Chapter 2

THE POSSIBLE SELVES OF DIVERSE ADOLESCENTS: CONTENT AND FUNCTION ACROSS GENDER, RACE AND NATIONAL ORIGIN

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ABSTRACT

This chapter provides an overview of what is known about content of possible selves and implications of possible selves for outcomes for male and female teens differing in race/ethnicity (African American, Asian American, Latino, Native American, and white teens). Although findings are somewhat ambiguated by heterogeneity in time focus (e.g. 'next year', 'when you are an adult', 'in five years'), it appears that expected possible selves for the near future most commonly focus on academic and interpersonal domains, while fears are more diverse. There is some evidence that number of academic possible selves declines across the transition to middle school and from middle to high school. Low income, rural and Hispanic youth are at risk of having few academic or occupational possible selves, or having such general possible selves in these domains that they are unlikely to promote self-regulation. For a number of reasons, possible selves of girls may function more effectively as self-regulators. Moreover, there is at least some evidence that content of possible selves and especially the existence of strategies to attain these selves is predictive of academic attainment and delinquent involvement.

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THE POSSIBLE SELVES OF DIVERSE ADOLESCENTS: CONTENT AND FUNCTION ACROSS GENDER, RACE AND NATIONAL ORIGIN

Self-concepts are what we think about when we think about ourselves. They are semantic, but also visual and affective representations of who we were, who we are, and who we can become. Although children develop some sense of self in the early years of life, with increased abstract reasoning ability in adolescence, youth begin to establish a sense of the selves they can become in addition to already developed sense of self based on current appearance, skill and competencies (e.g., Harter, 1982; Marsh, 1989; Oyserman, 2001). In adolescence these possible or imagined future selves become increasingly central to self-regulation and well-being (for similar perspectives see Cantor and Kihlstrom, 1987; Csikszentmihalyi and Larson, 1984).

The idea that the self is temporal and that the future-oriented components of the self are critical to understanding well being can be traced to William James (1890/1950). According to James, individuals narrow down various possibilities for the selves they might become only as needed, having a natural tendency to incorporate as much as possible into the self. Thus developing a sense of the self one might become involves choices- some voluntary, others forced. While individuals might *wish* to be all things simultaneously, they cannot *strive* be all things – because the activities involved in different selves conflict. The 'bon vivant' self and the 'quiet scholar' self would not be able to agree on how to spend the evening. The popular girl would want to hang out while the 'A' student would want to be home studying. Choice or at least compromise is necessary between these competing visions of the self one could be – both cannot be the most important self-goal at the same time. While painful, these are voluntary choices between selves one may equally likely attain.

Choices may also be less voluntary when individuals find themselves unable to attain a possible self. Striving and persistently failing to become like a desired self is painful, and so, James suggests, we eventually drop desired selves we had once striven to attain when it becomes clear that they will never be attained. Childhood wishes to become an Olympic gymnast or professional ballerina fade and practicing the cello falls to the wayside in part because it is much less painful *not* to become something one is uninterested in than to not become something one wishes to be. Thus, according to James (1890) we all have to give up on some aspirations and stake a claim on the person we will become. Over time, and with accumulating failure feedback, we eventually give up on becoming those aspects of our desired selves that are too painful to keep striving for in the face of repeated failures. We do this because our sense of worth or self-esteem is a dynamic proportion, the ratio of our aspirations (the selves we wish to attain) divided by actual attainments (the selves we are); self-esteem is battered unless aspirations are periodically pruned to come into line with attainments. Thus, following from James' perspective, the selves we strive to become focus motivational attention, guide behavior and are an important sources of positive self-regard.

Despite the assumed importance of present, past, and future selves on understandings of the self-concept, future selves were not the focus of research until the mid-1980s when Markus and Nurius (1986) refocused attention on future or possible selves. At the same time, other social and personality psychologists interested in personal strivings and personal projects and life tasks (e.g. Cantor 1990; Kennon and Emmons, 1995), gave new life to the

future-oriented elements of the self-concept and to the modern perspective that these future selves are critical to motivation. Since then, a body of empirical evidence has accumulated on the content and the consequences of possible selves in adolescence, the linkage between possible selves and self-esteem, and the influence of possible selves on the self-regulation of behavior.

Although much of the research evidence is based on single studies, is correlational and involves small scale samples and qualitative methods, not all of it is and across studies there is evidence both for the postulated link between self-esteem and possible selves and for the postulated link between possible selves and behavior. Thus, adolescents who believe that *positive* possible selves *are likely* to be attained have higher self-esteem than those who do not (Knox et al, 1998); adolescents with both academically oriented possible selves and strategies are significantly more likely to attain improved grades than those without these possible selves (Oyserman, Bybee, Terry, and Hart-Johnson, 2004). Moreover, experimental evidence indicates that shifts in possible selves can lead to shifts in academic behavior (e.g. Oyserman, Terry, and Bybee, 2002).

Following James, in the current chapter, we assume that possible selves play a motivational and self-regulatory role in shaping future behavior. This chapter begins with a definition of possible selves and a brief overview of how possible selves are measured. We then fit possible selves into a developmental context as an aspect of self-concept susceptible to contextual influences and outline why it is important to study possible selves of minority youth. Using this as our structure, we review the literature on content of possible selves and implications of possible selves for outcomes for male and female teens differing in race/ethnicity (African American, Asian American, Latino, Native American, and white teens).

We used the on-line Psychlit and the key words: Possible selves and each of the following adolescence, African American, Black, Hispanic, Latino, Mexican American, Asian American, Asian, American Indian, and Native American to search for literature as well as adding any additional research we were aware of. The literature on possible selves is limited by use of somewhat different measures of possible selves, differing reference periods for possible selves, correlational or qualitative designs and use of either mono-racial ethnic samples or small samples. However, enough literature has accumulated to make a summary valuable and to allow for some tentative conclusions. To foreshadow our conclusions, although somewhat ambiguated by heterogeneity in reference period for possible selves (e.g. 'next year', 'when you are an adult', 'in five years,' 'in the future'), our review suggests that expected possible selves most commonly focus on academic and interpersonal domains, while fears are more diverse. There is at least some evidence that content of possible selves and especially the existence of strategies to attain these selves is predictive of academic attainment and delinquent involvement.

WHAT ARE POSSIBLE SELVES?

Possible Selves are the Future-Oriented Component of a Multifaceted Self-Concept

Possible selves are the selves we imagine ourselves becoming in the future, the selves we hope to become, the selves we are afraid we may become, and the selves we fully expect we will become. Possible selves can be distally imagined – 'the self I will become as an adult', or more short term – 'the self I will become next year'. The source of these selves is varied. Possible selves can be rooted in one's own experience and past behavior or accomplishments. Thus, high performing students may have an easier time imagining positive academic possible selves than low performing students (e.g. Leondari, Syngollitou, and Kiosseoglou, 1998). Possible selves can be rooted in what important others believe one should become. They can also be rooted in one's own values, ideals and aspirations. Thus, low performing students who come to believe that they can succeed in spite of obstacles or that they are obligated to improve their performance given family expectations may be able to create and sustain academic possible selves in spite of lack of previous academic successes. In many ways, it is this latter group, the low performers, that are the more interesting cases in which to study possible selves since it is in this case that possible selves have to be created from something other than simple repetition of current and past outcomes.

Positive, expected selves, and feared or to be avoided selves are often studied separately, either as summaries or counts of the number of positive and negative possible selves over all, or in terms of content (e.g. academic, interpersonal). Expected and feared possible selves can also be studied in conjunction. *Balance* refers to the construal of both positive expectations and fears in the same domain (e.g., I expect to be popular and have lots of friends and I am afraid that I'll be alone, that other kids' parents won't let them hang out with me). Youths with balanced possible selves have both a positive self-identifying goal to strive for and are aware of the personally relevant consequences of not meeting that goal. This balance may preserve motivation to attain the positive possible self and therefore avoid the negative self, leading these youths to make more attempts to attain expected selves and avoid feared ones. Balance may also decrease the range of strategies deemed acceptable in attempting to attain positive possible selves. Strategies that may both increase the possibility of attaining a positive self and reduce the possibility of avoiding the negative self with which it is balanced will be discarded. Only strategies that simultaneously increase the possibility of attaining the positive self and avoiding the negative self will be attempted (Oyserman and Markus, 1990b).

Lack of balance in possible selves may mean that youths are more likely to act without taking into account possible negative consequences for a possible self. This oversight is likely to result in surprise and bewilderment when attempts to attain a positive possible self result in unforeseen negative consequences for the self. Thus, a youth with expectations of becoming accepted by his peers at school who is lacking feared possible selves focused on rejection may think that breaking into school after hours and marking his initials on the walls will help him attain this possible self without taking into account that this behavior is illegal and that youth involved in delinquency may not be socially accepted. By writing his initials on the walls he imagined promoting social possible self without taking into account that he is also providing officials with clues as to who to prosecute. Being expelled and getting into trouble may not be an intended consequence, particularly if the result is that he becomes less accepted.

In addition to measuring balance, possible selves can differ in whether they are linked with behavioral strategies. Possible selves linked with strategies should be better able to promote behavior change. Thus the difference between a youth whose possible self is to pass the eighth grade and one whose possible self is to pass the eighth grade by coming to school

on time each day and not cutting class with friends is that one has a possible self linked to action sequences while the other does not. For one youth, evoking the goal automatically evokes strategies, actions to be taken and avoided. For the other youth, evoking the goal may simply evoke an image of the self at the end state, necessary but perhaps not sufficient, for movement toward the goal to occur (Oyserman, Bybee, Terry, and Hart-Johnson, 2004).

Possible Selves are Social Constructions

Possible selves are always importantly social. When possible selves are based on one's own past successes and failures, they are social, because these successes and failures are frequently successes and failures *relative* to the attainments of comparable others. Grades are relative to the extent that teachers standardize grading to fit actual accomplishments of students. Similarly, when possible selves are based on one's own values, ideals and aspirations, they are social, because these values, ideals and aspirations are also importantly shaped by social contexts (Oyserman, 2002). For example, aspirations are importantly shaped by consensual stereotypes about what people like me (a girl, a rural kid, an American Indian) can become. As social contexts shift, so too may possible selves. The same rural kid can develop a 'college bound' possible self with appropriate feedback and role models. Further, although possible selves are based on past successes and failures, they are not limited to them. For example, although in general, academically successful high school students will find it easier to sustain possible selves focused on school success than academically failing high school students, not all students will translate proximal academic possible selves into adult career-related possible selves. Thus, in a relatively large scale study of adult possible selves of highly academically successful adolescent boys and girls in Northern Ireland, Curry and colleagues (1994) found that highly academically successful girls were significantly less likely to form career-oriented possible selves than boys. Instead, girls were more likely to imagine a future either at home raising children, or a career based not on ability but on balancing home and some sort of job. Simply knowing academic track and past attainment was not sufficient; gender also influenced content of possible selves.

Both specific others and social contexts more generally play an important role in the creation and maintenance of possible selves. Significant others (e.g. parents), role models, and media images are examples of the models used to instantiate possible selves, but so too are important socio-cultural identities. That is, we can become the kind of person that people of our group can become; we fear disappointing important groups by failing to attain group norms and standards. In our own research with African American youth in Detroit, this can be seen clearly in possible selves such as "Become a proud Black woman" in which adherence to group values *is* the possible self. In this way, possible selves are tightly connected to racial, ethnic, gender and cultural identities, and perceived in-group norms. Individuals learn not only who people like them can become, but also who people not like them can become, creating both a series of possible 'me's' and a series of 'not me's', selves one does not strive for or actively tries to avoid. For example, in a series of interviews urban high school students reported common stereotypes of Asians and Latinos, with Latinos linked to manual labor and Asians linked to doing well in school (Kao, 2002). It is reasonable to assume that teens surrounded by pro or anti academic expectations for their group are likely to find development of academic possible selves facilitated in the former and impeded in the latter case since for former but not the latter teens, others will help sustain and maintain the

possible self. Because local norms can be changed or shifted, possible selves are also open to change when norms are perceived to change.

Possible Selves are Shaped By Social Context

Adolescents learn about what is possible and what is valued through engagement with their social context (Oyserman and Markus, 1993). When social contexts lack images of possible selves for 'people like us' in a particular domain, possible selves in this domain are likely to be missing entirely or will be so global as to be useless as a self-regulatory mechanism. Feedback can be reinforcing or restrictive and undermining. In studying minority youths, low socio-economic status youths, and girls, the issue of social contextual undermining and restricting is of particular interest. For example, youth in rural or urban inner-city settings may experience a restriction of possibilities both because specific role models for a range of academic and occupational outcomes are missing and because important social identities may be felt to conflict with certain possible selves. In rural settings, given lack of occupational opportunities, a youth might lack role models of choosing a career rather than simply settling for a job. Thus, in a qualitative interview study (Shepard, 2001), the adult hoped for and feared possible selves generated by rural 17-19 year old adolescent girls in British Columbia did not focus on education and fewer than 10% mentioned occupations, with even these few mentions being vague and general (e.g., "I want a job."). Instead, possible selves focused on personal attributes ("Someone people can like and trust"), relationships ("develop closer relationships with my brother and sister"), and possessions ("I want a jeep"). Similarly, in inner city contexts with high unemployment rates, it may be hard to instantiate specific and detailed occupational possible selves and media images of occupational possible selves for one's racial group may be equally limiting, leaving the implied message that one cannot be both a member of one's racial group and also a member of various professions.

Social contexts also provide important feedback to adolescents and young adults about whether a possible self is positively or negatively valued. Thus, the same possible self can be a positive expected possible self or a dreaded and to-be avoided feared possible self, depending on social contextual feedback. Graduating medical students in primary care specialties were more likely to view becoming a primary care physician as a positive possible self if they had a mentor whose professional and personal life refuted negative stereotypes about people in their specialty (Burack, Irby, Carline, Ambrozy, Ellsbury, and Stritter, 1997).

Similarly, social contexts can shift the perceived likelihood that an expected or feared possible self is likely. Teens whose parents divorced are more likely to have feared possible selves focused on problems in marriage (Carson, Madison, and Santrock, 1987). Similarly, teens are more likely to generate feared possible selves focused on developing mental health problems when they have experienced maternal separations due to maternal mental health problems (Oyserman, Bybee, and Mowbray, 2005). These effects of situations are also found in experimental manipulations of likelihood of attaining a possible self: College undergraduates rated career as compared to marital, and parental possible selves as more (or less) likely to be attained when they received false feedback that their personality matched (did not match) the personality of people who attained career success (or were successful

parents) (Kerpelman and Pittman, 2001). The link between possible selves and congruent behavior has also been shown experimentally: College undergraduates primed to think of 'success after hard effort' possible selves were more persistent as compared to undergraduates primed to think of 'success due to stroke of luck' possible selves (Ruvolo and Markus, 1992).

Because it is a context central to attainment of both academic and social possible selves and because youths spend a large portion of their day at school, school as a social context has been a particular focus of possible self research. Although school transitions have not been the explicit focus of possible self research, content of academic or school-focused possible selves are likely to shift focus across school transitions because these transitions result in changing social contexts (from more personalized to more regimented, from learning to outcome focused). As contexts shift, the meaning of academic success shifts from trying and improving to attaining successful outcomes. Thus, from early adolescence on, becoming a successful student should increasingly focus on grades, performance, and comparisons with others rather than personal mastery or involvement. For these reasons, we assume that adolescents' academic possible selves are less likely to focus on learning (e.g. "I expect to learn new things in school", "I want to avoid being bored in class") and more likely to focus on outcomes (e.g. "I expect to get good grades," "I want to avoid failing."). Indeed, in our own lab, when we ask Detroit middle school students to generate possible selves, they commonly mention passing, getting good grades, avoiding failing or getting good grades, but rarely mention expecting to learn new things, or wanting to avoid not learning.

There is also some evidence that school and academic success may become less salient possible selves as youth move from elementary to middle and high school. Anderman and colleagues report that in elementary school, boys' possible selves were more likely to focus on being a good student than in middle school, with likelihood of 'good student' possible selves declining across the middle school years (Anderman, Hicks, and Maehr, 1994 as described in Anderman, Anderman and Griesinger, 1999; Anderman et al., 1999). In our own lab, our longitudinal research on the middle to high school transition in Detroit also shows an overall decline in the number of academic possible selves. However, the data do not appear linear, each fall students generate more academic possible selves than they do by the end of the academic year.

Yet if students are actively engaged, positive academic possible selves can also be increased across these years. This is shown in a small group based brief universal intervention with urban African American middle school youth. The intervention increased academic possible selves and balanced possible selves in the year after the intervention (in comparison with intervention and control youth and controlling for previous year's GPA) (Oyserman, Terry, and Bybee, 2002). This effect was replicated in a larger experimental trial that also documented that change in possible selves mediated significant change in school behavior, grades, and depression (Oyserman, Bybee, and Terry, 2005). Effects may not be easy to attain – another intervention did not find effects on possible selves when African American elementary and middle school youth received mentoring for various lengths of time (Lee and Cramond, 1999).

WHY STUDY POSSIBLE SELVES OF MINORITY YOUTH?

There are two key reasons why a focus on possible selves of minority youths is needed. First, because possible selves mediate between values and actual behavior, understanding possible selves is critical to narrowing the gap between Mexican American, African American, American Indian and white youth. Possible selves are critical to understanding the gap when it is in the opposite direction as well – such as the case with Asian Americans. That is, higher achieving and lower achieving groups may differ systematically in the nature of their possible selves. Because possible selves are socially constituted and maintained, it is likely that racial/ethnic groups differ systematically in their possible selves so that a second reason to study possible selves of racial/ethnic minority youth is to gain better understanding of the interface between possible selves and content of racial/ethnic identity. Such understanding would allow for development of effective interventions to reduce the achievement gap and decrease risk of other negative outcomes contained in stereotypes. Stereotypes about minorities are focused on the important domains of adolescence – academic achievement, interpersonal and relational style, and engagement with risky activities. When minority youths imagine what is possible for them, preformed images in these domains are likely to be highly accessible. Thus, for example, part of the answer to the question 'am I likely to do well in school?' comes from group images. Are 'we' stereotyped as a model minority or as dumb and lazy?

For minority youth, shared ideas about who one is, where one belongs, what is possible for the self and what is not, are reflected in culturally significant metaphors, images, stories, proverbs, icons, and symbols (Oyserman and Harrison, 1998). These shared ideas or images are shaped by contact and interface with American society (Oyserman, Kemmelmeier, Fryberg, Brosh, and Hart-Johnson, 2004) and carry with them socially contrived messages about what targets of those messages can and cannot do. Hence, what it means to be American Indian, African American, Asian American or Mexican American is particularized by culture of origin, and its interface with both mainstream American culture, and mainstream America's views of one's group. Studying the possible selves of minority youth provides a window into the motivational world of these youths.

WHY FOCUS ON ADOLESCENCE?

Following Erikson's (1968) model of psychosocial development, adolescence is the life phase focused on identity development. Adolescence is a *psychosocial moratorium*, during which time youth are free to try on possible selves without suffering sanctions from misbehavior related to their conception of how a person with such a self would act. Erikson defines active identity seeking as a moratorium phase in which youth try out, without commitment, various roles. Once roles have been tried, young adults *achieve* a sense of identity, picking a smaller set of possible selves to commit to becoming. Erikson recognized that not all youth went through a phase of trying on or actively seeking an identity, either because they decided on adult identities to strive to become early in adolescence without much seeking (what Erikson termed *foreclosure*) or because they are neither searching for adult selves nor settled on future selves, but were simply unsure (what he termed *identity diffusion*). While the possible self model does not require that Erikson be correct, it is compatible with his model of phases of identity development. Specifically, during

moratorium youth should have more and more varied possible selves, though not necessarily strategies to attain them. During achievement and foreclosure phases, youth should rate their possible selves as more certain to be attained and should have few possible selves that are vague or lack strategies. The difference in possible selves of achievement and foreclosure youth should be in their content not their number or their perceived certainty of occurring. Given that foreclose and achievement phases differ in how much youth engaged in active seeking prior to choosing, with foreclosure youth seeking less, the possible selves of achievement youth should be more diverse and less likely to simply mirror the content of in-group stereotypes than the possible selves of foreclosure phase youth.

We did not find many empirical tests of the connection between possible selves and identity development phase. Those we found focused on Marcia's (1980) operationalization of Erikson's phases of identity formation – with the assumption that as youth pass through the moratorium phase on the way to identity resolution of some type, they should be actively imagining more possible selves than prior (e.g. identity diffusion) or later identity phases (e.g. identity achievement), and that those who do not seek an adult identity at one time point (e.g. identity foreclosure), may do so at another. Dunkel (2001) tested whether possible self construction is indeed related to adolescent identity development phase using the EOM-EIS2 operationalization of identity status (Marcia, 1980) with 17-25 mostly white psychology undergraduates. Students who scored in the 'Moratorium' phase and 'low profile' respondents (who did not score high in any of the identity phase subscales) reported more positive possible selves than students who scored in the 'Foreclosure' or 'Diffusion' identity phase. Not only did 'Moratorium' phase students have more positive possible selves, they also endorsed more neutral and more negative possible selves than did individuals in the other four groups. In addition, students who had either completed an identity seeking phase (coded as Identity Achieved) or had never sought an identity (coded as Identity Foreclosed) rated their positive and neutral possible selves as more certain and likely to be achieved than did students who scored in the Moratorium, Diffusion or low profile groups. These findings, though focused on somewhat older adolescents and young adults, lend support to the relevance of developmental phases of identity development to the construct of possible selves.

HOW ARE POSSIBLE SELVES MEASURED?

Three general formats appear in the published literature, a close-ended format yielding sum scores of positive and negative possible selves across domains, an open format content coded for domain, a closed-format focusing on a specific type of possible self (typically academic possible selves). Markus and Nurius (1986) [2] introduced a close-ended measure to assess the number of positive and negative possible selves in their research with college students, subsequent use of this measure also typically involves college students (e.g. Dunkle, 2001; Leondari, Syngollitou, and Kiosseoglou, 1998). Open-ended measures suitable for use with children and adolescents are reported for children as young as 10 or 11 (Lobenstine et

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[2] Markus (1987) provides one week stability and reliability information for this measure, describing positive, negative and neutral selves.

al., 2001; Shepard and Marshall, 1999). We also found a number of close-ended measures[3] for teens and college students focused specifically on academic (Anderman, Anderman and Griesinger, 1999, Kemmelmeier and Oyserman, 2001b; Kemmelmeier, Oyserman, and Brosh, 2003) and social (Anderman, Anderman and Griesinger, 1999) possible selves.

A detailed description of an open-ended possible selves measure and coding schema for Black and White adolescents is provided by Oyserman and Markus (1990), the measure they developed in their study with low-income high school and institutionalized youth is also used by others focused on risky behaviors in the middle and high school years (e.g. Aloise-Young, Hennigan, and Leong, 2001). This initial format was later modified to include questions about strategies to attain possible selves in subsequent research with African American, Hispanic and low-income white middle and high school students (Oyserman and Saltz, 1993; Oyserman, Gant and Ager, 1995, Study 1; Oyserman, Bybee, Terry, and Hart-Johnson, 2004). An alternative open-ended format focuses on hoped for and feared possible selves, elicits ratings of likelihood of attaining each possible self and ratings of how much each possible self is hoped for or feared (Cross and Markus, 1991), although initially used in research with middle to older aged adults, this format is also used in research with white middle class high school students (Knox, Funk, Elliott, and Bush, 2000).

Across research, possible self measures also differ in their reference point. Some measures refer to "the future" with no further specification; other measures specify a reference point in terms of chronological ("next year") or developmental ("as an adult") time. Clearly measure and reference point influence findings, though we only found one study (Oyserman and Markus, 1990) that explicitly compared results from one reference point to another. These authors found that use of the "adult" reference point resulted in results that were more similar across youth and did not distinguish among youth differing in delinquent involvement while use of a "next year" reference point result in more heterogeneous responses that were significantly related to delinquent involvement.

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[3] Anderman, Anderman & Griesinger (1999) studied academic and social possible selves in white Midwestern 7th graders and a separate sample of African American and European American Southeastern high school students. Using a five year time horizon, students rated the likelihood that they would attain Academic Positive Possible Selves (rating the likelihood of being a good student, being smartest in class, doing better than other students, being on the honor roll, and get rewarded for doing well), Social Positive Possible Selves (rating the likelihood of being popular, chosen first for teams and groups, having lots of friends and being competitive), and of Academic Negative Possible Selves (rating the likelihood of doing as little school work as possible, being interested in school work (reversed), wanting to quit school, getting good grades (reversed), and being a poor student). Academic positive possible selves were reliable in both samples, Chronbach's α = .73 (white sample), .62 (mixed sample), social possible selves were reliable only in the white sample, Chronbach's α = .69, and negative academic possible selves were reliable only in the mixed race sample, α =.71 (other than stating unreliable, no further α information available for the other sample for social or negative academic selves). Briefer scales of academic possible selves were developed in the work of Oyserman and her colleague, Markus Kemmelmeier. In a study with primarily white college students they asked "How do you think you will do in school next year, overall what are your chances of being successful in the future, how easy or hard will it be for you to find a really good job when you finish school, how confident are you that you will succeed in the future" Cronbach's α = .78 (Kemmelmeier & Oyserman, 2001b), with the Chronbach α reliable (.71) in a subsequent study with Arab Israeli and German high school students (Kemmelmeier, Oyserman, & Brosh, 2005). Similarly, in a study with mostly white college students, they asked students to rate the likelihood of the following academic possible selves: do well in school, get good grades, understand the material in my classes (Cronbach's α = .88), and strategies to attain these possible selves: using my time wisely, handling problems that come my way successfully, coping well with distractions, and striving persistently toward my goals (Cronbach's α = .80), moreover, since the two scales correlated at r = .45, they were averaged as a single score for subsequent analyses (Kemmelmeier & Oyserman, 2001b).

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POSSIBLE SELVES AND IMPORTANT OUTCOMES IN ADOLESCENCE?

Possible Selves and Academic Outcomes

Possible selves have been linked to academic attainments. At the middle school level, Midwestern mostly white seventh graders with positive academic possible selves had improved GPA from 6th to 7th grade, especially when their academic possible selves were more positive than their current academic self-concept (Anderman, Anderman and Griesinger, 1999). In a mixed raced sample of 6th-8th graders, positive academic possible selves predicted higher endorsement of performance goals - wanting to do schoolwork in order to prove one's competence or to appear more able or competent than other students (Anderman et al, 1999). Even in samples at high risk of academic problems due to high poverty concentration, when youth had more academically focused possible selves and strategies to attain them, they had significantly improved grades (controlling for previous year GPA) compared with youth lacking these possible selves (Oyserman, et al., 2004).

With regard to college, students (male and female) who were math/science schematic took and planned to take more math and science courses than their peers (Lipps, 1995, Study 2). Female college students with a positive math/science self-schema performed better on a math test than those who were either aschematic or had negative math/science self-schemas (Lips, 1995, Study 1).

Possible Selves and Delinquent Involvement

Possible selves have also been linked with delinquent involvement. Youth may initially view a delinquent lifestyle as a means to create possible selves such as "independent," "daring," "competent," or "fun-loving and adventurous." The negative self-definitional consequences of delinquency may not be taken into account, especially by youths who lack balanced possible selves (Oyserman and Markus, 1990a; 1990b). In a study of four subgroups of primarily African American adolescent males who varied in level of official delinquent involvement from the state maximum security lockup facility for juveniles to high school students attending the schools most commonly cited as the last school attended by these youth, with midrange levels of delinquent involvement including youth in living in group homes after delinquent adjudication and youth attending schools of attention after more minor involvement with police or school infractions, Oyserman and Markus (1990a; 1990b) find differences in content of next year expected possible selves, next year feared possible selves and extent that expected and feared selves are 'balanced' or represent what the youth wants to

attain and avoid in a specific domain. For public school and community placement youth, the most common expected possible self generated focused on doing well in school and accounted for nearly a third of responses. For the two most delinquent groups, however, "getting along in school" is only the third or fourth most frequent response, accounting for only 13.9% of the responses given by the training school youth. Similarly, the achievement-related response of "having a job," which is the third or fourth most frequently generated possible self for the public school and community placement youth does not appear at all for the two most delinquent groups. Instead, what appears in these positions is a variety of *negatively* valued possible selves: "junkie," "depressed," "alone," "flunking out of school," "pusher," "criminal." Note that these negative selves are generated not in response to the query about feared selves, but in response to expected possible selves. The amount of official delinquency predicted greater likelihood of generating these kinds of negative selves as expected next year possible selves. Lower likelihood of generating next year expected selves focused on doing well or getting along in school, and higher likelihood of materially focused next year expected possible selves (e.g. expecting to have a car or nice clothes).

With respect to the possible selves that are hoped for in the next year, there is more homogeneity among the four groups, all groups indicate with about equal frequency the hope to "have friends" and, indeed, this is the most frequently generated hoped-for possible self of the two most delinquent groups. In contrast with the expected selves, "having a job" is a commonly hoped-for possible self for all the groups including the two most delinquent groups. "Getting along in school" is a frequently generated hoped-for self by all but the training school youth, where it is replaced by the material hoped for selves (e.g. having certain types of clothes or cars). Feared possible selves show striking differences across the four groups. By far the most frequently generated feared possible self of the public school youth is that of "not getting along in school." It accounts for nearly a quarter of all responses to this question. For the other three groups, however, the most frequently generated response is the fear of being criminal–a "thief," a "murderer." For the two most delinquent groups this fear explains a third of all their responses. In contrast, the fear of being criminal does not appear at all among the five most frequent responses of the public school youth and only 8% mentioned this self at all. The amount of official delinquency predicted fearing criminal selves and fearing school failure. Generally, the percentage of youth generating school failure selves decreased, whereas the percentage of youth generating criminal selves increased across groups from public school to training school youth.

When the balance between the expectations and fears of the four groups of youth was examined, the officially nondelinquent youth showed significantly more balance between their expectations and fears than did the most officially delinquent youth. More than 81% of nondelinquents had at least one match between their expected and feared selves, whereas this was true for only 37% of the most delinquent groups. Of the most officially delinquent youth in this sample, 33% to 37% feared becoming criminal. Yet, these feared selves were not balanced by expectations that focused on avoiding crime and attaining conventional achievement. The two most delinquent groups do not expect to "have a job" and only 14% to 19% of them expect to "get along in school." Although these delinquent youth have the type of feared selves that might be associated with the avoidance of delinquent activity, many of them seem to be missing the expected possible selves that could provide the organizing and energizing vision of how they might avoid criminal activity, and what they might expect if they do.

Self-reported delinquency data (collected 2-3 months after the self-concept measures) were available for the least officially delinquent youth – the public school and community placement youth. Controlling for sex, race, and sample source, balance significantly predicted self-reported delinquency among these youth. This effect remained even when controlling for the impact of expecting negative selves. The relationship between self-esteem and delinquent involvement was non-linear and not significant, (Oyserman and Markus, 1990a; 1990b).

These findings were substantively replicated in a subsequent study with another African American sample showing that controlling for other factors, youth who were in public school (officially nondelinquent youth) were more likely to have balanced possible selves, to believe that they were attempting to attain expected selves and avoid feared selves, and to view individuated and achievement-oriented selves as important than youth in detention after felony arrest, these differences were replicated when the public school sample only was used and youth were compared in their level of self-reported delinquent involvement (Oyserman and Saltz, 1993). Using a somewhat different approach, Newberry and Duncan counted number of positive and negative possible selves among high school students and found that having fewer positive and more negative possible selves correlated with self-report delinquent involvement (Newberry and Duncan, 2001).

Possible Selves and Health Risk Behaviors

Balance in possible selves is also related to substance use in junior high school aged youth. Aloise-Young, Hennigan, and Leong (2001) looked at the relationship between possible selves, cigarette and alcohol consumption among 6th-9th grader in a large sample (n=1606) of Los Angeles youth, about 45% Anglo, with most of the other students being Hispanic. Youth who smoked and drank more had significantly fewer balanced possible selves, no gender or ethnicity interaction effects were found. The relationship between balance and substance use was stronger after 6th grade because in 6th grade relatively few of these behaviors were reported. By the 9th grade, a quarter of youth without any positive expected selves reported heavy substance use, as compared with only 1% of those with three positive expected selves. These results substantively replicate an earlier study examining self-schemas, possible selves, and risky behavior (alcohol use/misuse, tobacco use, and sexual activity) in 8th graders and then a year later after they had transitioned to high school (9th grade) (Stein and Markus, 1998). A bi-directional relationship indicated that 8th grade popularity self-schema scores were predictive of 9th grade risky behaviors and that engagement in risky behaviors in 8th grade contributed to the conceptualization of the self as currently deviant and positively predicted the deviant self-schema scores in the 9th grade. Involvement in risky behaviors increases subsequent negative possible selves and the reverse, negative possible selves predict subsequent risky behaviors. Thus possible selves have been implicated in both promoting positive outcomes – academics and in increasing risk of negative outcomes – delinquency, alcohol and tobacco use, and early sexual activity. The next sections use the framework laid out to focus on gender, race and ethnicity.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN POSSIBLE SELVES

In adolescence, girls and boys differ in self-esteem, in the extent that self-concept contains others and relationships to them, and in their cognitive and emotional maturity. All of these gender differences may relate to differences in possible selves. With regard to self-esteem, on average, girls have lower self-esteem than boys. Indeed, higher self-esteem is associated with greater confidence that positive possible selves will be attained (Knox et al., 1998). Thus on average, girls should be less sure that they will attain their possible selves and more certain that negative possible selves may occur – taken together, these perceptions may reduce their commitment to any particular positive possible self while focusing energies on avoiding negative possible selves. Those with lower self-esteem may be more prone to give up on possible selves, following James' (1890) notion that low self-esteem stimulates pruning of possible selves that are deemed unattainable. Second, with regard to social or relational content of self-concept, those with more social content may be more open to contextual influence, both because obligations to important others may be perceived as more central to self-concept and because others' successes and failures are more likely to be incorporated into self-concept. This means that girls may be more susceptible to contextual influences – taking on as their own both successes and failures of related others. Third, with regard to gender differences in cognitive development, the self may have more influence on the behavior of girls than of boys to the extent that girls are better able to develop 'if-then' consequential strategies related to their possible selves. While remaining confident that one's possible selves can be attained and being less influenced by context may seem positive, to the extent that the self is not engaged or turned on in everyday behavioral situations, this confidence may have little effect on actual behavior. In our own research, we found boys' possible selves less influenced by social contextual information about likelihood of academic failure while also being at higher risk of academic failure themselves, it was as if girls took information about other's failure as a cautionary tale to increase vigilance, boys did not (Oyserman, Gant, and Ager, 1995, Study 3). In this section, we review evidence of gender differences in these three areas as they relate to possible selves.

SELF-ESTEEM

With regard to self-esteem and content of possible selves, we found little evidence to explain why gender differences occur. Male and female college students do not differ in the number of balanced possible selves they generate (Oyserman, Gant and Ager, Study 1). Boys and girls do not differ in the number of positive possible selves they have. No gender differences in number of expected possible selves were found in a 6th-9th grade sample, with 2.4-2.6 expected possible selves generated across each grade and gender (Aloise-Young et al., 2001). No gender differences were found in positive possible selves in a sample of 14-15 year old high school students although girls had significantly lower self-esteem than boys (Leondari, Syngollitou, and Kiosseoglou, 1998).For girls, the likelihood of attaining negative possible selves is also negatively associated with higher self-esteem (Knox et al, 1998). However in a large scale study with predominantly white Ohio high school students, gender differences in feared possible self content and likelihood were found (Knox, Funk, Elliott, and

Bush, 2000). Specifically, high school girls rated feared possible selves as more likely than boys (overall $\underline{M}$ = 5.4, range = 1-19) and described more feared relational possible selves whereas boys generated more feared possible selves related to occupation, general failure, and inferiority (Knox et al., 200). No gender differences in likelihood or content of hoped-for possible selves were found ($\underline{M}$ = 8 range = 1-19), though girls rated hoped for selves on average as more hoped for than boys. The three most frequently mentioned hoped for possible selves for boys and girls (in descending order of frequency) were occupation, relationship, and education. Physical illness, general failure, relationships were the most frequent feared possible selves for boys, for girls, relationships, illness, failure were the order. Boys were more likely to have occupation and general failure fears while girls were more likely to have relationship fears.

SENSITIVITY TO SOCIAL CONTEXT

Another possibility is that girls' possible selves are more sensitive to social contextual feedback – incorporating both negative and positive possible selves more easily into self-concept. We already noted Curry et al.'s (1994) finding that girls took into account their likely need to take on parenting roles in imagining possible selves related to careers, however, this research did not directly address sensitivity to contextual feedback, since both boys and girls in this research could be seen to be responding to social norms about appropriate gender roles in adulthood. In our lab, we addressed these issues more directly by assessing the response of teenaged girls and boys to social comparison information, finding that girls were more likely to shift up their academic possible selves when they thought of someone their same gender who was succeeding in school, and more likely to shift down these possible selves when they thought of someone they knew who was failing in school (Kemmelmeier and Oyserman, 2001a; 2001b, Kemmelmeier, Oyserman, and Brosh, 2005).

In these studies with Arab Israeli high school students, German high school students and mostly European American university students– girls were more likely to assimilate outcomes of significant others to their own academic possible selves, whether the other that was brought to mind is successful or a failure. We speculated that this effect was at least partially mediated by differences between boys and girls in how the self-concept is organized. That is, is self-concept a way of clarifying how one is unique, agentic, different and separate from others (an 'independent self-focus'), or a way of clarifying how one is connected and related to others, embedded in relationships, and responsible for others (an 'interdependent' self-focus) (Markus and Oyserman, 1989). Indeed, girls' assimilation of others outcomes into their own possible selves was due in part to interdependence, as shown in a set of mediation analyses (Kemmelmeier et al., 2005).

COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

In addition to self-concept differences in possible self content, certainty, and susceptibility to social influence, gender differences may occur due to differences in cognitive and social development. In adolescence, girls are faster to develop self-awareness, self-

reflection and abstract reasoning; their self-concepts contain more relational content, and by mid-adolescence, are they are more likely to begin thinking about the integration of future work and family roles. Curry, Trew, Turner and Hunter (1994) provide a useful review of gender differences in adolescence. They note that adolescent girls attain ego-development milestones earlier than boys and so may be both more concerned about future selves and concerned at earlier ages than boys. In terms of possible selves, these differences imply first, that possible selves will have less self-regulatory power for boys than for girls and second, that girls are less likely to develop strictly task-focused possible selves and will attempt to juggle more numerous possible selves connecting the self to others. For example, rather than choose between school and family focused possible selves, girls may remain torn between their personal desire to do well in school, and their belief that they are expected to also be a good family member. Following James' model, girls may have lower self-esteem because they are unable to give up or prune low likelihood possible selves, resulting in relatively modest ratios of current successes compared with domains of aspiration.

CONTENT OF POSSIBLE SELVES AMONG ETHNIC/RACIAL MINORITIES

In our review of the literature, we found studies describing content of possible selves among African American, American Indian, Asian American, and Hispanic youth, with little information on possible selves of other ethnic, racial or national minorities. In this section we review what is known about content of possible selves in these groups.

African American Adolescents

Academic or school-related possible selves predict positive change in grades (controlling for previous grades) even among low income African American middle school students when the possible selves are linked with strategies (Oyserman et al., 2004). There is evidence that academic and occupational possible selves are common among African American youth, although between race differences have not been fully explored, whites and blacks may differ in the cultural values associated with academic or school-related possible selves and in whether emphasis is on attaining positive academic possible selves or avoiding negative academic possible selves. Oyserman and Markus (1990) find African American public high school students are more likely to generate doing well in school as a hoped for self than white students; in a middle school sample Anderman and colleagues report African American 6th - 8th graders are less likely to report positive academic possible selves than other (primarily white) youth (Anderman et al, 1999). In a college sample (Oyserman et al., 1995, Study 1) no between race difference was found in total number of balanced possible selves, but Black and White undergraduates differed significantly in the number of balanced possible selves that were in the academic domain of school and/or work, with Black students having fewer such balanced school-related pairs of possible selves. Although they had fewer balanced possible selves focused on the academic or occupational domain, Black students described significantly more strategies they were currently using to <u>attain</u> their school-related possible

selves (no race differences were found in the number of currently used strategies generated to avoid feared achievement-related possible selves).

Moreover, whereas for white students balance in academic possible selves positively correlated with generating strategies to approach positive possible selves, balance was correlated with generating strategies to avoid negative possible selves for Black students. Among White students, Individualism and the Protestant Work Ethic were positively correlated with generating strategies to approach academic possible selves. The relationship between cultural values and strategies was sharply different for African American students. For Black students, the Protestant Work Ethic did not relate to possible selves, instead, those who were lower in Individualism, higher in Collectivism, and higher in endorsement of a positive Racial Identity generated more strategies to approach academic possible selves (see also Oyserman and Harrison, 1998). This positive relationship between Collectivism and academic possible selves was also found in a study with male African American high school students, those who valued interconnection generated more balanced academic possible selves (Oyserman and Saltz, 1993 high school subsample). These studies are important because they link academic possible selves with racial/ethnic identity of minority youth.

Given the importance of academic possible selves, we looked for evidence of that malleability among African American students and found that academic possible selves are amenable to change, as documented in a brief small group based after school program for low-income, urban African American eighth graders. Controlling for previous grades, gender, and levels of possible selves, youth in the 6-week after-school intervention group had significantly more balanced academic possible selves and significantly more concrete strategies to attain these academic possible selves by the end of the academic year than control group youth (Oyserman, Terry, and Bybee, 2002). We have now replicated this effect showing improved academic outcomes two full years after the possible selves focused intervention. There is also evidence that academically oriented possible selves may not always be the most central or important possible selves for African American youth. In an open-ended interview with a small sample of rural African American mother-daughter pairs about teen's desired selves, academic and occupational possible selves were the most frequently mentioned, but not necessarily described as one's most central possible self – for some teens attainment of personality attributes rather than attainment of occupational and academic possible selves was the most central self (Kerpelman, Shoffner, Ross-Griffin (2002).

American Indian Adolescents

Although school and relationship possible selves are most common among American Indian students, possible selves about poverty and material things were also quite common. Fryberg and Markus (2005) examined the content of possible selves in three samples of American Indian students -- American Indian high school students who live on a reservation, but attend school off the reservation, American Indian university students at a mainstream university, and American Indian university students attending an American Indian university (half who grew up on Indian reservations and half who did not). When asked to think about their possible selves in the coming year the most common hoped for possible self across samples was to be successful in school and to get good grades, the most common feared

possible self focused on school failure. All three samples mentioned having relationships and material things and feared not having relationships and living in poverty as the next most common possible selves. However, American Indian high school students and the American Indian university students from the reservation were less likely to mention relationships and were more likely to mention poverty than were the other American Indian samples. A second study (Fryberg and Markus, 2005) compared American Indian junior high, high school, and college students and found that junior high and high school students generated more expected possible selves about success in school and more feared selves about poverty and deviance than did American Indian college students. These descriptive studies provide evidence that academic possible selves are common among high risk American Indian youth in junior high and high school. A final experimental study focused on consequences of social contexts on academic possible selves. Compared to no prime control, students asked to rate American Indian-themed mascots later generated fewer academic possible selves (Fryberg, Markus, Oyserman, and Stone, 2005). Making salient thoughts about Indian mascots reduced salience of academic future selves. This study is important because it focuses directly on the impact of stereotyped images in the social context of minority youths on their possible selves.

Asian American Adolescents

Compared with African American and American Indian youth, considerably less research attention has focused on the possible selves of Asian American youth. One small scale qualitative study suggests that academic possible selves are likely to be common among Asian Americans (Kao, 2000). Using focus groups and interviews with African American, Hispanic, Asian American, and white youth at an urban high school, Kao (2000) found that all students (including Asian Americans) associate Asian American students with doing well in school, in particular high achievement in math and sciences. The author uses qualitative, content analyses to contend that the expectation by others and one's own group to do well in school help to facilitate the development of academic possible selves for Asian Americans.

No other research on Asian American adolescents was available; however, one study (Fryberg and Markus, 2005) using college students provides some empirical evidence for the prevalence of achievement related possible selves in this racial/ethnic group. In terms of content of possible selves, the majority of Asian American college students sampled reported at least one expected or hoped for self related to success in school (88.5%). The second most common responses included having relationships (70%) and positive psychological attributes (57.7%). Asian Americans did not differ from European American college students in the frequencies of these responses (although sample sizes were relatively small). In terms of feared selves psychological attributes were the most common feared possible self of Asian American and European American students (84.6% and 81.1% respectively), with failing in school (61.5% and 75.7%) and lacking relationships (65.4% and 67.6) the second and third most common possible selves respectively.

Hispanic American/Latino Adolescents

We found six studies that explicitly focused on possible selves among Latino youth. Controlling for previous grades, academic possible selves and strategies to attain them predict improved academic outcomes even in high poverty Latino youth (Oyserman et al., 2004). A number of studies suggest that having such academic possible selves may not be common among Latino youth. In a descriptive study of ninth graders, feared, not hoped for educational and occupational possible selves related to risk status for student dropout (Yowell, 2002). A third study with a smaller sample of 13-14 year old Latino youth, found boys more likely to report occupational possible selves as central than girls and girls more likely to report constrained possible selves. Both genders showed high but vague educational and occupational hoped for possible selves and global feared selves that focused more on about well-being than either academics or occupation (Yowell, 2000). Potentially the lack of specificity has to do with negative stereotypes about the likely attainments of Latinos. Among urban African American, Asian, Hispanic and white 9th -12th grade high school students, stereotypes about Hispanics focused less on their current academic performance and more on their future likely occupational concentration in manual labor, influencing the nature of their possible selves (Kao, 2000). The notion that academics may not be central to Latinos possible selves was underscored in the findings from a small qualitative study (Lobenstine, et al., 2001) that focused on adult hoped for and feared possible selves among teenaged mostly Puerto Rican (raised in the U.S.) girls recruited from youth agencies. While career and education were central hoped for selves, failing to attain career and educational goals were not common fears. The three most common hoped for selves (with at least 60% of respondents generated these) were family, career and education, with feared possible selves, the four most common (at least 60% of respondents generated these) feared selves were be a victim of violence, drug/alcohol abuse, be lonely/broken hearted, be poor/homeless, in addition, almost half of teens for feared dying young. The only feared self focused on occupation/education was high school dropout with 20% of teens generating this (Lobenstine et al., 2001). Day, Borkowksi, Punzo, and Howsepian (1994), utilizing a sample of 83 3rd-5th graders, showed that a brief intervention focusing on the vividness and salience of both proximal and distal possible selves could increase links between current academic performance and future occupational as well as academic possible selves. Comparing three intervention conditions (child-only, parent and child, or no instruction), they found that participants in the child-only intervention group hoped for more prestigious jobs than children in the no-instruction control group and that children in both instructional groups expressed increased expectation that they could become doctors, lawyers, or pilots after having been exposed to more specific information about these occupations. In our own lab, we find that a brief intervention focused on increasing salience and specificity of next year academic possible selves (and strategies to attain them) increases academic outcomes, especial school attendance, for Hispanic youth and that the effects are maintained two years post intervention, through the transition to high school.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

In the current chapter, we reviewed what is known about the relationship between possible selves and attainment of important life tasks (e.g. school success) or avoidance of

risky behavior (e.g. delinquency, early initiation of sexual activity, smoking, alcohol or drug use during adolescence, showing that academic possible selves, balanced academic possible selves, and strategies to attain these possible selves have positive influence on academic outcomes and are related to reduced risk of negative outcomes in adolescence. We reviewed the literature on content of possible selves for diverse youth during this life phase and explored whether gender, racial/ethnic differences were found. Gender differences were found, girls' possible selves are more susceptible to social context and girls feel more certain that negative possible selves may indeed occur, susceptibility to social context is at least in part mediated by girls' higher interdependence. Given the literature showing between ethnic group differences in interdependence among racial and ethnic groups within the U.S. (Oyserman, Coon, and Kemmelmeier, 2002), this means that possible selves of Hispanic and Asian American youth may also be more susceptible to social context – although to date no research has been carried out on this issue. The literature on race/ethnicity is composed mostly of single group studies so that direct comparisons between groups are not possible. However, the available evidence points to similarities across quite different youth – arguing that possible selves can be viewed as the personalized expression of the life tasks of adolescence – because all teens must figure out who they can become in the important social domains of adolescence – school/work, family, and friends, these possible selves dominate content of future oriented self-images. Moreover, teens must also articulate for themselves how to handle risks – of school failure, involvement with drugs or other substances, loneliness, and where relevant, poverty or mental health problems, and these are articulated in feared possible selves. African American and American Indian youth appear similar to white youth in envisioning possible selves that include academic or school-related outcomes; while less research is available for Asian Americans, this appears to be the case for this group as well. With regard to Hispanic youth, academic possible selves may be less common, though when they are part of the self, they have the same beneficial effects. Evidence suggests African American and Hispanic youths' possible selves are amenable to change from structured intervention, with positive effects lasting through the transition to high school. For American Indian youth, there is no evidence of the efficacy of structured intervention but there is evidence of the pernicious effects of stereotypes on salience of academic possible selves. Finally, there is some evidence that academic possible selves and strategies are related to cultural values – Individualism, Collectivism, and Racial/Ethnic Identity. This is an important tack for future research because it holds promise for development of culturally sensitive intervention.

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