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CHAPTER FIVE

Multiple Selves, Multiple Worlds: Three Useful Strategies for Research with Ethnic Minority Youth on Identity, Relationships, and Opportunity Structures

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A coherent picture of development among ethnic minority youth is missing in theories of normal adolescence in which maturity is portrayed in terms of increasing autonomy from parents and where identity development is described as a process of exploration among relatively unrestricted educational and career opportunities (Adams, Gullotta, & Montemayor, 1992). Such accounts omit the experiences of minority youth, who often have lifelong responsibilities to family members and who face racial, economic, and political barriers to opportunities in school and work (Grotevant & Cooper, 1988, 1998).

This chapter considers three challenges that have confronted researchers who examine the interplay of identity, relationships, and institutional opportunity structures among minority youth. First, even when ethnicity and culture are included in discussions of identity, they are typically treated as separate domains of identity or as static labels rather than as dynamic parts of adolescents' ongoing experiences. How can researchers move beyond the categorical treatment of ethnicity, culture, and family?

A second challenge arises from research designs that compare ethnic minority youth with majority youth. McLoyd (1991) has shown how such *race-comparative* designs create norms based on European American, middle-class experiences. These norms lead readers to interpret differences between ethnic groups in terms of deficits from the mainstream and to view minority youth and their families in terms of negative stereotypes. The focus of research funding involving ethnic minority youth on problems of crime, drug use, and pregnancy reinforces links from ethnicity to high-risk status rather than to competence (Spencer & Dornbusch, 1990).

The third challenge arises from the mistrust of researchers felt by potential participants when they experience their resources as restricted and their circumstances as unstable or threatened. These concerns are exacerbated when participants feel misrepresented and stereotyped by outsiders and even by would-be insiders. For example, revealing income data or photographs of research

participants is a sensitive matter for families who have had negative experiences with welfare or immigration authorities.

This chapter highlights three useful strategies for addressing these challenges: ecocultural models for "unpackaging" categorical concepts of culture, ethnicity, and family; parallel research designs for studying multiple cultural communities, and collaboration among stakeholders for strengthening links among researchers, youth, families, and institutions. We introduce each of these strategies, then illustrate a variety of adaptations in research projects in diverse ethnic communities. We close by considering how the strategies can be combined to advance ethnically sensitive research with minority youth.

ECOCULTURAL MODELS FOR UNPACKAGING CATEGORICAL CONCEPTIONS OF ETHNICITY, CULTURE, AND FAMILY

What is ethnicity? Culture? Family? Research scholars and laypersons often think of these concepts as broad categorical qualities that are relatively uniform in each group and static or stable across time. For example, European Americans are often labeled *individualistic*, whereas African Americans, Asian Americans, Latin Americans, and Native Americans are portrayed as collectivist or communal. Likewise, research has tended to categorize family structures with terms such as *traditional* or *single-parent*. Although such categories and classification systems can sometimes be useful, they can easily slip, into stereotypes and evaluative hierarchies whereby the mainstream quality is viewed as preferable to or more normal than other categories. Such categories also group together those who view themselves as very different from one another while ignoring those who view themselves as having some features of more than one category.

Rather than oversimplifying concepts such as ethnicity, culture, and family, anthropologist Beatrice Whiting (1976) challenged scholars to begin "unpackaging" these categories to understand their multiple dimensions. Likewise, Weisner, Gallimore, and Jordan (1988) warned that:

culture is not a nominal variable to be attached equally to every child, in the same way that age, height, or sex might be. Treating culture in this way assumes that all children in a cultural group have common natal experiences. In many cases, they do not. The assumption of homogeneity of experience of children within cultures, without empirical evidence, is unwarranted.... A similar error is to treat national or ethnic status as equivalent to a common cultural experience for individuals. (p. 328)

Ecocultural theory, an integration of ecological and cultural perspectives, offers a way to begin this unpackaging (Azmitia, Cooper, Rivera, Ittel, & Garcia 1995). A key assumption is that all families seek to make meaningful accommodations to their ecological niches through sustainable routines of daily living (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1993; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Weisner, 1984). These activity settings have been examined in terms of three interdependent dimensions: who participates in the activity (known as the personnel); what are the salient goals, values, and beliefs that underlie and organize the activity as interpreted by its participants; and what are the recurring patterns of communication, or scripts, for example in everyday guidance, planning, conflict resolution, or negotiation.

Gallimore, Weisner, and their colleagues used these ecocultural dimensions in their longitudinal study in Los Angeles of immigrant families from Mexico and Central America. In one paper from their project, Reese, Gallimore, Goldenberg, and Balzano (1995) sought to understand parents' goals and values in guiding their children by interviewing parents about *el camino de la vida*, the path of life. Reese et al. found that parents' conceptions of educational and occupational success took their meaning from the broader moral definition of the *buen camino* or good path. Moreover, parents of higher achieving children guided their children in terms of these moral values in ways that had positive academic consequences. Parents were also concerned that their children not fall onto the

mal camino, or bad path, and anticipated making accommodations in their guidance as their children moved into early adolescence to protect them from bad influences.

This work illustrates how the ecocultural model "unpacks" the multiple dimensions of goals, personnel, and communicative scripts, thereby offering conceptual and methodological tools for moving beyond static labels and categories for ethnicity, culture, and relationships. In families from many ethnic traditions, nonparental adults and older children serve as caregivers. This occurs for both cultural reasons, such as familistic values, and for economic reasons, such as parents' work schedules (Cooper, Baker, Polichar, & Welsh, 1994). The full range of such relationships may come into play as adolescents consider their educational and occupational futures and their political, religious, gender, and ethnic identities. A key methodological implication of the ecocultural model lies in its formulating ecocultural dimensions as socially constructed by members of the community, thus including what could be considered both subjective and objective qualities. This assumption challenges researchers to discover these socially constructed meanings through interviews with community members as well as with standardized measures.

ADAPTING THE ECOCULTURAL MODEL TO STUDY ADOLESCENTS' MULTIPLE WORLDS

The ecocultural dimensions can help illuminate adolescents' experiences as they attempt to navigate across the multiple contexts of their lives, including families, peers, and schools. In a study carried out in large, urban, desegregated high schools in northern California, Phelan, Davidson, and Yu (1991) used concepts compatible with the ecocultural model to examine the multiple worlds of adolescents. They used the concept of world to describe "cultural knowledge and behavior found within the boundaries of students' particular families, peer groups, and schools ... each world contains values and beliefs, expectations, actions, and emotional responses familiar to insiders" (p. 53). Phelan and her colleagues found that African American, Filipino, Vietnamese American, Mexican American, and European American high school students migrated across borders between their worlds of family, peers, and school in four prototypic patterns. Some crossed borders smoothly, with a sense that their parents, friends, and teachers held compatible goals and expectations for them. However, even though they seemed on track for their future occupational plans, they were often isolated from students who were not part of their smoothly connected worlds.

A second group occupied different worlds from their school peers in terms of culture, social class, ethnicity, or religion, but still found crossing between school and home worlds manageable. They could adapt to mainstream patterns yet return to community patterns when with friends in their neighborhoods, even though they risked criticism from people in each world who expected unwavering adherence to their expectations. A third group occupied different worlds but found border crossings difficult. They were able to do well in classrooms where teachers showed personal interest in them, but "teetered between engagement and withdrawal, whether with family, school, or friends" (Phelan, Davidson, & Yu, 1991, p. 84). Finally, students in the fourth group found the borders impenetrable. They found moving between worlds so difficult that they had become alienated -whether from school, family, or peers. Even so, many still hoped to move successfully into the world of school.

Phelan, Davidson, and Yu (1991) concluded that students' ability to move between worlds affects their chances of using educational institutions as stepping stones to further their education, work experiences, and meaningful adult life, but that success in managing these transitions varies widely. Key resources are people who also move across these boundaries, such as parents who are involved in school or teachers who know parents and friends, but many students are left to navigate across their worlds without help.

A second example of adapting the ecocultural model comes from the work of our research team (e.g., Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia, Lopez, & Dunbar, 1995). We built on Ecocultural Theory and the Multiple Worlds Model to explore the experiences of Latino and African American junior high, high

school, and college students in northern California who participate in university academic outreach programs designed to link students' worlds of families, peers, school, college, and work.

To learn about these students' worlds, personnel, goals, and scripts, we conducted focus group interviews (Steward & Shamdasani, 1990) and asked the following questions: What are your main worlds? What things do you usually do in each world? Who are the main people in each of your worlds? What kind of person do people in each world expect you to be? What kind of person do you want to be? How do these people help you become what they want you to be? How do these worlds fit together for you? Which feel separate? Which feel as though they overlap? How does being your ethnicity and your gender affect your experiences in these worlds?

As students sat around a table and ate large quantities of snacks, they discussed each question as a group with the interviewers, then drew and wrote about their worlds individually. On the basis of their answers, we later developed a questionnaire so we could involve larger numbers of students to explore similarities and differences across age, gender, and ethnic groups as well as individual differences within groups. The following responses of junior high school students in the focus groups illustrate how the ecocultural dimensions were valuable in revealing students' experiences and were useful in formulating questions for our survey.

Students readily discussed and drew a wide array of worlds in their lives, including their families, their countries of origin, friends' homes, churches, mosques, academic outreach programs, shopping malls, video arcades (reported by most junior high school boys and no girls), school clubs, and sports. Over half the students described more than one family world. Like Phelan et al.'s (1991) students, they described how some worlds fit together and others were in conflict or far apart, and how academic outreach programs served as bridges across more distant worlds.

When we asked students about the personnel in their worlds, the family they lived with often included siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins as well as friends. When we asked who helped them, mothers were the family member most frequently mentioned, perhaps because of the high number of mother-headed households in the sample. Many fathers were named, although not always living with their adolescents. Students named older siblings at the university who were mentors for them or were attempting to convince parents to allow younger siblings, especially sisters, to join them at college. Students described friends in outreach programs as "like brothers and sisters," although their biological brothers and sisters were also key resources in school. Unexpectedly, signs of students' sense of self emerged from these discussions when students said that they were the only ones helping them pursue a math-based career, that no one helped them manage their responsibilities, or when they spontaneously named themselves as sources of difficulty.

When we asked students about the goals and expectations people held for them in their different worlds, a number of students saw their schools and neighborhoods as worlds where people expected them to fail, become pregnant and leave school, or engage in delinquent activities. Like the *buen camino* in Reese et al.'s study (1995), academic outreach programs provided students not only with high academic expectations but also with a sense of moral goals to do "something good for your people," such as by working as engineers in their communities and by helping their younger siblings attend college.

In discussions of scripts related both to navigating across worlds and through the academic pipeline from high school to college, two stood out. First, students felt barriers of academic *gatekeeping*, such as when teachers and counselors discouraged them from taking math and science classes required for university admission or attempted to enroll them in noncollege tracks (Erickson & Schultz, 1982). Students also described the brokering across these barriers that occurred when families, program staff, teachers, siblings, and friends provided emotional refuge from the stress of such experiences or spoke up for them at school or with their parents or friends. Staff in programs helped when parents were unable to persuade school officials, and also conveyed their role as protective bridges between

families and school as they told parents, "You can trust us with your kids." We also learned that the same people could be both gatekeepers and brokers, and that gatekeeping and brokering occurred in each world.

In the context of these experiences, students were developing a sense of their future by drawing on both positive and negative role models and reflecting on their own role in both helping themselves and causing themselves difficulties. They cited family and academically involved friends, the dropouts and arrests of peers and friends, and their own negative experiences as strengthening their determination to study hard to prove the gatekeeper wrong. In addition, they anticipated working on behalf of their families and communities, and felt the pressure of succeeding to make it easier for future students,

With regard to ethnic identity, students were asked to describe their ethnicity or ethnicities rather than check one from a list of pre-established choices. Many youth in the sample identified themselves as having multiple heritages; in all, students used over 100 different terms. This diversity contrasted with the terms they checked on the application forms to the programs, which targeted specific ethnic groups, and suggested that students' disclosure of ethnic identity varied according to their different worlds (Stephan, 1992).

Thus, the ecocultural dimensions of personnel, goals and values, scripts, and activity settings or worlds help unpackage the concepts of family, culture, and ethnicity and enrich our understanding of identity, relationships, and opportunity structures. Like Phelan et al. (1991), we found that students were challenged to navigate across their multiple worlds and must negotiate with brokers who help them and gatekeepers who create difficulties for them, as well as relying on themselves.

PARALLEL RESEARCH DESIGNS

What happens when researchers seek to study more than one cultural or ethnic group or community? How can we understand differences and similarities across and in cultural groups, rather than automatically interpret differences as deficits? Are there alternatives to the race-comparative designs that McLoyd (1991) warned so easily foster negative stereotypes? Are there risks in using research concepts and instruments developed in one culture (and language) with members of another culture?

To address these issues, Sue and Sue (1987) proposed the parallel research design, It links two contrasting approaches to research on culture, known as *emic and etic*. With the emic approach, researchers describe a cultural community from the perspective of a community insider. They seek to discover rather than impose conceptual categories and to base evaluations on the meanings *and* standards of that community. This approach is useful for understanding the unique experiences of a single cultural community. With an etic approach, however, researchers seek to compare communities from an outsider's vantage point, using standardized criteria to study aspects of development that might be universal. Many scholars specialize in one or the other of these approaches, but the parallel design offers a way to link them and benefit from the contributions of both, The parallel design helps researchers avoid three common mistakes: assuming that cultural groups hold the same goals and values, using research concepts and measures derived from one cultural group with other groups, or interpreting differences among cultural groups as deficits (Gjerde & Cooper, 1992).

Three steps are involved. Researchers first identify potentially universal concepts and processes, such as guidance by older generations of young people as they develop adult work and family roles. In the second step, researchers develop ways to measure these processes that are appropriate for each cultural community from the perspective of insiders. In our example, researchers might develop and validate procedures for assessing concepts of family, work, guidance, and maturity in each cultural community. In the third step, scholars identify similarities and differences in and across cultural communities in how goals are defined and what factors contribute to within-group variability in their

development. For example, in communities in which siblings play the role of the third parent, researchers could ask whether this pattern is more typical of some families than others and is associated differentially with culturally valued goals (Weisner et al., 1988). By defining outcomes in culturally specific terms, and then by mapping both similarities and differences across cultural communities in how these processes contribute to development of such outcomes, scholars are able to "make cross cultural comparisons with the emically defined etic construct" (Sue & Sue, 1987, p. 485).

ADAPTING PARALLEL DESIGNS FOR STUDYING ADOLESCENTS IN MULTIPLE CULTURAL COMMUNITIES

Surprising and useful findings can result from parallel designs. In the following examples, scholars sought first to understand more than one cultural community without establishing one as the norm from which others might be deficient, then to link culture-specific descriptions of goals and valued behaviors in each community with analyses of similarities and differences across groups and variation in groups.

A collaborative team of Japanese and American developmental psychologists (Gjerde et al, 1995) adapted the ecocultural framework and parallel design to examine how Japanese, Japanese American, and European American adolescents differentiate and coordinate their sense of identity across their multiple worlds, particularly with regard to restrictions in opportunities related to gender and ethnicity. For example, young women in Japan face dilemmas in their careers: although opportunities are in principle mandated by an Equal Opportunity law, women are excluded from the professional tracks of Japanese corporations. In the United States, Japanese American youth, like other children and grandchildren of immigrants, face challenges in defining their sense of identity in the face of conflicting expectations across the Worlds of their more traditional parents and those of mainstream schools and their peers, where they may encounter stereotyping. Multiple-heritage youth may face special difficulties in developing their sense of ethnic identity, although Mass (1992) found that "interracial Japanese Americans . . . may be more aware of their Japanese heritage because they have to struggle to affirm and Ollie to terms with their dual racial background" (p. 266).

To study adolescents in these three cultural communities, the research team adapted questions from both the qualitative and quantitative versions of the Multiple Worlds Survey of Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia, Lopez, and Dunbar (1994) to assess adolescents' views of their worlds, key personnel in each world expectations held by these personnel, and experiences of gatekeeping and brokering in achieving these goals. To adapt questions and concepts, focus groups were conducted with students from the three cultural communities, both in Japan and in the United States. Students' responses indicated similarities across the three cultural communities, with adolescents in all three groups emphasizing the importance of friendships and student organizations in helping them establish their sense of identity. We also found evidence of intercultural differences, with Japanese Americans most likely to report restrictions of opportunity and also advantages related to ethnicity, such as when model minority stereotypes motivated them to work hard.

We also found variability within cultures, with females in each group seeing their career opportunities as restricted because of their gender, and variation in students' experiences of borders across their worlds. For example, among Japanese American students, some reported two separate worlds, one involving Japanese friends, family, and church, and the other, American; these students expressed anger that "people don't know the Japanese community exists," felt frustration at the lack of role models and information about their cultural background, or reported not "feeling Japanese." In contrast, others saw their worlds as connected and felt strong and stable Japanese American identities. They reported growing up in communities with Japanese schools and families involved in Japanese traditions, and also that they strengthened their sense of identity through friendships and peers in Japanese student organizations. These preliminary findings reflect the benefits of using the

parallel design and suggest links to the study of these issues with Latino and African American students.

The advantages of using parallel designs to understand community-specific meanings as well as similarities and differences across communities can also be seen in a research project conducted in St. Paul, Minnesota. Included in a random sample of the city's high school students were a group of Hmong youth whose families were refugees from Laos. In one paper from the study, Hutchison and McNall (1994) reported that although early marriage is commonly viewed as abnormal and a sign of risk in the United States, more than half the female Hmong students in their study had married by their senior year and the majority remained in school, held educational goals similar to those of their unmarried peers, and did not differ from their peers on measures of depression, self-esteem, academic ability, or aspirations. They also drew on the support of their families and communities for child care.

In a related paper from this study, Dunnigan, McNall, and Mortimer (1993) cautioned that direct translation between English and Hmong of certain terms referring to mental health can at times be impossible. For example, they found no direct equivalence between English terms of emotion based on metaphors of the heart, such as *lighthearted* or *downhearted*, and Hmong terms based on a differently organized set of metaphors involving the liver, such as *nyuaj siab* (difficult liver), felt in response to personal tragedies or troubles, or *ntxhov siab* (obscured liver), felt in response to confusing experiences in the United States. The research team used a variety of strategies to paraphrase items from English mental health questionnaires into Hmong. Even so, the researchers concluded that for a subset of the most newly immigrated Hmong adolescents, assessing mental health with U.S.-based questionnaires remained inappropriate.

In sum, parallel designs help researchers combine the advantages of both single-group, emic studies, and multiple-group, etic designs, while seeking to overcome the limitations of using only one of these approaches. Parallel designs highlight the need to derive diagnostic and evaluative criteria in light of the construal and experiences of participants, and to look for similarities across groups as well as differences within groups, thereby moving beyond any simple stereotypes.

COLLABORATION AMONG STAKEHOLDERS

Whether the research team chooses qualitative or quantitative research methods, issues of ethics and mutual trust form the cornerstone of research with youth and their families and communities (Diane Scott-Jones, personal communication). These issues raise many questions not always asked by researchers who are preoccupied with getting data. For example, what is the nature of (the research questions that are asked? Do they bear on the realities of participants' lives? What is the purpose of the research? Can participants anticipate any benefit from it? What are the consequences of different possible outcomes of the research? What are the goals of the participants? Does participation in the project enhance or detract from their ongoing goals? Coordinating the goals, needs, and perspectives of the different stakeholders in the lives of adolescents in ways that enhance trust among them can take different forms. The following examples illustrate only some of the ways that the principle of collaboration among stakeholders might be adapted.

DEVELOPING COLLABORATIONS AMONG THE STAKEHOLDERS IN ADOLESCENTS' LIVES

In a middle school on the Zuni reservation in New Mexico, Tharp and Yamauchi (1994; Yamauchi, 1994) developed a research collaboration with native and nonnative teachers, students, parents, and administrators, all stakeholders in education of the Zuni youth. Input from the Zuni community had already played a key role in school restructuring, so stakeholders' multiple perspectives offered important resources for the researchers in understanding the experiences of Zuni youth in navigating across the boundaries of family, peer, and school worlds (Yamauchi, 1994).

To stimulate stakeholders' discussion of their multiple perspectives, Tharp and Yamauchi (1994) made videotapes during regular classroom times and convened discussions of what factors contribute to an ideal classroom. The researchers found that the stakeholders differed in their goals and concerns in participating in the research: Teachers were interested in learning from one another but were also anxious about other teachers evaluating them; the principal wanted to understand what was happening in the classroom and with the research project because she had had negative experiences with previous researchers who had not kept their commitments to the school; and students appeared to be most interested in those excerpts in which they and their friends appeared. However, all stakeholders contributed to the researchers' understanding that for students and adults alike, even the ideal classroom involved tensions of trying to "walk both worlds". According to Tharp and Yamauchi, being members of Zuni and mainstream worlds reflected the

community struggle to maintain traditional identification as Native Americans, while still attempting to acculturate into dominant American life. In some circumstances it was not possible to do both at the same time, Some Zuni educators might resolve this by switching back and forth, like they do with their languages: English for school, Zuni for home-while others might seek more integration of the two cultures in the school setting, (Tharp & Yamauchi, 1994, p. 2)

Thus the adult stakeholders experienced the same tensions of navigating multiple worlds as the students.

In a second example, Rumberger and Larson (1995) described how research staff worked as brokers and advocates among stakeholders in a dropout prevention program of an urban middle school for high-risk Chicano students in southern California. The program involved students, teachers, the school, and families as four different *spheres of influence* in students' lives and school achievement. When staff found that students' problems reflected a negative school culture of little learning and much rejection, staff members expanded their roles to include advocacy and brokering on behalf of students. Rumberger and Larson recommended six principles of collaboration with school staff, students, and parents: attending to the needs of individual teachers, counselors, and administrators, such as by coordinating the times when students leave class to participate in the project; using teachers as advisors and liaisons between the project and school staff; being accountable for students' progress; individualizing procedures and policies for students; communicating with parents by telephone or in person rather than in writing; and helping parents be more directive in their adolescents' lives. What is striking about these recommendations is how each is designed to enhance links among the stakeholders in adolescents' multiple worlds.

In a third example of collaboration, Brody, Stoneman, Flor, McCrary, Hastings, and Conyers (1994) were concerned that research instruments typically used to study family relationships have been developed with European American middle-class families, so these scholars sought research consultations with focus groups of community leaders in the African American community of their study site in rural Georgia. Members of the focus groups rated the appropriateness of each possible research instrument and suggested changes in individual questions they saw as either unclear or irrelevant to members of their community. The groups also helped research staff select activities and topics for observing family communication and made other suggestions to enhance families' comfort with being visited in their homes by researchers. For example, by advising researchers to choose topics that did not touch on financial matters, the consultants both fostered research and protected the interests of community members.

These examples of intervention, direct collaboration, and consultation show collaborations are ongoing processes that reflect the individual vulnerabilities and institutional fragility of key participants.

AN INVITATION

To understand the actual events that account for differences in the lives of adolescents and to find ways to tap into perspectives of youth, we need to go beyond categorical and stereotypic approaches. We hear the effects of such categories in adolescents' questions as they fill out questionnaires. "What if I'm both Black and Japanese?" "What do I put under 'mother' and 'father' if I was raised by my grandmother and never knew my mother or father?" "My aunt is like a sister to me—are you going to ask about her?"

This chapter has highlighted how ecocultural analyses can help unpackage global and static characterizations of diverse groups by identifying dimensions of worlds, including goals and values, personnel, scripts, and activity settings. Ecocultural theory continues to develop in response to empirical work (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1988; Gallimore, Weisner, Bernheimer, Guthrie, & Nihira, 1993), directing our attention to the ongoing processes of accommodation and adaptation in families. In moving beyond single-group designs as well as deficit interpretations of comparative designs, parallel designs can counteract tendencies to interpret differences as deficits, and the ongoing process of collaboration among stakeholders can help foster trust among colleagues, students, families, teachers, practitioners, and research participants with a range of cultural experiences and different needs. For each of these strategies, we have also considered the challenges and satisfactions of moving from the ideal to the real and invite readers to join as collaborators in this process. Our own experiences as well as those of other research teams illustrate how the strategies can be adapted to the constraints and opportunities of a variety of research settings.

We see these three strategies as interrelated. All point to the significance of linking subjective and objective sources in research and acknowledging the social construction of meanings of ethnicity, identity, relationships, and institutional opportunities. Consequently, we view qualitative and quantitative approaches as complementary rather than mutually exclusive. Open-ended questions in surveys and interviews, both with individuals and with focus groups, are critical for overcoming ethnocentrism and the inevitable limitations of any one investigator's experiences (Jarrett, 1995).

A key challenge for the future lies in developing better ways to link analyses of culture-specific and culture-universal perspectives because the concept of equivalence across cultures, with its related concepts of translation and back-translation, is an ideal not attained in practice. Similarly, new strategies link qualitative and quantitative methods, such as case studies and group-level analyses (Gaskins, 1994; Matsumoto, 1994; Schofield & Anderson, 1987; Tufte, 1994). Finally, by moving beyond oversimplified stereotypes and deficit models of minority and mainstream youth, families, teachers, and schools, we can contribute to understanding the mechanisms by which their recruitment and retention in opportunity structures such as higher education can be enhanced.

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