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Chapter 2

Multiple Selves, Multiple Worlds: Cultural Perspectives on Individuality and Connectedness in Adolescent Development

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Studies of culture and human development often compare individuals from different national or cultural groups on the basis of two global qualities: individualism and collectivism (Greenfield & Cocking, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). These are often portrayed as mutually exclusive values, stable over time, and typical of individuals in each group. For example, the United States and Europe are considered individualistic cultures and Africa, Asia, and Latin America as collectivist or communal. Perhaps because of this categorical approach, culture is often considered separately from indicators of variation and change within groups, such as age, gender, occupation, employment, poverty, generation of immigration, education, ethnicity, or “race.”

In recent years, the International scholarly community has been seeking ways to understand the role of culture in human development without overemphasizing or ignoring either psychological (“micro”) or sociological (“macro”) processes (Nurmi, Poole, & Seginer, 1995; Phinney, 1993; Trueba, 1991). Interdisciplinary efforts are now converging to integrate four levels of analysis: At the level of individuals, scholars are defining successful development as more than a solitary journey of exploration, autonomy, and emancipation from parents (Archer, 1992; Heath & McLaughlin, 1993). At the level of relationships, we are moving beyond viewing children's social and cognitive development as the in. transmission of values, knowledge, and other “social capital” from older experts to younger novices (Nichan, Hubbard, Okamoto, & Villanueva, 1995; Rogoff, 1990). Third, we are revising assumptions that linkages across social contexts such as families, schools, or peers operate best by matching or fitting together (Parke & Ladd, 1992). Finally, at the level of social institutions, we are moving beyond assumptions of unrestricted opportunities in school (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Chisholm, Buchner, Kruger, & Brown. 1990; Kroger, 1993). While traditional views endure in scholarly and popular discourse, they are increasingly enriched by cultural perspectives.

We are coming to understand culture as a key part of the interplay among individuals, relationships, social contexts, and institutions rather than as a monolithic force acting on individuals or as immutable psychological traits. Beyond any scholarly goals, however, the recent resurgence in worldwide intolerance of ethnic and cultural diversity has triggered a sense of purpose and even urgency in many scholars to understand cultural stability and change without stereotyping groups, while contributing to productive actions on behalf of children, families, and communities (Heath, personal communication, 1996). For these reasons, it is particularly timely for developmental scholars to turn to issues of culture and development. We have long focused on variability and change as well as stability in individuals, and, more recently in relationships and social contexts involving families, schools, and neighborhoods. We now seek to define normal development to include diversity in culture, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, family composition, and national origin (Garcia Coll & Magnuson, chap. 1, this volume).

This chapter is framed as a contribution to this emerging interdisciplinary and international dialogue. For the past 20 years, my colleagues, students, and I have investigated how both successful and vulnerable youth are challenged to forge identities that incorporate the values of their cultural and family traditions as well as those of the school, community, and Workplace. The participants in our studies have included African American, Chinese American, Vietnamese American, Mexican American, Central American, Filipino American, Japanese American, Japanese, European American, and multiple-heritage youth and their families. In collaboration with colleagues and students, we have developed a theoretical model of Individuality and Connectedness and the role of experiences reflecting these qualities in adolescents' developing sense of self, identity, relationships, and academic and occupational competence.

To test and refine this model, we have developed several interrelated lines of empirical work, including new methodological approaches. In this chapter I draw highlights from these studies to make two arguments. The first is that our general conceptions of culture and development, most typically framed by the mutually exclusive concepts of individualism and collectivism, can be enriched by multidimensional models of culture tracing the interplay of individuality and connectedness among individuals, relationships, and institutions. More specifically, I argue that research, practice, and social policies involving adolescents in diverse cultural communities, ties, including their families, schools, and youth-serving community organizations, also benefit from such perspectives on culture and development.

I begin with an overview of our recent theoretical work in linking cultural and developmental perspectives on Individuality and Connectedness, and how our original model has been strengthened by recent work in Ecocultural theory, the Multiple Worlds model, and parallel designs. Next, I illustrate our empirical and methodological progress with highlights from three studies conducted with colleagues and students and with participants from diverse ethnic, cultural, and socioeconomic communities. Finally, I close by considering next steps in theoretical, methodological, and empirical work in diversity and developmental science.

LINKING CULTURAL AND DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE INTERPLAY OF INDIVIDUALS, RELATIONSHIPS, AND INSTITUTIONS

Since its inception, the theoretical perspective of our work has focused on the interplay between individuality and connectedness in the ongoing mutual regulation in relationships as a context for adolescent identity development. Rather than framing individuality and connectedness as mutually exclusive qualities, our model proposes that their interplay is a key mechanism in both individual and relational development (Cooper, 1988; Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983; Grotevant & Cooper, 1986, 1988; see Grotevant & Cooper, 1998, for a review of this program of research). We defined individuality in terms of processes that reflect the distinctiveness of the self. In language, for example, it is seen in patterns and modes of assertions, disclosures, and disagreements with others. Connectedness involves processes that link the self to others, as seen in acknowledgment of, respect for, and responsiveness to others.

In our early studies, we analyzed the conversations of families and peers of European American adolescents from middle-class communities, recorded in their homes and schools (e.g., Carlson, Cooper, & Spradling, 1991; Cooper et al., 1983; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985, 1986). These studies revealed that family discourse reflecting the interplay of individuality and connectedness was associated with the breadth and depth of adolescents' identity exploration and the extent of their role taking skill. We also found that adolescents' capacity to coordinate their sense of self and others in family relationships appeared to be carried into worlds beyond it, particularly in peer relationships (Cooper & Cooper, 1992).

Our original goal of understanding individuality and connectedness in adolescents' relationships and identity development continues, but our recent work focuses more directly on cultural issues in the interplay of identity, relationships, social contexts, and institutional opportunities and barriers, particularly as

mediated by close relationships. To strengthen the capacity of our model to address these issues, my colleagues and I have built on three conceptual contributions of other scholars: Ecocultural theory (Weisner, Gallimore, & Jordan, 1988), the Multiple Worlds model (Phelan, Davidson, & Yu, 1991). and the parallel design (Sue & Sue, 1987). We next examine each of these perspectives.

Unpackaging Culture: Ecocultural Theory

Rather than viewing culture in terms of static and mutually exclusive categories such as individualism or collectivism, Eastern or Western, or other dichotomies, social scientists in many countries are increasingly investigating how individuals, families, communities, and cultures each develop through time (Skolnick, 1993). In doing so, these scholars are engaged in what anthropologist Beatrice Whiting (1976) first called "unpackaging the independent variable" of culture. As Weisner, Gallimore, and Jordan (1988) argued, "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).

Among the dimensions proposed in the Ecocultural framework, my colleagues and I have found four to be especially useful, both for "unpackaging" culture and for tracing cultural aspects of adolescents' individual and relationship development. The most fundamental to ecocultural analyses are the everyday routines or activity settings in which children, adolescents, and families participate, such as mealtimes, household chores, sleeping patterns, doing homework, literacy practices. or selling in the marketplace. A second dimension involves the configurations of personnel or key relationships involved in daily life. For example, personnel included in an adolescent's definition of her family might include her parents, siblings. grandparents, cousins, and godparents as well as her friends, coach, favorite teacher, and minister. A third key dimension involves recurring patterns of communication or scripts for expressing universal human tasks. In our work on the interplay of individuality and connectedness, we have focused on verbal and nonverbal forms of guidance, planning, negotiation, and conflict resolution. Finally, the Ecocultural model highlights the role of goals, values, and aspirations held by family and community members.

Although most research using the ecocultural approach has focused on infancy and childhood (e.g., LeVine, 1988; Rogoff, 1990; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988), we have found it especially useful in studying families' adaptations in the transition from childhood through adolescence. In particular, we probed six domains in which family members articulate goals and aspirations for their children and adolescents: family roles, education, occupation, morality, health, and ethnic identity. Because this transition involves increasing mobility and interactions beyond the family, Nye also traced how adolescents move across family, school, peer, and community contexts, rather than between two contexts at a time, such as families and school, families and peers, or school and work. For this issue we have built on the Multiple Worlds model of Phelan et al. (1991).

Beyond "Two Worlds" Models of Contexts: The Multiple Worlds Model

Phelan, Davidson, and Yu (1991) first described the multiple worlds of family, school, and peer relationships of high school students, and how youth struggle to integrate their experiences across these worlds with their views of themselves. Phelan et al. (1991) defined the concept of world as the "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). Borders between worlds can be defined by psychosocial, sociocultural, socioeconomic, linguistic, or gender-based features. So in essence, each world functions as a culture and each can be

unpackaged in its ecocultural dimensions. The challenge for adolescents and for scholars alike is to understand the process of navigating and negotiating across the cultural boundaries of daily life.

Phelan and her colleagues followed a group of adolescents from their first to second year of high school in Northern California. The students were selected to vary in gender, ethnicity, achievement, and immigration history rather than to represent particular demographic categories. In an extensive investigation, the research team used a series of open-ended interviews as well as observations of students, teacher ratings, and other sources. Phelan et al. (1991) described four prototypic patterns by which the students attempted to navigate across the borders between their high school, family, and peer worlds. Some students experienced smooth transitions across these boundaries, in which values and ways of behaving were compatible. Whether high or low achieving, these students appeared to experience congruence between the goals and expectations of parents, friends, and teachers and their own values. A second group of students occupied different worlds with regard to culture, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, or religion, but they appeared to find crossing borders between worlds "manageable." These students seemed able to adapt to mainstream patterns, yet return to home and community when with their peers. Still, those students who attempted such identities risked criticism from those in the disparate worlds who expected adherence to the conventions of each (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). A third group of students seemed to occupy different worlds and found crossing borders more difficult, and the most vulnerable group experienced themselves as occupying different worlds and found the borders between them impenetrable.

In our work on individuality and connectedness, the Multiple Worlds model has enriched our conceptions of links from adolescents' developing identity to their family, peer, and school contexts. In particular, the concept of navigating across worlds defines individuals as active, an advance that Bronfenbrenner (1988) called for in ecological and contextual theories of development, including his own.

A central issue concerns how to understand the multiple worlds of culturally diverse adolescents without fostering stereotypes based on race, ethnicity, gender, social class, or country of origin, linking community-specific and cultural-universal insights (Cooper & Denner, 1998). To address these goals, we adapted Site and Sue's (1987) conception of parallel designs.

Beyond Viewing Cultural Differences as Deficits: Parallel Designs

McLoyd (1991) argued that research designs comparing minority with mainstream youth have fostered the interpretation of differences between cultural and ethnic groups in terms of deficits, thereby perpetuating negative stereotypes. This tendency has been exacerbated when research funding and media coverage portray youth who are at risk for crime, drug use, and early pregnancy as ethnic minorities (Spencer & Dombusch, 1990). Likewise, Takanishi (1994) has traced the costs of "model minority" stereotypes of Asian and Asian American children from comparing them to European American children on measures of academic achievement.

In Sue and Sue's (1987) parallel design, researchers first identify potentially universal processes of interest to them, such as how older community members can guide youth in developing work and family roles. Second, researchers develop ways to measure these processes that are appropriate for each cultural community being studied. This has been called the emic approach (Pike, 1966), in which researchers describe a cultural community from insiders' meanings and perspectives, seeking to discover rather than impose definitions and basing evaluative criteria on standards of the community. For example, older siblings in many communities play a valued role as "the third parent," guiding younger brothers and sisters toward maturity. In contrast, an etic approach involves comparing communities from outsiders' vantage points with standardized or universal criteria. In the third step of the parallel design, scholars identify similarities and differences within and across cultural communities in how goals are defined and what factors contribute to

variation within each group in their development. For example, variation in sibling caretaking practices has been found to reflect changes in families' residence and children's school involvement (Weisner et al., 1988).

In sum, our original model of Individuality and Connectedness has been enriched by Ecocultural theory, the Multiple Worlds model, and parallel designs. In recent years, we have worked extensively with each of these approaches, which are compatible and synergistic. In the next section, illustrative findings from three recent studies are presented. Taken together, they examine cultural perspectives on four levels: defining individual maturity, development in the context of relationships, linkages across social contexts, and institutional opportunities and restrictions. We carry forward insights from Ecocultural theory by examining activity settings, personnel, scripts, and goals and values; from the Multiple Worlds model, by tracing adolescents' navigating and negotiating across their multiple worlds; and from the parallel design, by framing our questions in terms of potentially universal processes and taking the time to define constructs and develop measures within each cultural community studied. For each study, we follow the logic of the parallel design to examine variation within cultural communities as well as similarities and differences across communities.

THREE STUDIES OF CULTURE, INDIVIDUALITY, AND CONNECTEDNESS

Study 1: Familistic Values and the Communication of Individuality and Connectedness With Families and Peers in Late Adolescence

Although psychological theories often define personal maturity in terms of individualistic values of autonomy, self-reliance, and emancipation from parents, many cultural traditions accord a central role to familism, which can be defined as lifelong expectations to provide support and allegiance to one's family and community. In such traditions, younger people are expected to show respect and reticence with elders more than express their personal viewpoints. Likewise, their achievements or failures bring pride or shame to the family as a whole rather than signifying autonomy or independence (Haines, 1988).

Familistic values have attracted scholarly interest because they are often considered a key asset for ethnic minority families in the United States, especially under conditions of racism, immigration, or poverty (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990). The costs as well as benefits of familism have also been assessed (Tienda, 1980). Research with Mexican American, Central American, and Cuban American adults has shown that norms of family support appear stable across several generations after immigration to (lie United States (Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, VanOss Marin, & Perez-Stable, 1987). Similarly, values reflecting traditional Chinese, Vietnamese, and Filipino emphasis on family harmony, respect, and obedience to those in authority persist despite the scattering of extended families (Haines, 1988; Hong, 1989; Santos, 1983). Familistic values are also reflected in patterns of communicating and negotiating individuality and connectedness during adolescence. For example, decisions regarding young adults' educational, career, dating, and marital choices may be made by the head of the household in recently immigrated families.

As a step in examining cultural perspectives on adolescents' individual and relational development, my students and I investigated familistic values and patterns of communication in an ethnically diverse sample of college students (Cooper, Baker, Polichar, & Welsh, 1993). We were interested in exploring variation within cultural groups by looking at students' immigration histories, ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic factors such as their families' education and employment. Earlier research suggested that adolescents with recent immigration experiences might endorse familistic values and communication patterns more than European American youth or those whose families had been in the United States for several generations. Thus, we looked for evidence of intergenerational stability and change by Whether immigrant youth would attribute familistic values to their parents more than to themselves.

Reasoning that familistic values of respect might make adolescents' overt expressions of individuality rare, we used interview and survey methods rather than observing face-to-face conversations as we had done in our earlier studies of family discourse (e.g., Grotevant & Cooper, 1985). We began with focus group interviews with college students from a range of cultural communities (Steward & Shamdasani, 1990). In each case, undergraduate students on our team who were members of a particular ethnic community took leadership roles in recruiting participants and conducting the focus groups. In the group interviews, our staff showed students questions from earlier studies of familism and questions about family ethnicity and communication. On the basis of participants' suggestions, we revised these questions and added open-ended questions to our survey about adolescents' and family members' ethnicity, education, occupation, generation of immigration, and languages spoken to different family members. We also held focus groups following the survey data collection to compare our interpretations with their experiences.

Research Participants. The Northern California college students who took our survey described themselves with more than 30 different ethnic labels. They averaged 19 years of age. Findings presented here involve students describing themselves as of Mexican (N = 96), Vietnamese (N = 38), Filipino (N= 56), Chinese (N= 58), and European descent (N= 145); the remaining students included approximately 10% multiple-heritage youth. Most students in the first four cultural groups were children of immigrants, and many were themselves immigrants, including 27% of Mexican, 52% of Chinese, 50% of Filipino, and 84% of Vietnamese descent participants; only 5% of the European-descent students were immigrants. With regard to socioeconomic status, parents of Mexican-descent students had less formal education than parents of students in the other groups, although unemployment appeared highest among parents of Vietnamese students (see Cooper et al., 1994, for details of the study).

Familistic Values and Communication. Students rated the extent to which they and their mothers, fathers, and maternal and paternal grandparents agreed with a list of familistic values reflecting how much families are seen as sources of support and of obligation as well as a reference group for decision making (adapted from Sabogal et al., 1987). Students also characterized their expressions of individuality and connectedness with their parents, siblings, and peers, and how comfortable they felt discussing a range of topics with each person.

Variation Within Cultural Groups

Adolescents' responses suggested both cultural continuity and change in familistic values across generations. For example, in response to the statement, "Older siblings should help directly support other family members economically," Vietnamese and Chinese-descent students reported sharing their parents' strong endorsements, Filipino- and Mexican-descent students endorsed this value less than their parents, and European Americans reported sharing their parents' weak endorsements of this value. Although these findings may reflect the differing proportions of immigrants in each cultural group in our sample, the pattern is consistent with findings by Sabogal et al. (1987) of cultural stability and change in familistic values across generations of immigration.

Similarities Across Cultural Groups

Adolescents in all five cultural groups saw their parents as holding stronger expectations than they did to use the family as a reference group in decision making, as tapped by their responses to statements such as "Much of what a son or daughter does in life should be done to please the parents." reflecting a main effect of generation, $F(4, 307) = 11.35, p < .001$. A second similarity across groups was seen in students' reports of family communication: Students in all groups reported more formal communication with their fathers and more open communication and negotiation with their mothers, siblings, and friends. For example, students in all groups rated the statements, "This person communicates openly with me about their feelings" and I

discuss my problems with this person" as less true with respect to their fathers than with their mothers, siblings, or friends (see Figs. 2.1 and 2.2).

This Person Communicates Openly With Me About Their Feelings

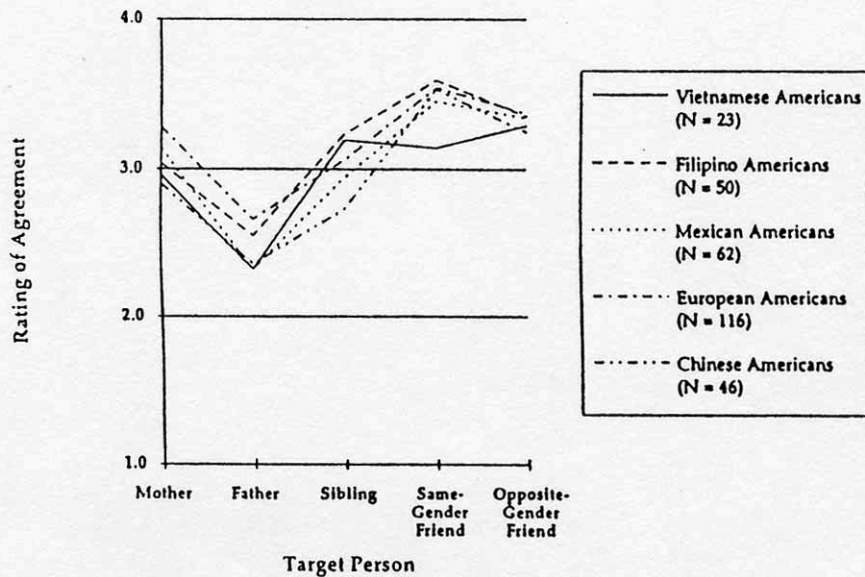


FIG. 2.1. Mean ratings by adolescents of the statement "this person communicates openly with me about their feelings" for family members and friends. From C. R. Cooper, H. Baker, D. Polichar, and M. Welsh (1993). Values and communication of Chinese, European, Filipino, Mexican, and Vietnamese American adolescents with their families and friends. In S. Shulman and W. A. Collins (Eds.), *Father-adolescent relationships: New directions for child development* (Vol. 62, pp. 73-89). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. Adapted with permission.

I Discuss My Problems With This Person

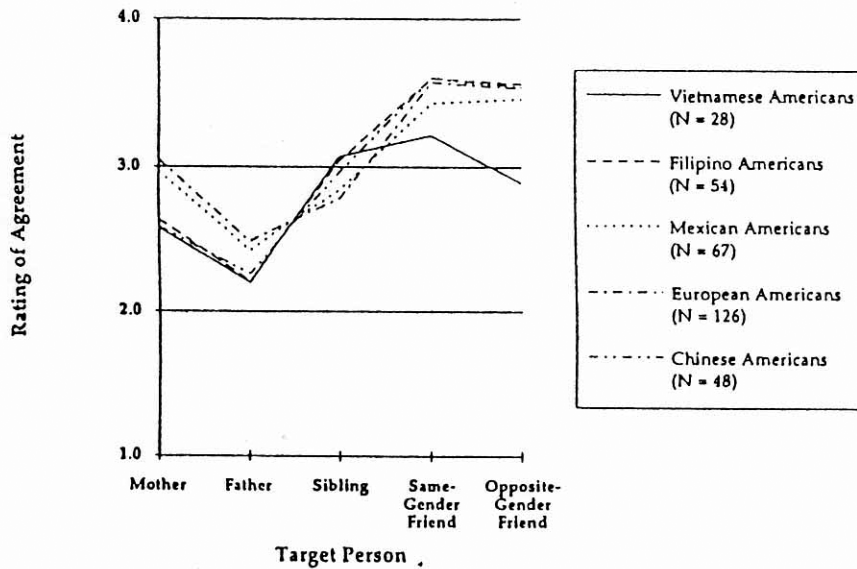


FIG. 2.2. Mean ratings by adolescents of the statement "I discuss my problems with this person" for family members and friends. From C. R. Cooper, H. Baker, D. Polichar, and M. Welsh (1993). Values and communication of Chinese, European, Filipino, Mexican, and Vietnamese American adolescents with their families and friends. In S. Shulman and W. A. Collins (Eds.), *Father-adolescent relationships: New directions for child development* (Vol. 62, pp. 73-89). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. Adapted with permission.

TABLE 2.1
Adolescents' Comfort Levels When Talking With Family Members and Friends

<i>I feel comfortable talking about sexuality, dating and marriage with this person.</i>						
Target Person	Vietnamese Americans (N = 24)	Filipino Americans (N = 42)	Mexican Americans (N = 63)	European Americans (N = 116)	Chinese Americans (N = 47)	Overall Mean* (N = 292)
Father	1.58	1.83	1.86	2.26	1.70	1.97 ^a
Mother	1.88	2.12	2.52	2.81	1.98	2.44 ^b
Sibling	2.92	2.74	2.76	2.99	2.51	2.82 ^c
Same-Gender Friend	3.29	3.62	3.43	3.67	3.38	3.53 ^d
Opposite-Gender Friend	2.96	3.64	3.44	3.57	3.36	3.47 ^d
Overall Means**	2.53 ^e	2.79 ^{e,f}	2.80 ^{e,f}	3.06 ^f	2.59 ^e	
<i>I feel comfortable talking about how well I'm doing in school with this person.</i>						
Target Person	Vietnamese Americans (N = 24)	Filipino Americans (N = 42)	Mexican Americans (N = 63)	European Americans (N = 115)	Chinese Americans (N = 47)	Overall Mean* (N = 291)
Father	2.54	2.67	3.00	3.26	2.70	2.97 ^a
Mother	2.79	3.02	3.22	3.41	2.85	3.17 ^b
Sibling	3.08	3.12	3.18	3.30	3.30	3.23 ^b
Same-Gender Friend	3.13	3.17	3.40	3.55	3.38	3.40 ^c
Opposite-Gender Friend	3.13	3.31	3.41	3.56	3.49	3.44 ^c
Overall Means**	2.93 ^e	3.06 ^{e,f}	3.24 ^{e,f}	3.41 ^f	3.14 ^{e,f}	

*Rows with different letters (a-f) differ at the .05 level based on Newman-Keuls post-hoc tests.

**Columns with different letters (a-f) differ at the .05 level based on Newman-Keuls post-hoc tests.

Note. From C. R. Cooper, H. Baker, D. Polichar, and M. Welsh (1993). Values and communication of Chinese, European, Filipino, Mexican, and Vietnamese American adolescents with their families and friends. In S. Shulman and W. A. Collins (Eds.), *Father-adolescent relationships: New directions for child development* (Vol. 62, pp. 73-89). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. Adapted with permission.

Differences Across Cultural Groups

Mexican-, Chinese-, Vietnamese-, and Filipino-descent students endorsed the importance of turning to parents and other relatives in making important decisions and of mutual support among siblings more than the European-descent students in the sample. This finding was notable in relation to students' reports of how comfortable they felt talking with their fathers, mothers, siblings, and friends on two topics: sexuality, dating, and marriage; and how well they were doing in school. For each topic, students rated statements of the form "I feel comfortable talking about X with this person," with 1 = disagree, 2 = somewhat disagree, 3 = somewhat agree, and 4 = agree. As shown in Table 2.1, main effects of cultural group, relationship, and interactions were found for both topics. On the topic of sexuality, dating, and marriage, college students in all five cultural groups reported what we call a "gradient of comfort," feeling the least comfortable with their fathers and progressively more so with their mothers, siblings, and friends. Differences across cultural groups emerged as well: Chinese and Vietnamese American students in our sample reported feeling less comfortable discussing this topic than Filipino and Mexican American students, who in turn felt less comfortable than European American students. In absolute terms, Chinese and Vietnamese American students reported feeling somewhat uncomfortable discussing sexuality, dating, and marriage with their mothers, whereas Filipino, Mexican, and European American students, on average, reported feeling comfortable doing so.

On the topic of how well they were doing in school, students in all five cultural groups reported a similar comfort gradient, with progressively greater comfort beginning with fathers, then mothers, siblings, and friends. However, on the average, students in all groups reported feeling comfortable talking with their fathers about school matters. Besides illustrating the utility of the parallel design, these findings document the significance of topic in cultural analyses of communication.

Follow-Up Focus Groups

Following our survey, we held focus group interviews with students from each cultural group. We were particularly interested in asking students about what appeared to be a paradoxical Finding: that students who held strong familistic values that they should turn to their families for advice on important decisions also reported that their communication with their parents, particularly their fathers, was sufficiently marked by respect, formality, and reticence that they were not likely to do so.

In these candid discussions, we talked with many students who confirmed holding familistic values and formal communication scripts with parents. They elaborated that they might discuss some topics involving school with their parents, but that their respect for parental authority might lead them to withhold more sensitive facts, such as having changed their undergraduate major from preparing for medical school (endorsed by their parents) to studying humanities or their exploring a gay sexual identity. Their comments indicated that negotiating personal identities and interpersonal jurisdiction continued to be salient issues of late adolescence (Yao & Smetana, 1993). Some students described conveying sensitive information to their fathers through intermediaries or brokers, most often their mothers, siblings, or cousins (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Others described playing this broker role for their siblings; this role appeared more common among immigrant youth, several of whom saw themselves as "the third parent" in their families. Students were eloquent in describing how war, immigration, or poverty made their families much different than those portrayed in the research literature they were studying in their university classes, and these experiences were also reflected in relationships across the generations. As one Filipina immigrant student recalled:

I was with a single mother and I have one sister and it was really harsh ...we basically did whatever (my mother) said, to keep the family alive.... But in terms of family values she would encourage family first - since this is the family that is giving you support. you need to be loyal to it and respect authority ... I grew up with a lot of conflict with her ...

she wanted me to do really well in school but she didn't understand that those extra-curricular things you have to do to get into college mean taking you out of the home . . . I think because she was so much on her own, she knew what it took to survive and she wanted to make sure that I survived too. There was a lot of pressure on us to make sure we do well. We are like representatives of this family. Right now my mom and I are really good friends and I think the reason is my awareness of her life.... She started listening to the things that I was agreeing with and I said, "a lot of the things that I do is because of the values (that you taught me ... loyalty and respect for people, to be caring and giving." So it's funny, I've kind of impacted her now.

During the focus groups, students remarked that they discussed the challenges of coordinating family, career, and personal lives with their friends in ethnic student organizations. Said one student, "that's why we're involved with student groups." Although they felt they could talk to their parents about their goals more than when they were younger, their friends and student organizations played key roles during their college years.

Summary

Our findings regarding cultural patterns in values and communication reflecting individuality and connectedness challenge us to expand our definitions of adolescent maturity beyond individualistic qualities such as autonomy, self-reliance, and emancipation from parents to include enduring family responsibilities and norms of communication. Our study points to variation within cultural groups in terms of both continuity and change in familistic values and communication patterns. The importance of consulting families on major decisions and supporting siblings may decline over generations but these values also appear to persist over generations, a finding consistent with previous research with adult samples (Sabogal et al., 1987). Similarity across cultural groups was seen in our finding that communication appeared more formal with fathers than mothers in adolescents from all groups, whereas differences across groups were reflected in Chinese, Filipino, Mexican, and Vietnamese-descent students seeing themselves and their parents as holding stronger familistic values and more hierarchical communication, especially Chinese and Vietnamese American youth. In these families, when values of respect rendered adolescents' relationships with parents more formal, sibling and peer relationships appeared to play important roles, particularly on sensitive topics.

Among the limitations of using questionnaires, even in combination with focus groups, was that we could not interview adolescents or parents in detail. Nor could we examine experiences associated with immigration or poverty systematically, since they covaried in this sample. We pursued these issues in the following study of aspirations and guidance in low-income Mexican American and European American families during their children's transition into adolescence, for which we developed open-ended and qualitative methods to supplement quantitative approaches.

Study II: Aspirations and Guidance in Low-Income Mexican American and European American Families in the Transition to Adolescence

Educational difficulties of low-income students from diverse ethnic groups are often portrayed as stemming from "cultural mismatches" between families and schools, particularly in families' goals, aspirations, and patterns of guidance (Cazden, 1988; Heath, 1983). Low-income parents are often seen as holding low educational and vocational aspirations for their children that in turn contribute to school failure, unemployment, and persistent poverty. Yet recent work with low-income families has found that many parents hold high aspirations for their children but lack the institutional knowledge with which to guide them (Heath, 1983; Reese, Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Balzano, 1995). To investigate these issues, my colleagues Margarita Azmitia, Eugene Garcia, and I, together with our students Lourdes Rivera, Rebecca Martinez-

Chavez, Angela Ittel, Edward Lopez, and Nora Dunbar, examined the linkages between families and schools during the transition from childhood to adolescence (e.g., Azmitia, Cooper, Garcia, Ittel, Johanson, Lopez, Martinez-Chavez, & Rivera, 1994; Azmitia Cooper, Garcia, & Dunbar, 1996; Cooper, Azmitia, Garcia, Ittel, Lopez, Rivera, & Martinez-Chavez, 1994).

This program of research has involved two cultural groups in our community whose circumstances are of theoretical and policy interest. Mexican American families represent the largest group of immigrants in the United States. Although they experience high rates of unemployment, poverty, and school dropout (Garcia, 1992), recent studies reflect growing scholarly interest in their educational achievement, occupational mobility, and strengths (Delgado-Gaitan, 1993; Gandara, & Osugi, 1994), considering them as "at promise" as well as "at risk." In our study, we focused on parents born in Mexico whose children were born in the United States, many of whom have immigrated so their children's education will allow them to move out of poverty (Suarez-Orozco, 1991).

We chose our second group, low-income European American families, to contribute to cultural perspectives on this understudied community. European Americans comprise the majority of the poor (such as those on welfare rolls), yet they are missing from discussions of poverty and developmental risk (McLoyd & Flanagan, 1990). Low-income European American parents' pessimism toward schooling as a way out of poverty has been implicated in their children's problems with school (Heath, 1983).

As with the previous study on familism and communication, we built on the Ecocultural model and parallel design to explore variation in each cultural group-in this case, in parents' aspirations and guidance during the transition to adolescence, as well as similarities and differences across groups, since relying solely on group differences may foster misperceptions that one is deficient relative to the other. As part of the study, we asked Parents of third-, fifth-, and seventh-grade children about their educational, vocational, and personal-moral goals and aspirations and how they were helping their children attain them.

We were especially interested in age-related patterns in parents' aspirations and how their expertise across domains was reflected in their guidance. Age-related differences in parents' strategies might be influenced by their changing beliefs about children's development (Goodnow & Collins, 1990), such as giving older children greater responsibilities in planning their educational and vocational futures (Smetana, 1988). We explored evidence of such a shift among low-income families accommodating to a new culture or to a poverty niche.

Differential shifts over time may occur in parents' aspirations across educational, vocational, moral, health, or other domains. Parents might retain moral goals for older children while lowering their educational and vocational aspirations in response to teachers' evaluations (Erickson & Schultz, 1982; Goldenberg, Reese, Balzano, & Gallimore, 1993). They might place higher priority on immediate financial problems by asking older children to stay home to care for younger siblings or work to help the family. Or parents for their- children's safety might lead them to keep children home from school, thus superseding their educational and vocational goals.

Our staff interviewed members of 72 low-income families, 36 Mexican American- and 36 European American families, whose children were receiving free or reduced-fee public school lunches. Equal numbers of children participated from each cultural group and gender at third, fifth, and seventh grades. The families lived in two small neighboring cities in central California, one an agricultural community of about 30,000 and the other a small coastal city of about 50,000.

The Mexican American families in the study had immigrated from rural areas of (lie Mexican states of Michoacan and Jalisco. Most families were headed by two parents, who had an average of 3 children. Parents worked as farm laborers or in canneries, although many were concerned about their jobs because

canneries and food processing plants in the area were moving - ironically - to Mexico. Most parents were literate in Spanish but not English and had not gone beyond elementary school (primaria) in rural Mexico, Their poverty appeared long-standing; many had lived for several years in trailers or labor camps and their homes were generally small and sparsely furnished, Parents feared drug dealers and gang violence in their neighborhoods.

Among the European American families in the sample, most were headed by single parents, with fewer than 2 children on average, Most fathers and one third of mothers were employed, primarily as skilled manual workers, craftspersons, clerical or sales workers, or houseworkers. All were literate in English, with most having finished high school in the United States and many, some junior college. The onset of poverty for most of these families had been recent, typically resulting from divorce. Most lived in middle- or working class neighborhoods they saw as relatively safe except for traffic. The remaining families were experiencing more pervasive poverty, with five being long-time residents in a neighborhood with affordable rents but also drug trafficking, prostitution, and gangs, and two having been homeless.

Parents were interviewed in their homes. with all but one of the Mexican American parents interviewed in Spanish by native speakers on our staff. In this study, interviews allowed participants to explain and elaborate their responses to our questions and were particularly important for parents with modest literacy skills. Following the Ecocultural dimensions, the interview focused on the personnel involved in the activity settings of chores and homework; parents' guidance scripts in each setting; and parents, long-term goals, values, and aspirations for their child's educational, occupational. and moral-personal maturity, Parents were asked open-ended questions for each domain, particularly about their goals and how they were helping their child attain them. Presented here are qualitative analyses of parents' responses to open-ended questions about their long-term aspirations and guidance-, for details from the larger study, see Azmitia et al. (1994, 1996) and Cooper, Azmitia, et al. (1994).

Mexican American Families

Parents' aspirations and guidance appeared to differ between those of younger and older children in educational and vocational domains but not in the moral-personal domain. This finding may reflect parents' varying expertise across domains, their changing hierarchies of goals, and their response to neighborhood conditions with greater potential for straying away from the good path or buen camino.

Parents of third graders held educational and vocational goals that expressed their hopes of moving out of poverty and the dreams that motivated their immigration. They recounted telling their children to stay in school and out of trouble and describing what would happen if they did not, by using themselves and others as examples, One parent recalled, "Once it was still 4:30, so the men were in the fields picking artichokes and I said, 'You see, mijo (my child), that's a tough job. Day after day until the sun goes down they have to be out there-if it's hot or cold. Yes, mijo, that is why you guys need an education, because if you guys don't get enough education, you won't quality for another job and you will be doing that for a living'.... I don't know if at his age it will stick, but hopefully it will."

Parents of fifth graders also emphasized the importance of their children staying in school, but some were ambivalent about these goals and despaired as to how they could help. They were less likely to mention professional occupations, saying they would be content with their children becoming secretaries, mechanics, or clerks. Some indicated that children should take responsibility for achieving their educational and occupational goals. As one parent said, "Well, I have the dream that he be somebody, but lie still needs to put his share into this."

Parents of seventh graders tended to express lower educational and vocational aspirations than parents of younger children. Only a few mentioned college, and for some, even high school was in doubt. The theme

that children should choose their own occupations was more prominent. Many said that as long as their children did not work in the fields or the cannery, any job would be fine. One parent said, "I would like her to get to college ... but the way things are now, who knows?" This lack of planning may also reflect gaps between parents' and children's skills (Eccles, Midgley, Wigfield, Buchanan, Reuman, Flanagan, & MacIver, 1993). Parents with an elementary school education might have felt less qualified to plan their adolescents' educational and career future in a new culture with unfamiliar schools and occupations.

In the moral domain, parents of adolescents resembled those of younger children in emphasizing respect, honesty, responsibility, being a good person despite being poor, and in providing modeling and direct guidance. Said one parent, "we are people who are very poor, but we don't give them bad examples about anything. We behave well, hoping that they will learn to behave. If they see that we behave and are good persons, hopefully they will do the same."

European American Families

Although European American parents of third-grade students expressed a range of educational and vocational aspirations, their moral aspirations were consistently high. Some had devoted a great deal of effort to planning their children's future, whereas others had not done so but were helping their children attain their personal and moral aspirations. As one parent remarked, "I haven't thought about it too much. Education is not its big priority. It is more important that kids be emotionally healthy and happy. ... I'm looking at the possibilities (for educational and vocational goals) and helping them learn to choose for themselves." Even parents who expressed high aspirations remarked that the future seemed beyond their control (Rodman & Voydanoff, 1988).

Many parents of fifth graders also saw educational and occupational aspirations as their children's choice. Some expressed doubts about their capacity to guide their children, although they linked both education and vocational domains to moral goals. One parent said, "I'm not one who dreams about my child's future. I still feel lost in trying to find my future. But I hope that he'll value education. And that he'll become educated just because of that's what you need in life, whether it applies to your job or not." Others expressed confidence in guiding their children toward the future, although in general terms. Said one, "I would like her to complete high school, and at least four years of college.... When I grew up a high school diploma was a real important thing. Now in this day and age a high school diploma doesn't mean beans, You've gotta have college.... The fact that I went back to school is a big help for her, (1) also take her going on some cleaning jobs with me and actually knowing how hard it is (the mother cleaned houses for a living).... I told her the more education you get, the more money you get and the easier the job is."

Parents of seventh graders held high aspirations for their children's moral and personal development and concern about their children's safety and staying on "the good path." Many saw education as a way to protect them from drugs and from becoming prostitutes. Helping with educational and vocational goals seemed to have been triggered by their adolescents' interests. One parent bought anatomy coloring books for a daughter interested in a medical career, while another found volunteer opportunities at the SPCA for a son hoping to be a veterinarian. Unlike the low-income families in Heath's study (1983), these parents did not question the value of education but rather the quality of their children's schools. This pattern may also reflect parents' viewing adolescence and young adulthood as the key time for career development (Goodnow & Collins, 1990).

Similarities and Differences Between Mexican American and European American Families

Mexican American and European American parents held similarly high educational aspirations for their children. Consistent with Reese et al. (1995), most Mexican American parents in the sample also held high professional aspirations for their children, with many hoping their children would become doctors, lawyers,

or teachers. As one Mexican American parent said, "We aren't here (in the US.) because we like working here or like to live here.... We live better in Mexico. But I make this sacrifice because I want them to study, to learn English." However, more Mexican American parents were content for their children to finish high school, while more European American parents hoped their children would attend graduate school, although they often allowed their children to choose their level of education and occupational aspiration. Said one European American parent, I don't want to impose anything on him, but I do tell him he has to study. I don't tell him he has to study such and such because I like it ... I just want him to study a short career so that he has a future."

Mexican American parents were more likely to report using indirect guidance such as by providing encouragement or support, using their own lives as examples of the costs of a poor education, or enlisting siblings and relatives to help, than direct guidance such as tutoring. Although parents in both groups saw themselves helping their children by offering encouragement, help, advice, and tutoring. Mexican American parents were more likely to describe using themselves as negative role models by telling their children not to work in the fields or cannery as they did. As one parent said, "anything as long as it isn't in the fields.... When I was very young I started to pick strawberries and I wouldn't want him to do that." Although European American parents also used their lives as models, their examples were more positive, telling children how they were trying to correct past mistakes such as dropping out of school or marrying too young, by earning high school equivalency degrees and enrolling in community college to attain their own career goals. Parents who were students saw their study habits as models for their children.

Parents in both groups hoped their children would be morally upright persons, respect others and themselves, and stay away from drugs, gangs, and other "vices," Especially striking was parents' determination to keep children on the good path or *buen camino* (Reese et al., 1995). As detailed by Azmitia et al. (1994). parents in both groups provided direct tutoring and explicit advice in the moral domain, saw themselves as experts, and used their lives as examples of values they hoped their children would exhibit as adults.

Summary

In both cultural groups, parents' aspirations and guidance appear to differ across educational, occupational, and moral domains and, in some cases, to differ between childhood and adolescence. The Mexican American parents saw education as a way out of poverty, yet also feared potential dangers in junior high school or that their children's advanced education might distance them from their families- and communities. Like Reese et al., (1995), even though parents held high aspirations for their children, some did not know these goals required a college education, while others who sought college education for their children were unsure about application and financial aid. Parents of fifth and seventh graders appeared to hold lower educational and vocational aspirations than those of third graders and, to a greater extent, viewed their children's success as their own responsibility. This may reflect the fact that by fifth grade, many children in the sample had exceeded their parents' schooling and thus parents felt less able to help them. Other parents feared dangers in the neighborhood or school might lead their children away from the good path or *buen camino*, and saw protecting children from these dangers taking priority over other goals. Said one parent, I have seen with other people that their children spend years in school and for what? All they learn are vices, and in the end, they no longer feel comfortable in our community and then they aren't comfortable anywhere, at home or at school." The reality of these threats was reflected in the occurrence, during our study, of several drive-by shootings in the community and the assault and murder of the older sister of one of our participating children in a schoolyard.

The European American parents in the sample expressed high aspirations, but some were skeptical that schools could help their children acquire skills they needed to succeed, whereas others worried whether they had the financial or emotional resources to guide their children toward maturity. Unlike the parents of third

and fifth graders, parents of seventh graders were actively guiding their children's educational and vocational aspirations, apparently triggered by their adolescents' formulating their educational and vocational interests. Some recently divorced parents acknowledged they were more preoccupied with immediate concerns such as paying rent, completing homework, or dealing with children's misbehavior than with long-term vocational and educational dreams. Other vulnerabilities were indicated by fear or ambivalence toward school expressed by some parents in the sample, particularly those of adolescents.

The cross-sectional design of this study did not differentiate age-related shifts from cohort effects. Older children's lower fluency in English or their greater responsibilities for work and child care might have affected their schooling. We are now completing a longitudinal study following a larger sample of higher- and lower-achieving Mexican American and European American fifth graders from elementary school into junior high or middle school, based on interviews with parents and children, classroom observations, and teachers' ratings of children's and parents' academic involvement (Azmitia & Cooper, 1997). Through this program of research, we have come to view as inadequate the widespread conceptions of family-school linkages in terms of global cultural "matches" or "mismatches." Given the challenges of guiding adolescents through school experienced by families in many cultural groups, we now consider how individuals, relationships, and institutions can bridge across adolescents' multiple worlds.

STUDY III: BRIDGING ADOLESCENTS' MULTIPLE WORLDS OF FAMILY, SCHOOL, NEIGHBORHOOD, AND WORK

In many industrial countries, adolescents' route through school to occupational achievement has been idealized as a smooth "academic pipeline," with access by choice and advancement through merit and individual effort. However, this view may be inappropriate for youth who encounter ethnic, racial, gender, economic, or political barriers to access, choice, and advancement. Recent research indicates that as a cohort of students moves through secondary school and university in the United States, the percentage of ethnic minority adolescents shrinks (O'Brien, 1993), with similar patterns reported in other nations (Chisholm et al., 1990).

Explanations of these patterns have focused on concepts of cultural capital and oppositional identity, suggesting that students with more resources (such as parental education) and fewer structural barriers (such as racism, sexism, and other restrictions that discourage personal agency) would achieve at higher levels (Coleman, 1988; Ogbu, 1991). As we discussed in the previous study of low-income Mexican American and European American families, parents may hold high educational and vocational aspirations for their children, but those with less formal education may lack knowledge about schools, and those with histories of immigration or minority status may lose confidence that schooling is accessible or even beneficial to their children.

Our perspective, based on the Individuality and Connectedness model, would predict that challenges can, under conditions of support, facilitate adolescents' identity development and their motivation to succeed on behalf of their families and communities (Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia, Lopez, & Dunbar, 1995; Grotevant & Cooper, 1986). To do this, youth and their families may benefit from institutions and relationships that bridge from family to school and work, both to foster a sense of challenge and the skills to succeed.

In a collaborative investigation of this bridging process among individuals, relationships, and institutions Jacquelyne Jackson, Margarita Azmitia, Robert Cooper, and I, together with our students Edward Lopez, Nora Dunbar, and July Figueroa, worked with the leadership and staff of university academic outreach programs that provide such bridging through school into college and college-based occupations. Our team built on the Multiple Worlds model of Phelan et al. (1991) to examine the experiences of African American and Latino junior high, high school, and college students participating in the Mathematics, Engineering, Science Achievement Program (MESA), the Early Academic Outreach

Program (EAOP), and Upward Bound. In the larger project, we assessed the perspectives of adolescents, parents, and outreach program staff so we could examine links between Such relationships and students' academic achievement and career identity development. We did not conduct formal program evaluations, which fall within the scope of other research (e.g., Edgert & Taylor, 1992).

Following the parallel design, we conducted an initial study, in which we interviewed directors and staff about the histories of the programs and their current circumstances, observed in the programs, and conducted a series of six focus groups with junior high, high school, and college students grouped separately by gender, with approximately equal numbers of African American and Latino students in each group (for details see Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia, Lopez, & Dunbar, 1994; Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia, Lopez, & Dunbar, 1995). We developed a set of open-ended questions, Adapted from the interviews of Phelan et al, (1991) and Weisner et al. (1988): What are your main worlds? What do you usually do in each world? Who are the main people in each of your worlds? What do people in each world expect you to be? What do you want to be? How do your 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?

Worlds and Personnel. In the focus groups, students at each age level 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, Students spontaneously referred to people in their academic outreach programs as like family and their fellow students as like brothers and sisters, listing them as family members, while listing brothers and sisters as resources at school.

Communication Scripts and Expectations. Both African American and Latino students described communication scripts and expectations across their worlds, Two scripts were especially relevant to navigating the academic pipeline: Students detailed experiences of gatekeeping, when teachers and counselors discouraged them from taking math and science classes required for university admission or attempted to enroll them in non-college tracks. Students also recounted negative expectations they had experienced from each of their worlds. Schools and neighborhoods were the greatest sources of students' expectations that they would fail, become pregnant and leave school, or engage in delinquent activities.

Students also described brokering by families, program staff, teachers, siblings, and friends providing support or speaking up for them at school, home, or neighborhood worlds. The 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 working as engineers in their communities arid helping younger siblings attend college. Students also felt support retaining goals for academic success and ties to friends in home neighborhoods who were not in school or were affiliated with gangs.

On the basis of our focus groups, we developed the Multiple Worlds Survey (Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia, Lopez, & Dunbar, 1994). On the survey, students describe their worlds, who is in each world, expectations held by people in each world, and who helps arid causes difficulties with schoolwork, with math, keeping tip with responsibilities, feeling confident. and with sexism and racism.

We recently conducted a larger study of the resources and challenges experienced by African American and Latino youth in their worlds of family, school, and peers (Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia, Lopez, & Dunbar, 1995). Based on Ecocultural and Multiple Worlds theories, we focused on key personnel and communication scripts involving resources (who helps) and challenges (who causes difficulties) in each world. We also assessed the association between students' resources and challenges and their academic competence; based on the significance of math grades for college admission, we used them to index academic competence for the analyses reported.

From a larger sample of students in the Mathematics, Engineering, and Science Achievement (MESA) and the Early Academic Outreach Program (EAOP), we analyzed survey responses from 60 African American and 60 Latino students in Grades 6-12, including 30 males and 30 females in each cultural group. African American students in the sample were primarily born in the United States. Most of their parents had attended college and worked in middle-class occupations. Latino students in the sample were primarily born in the United States. Most of their parents were immigrants, primarily from Mexico, in middle- and working-class occupations. About one third of the mothers and fathers had attended college and about the same proportion had schooling at junior high level or below.

Personnel and Communication Scripts. Students named their mothers and fathers most frequently as resources, especially in helping them keep up with responsibilities, stay on track to college, and helping with sexism and racism. Some fathers caused difficulties planning the future, and some mothers caused difficulty with finances. Students named teachers as providing help and encouragement in math, and also as sources of difficulties with sexism and racism. Peers were the most controversial persons in students' lives: they were resources in helping students feel confident and special and in speaking up for them at school, yet peers were also the greatest source of difficulties with schoolwork, feeling confident, keeping up with responsibilities, and with sexism and racism. Self-governance was an unexpected theme in students' responses, as shown by students spontaneously naming themselves as sources of help with most scripts and as sources of difficulty in keeping up with responsibilities.

Links to Adolescents' Academic Competence. Although most students in the sample were relatively successful at school, we differentiated higher achievers, with average math grades of 3.7 or more (where a grade of A = 4.0), from lower achievers with average grades of 2.0 or less. Each group included 30 students, with equal numbers of African American and Latino, and of males and females and a modal level of 10th grade (15 years old). For each script (for example, "who helps you with math?") we computed chi-square statistics to compare higher versus lower achievers and students who did versus those who did not cite a particular person as helping with that script. For each finding cited, $\chi^2(1), p < .05$.

Students making higher math grades were more likely than lower-achieving students to name their mothers and fathers as helping them feel special, teachers as helping them stay on track to college, and sisters as helping them with schoolwork, feeling confident, and planning (the future). Students making lower math grades were more likely to report providing their own encouragement with math, speaking up for themselves at school, and to name peers as helping with sexism and racism.

Summary

The findings of this study illustrate the continuing significance of adolescents' relationships with family members as well as their teachers, peers, and academic outreach programs. They also underscore the interplay between African American and Latino adolescents' interactions with gatekeepers and brokers as they navigate the academic pipeline from middle and high school to college.

Models of social capital and oppositional identity suggest that students with more capital and fewer structural barriers would achieve at higher levels. Some evidence for these models is reflected in our findings that students with more adult support, as well as educational expertise, were achieving at higher levels. The prediction from the Individuality and Connectedness Model, that challenges in the context of cohesion fosters identity development, is supported by findings that students making higher grades experienced both resources and difficulties, that the same people could be both resources and difficulties, and that difficulties appeared to motivate students to succeed on behalf of their families and to prove gatekeepers wrong. As one Mexican American male high school student wrote: "The most important experience for me did not even happen to me. It happened to my mother. She wanted to go to college and

become a professional. She did not accomplish her dream because back then, women were born to be housewives, not professionals. Her parents did not pay for tier education because of this." Thus, adolescents' academic identity and self-governance may be fostered by their active engagement in difficulties as a proactive coping strategy and with others in constructing meaning of their experiences (Laosa, 1990; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). Our finding both resources and difficulties from peers suggests that we should look further into distinguishing experiences that stimulate self governance from those that undermine it.

In out- continuing work with academic outreach programs, we are examining links from ethnically diverse students' relationships and both positive and negative expectations from their worlds to their identity development and academic achievement, including their college attendance. We are particularly interested in students' negotiations with brokers and gatekeepers as they move along the academic pipeline. Based on conceptions of identity development in the context of relationships, we are also tracing how students' views of their resources and challenges reflect their changing views of themselves (Grotevant & Cooper, 1998). Finally, our collaborating academic outreach programs are using the Multiple Worlds Survey for ongoing program analysis in extending their work in urban middle and high schools serving ethnically diverse youth.

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In closing, we emphasize five key points, First, the overarching purpose of the theoretical and empirical work summarized in this chapter has been to understand experiences of Individuality and Connectedness in the lives of diverse youth and their relationships across the life span in relation to cultural, institutional, and socioeconomic processes (Cooper, 1994; Grotevant & Cooper. 1998). The conceptual, empirical, and methodological advances reviewed illustrate the continuing value of considering adolescents' constructing a sense of identity as part of the ongoing development of their relationships, institutions, and cultures rather than viewing adolescents either as the only dynamic element in a static culture or as a passive reactor to social, economic, and Cultural forces.

Second, the Ecocultural framework has been useful in "unpacking" categorical, 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, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1994; Gallimore, Weisner, Bernheinier, Guthrie, & Nihira, 1993), directing our attention to the ongoing processes of accommodation and adaptation in families.

Phelan, Davidson, and Yu's model of the Multiple Worlds of adolescents' families, peers, schools, and communities enriches work based on more static and oppositional "two worlds" models of family versus peers or family versus school. We have learned how adolescents negotiate with others who function as gatekeepers, blocking their way, and brokers, facilitating their way, and that individuals in any world can play either or both roles. By any account, we still have much more to understand about how adolescents navigate through their worlds and confront restrictions such as poverty, violence, and discrimination. The recent work of Phelan's team is illuminating the contributions of ongoing dialogues with adolescents as research collaborators, an approach consistent with our experiences of the value of focus groups throughout research projects (Davidson, 1994, 1996).

Fourth, the parallel design proposed by Sue and Sue (1987) challenges us to define developmental constructs or dimensions in culturally specific terms and then map both similarities and differences across cultural communities in their development. We are just beginning to do this with European American and "mainstream" samples, who are often treated in global and stereotypic terms even when other cultural groups are differentiated. In many ways, the most difficult phase of the parallel design involves linking culture-specific, qualitative, and meaning-based or "subjective" data to culturally universal, quantitative, and

"objective" data. Because equivalent measures across cultures and languages, despite translations and back-translations, are ideals not always attained in practice, we are devoting more attention to linking qualitative and quantitative approaches (Cooper, Gjerde, Teranishi, & Onishi, 1994; Cooper, Labissiere, & Teranishi, 1997; Gaskins, 1994; Matsumoto, 1994; Schofield & Anderson, 1987). The studies described in this chapter illustrate how including open-ended questions in surveys and interviews, with individuals and in groups, helps overcome the inevitable limitations of any one investigator's experiences (Jarrett, 1995).

Finally, beyond any particular theoretical, methodological, or empirical focus, the integrity of research on diversity and development rests on collaborations among stakeholders, including children, their families, researchers, and community institutions, and in coordinating the goals, needs, and perspectives of different participants in ways that enhance trust among them (Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia, & Lopez, 1998). Particularly in communities where participants have had tenuous relationships with universities and researchers, such collaborations are ongoing projects reflecting individual, relational, and institutional strengths and vulnerabilities. These collaborations can raise questions not always asked by researchers, such as the appropriate nature of incentives; the risks of disclosing information regarding citizenship, income, occupation, age, ethnicity, generation of immigration, or household membership; and the costs of participation for individuals' and communities' broader goals and loyalties.

This chapter is written in a time of constricting opportunities for education, health, housing, and other services for children, youth, and families in the United States and other nations. Consequently, new coalitions are emerging on behalf of children and families from diverse cultural communities with businesses, schools, and private and public agencies. The practice of science can function in coordination and collaboration with these individual, relationship, and institutional processes. We have much to contribute and to learn in such partnerships.

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