	4.03	4.02	4.10	3.52	4.26
	(0.81)	(0.54)	(0.55)	(0.45)	(0.60)	(0.28)
College	3.91	4.28	4.39	4.35	3.80	3.85
	0.76)	(0.37)	(0.33)	(0.39)	(0.57)	(0.62)

Table 24.
Means and standard deviations of attributions for positive outcomes by ethnicity, gender, and age groups.

	American		Nigerian-born		American-born Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	3.41	3.58	3.94	3.90	3.56	3.76
	(0.84)	(0.55)	(0.71)	(1.05)	(0.61)	(1.00)
College	3.19	3.77	3.44	3.83	3.59	3.67
	(0.82)	(0.66)	(0.99)	(0.47)	(0.43)	(0.81)

Table 25.
The Academic Model predicting GPA for Foreign-born
Nigerians compared to Americans.

	β	SE	t	p
C' Path				
Ethnic Background	0.34	0.11	3.20	0.0018
B Paths				
Ethnicity	0.05	0.11	0.47	0.6428
Parent Academic Values	0.216	0.08	0.28	0.7816
Parent Education	0.16	0.04	4.22	0.0000
Parent Expectation	0.06	0.08	0.80	0.4276
Student Aspiration	0.26	0.13	1.98	0.0500
Student Expectation	-0.01	0.14	-0.10	0.9229
Academic Values	0.17	0.09	1.76	0.819
Peer Support	-0.01	0.04	-0.13	0.8956

Table 26. The general model predicting Grades for Nigerians compared to Americans.

	β	SE	t	p
Step 1:				
Ethnicity	0.58	0.22	2.65	0.0090
Step 2:				
Ethnicity	0.08	0.23	0.36	0.7215
Parent Academic Values	-0.15	0.15	-0.98	0.3305
Parent Education	0.24	0.08	3.12	0.0022
Parent Expectation	0.44	0.16	2.84	0.0053
Student Aspiration	0.58	0.23	2.42	0.0168
Student Expectation	-0.18	0.23	-0.78	0.4346
Academic Values	0.60	0.18	3.41	0.0009
Peer Support	0.06	0.09	0.69	0.4885

Table 27.
Means and standard deviations for cultural pride by ethnic background, gender, and age group.

	American		Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
High	2.49	2.27	3.14	3.33
School	(1.07)	(0.99)	(0.78)	(0.95)
College	2.66	3.07	3.10	3.20
	(1.15)	(1.02)	(0.84)	(0.84)

Table 28.
Means and standard deviations of preparation for bias ethnic background, gender, and age group.

	American		Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
High	3.11	2.96	2.53	2.73
School	(1.20)	(0.81)	(1.02)	(1.02)
College	3.24	3.18	2.97	2.79
	(0.93)	(0.80)	(0.96)	(0.83)

Table 29.
Means and standard deviations for mistrust of Whites by ethnic
background, gender, and age group.

| | American | | Nigerian | |
	Men	Women	Men	Women
High	1.57	1.03	1.64	1.35
School	(0.88)	(0.13)	(0.95)	(0.64)
College	1.43	1.24	1.26	1.44
	(0.78)	(0.62)	(0.54)	(1.01)

Table 30
Means and standard deviations for mistrust of other Blacks by ethnic
background, gender, and age group.

| | American | | Nigerian | |
	Men	Women	Men	Women
High	1.37	1.20	1.72	1.58
School	(0.95)	(0.56)	(0.89)	(1.03)
College	1.39	1.42	1.38	1.55
	(0.71)	(0.87)	(0.71)	(0.98)

Table 31.

Means and standard deviations of cultural pride by student ethnicity, gender, and age group.

	American		Nigerian-born		American-born Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High	2.62	2.35	3.07	3.11	2.90	3.64
School	(1.10)	(1.00)	(1.08)	(0.90)	(0.77)	(1.04)
College	2.65	3.26	3.15	2.95	3.04	3.04
	(1.15)	(0.85)	(1.03)	(0.97)	(0.54)	(1.05)

Table 32.

Means and standard deviations of preparation for bias by student ethnicity, gender, and age group.

	American		Nigerian-born		American-born Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High	2.99	3.05	2.40	2.46	2.64	3.19
School	(1.20)	(0.84)	(1.10)	(1.06)	(1.05)	(0.77)
College	3.24	3.20	2.91	2.48	3.05	3.02
	(0.93)	(0.77)	(1.09)	(0.77	(0.82)	(0.88)

Table 33.
Means and standard deviations of racial mistrust of Whites by student ethnicity, gender, and age group.

	American		Nigerian-born		American-born Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	1.65	1.04	1.75	1.38	1.33	1.28
	(0.92)	(0.14)	(1.17)	(0.70)	(0.78)	(0.57)
College	1.43	1.26	1.17	1.31	1.39	1.46
	(0.78)	(0.65)	(0.39)	(0.46)	(0.70)	(1.20)

Table 34.
Means and standard deviations of racial mistrust of other Blacks by student ethnicity, gender, and age group.

	American		Nigerian-born		American-born Nigerian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High School	1.42	1.08	1.67	1.82	1.46	1.11
	(1.02)	(0.28)	(0.99)	(1.20)	(0.72)	(0.22)
College	1.39	1.26	1.25	1.38	1.56	1.88
	(0.71)	(0.65)	(0.58)	(0.52)	(0.85)	(1.29)

Table 35.
Embedded ethnic identity means and standard deviations by ethnic background, gender, and age groups.

| | American | | | Nigerian | |
	Men	Women		Men	Women
High	3.53	3.16		3.82	4.43
School	(1.01)	(0.82)		(1.04)	(0.66)
College	3.76	3.80		4.13	4.18
	(0.89)	(1.01)		(0.75)	(0.95)

Table 36.
Means and standard deviations of peer support by ethnicity, gender, and age groups.

| | American | | Nigerian-born | | American-born Nigerian | |
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High	3.64	3.05	3.50	4.42	3.74	4.48
School	(0.99)	(0.68)	(1.21)	(0.67)	(1.05)	(0.69)
College	3.76	3.78	4.31	4.04	3.89	4.23
	(0.89)	(1.06)	(0.72)	(0.93)	(0.76)	(0.93)

Table 37.

Perceived discrimination means and standard deviations.

		Discrimination from Adults		Discrimination from Kids	
		American	Nigerian	American	Nigerian
High School	Men	2.22	1.98	2.36	2.18
		(0.80)	(0.81)	(0.94)	(0.92)
	Women	2.17	2.23	2.52	2.05
		(0.80)	(1.72)	(1.04)	(0.95)
College	Men	2.20	2.36	2.18	2.23
		(0.91)	(0.85)	(1.19)	(0.82)
	Women	2.14	2.17	2.13	2.09
		(0.88)	(0.92)	(0.88)	(0.94)

Table 38.
Stigma consciousness means and standard deviations.

		White Stigma Consciousness		Black Stigma Consciousness	
		American	Nigerian	American	Nigerian
High School	Men	2.98	2.69	2.90	2.99
		(0.40)	(0.92)	(0.95)	(0.81)
	Women	2.70	2.71	2.50	2.70
		(0.61)	(0.77)	(0.64)	(0.82)
College	Men	2.61	2.45	2.71	2.85
		(0.81)	(0.66)	(0.47)	(0.88)
	Women	2.77	2.72	3.00	3.01
		(0.64)	(0.64)	(0.78)	(0.61)

Table 39.
Mediators regressed on Ethnic Background predicting Grades with respect to a Black outgroup (A paths).

Variables	B	SE	t	p
Stigma Consciousness	0.14	0.14	1.06	0.2912
Black				
Bias Preparation	-0.29	0.17	-1.72	0.0871
Cultural Pride	0.56	0.17	3.29	0.0013
Mistrust Black	0.25	0.15	1.62	0.1069
EEI	0.65	0.16	4.12	0.0001
SCBxPublic Regard	3.39	0.74	4.58	0.0000
EEIxCentrality	2.31	1.13	2.05	0.0429
SCBxCentrality	0.59	0.72	0.81	0.4198
EEIxPrivate Regard	3.52	1.00	3.51	0.0006

Table 40. Grades predicted by Ethnic Background and Mediators with respect to a Black outgroup (C' and B paths).

	B	SE	t	p
Direct Effect (Ethnicity)	0.48	0.27	1.75	0.0836
Stigma Consciousness Black	0.33	0.39	0.84	0.4012
Bias Preparation	0.07	0.13	0.51	0.6115
Cultural Pride	0.16	0.14	1.11	0.2679
Mistrust Black	0.00	0.14	0.01	0.9931
EEI	-0.18	0.34	-0.54	0.5922
SCBx Public Regard	-0.09	0.03	-2.57	0.0114
EEIxCentrality	-0.05	0.07	-0.68	0.5001
SCBxCentrality	0.03	0.09	0.29	0.7729
EEIxPrivate Regard	0.13	0.05	2.65	0.0091

Table 41.

95% Bootstrap Confidence Intervals of Specific Mediators

Effects	B	SE	Confidence Interval	
			Lower	Upper
Stigma Consciousness Black	0.05	0.19	-0.3118	0.4008
Bias Preparation	-0.02	0.05	-0.1549	0.0468
Cultural Pride	0.09	0.10	-0.0668	0.3190
Mistrust Black	0.00	0.04	-0.0698	0.0888
EEI	-0.12	0.31	-0.6710	0.5798
SCBx Public Regard	-0.30	0.14	-0.6920	-0.0647
EEIxCentrality	-0.11	0.29	-1.15	0.18
SCBxCentrality	0.02	0.14	-0.1165	0.6904
EEIxPrivate Regard	0.44	0.24	0.1034	1.1053

Table 42.
Ratio of Effects

Effects	B	SE	Confidence Interval		t	P
			Lower	Upper		
Total	0.52	0.23			2.26	0.0253
Direct	0.48	0.28			1.74	0.0836
Total Indirect	0.05	0.19	-0.3118	0.4008		
Ratio of Indirect to Total	0.09	0.86	-1.35	1.01		
Ratio of Indirect to Direct	0.10	5.66	-0.68	3.52		

Table 43.
The Identity-Socialization Model predicting GPA for Foreign-born Nigerians compared to Americans

	β	SE	t	p
C path				
Ethnic Background	0.13	0.06	2.19	0.0307
C' and B paths				
Ethnic Background	0.09	0.07	1.29	0.1995
White Stigma Consciousness	0.09	0.08	1.12	0.2668
Bias Preparation	-0.07	0.06	-1.80	0.2728
Cultural Pride	0.05	0.06	0.88	0.3791
Mistrust White	-0.14	0.08	-1.10	0.0743
Embedded Ethnic Identity	0.14	0.06	2.35	0.0205

Table 44.

The Identity-Socialization Model predicting GPA for American-born Nigerians compared to Americans

	β	SE	t	p
<u>C</u>				
Ethnic Background	0.19	0.06	3.13	0.0021
<u>B and C'</u>				
Ethnic Background	0.16	0.06	2.52	0.0130
White Stigma Consciousness	0.10	0.08	1.20	0.2297
Bias Preparation	-0.07	0.0580	-1.18	0.2404
Cultural Pride	0.05	0.06	0.66	0.5120
Mistrust White	-0.14	0.08	-1.92	0.0568
Embedded Ethnic Identity	0.13	0.06	2.25	0.0259

Table 45.
The Identity-Socialization Model predicting Grades for Foreign-born Nigerians compared to Americans.

	β	SE	t	p
C path				
Ethnicity	0.25	0.13	1.95	0.0527
C' and B paths				
Localized Ethnicity	0.18	0.14	1.29	0.1989
White Stigma Consciousness	0.11	0.17	0.62	0.5348
Bias Preparation	0.03	0.15	0.21	0.832
Cultural Pride	0.18	0.12	1.50	0.1361
Mistrust White	-0.19	0.15	-1.28	0.2019
Embedded Ethnic Identity	0.22	0.14	1.84	0.0684

Table 46.
The Identity-Socialization Model predicting Grades for
American-born Nigerians compared to Americans.

	β	SE	t	p
C path				
Ethnicity	0.28	0.09	2.91	0.0041
C' and B paths				
Localized Ethnicity	0.17	0.14	1.29	0.1965
White Stigma Consciousness	0.11	0.17	0.62	0.5338
Bias Preparation	0.00	0.12	0.0001	0.9999
Cultural Pride	0.18	0.12	1.52	0.1310
Mistrust White	-0.19	0.15	-1.26	0.2104
Embedded Ethnic Identity	0.23	0.12	1.91	0.0581*

Note: The confidence intervals for the bootstrapped indirect effect suggests
that EEI is a significant mediator.

Table 47.
Ethnic identity components and achievement correlations for Americans.

	Centrality	Private	Public	EI	Embedded
Centrality	-				
Private	0.55***	-			
	(49)				
Public	0.08	0.00	-		
	(49)	(49)			
EI	0.45***	0.29*	0.08	-	
	(48)	(48)	(48)		
Embedded	0.44**	0.45***	0.09	0.34**	-
	(49)	(49)	(49)	(59)	
Grades	0.16	0.27$^{\pm}$	-0.28$^{\pm}$	0.35**	0.22$^{\pm}$
	(46)	(46)	(46)	(56)	(58)
GPA	0.10	0.11	0.26$^{\pm}$	0.34*	0.15
	(42)	(42)	(42)	(52)	(54)

Note. $^{*}p \leq 0.05$; $^{**}p \leq 0.01$; $^{***}p \leq 0.001$; $^{\pm}p \leq 0.10$

Table 48

Ethnic identity components and achievement correlations for Foreign-born Nigerians.

	Centrality	Private	Public	EI	Embedded
Centrality	-				
Private	0.36^{*}	-			
	(40)				
Public	0.08	0.23	-		
	(40)	(40)			
EI	0.24	-0.04	-0.02	-	
	(39)	(39)	(39)		
Embedded	0.56^{***}	0.41^{**}	0.13	0.19	-
	(40)	(40)	(40)	(42)	
Grades	0.04	0.43^{**}	-0.03	0.15	0.31^{*}
	(40)	(40)	(40)	(42)	(43)
GPA	0.09	$0.30^{\pm}$	0.16	0.03	0.43^{**}
	(36)	(36)	(36)	(38)	(39)

Note. $^{*}p \leq 0.05$; $^{**}p \leq 0.01$; $^{***}p \leq 0.001$; $^{\pm}p \leq 0.10$

Table 49.
Ethnic identity components and achievement correlations for American-born Nigerians.

	Centrality	Private	Public	EI	Embedded
Centrality	-				
Private	0.39*	-			
	(36)				
Public	0.41*	0.61***	-		
	(36)	(36)			
EI	0.24	0.09	0.24	-	
	(36)	(36)	(36)		
Embedded	0.30	0.25	0.38*	0.59***	-
	(36)	(36)	(36)	(38)	
Grades	0.03	-0.04	-0.11	-0.11	-0.16
	(34)	(34)	(34)	(36)	(36)
GPA	0.05	-0.04	-0.19	-0.05	0.04
	(33)	(33)	(33)	(35)	(35)

Note. $^*p \leq 0.05$; $^{**}p \leq 0.01$; $^{***}p \leq 0.001$; $^{\pm}p \leq 0.10$

```
                    ┌──────────┐
                    │  Parent  │
                    │ Academic │
                    │  Values  │
                    └──────────┘
                    ┌──────────┐
                    │  Parent  │
                    │Education │
                    └──────────┘
                    ┌──────────┐
                    │ Parental │
                    │Expectation│
┌────────┐          └──────────┐          ┌────────────┐
│ Ethnic │          ┌──────────┐          │Achievement │
│ Group  │          │ Student  │          │  Outcome   │
└────────┘          │Aspiration│          └────────────┘
                    └──────────┘
                    ┌──────────┐
                    │ Student  │
                    │Expectation│
                    └──────────┘
                    ┌──────────┐
                    │ Student  │
                    │ Academic │
                    │  Values  │
                    └──────────┘
                    ┌──────────┐
                    │   Peer   │
                    │ Support  │
                    └──────────┘
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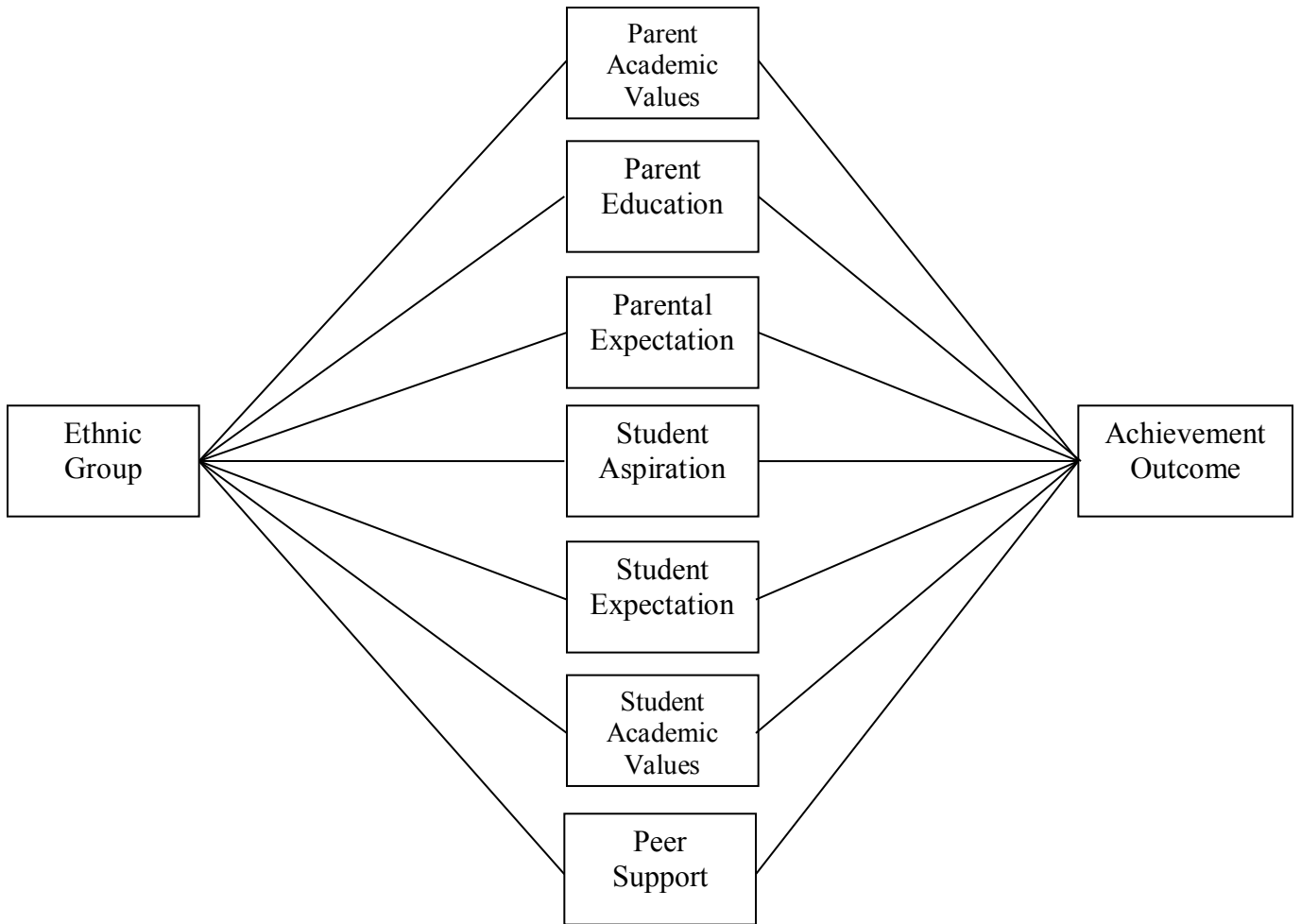
Figure 1. Research Question 1: The General Model of Academic Achievement
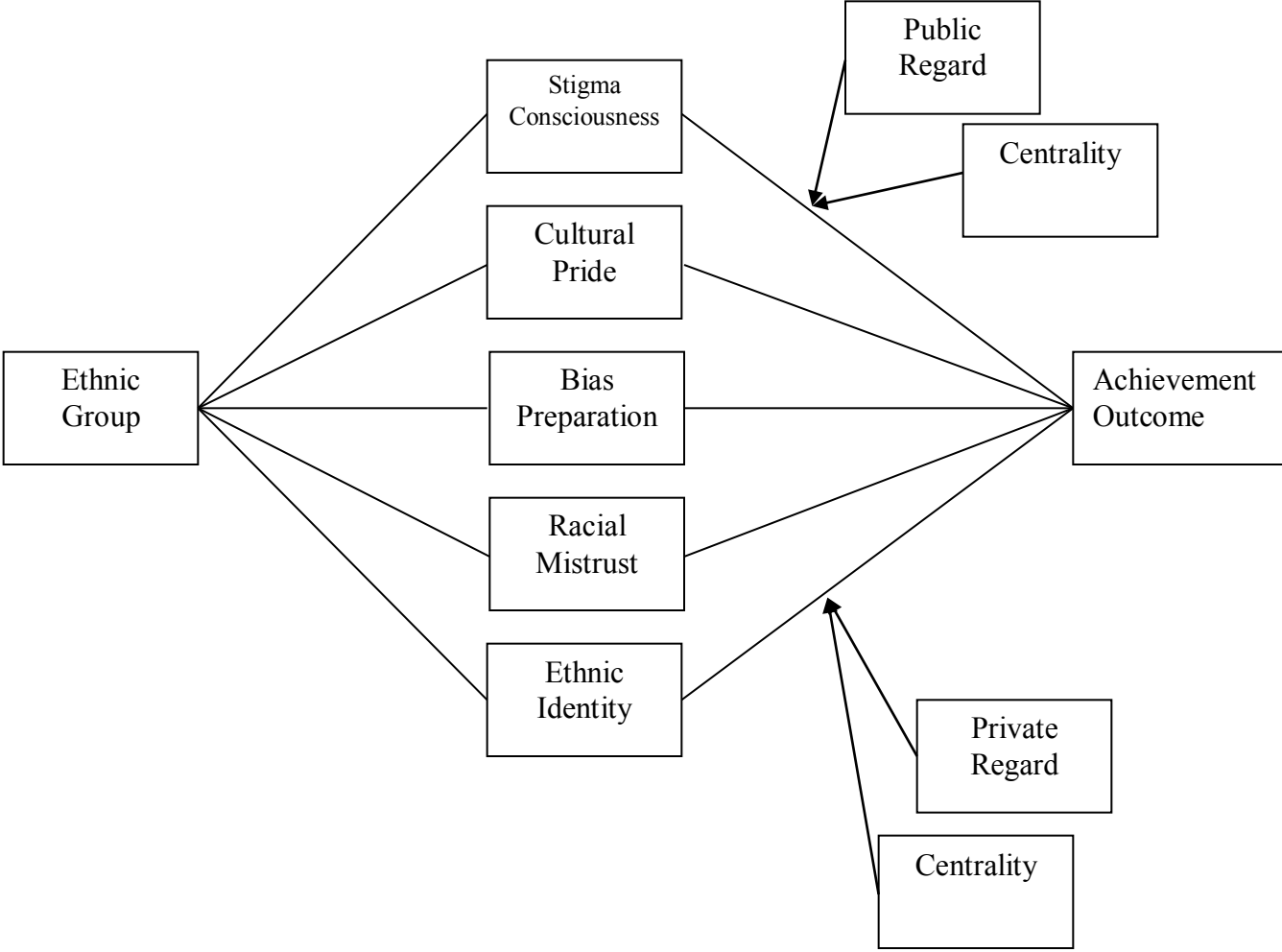
Figure 2. Research Question 2: The Identity-Socialization Model of Academic Achievement.
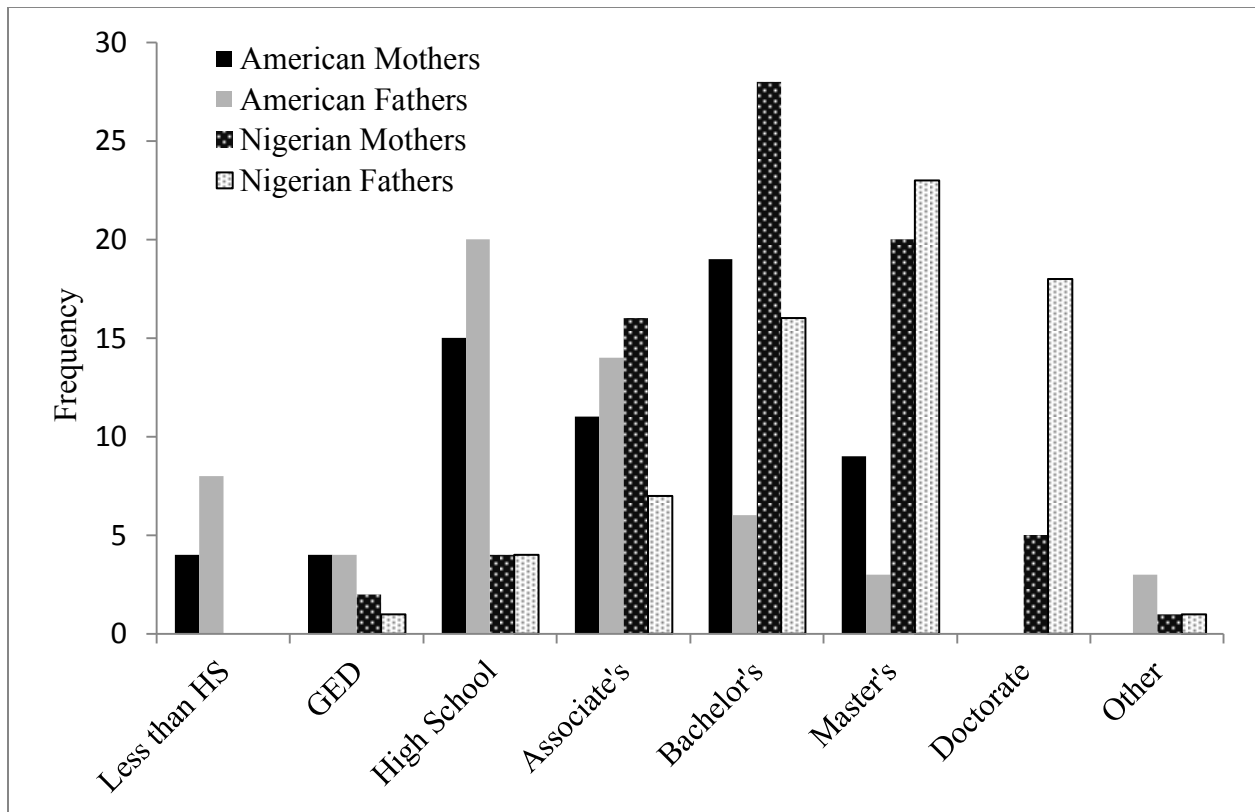
Figure 3. Maternal and Paternal Education Attainment by Participant's Ethnic Background.
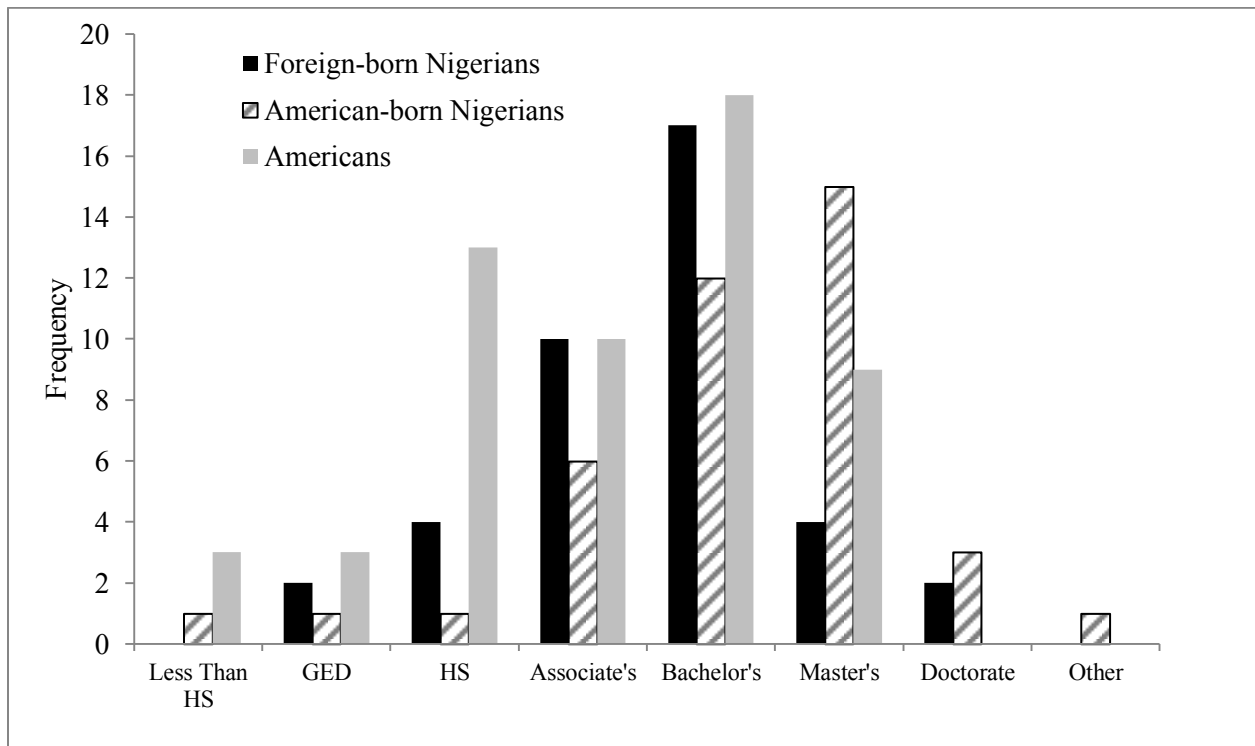
Figure 4. Maternal Education Attainment by Participants' Ethnicity.
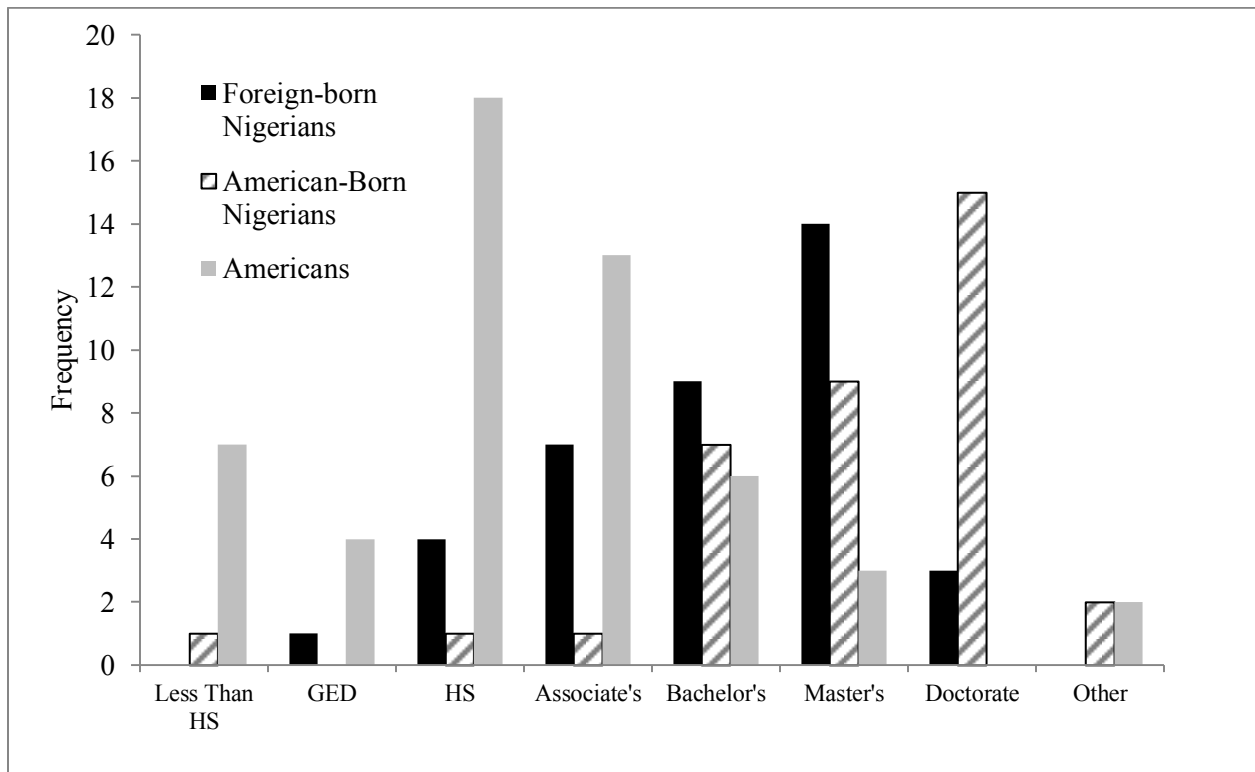
Figure 5. Paternal Education Attainment by Participant's Ethnicity.

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┌──────────────┐          0.58**                    ┌──────────────┐
│    Ethnic    │ ─────────────────────────────────▶ │    Grades    │
│  Background  │          (0.22)                    │              │
└──────────────┘                                    └──────────────┘
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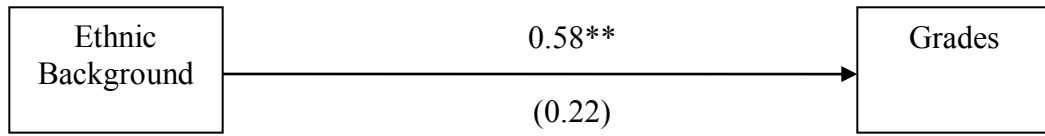
Figure 6. The Total Effect of Ethnic Background on Grades (Hypothesis 7)
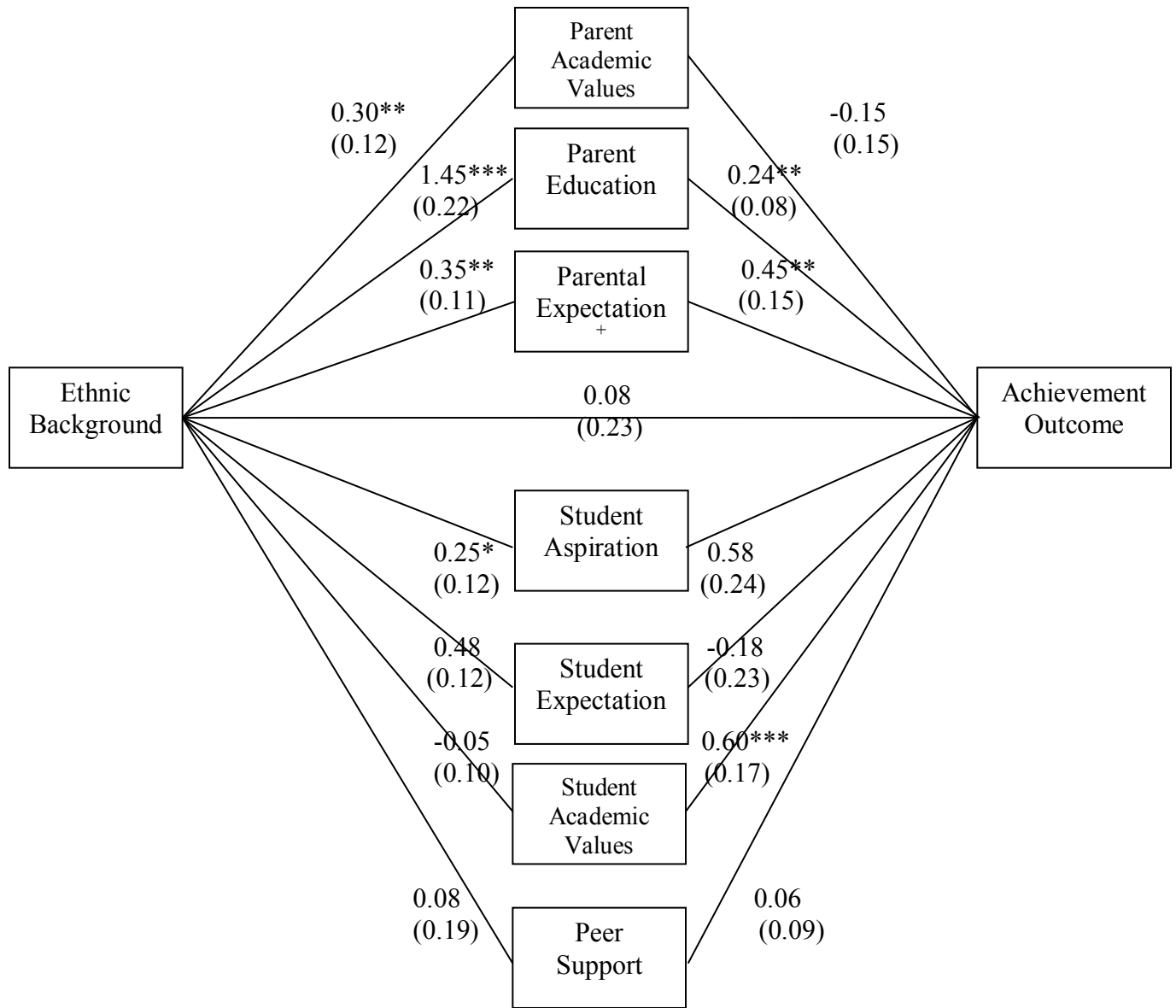
Figure 7. Direct and Indirect Effects of Hypothesis 7

```
┌──────────────┐                                      ┌──────────────┐
│    Ethnic     │          0.34***                     │              │
│  Background   │ ──────────────────────────────────► │     GPA      │
│              │          (0.10)                      │              │
└──────────────┘                                      └──────────────┘
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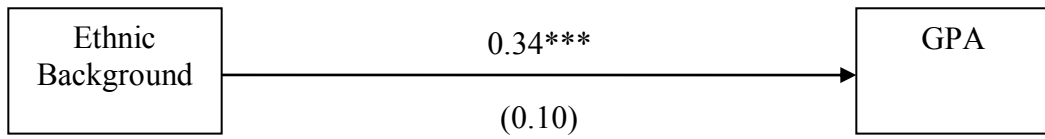
Figure 8. The Total Effect Ethnic Background on GPA (Hypothesis 11.1).
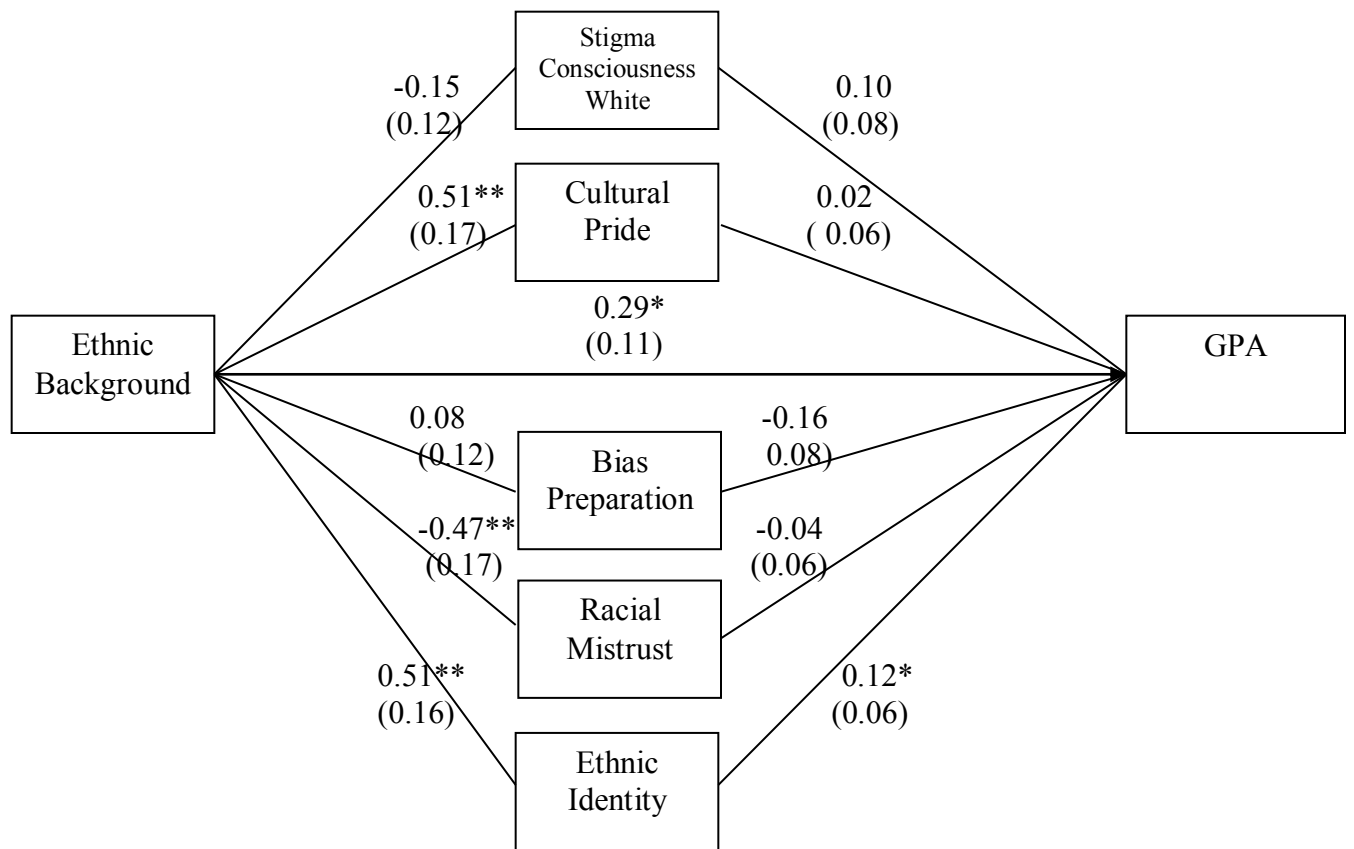
Figure 9. Direct and Indirect Effects on GPA (Hypothesis 11.1).
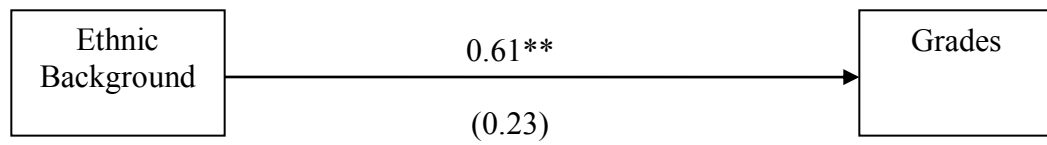
Figure 10. The Total Effect of Ethnic Background on Grades (Hypothesis 11.2).
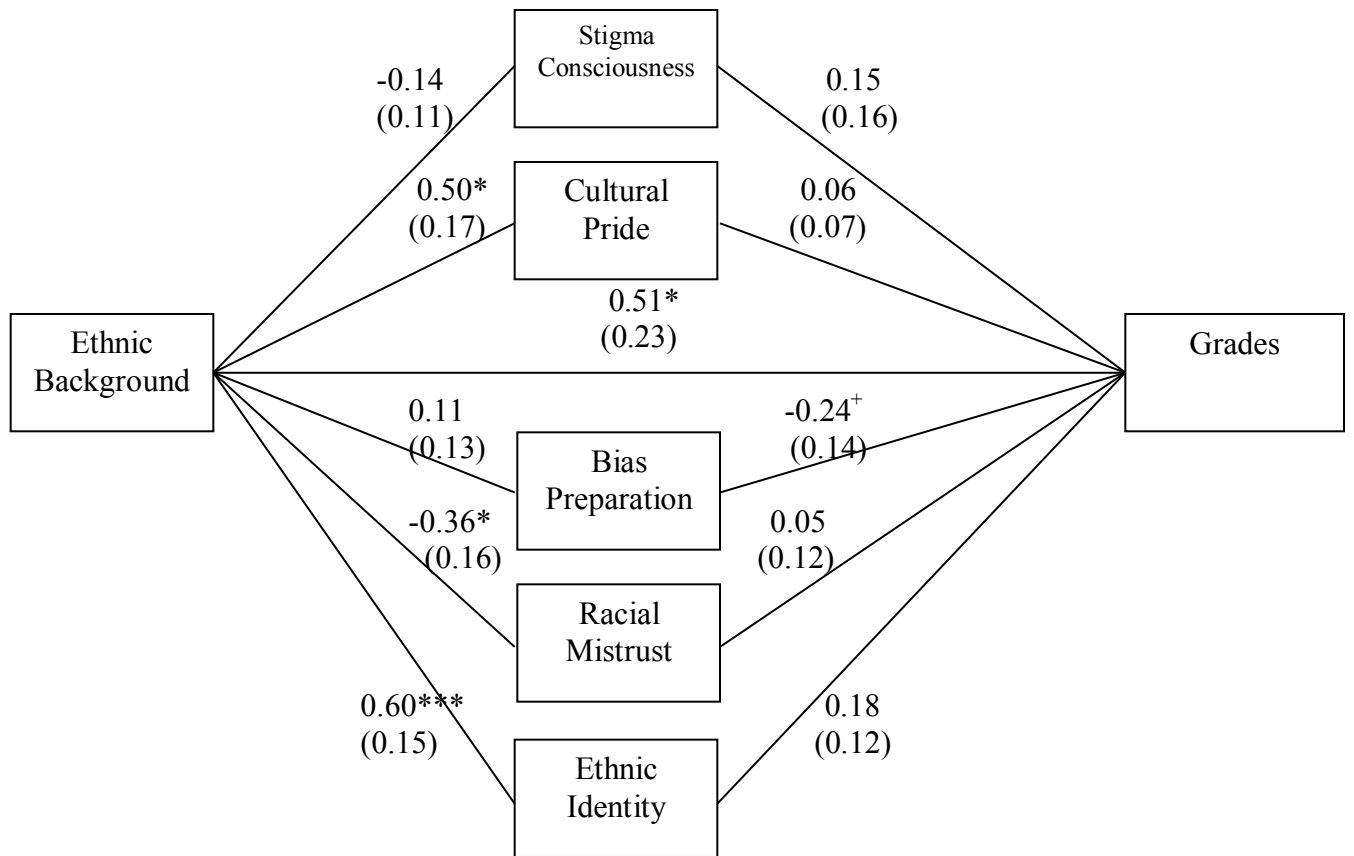
Figure 11. Direct and Indirect Effects on Grades (Hypothesis 11.2)

Appendix A: Demographic Information.

Please provide the following information about yourself.
Name _____
Gender_____
Birthdate_____
Place of Birth (City, State/Province, Country)_____
Last Year of School Completed_____
Where do you live now? (Please give the name and Zip Code of the neighborhood, for example Koreatown, 90019)_____
      How long have you lived here? _____
Where did you live growing up? (Please give the neighborhood name and zip code)_____
Current Occupation_____

Please list the schools that you have attended in your life

School Name	School Zip Code	Were you zoned to go to this school? (Is this your neighborhood school, Yes or No)	Did you apply to attend this school, outside your neighborhood? (Yes or No)

Please provide the following information about your Mother and Father.

Birthdate_____
Place of Birth (City, State or Province, Nation)_____
If outside of the U.S., What year did she enter the U.S._____
How many years of school did your mother complete? _____
What is the highest degree that your mother [father] has earned? Please use the following scale:
      1 = Completed high school or obtained a GED
      2 = Completed some college or earned an Associate's Degree.
      3 = Earned a Bachelor's Degree
      4 = Earned a Master's Degree
      5 = Earned a Doctorate (for example from a graduate school (Ph.D.), from a law school (J.D.), or from a medical school (M.D.))
      6 = Other._____

We know that children are raised by different kinds of family. In order to understand your family, we would like to know about the kind of household that you grew up in. Please provide the following information about your family.

Put a mark next to the people who live in your household.

Part of the Household	☒
Mother	
Step-Mother	
Foster Mother	
other adult Woman	
Father	
Step-Father	
Foster Father	
other adult Man	
Grandmother	
Grandfather	
Uncle	
Aunt	

Appendix B: Academic Values and Peer Support
Please indicate how much you agree with the following statement using the scale provided.
1) I study to increase my knowledge and skill.

 Not At All True   Very True
        1   2   3   4   5

2) I study to earn high grades

 Not At All True   Very True
        1   2   3   4   5

3) How much do you like doing Math?

 Not At All   Very Much
        1   2   3   4   5

4) In general, I find working on math assignments very interesting?

 Not At All   Very Much
        1   2   3   4   5

5) For me, being good at math is important?

 Not At All   Very Much
        1   2   3   4   5

6) How useful do you think math will be for what you want to be after you graduate and go to work?

 Not At All   Very Much
        1   2   3   4   5

7) How much do you like doing English ?

 Not At All   Very Much
        1   2   3   4   5

8) In general, I find working on English assignments very interesting.

 Not At All   Very Much
        1   2   3   4   5

9) For me, being good at English is important.

 Not At All   Very Much
        1   2   3   4   5

10) How useful do you think English will be for what you want to be after you graduate and go to work?

 Not At All   Very Much
        1   2   3   4   5

<u>Please indicate How often do you and your friends do the following with each other</u>.

1) Homework

Never   Always

     1   2   3   4   5

2) Share class notes and materials

Never   Always

     1   2   3   4   5

3) Study for tests

Never   Always

     1   2   3   4   5

4) Encourage each other to do well

Never   Always

     1   2   3   4   5

Appendix C: Parental Academic Values and Academic Expectations

Parental Academic Values
Please use the following scale to indicate whether an item is important to your parents.
1 (Not Important to My Parents)   2   3   4   5 (Very Important To My Parents)

1. Doing well in school
2. Getting good grades
3. Going to College after high school
4. Getting an 'a' on almost every test
5. Being one of the best students in your class
6. Going to the best college after high school
7. Going to a well known college after high school

Parent's Academic Expectation
How far do your parents expect you to go in school?
1 Finish some high school
2 Graduate from High School
3 Graduate from a 2-year college
4 Graduate from a 4-year college
5 Graduate from a law, medical, or graduate school

Appendix D: Multiple Ethnic Identity Measure

In this country, people come from many different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or <u>ethnic groups</u> that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Hispanic or Latino, Black or African American, Asian American, Chinese, Filipino, American Indian, Mexican American, Caucasian or White, Italian American, and many others. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be _____

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.
(4) Strongly agree   (3) Agree   (2) Disagree   (1) Strongly disagree
  1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
  2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.
  3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.
  4. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.
  5. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.
  6. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
  7. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
  8. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.
  9. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.
  10. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.
  11. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
  12. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.
  13. My father's ethnicity is _____
  14. My mother's ethnicity is _____

People have different opinions about what it means to belong to their cultural groups. For each of the following statements, please indicate how close it is to your opinion using the following scale, where 1= strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neither agree nor disagree; 4= agree; 5=strongly agree.

1. If I am successful it will help [participant's cultural] community.

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
    1   2   3   4   5

2. It is important for my family and the [participant's cultural] community that I succeed in school.

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
    1   2   3   4   5

3. It helps me when others in the [participant's cultural] community are successful.

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
    1   2   3   4   5

4. If I work hard and get good grades, other [participant's cultural] will respect me.

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
    1   2   3   4   5

Appendix F: Ethnic Identity Component Subscales
Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements using a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Centrality
 I feel close to other [participant's ethnic group] people.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

2. I have a strong sense of belonging to other [participant's ethnic group]people.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
e

3. If I were to describe myself to someone, one of the first things that I would say is that I'm [participant's ethnic group].
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

Private Regard
 1. I am happy that I am [participant's ethnic group].
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

2. I am proud to be [participant's ethnic group].
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

3. I feel good about [participant's ethnic group]people.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

Public Regard
1. Most people think that [participant's ethnic group]are as smart as people of other races.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

2. People think that [participant's ethnic group] are as good as people from other races.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

3. People from other races think that [participant's ethnic group] have made important contributions.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

Appendix G: Stigma Consciousness for Americans

1. Stereotypes about [participant's ethnic group] have not affected me personally.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

2. I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypically [ethnic group].
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

3. When interacting with White people, I feel like they interpret all my behaviors in terms of the
fact that I am a member of [participant's ethnic group].
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

4. Most White people do not judge [participant's ethnic group] on the basis of their *race/ethnicity*
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

5. My being [participant's ethnic group] does not influence how Whites act with me.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

6. I almost never think about the fact that I am [participant's ethnic group] when I interact with
White people.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

7. My being [participant's ethnic group] does not influence how people act with me.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

8. Most White people have a lot more racist thoughts than they actually express.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

9. I often think that White people are unfairly accused of being racist.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

10. Most White people have a problem viewing [participant's ethnic group] as equals.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
        1   2   3   4   5

Appendix H: Stigma Consciousness for Nigerians

1. Stereotypes about [participant's ethnic group] have not affected me personally.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
         1   2   3   4   5

2. I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypically [ethnic group].
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
         1   2   3   4   5

3. When interacting with Black people, I feel like they interpret all my behaviors in terms of the fact that I am a member of [participant's ethnic group].
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
         1   2   3   4   5

4. Most White people do not judge [participant's ethnic group] on the basis of their *race/ethnicity*
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
         1   2   3   4   5

5. My being [participant's ethnic group] does not influence how Black act with me.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
         1   2   3   4   5

6. I almost never think about the fact that I am [participant's ethnic group] when I interact with Black people.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
         1   2   3   4   5

7. My being [participant's ethnic group] does not influence how people act with me.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
         1   2   3   4   5

8. Most Black people have a lot more racist thoughts than they actually express.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
         1   2   3   4   5

9. I often think that Black people are unfairly accused of being racist.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
         1   2   3   4   5

10. Most White people have a problem viewing [participant's ethnic group] as equals.
Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree
         1   2   3   4   5

Appendix I: Perceived Discrimination

Use these numbers to answer the questions on this page:				
1 never	2	3	4	5 all the time

How often have you felt racial or ethnicity-based discrimination from *adults* in the following situations?

1. Being treated unfairly…………………………………………   1   2   3
         4   5

2. Being disliked…………………………………………………   1   2   3
         4   5

3. Being insulted or called names………………………….…..   1   2   3
         4   5

4. Being threatened or harassed…………………………….…   1   2   3
         4   5

5. Being treated with less respect………………………….…..   1   2   3
         4   5

6. Not being trusted……………………………………….…....   1   2   3
         4   5

7. Being feared………………………………………….……..   1   2   3
         4   5

How often have you felt racial or ethnicity-based discrimination from *other kids* in the following situations?

8. Being treated unfairly…………………………………….…   1   2   3
         4   5

9. Being disliked…………………………………………….…   1   2   3
         4   5

10. Being insulted or called names………………………….…..   1   2   3
         4   5

11. Being threatened or harassed…………………………….…   1   2   3
         4   5

12. Being treated with less respect………………………….…..   1   2   3
         4   5

13. Not being trusted…………………………………………...   1   2   3
        4   5

14. Being feared…………………………………………..   1   2   3
        4   5

Appendix J: Academic Attributions

Please use the following scale to indicate how well a statement explains your academic performance in a given situation:

1 (False)   2(Mostly False)   3(Sometimes False, Sometimes True)   4(Mostly True)   5(True)

1. Suppose you did well in a math test. This is probably because

    a. You always do well in math tests.

    b. You spent a lot of time studying.

    c. The test was easy for everyone.

2. Suppose you did well on an English exam .This is probably because

    a. You always do well on English exams.

    b. You spent a lot of time studying

    c. The test was not difficult for anyone.

3. Suppose one term you did well in school in general. This is probably because

    a. You always do well in school.

    b. You spent a lot of time studying

    c. Everyone did well this term.

4. Suppose you did badly in a math test. This is probably because

    a. You always do badly in math tests.

    b. You spent too little time studying.

    c. The test was hard for everyone.

5. Suppose you did badly on an English exam. This is probably because

    a. You always do poorly in English exams.

    b. You spent too little time studying

    c. Everyone did badly on the exam.

6. Suppose one term you did badly in school in general. This is probably because

    a. You always do badly in school in general.

    b. You spent too little time studying this term

    c. No one did well during the term.

Appendix K: Interview Themes

I.   Academic values

        Participants will be asked about the academic values conveyed to them by

their parents and peers. They will be asked to talk about behaviors or statements

made by these significant others about schools and whether they have influenced

the students' own orientation towards school. Particularly, students will be asked

to discuss what he or she thinks is the most useful or appropriate orientation

towards school. Finally, they will be asked to reconcile their own values about

school and that of their parents and peers.

II.   Academic support

        Participants will be asked to discuss the types of academic support that

they have access to. They will be asked to what degree they seek out support,

both emotional and instrumental information, from parents and peers. All

participants will be asked to indicate whether they are aware of qualifying

information for advanced programs within their schools and college entrance

requirements. The goal of these questions will be to get a sense of the role

parents and peers play in the planning of students' academic careers.

III.   Ethnic Identification

        Participants will be asked whether they consider ethnic group membership

important to their sense of self and to discuss the development of this. They will

be asked to talk about the meaning of ethnic group membership and define their

ethnic group. They will also be asked to talk about important events that have

contributed to their ethnic identification and conception of the ethnic group. They

will be asked whether ethnic identification is important to their academic

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behavior. Finally, they will be asked to talk about how parents and peers have influenced their ideas about their ethnic group.

IV.   Ethnic Group Attitudes

Participants will be asked about their experience with and attitudes towards African Americans, African Immigrants, and European Americans. They will be asked to describe any salient experiences with discrimination and discuss to what degree this has influenced their attitudes about their own and other groups. Apart from experiences of discrimination, participants will be asked to discuss the extent and quality of their normal intergroup interactions. Finally, participants will be asked to talk to discuss messages communicated to them by parents and peers about the desirability of associating with different ethnic groups.

Appendix L: Interview Item Pool by Theme

Introduction: Thank you for agreeing to participate. The topic of this interview will be largely similar to those covered by the survey. We will be discussing academic values, the kinds of support you may receive in your school life, your attitudes about different ethnic groups and about how your ethnic group is perceived, any experiences of discrimination, and finally whether the current state of the economy has affected your plans for school or work.

I.   **Academic Values**
1) Ultimately, what do you want to do? What sort of career do you want?
2) What role would education play towards this goal?
3) What are you doing or had you done to achieve this goal? (If not mentioned, prompt to speak about concrete actions in terms of test preparation, information or resource location, application assistance and navigation)
4) Are there any people who have helped you figure out how to achieve this goal? Like parents or peers?
5) How would you describe your friends' attitude towards school?
6) How would you describe your parent's attitudes about school and education?
7) How have your parents influenced the way you view getting an education?
8) Have your friends influenced the way you view school or getting an education?

II.   **Academic support**
1) What kinds of academic support do you have access to? (For example counselors, test preparation manuals, information about schools and programs, information about minimum requirements)
2) Do you feel that you are or you have been adequately prepared to enter college if you've decided to do this?
3) Have you thought about attending college or graduate school? Please discuss:
    a.   The schools or programs you are thinking of applying to.
    b.   What things are important for you, when looking at a school or program?
4) Who has helped you prepare for the next step in your academic career?
5) How do you/did you go about preparing for tests, prepare applications, or write essays?

III.   **Ethnic Identification.**
1) In terms of ethnic group membership, what do you consider yourself to be?
2) What does it mean for you, being [participant's response]?
3) Is ethnic group membership or being [participant's response] important to you? Please discuss.
4) What traits, characteristics, or values do you think define [participant's response]?
5) How did you come to this definition or perception of your ethnic group?
6) How have other people influenced your thoughts or feelings about your ethnic group? (If not mentioned, prompt to speak about how the participant has been influenced in how or whether they affiliate with co-ethnics or other Black Americans).

IV.   **Ethnic Group Attitudes**
1) Are there any people of different ethnicities that you interact with regularly, like Asian Americans or Latin Americans?
    a.   If yes, how do you get along with these people?

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      b.   Do you think they have particular opinions about [Participant's ethnicity]?

2) How do you get along with people who are Black but not [participant's ethnicity], like [African Americans/African Immigrants]?
      a.   Do you think that they have specific opinions about [Participants' ethnicity]

3) How do you get along with White people?
      a.   Do you think that they have specific opinions about [Participants' ethnicity]

4) What experiences have influenced your attitudes toward other ethnic groups?

5) Have you ever been any situation where you feel that you were misjudged or treated unfairly?
      a.   Did you feel that you were being misjudged or treated unfairly because you were [participant's ethnicity] or Black? Please tell me about this.

6) Do you believe that Black Americans face discrimination today? (If yes, prompt to discuss in what ways or settings Black Americans face discrimination & to specify which Black Americans the participant is discussing).

7) How do you think discrimination against Blacks affects African Immigrants?

8) Would you say that you've ever experienced ethnic discrimination?

9) How may have people who are close to you influenced your thoughts about discrimination?

10) Do you think you will face discrimination in your career at school or work? Please tell me how. (If not mentioned, prompt to discuss likely response).

11) Tell me about your friends. In what ways would you say that you are similar? (If not mentioned, prompt to describe ethnic similarity or dissimilarity).

12) How are your views about [the participants' ethnic group] similar or dissimilar?

V.   **Economic influence on perception of school and work.**

1) How aware are you about the state of the economy?

2) Has the change in the national economy in the past few years affected your career or academic goals? Please tell me how.

3) How has this affected your plans for school?

4) How has this affected your plans for work?

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