Peer Accusations of Acting White: Longitudinal Effects on Minority Adolescents’ Ethnic Identity and Depressive Symptoms

John Ogunkeye

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

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Advisor and Committee Chair: Mitch Prinstein Ph.D.

Committee Member: Jackie Nesi, M.A.

Committee Member: Eric Youngstrom, Ph.D.

Committee Member: Karolyn Tyson, Ph.D.
Abstract

The “acting white” (AW) accusation is an insult directed at minority adolescents for appearing to conform to norms associated with white society. Although the term was first introduced in the 1980’s, by John Ogbu and Signithia Fordham, as part of a theory on the increasing achievement gap between white students and their minority peers, few studies have examined how the AW accusation affects minority students psychologically. Data were collected from a sample of minority high school students (N=173), over four years, at three diverse high schools in rural North Carolina. There are two major aims in this study. First, this study seeks to identify and describe the characteristics of students who are accused of AW. Second, this study explores the longitudinal effects of the accusation, specifically with regard to ethnic identity and depressive symptoms. Results indicated that students who are accused of AW are more likely to be made fun of for they way that they speak, experience higher levels of social anxiety, and be more popular among their white peers. Longitudinally, students who reported stressful experiences with the AW accusation reported lower levels of ethnic identity and higher levels of depressive symptoms. The findings from this study suggest that the AW accusation may negatively affect the psychological adjustment of minority adolescents. Future research should further examine how the AW accusation is linked to negative mental health outcomes.

Keywords: Acting White, Minority Health, Ethnic Identity, and Depression.
Peer Accusations of Acting White: Longitudinal Effects on Minority Adolescents’ Ethnic Identity and Depressive Symptoms

Sometimes African Americans, in communities where I’ve worked, there’s been the notion of “acting white” — which sometimes is overstated, but there’s an element of truth to it, where, okay, if boys are reading too much, then, well, why are you doing that? Or why are you speaking so properly? And the notion that there’s some authentic way of being black, that if you’re going to be black you have to act a certain way and wear a certain kind of clothes, that has to go.

United States President Barack Obama, June 2014 (Capehart, 2014)

Adolescence is a challenging period for most young people, as the transition into young adulthood is filled with numerous psychological and social challenges that may have implications later in life. Although many developmental experiences are universal, adolescent minorities have culturally unique experiences that may be an additional contributing factor to the development of negative psychosocial outcomes. One such experience involves the acting white accusation (hereafter referred to as AW accusation or AW). In 1984, John Ogbu and Signithia Fordham published their landmark paper on the AW accusation. While Ogbu and Fordham were not the first scholars to reference AW, their work brought the phenomenon national attention and inspired a great deal of subsequent research. Although scholars have used various definitions, the AW accusation is generally described as a negative insult directed specifically at minorities, most often black individuals, for appearing to conform to norms associated with mainstream “white society” (Ogbu & Fordham, 1986). For decades, researchers have studied how the AW accusation may be associated with low academic achievement outcomes among minority students, but
few have explored how the phenomenon contributes to psychopathology. This paper will use a longitudinal framework to examine how the AW accusation is associated with negative mental health outcomes for minority adolescents during their four years in high school.

The Original Acting White Hypothesis

Ogbu and Fordham are anthropologists who proposed the AW hypothesis as part of a larger theory on the academic achievement gap between black and white students (Ogbu & Fordham, 1986). They hypothesized that academically high achieving black students often disengaged from their schoolwork to avoid ridicule from peers who accused them of conforming to the norms of white society. Their research was conducted as part of an ethnographic study at a predominantly black high school in Washington DC. Students who were accused of acting white were also described as having good grades, spending a lot of time in the library studying, speaking “standard” English, and preferring stereotypically white music and fashion. Ogbu and Fordham claimed that the accusation caused black students who were otherwise capable, to withdraw from their academics and perform poorly in school.

Subsequent research on the AW accusation contested many of the critical elements of the original hypothesis (Cook & Ludwig, 1998, Tyson, Darity, & Castellino, 2005, Wildhagen, 2011). For example, Tyson and colleagues (2005) found that black and white students had the same desire to succeed academically, and that both received negative peer sanctions for high achievement. Therefore, they argued, black and white students would both “disengage” from their academics, and thus, the Ogbu and Fordham hypothesis was an
insufficient explanation for comparatively poorer black academic achievement. Many researches also contested the notion that academic success was the most critical component of the AW accusation. Instead, they argued that personal style choices in areas of music, fashion and language were most important in determining who would be accused of AW (Durkee & Williams, 2015). Other studies found that the AW accusation does not only exist within predominantly black schools (Austen-Smith & Fryer, 2005). Rather, it is prevalent in demographically diverse schools (i.e. predominantly white, ethnically heterogeneous, and predominantly black schools) where all students are familiar with the meaning of the AW accusation. Perhaps the greatest limitation of the Fordham and Ogbu study was its nature as an anthropological study. The hypothesis was formed after analyzing data from only one school, which was unique in its 99% black population. Additionally, they offered little empirical evidence in support of their hypothesis. Thus, academics had difficulty replicating their results and validating their hypothesis. As a result, interest in the AW theory waned, which may explain the dearth of research on psychological outcomes associated with the accusation. Nonetheless, social psychologists have studied the psychological effects of stereotypes for decades, and much of that research is applicable for the AW accusation and its relationship to mental health.

**Acting White as a Stereotype**

Psychologists generally define stereotypes as widespread and fixed generalizations about a group of people that are used to predict and explain behavior (Kanahara, 2006). Minority students, in particular black students, are typically seen as being less intelligent and academically capable as white students (Copping, Kurtz-Costes, Rowley, & Wood,
Other common stereotypes about minorities involve their music and clothing preferences. For example, African American youth are portrayed as fans of hip hop music and urban clothing. Not surprisingly, these common stereotypes are closely related to the “personal style” choices described by Durkee and Williams (2015) that characterize students who are accused of AW. Perhaps students who are accused of AW are seen as behaving in stereotypically inconsistent ways, whether it is related to academics, music, fashion or any other domain that can be defined with popular stereotypes. Thus, the AW accusation is not only a reminder of what behaviors society expects from specific ethnic groups, but is also a warning about the cultural values that they must also adhere to.

**Acting White and Ethnic Identity**

Ethnic identity development is a critical component of minority adolescent self-concept, and the development of a positive self-concept is essential for healthy adjustment. Accordingly, if the AW accusation is an expression of societal stereotypes about minorities, adolescents who are constantly accused of AW may struggle with the development of a strong ethnic identity. Indeed, researchers have found that African American students who are accused of AW fall into the “acting white trap”, questioning what it means to be a Black American (Murray et al. 2012). This confusion can cause psychological distress and potentially have a profound effect on positive ethnic identity development. Fordham and Ogbu hypothesized that African American youth may use a strategy of *racelessness where* they embrace the values of their white peers, while simultaneously withdrawing from their own ethnic community (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Although withdrawing from their ethnic community may help minority adolescents avoid accusations of AW, it may also interfere
with normal ethnic identity development, which has been associated with a variety of negative mental health outcomes such as depression and anxiety (Yip, Sellers & Seaton, 2006). In light of the previous research, it is hypothesized that students who report stressful experiences with the AW accusation will report lower levels of ethnic identity in later high school years.

**Acting White and Mental Health**

The review above suggests that ethnic identity development is a critical component for normal adjustment in minority youth (Yip et al. 2006). Many scholars have described the AW accusation as a form of racialized discrimination, and the link between perceived discrimination and negative mental health outcomes is well established (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Moreover, longitudinal research has found that chronic stereotyping can lead to internalized racism, which occurs when individuals accept common stereotypical beliefs as accurate descriptions of themselves (Williams and Williams-Morris, 2000). Several studies have found that internalized racism is associated with psychological distress and internalizing disorders (Williams, Neighbors & Jackson, 2003). Importantly, researchers have noted that subjective, rather than objective, experiences of discrimination are sufficient to lead to adverse effects on mental health (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). Only a few studies have directly linked the AW accusation with mental health outcomes. Murray, Neal-Barnett, Demmings, and Stadulis (2012) found that black students who had been directly accused of AW had higher levels of social anxiety. Additionally, research has demonstrated that the more frequently minority youth are accused of AW, the more severe their mental health symptoms were in the areas of depression, anxiety, and
emotional stress (Durkee & Williams, 2015). Therefore, it is also hypothesized that students who reported stressful experiences with the AW accusations would report higher levels of depressive symptoms in later years of high school.

The Present Study

The present study seeks to expand on the limited body of research that describes how the AW accusation affects adolescent minorities. Specifically, this study will use a four-year longitudinal design to examine the psychological outcomes of minority high school students who report that they have been accused of AW. There were two major aims in this study. First, this study examined the social-psychological characteristics of students who are accused of AW. Although Ogbu and Fordham originally explained that academic success was the crucial determinant for kids receiving the accusation, other studies have shown that non-academic personal preferences may be the most important indicator of who receives the accusation (Durkee & Williams, 2015, Neal-Barnett et al., 2009). Therefore, it was predicted that students who are accused of AW will not only be academically high achieving, but also be ridiculed for the way that they speak. Additionally, because these students are seen as doing things associated with white culture, it was also predicted that these students would be more popular among their white peers. Lastly, it was predicted that these students would higher levels of social anxiety due to frequent ridicule from their peers.

The second aim of this study was to examine how the AW accusation affects minority high school students longitudinally. It is hypothesized that students who are accused of acting white will report lower levels of ethnic identity over their high school
years. Finally, it is also predicted that in addition to lower levels of ethnic identity, minority students who are accused of AW will also report higher levels of depressive symptoms during their time in high school.

**Method**

*Participants.* A total of 173 minority high school students participated in the study (Average age at Time Point 1 = 15.1, *SD* = 0.55; age range = 14–18). Participants included 54.3% black and 45.7% Hispanic teens (the majority of the Hispanic participants are of Mexican origin, with others from Puerto Rico, Honduras, and El Salvador); 51.4% were female, and 48.6% were male. The students were enrolled in one of three public high schools in the same school district. In the first school, 54.0% identified as Caucasian, 25.0% as African American, and 21.0% as Latino; in the second, 53.7% Caucasian, 25.7% African American, and 20.6% Latino; and in the third, 44.2% Caucasian, 28.8% African American, and 26.9% Latino. For the measure of social preference, ratings by white students (n=191) were used. After data collection was complete, the final sample consisted of 399 students (56% of ninth grade student population in the district).

*Procedure.* Students completed measures at two different time points, the first during the spring of freshman year, and the second during the fall of senior year. All measures were collected using computer-assisted self-interviews (CASI) during the school day. At the onset of the study, all students enrolled in 9th grade in three high schools in rural North Carolina were recruited to participate in the study (N=712). The three schools were part of a low income and ethnically diverse school district. The district superintendent was contacted and agreed to allow the three high schools in the district to participate in the study. Each student was given a consent form to take home to his or her
parents for consent to participate in the study. Students were encouraged to return the consent form regardless of whether or not they were participating in the study. Several incentives were used to encourage the school, teachers, and students to participate in the study. Consent forms were returned by 75% of families (n = 533) and of these, 79% of parents gave consent for their child’s participation (n = 423). After written and verbal descriptions of the study were given, student assent was requested prior to the beginning of data collection. After data collection was complete, the final sample consisted of 399 students (56% of ninth grade student population in district). Of these participants, 35 identified themselves as belonging to mixed ethnic groups or minority ethnic groups that were underrepresented in the school district (e.g., Asian). These participants, along with participants that identified themselves as white, were excluded from the final sample for the longitudinal analyses. The University of North Carolina’s institutional review board approved all procedures in this study.

**Measures**

**Accusation of Acting White**

AW was measured using a single item from the 20-item Bicultural Stress Scale (BSS) (Romero & Roberts, 2003). The scale was designed to assess peer pressure to conform to ones ethnic identity (α=0.93). The single item used for analysis in this paper asked participants to rate on a 5-point Likert scale how stressful (1 for *never happened to me*, 3 for *a little bit stressful*, and 5 for *very stressful*) the experience of having their friends think that they are “acting white”.

**Speech Ridicule**
Speech ridicule was also measured using a single item from the 20-item BSS. The single item used for analysis was “I have been treated badly because of my accent or the way I speak”.

**Social Preference**

A sociometric peer nomination procedure was used to determine peer reported social preference. Participants were given a roster with their fellow classmates at their respective schools. They were asked to “think of the teens in your grade who you like the most” and “who you like the least” and to circle the names on the class roster. Scores were standardized based on the number of nominations each participant received for each item from their white peers, and a standardized difference score between the “liked most” and “liked least” nominations was computed. Higher scores indicated that students were more accepted by their white peers, while lower scores indicated that students were rejected by their white peers (Rock, Cole, Houshyar, Lythcott, & Prinstein, 2011).

**Social Anxiety**

The Social Anxiety Scale for adolescents (SAS-A) was used to measure social anxiety. The SAS-A is a 22-item scale that asks participants to rate on a 5-point Likert scale (1 for *not true at all*, 2 for *hardly ever true*, 3 for *sometimes true*, 4 for *true most of the time*, and 5 for *always true*) how much they feel each of the statements reflects how they have been feeling over the past few weeks (α=0.80). Sample items include “I worry about doing something new in front of others”, “I’m afraid that others will not like me”, and “I feel nervous when I’m around certain people”. The SASA has been validated for use with adolescent populations (Inderbitzen-Nolan & Walters, 2000).

**Ethnic Identity**
The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Model-Revised (MEIM) was used to assess participant’s ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992). The MEIM is a 6-item scale that asks participants to rate on a 4-point likert scale (1 for strongly disagree, 2 for disagree, 3 for agree, and 4 for strongly agree) how much they agree or disagree with the statements regarding how they feel or react to their own ethnic group. The MEIM was designed to measure an individual’s commitment and exploration of their own ethnic identity. A few of the items from the MEIM include “I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group”, “I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me”, and “I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group”. The MEIM has been validated for use with adolescent minority populations and has shown to have good internal consistency (α=0.88) in previous samples (Chakawa, Butler & Shapiro, 2015).

**Depression**

The Moods and Feelings questionnaire (MFQ; Angold et al., 1995) was used to assess depressive symptoms at both time points. The MFQ is a 33-item scale that asks participants to rate, from 1 to 3 (1 for not true, 2 for sometimes true, and 3 for mostly true), how much the statements reflect how they have been feeling or acting over the past two weeks (α=0.85). Sample items include “I felt miserable or unhappy”, “I didn’t enjoy anything at all”, and “I hated myself”. An average score across all items was calculated and used for analysis. The MFQ has been validated for use with adolescent populations (Angold & Stephen, 1995).

**Demographic Data**

Students reported their gender and ethnicity (Caucasian, African American, and Hispanic or Latino).
Academic Achievement

Weighted GPA records for each student provided by the school district was used to assess academic achievement.

Data Analyses

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences 23.0 (SPSS) was used to analyze data and produce relevant statistics. In order to test the first aim of this paper, Pearson correlations were used to determine bivariate correlations between accusations of AW at study onset and variables of interest (i.e. social anxiety, speech ridicule, social preference by white students, and GPA). To test the second aim of this study, two hierarchical, multivariate regressions were run to determine whether the AW accusation was longitudinally associated with levels of ethnic identity and depressive symptoms (after controlling for baseline levels). These analyses were run using two time points that were 32 months apart.

Results

Descriptive Statistics. Means and standard deviations for all primary variables used in this study are presented in Table 2. Independent samples T tests were conducted to compare means for African American and Hispanic participants (see Table 1). On average, Hispanic students in the study had higher GPA’s, t (164) = -2.37, p <.05, and were more likely to be ridiculed for their speech when compared to African Americans, t (114.64) = -2.40, p <.05. The Fisher Z transformation test was used to determine if the correlations between primary variables were significantly different for African American and Hispanic students. Results indicated that the positive association between social preference and ethnic identity was much stronger for Hispanic students in comparison to African Americans students (z=-2.03, p=0.04). Additionally, the association between depressive
symptoms and social anxiety was stronger for African American students compared to Hispanic students (z=2.04, p=0.04).

**Correlates of Acting White.** It was hypothesized that stressful experiences with the AW accusation would be associated with higher levels of academic achievement, higher frequencies of speech ridicule, higher levels of social preference when rated by white peers, and higher levels of social anxiety. Pearson correlations were conducted to examine which of the primary variables were correlated with stressful experiences associated with the AW accusation at the first time point (see Table 2). Results indicated that higher levels of social anxiety were associated with the AW accusation. Additionally, higher levels of social preference and speech ridicule were associated with the AW accusation, though the relationship was not as strong as social anxiety. Results did not support the hypothesis that GPA was correlated with the AW accusation.

**Longitudinal Predictions of Ethnic Identity.** It was hypothesized that the AW accusation would predict lower levels of ethnic identity. A hierarchical linear regression was used to examine if the AW accusation was longitudinally related to ethnic identity (see Table 4). Ethnic identity at time point 2 was used as the dependent variables, and time point 1 ethnic identity was entered in the initial step. Stressful experiences with the AW accusation were entered on the second step. Results indicated that the AW accusation predicted decreased levels of ethnic identity at time point 2 after controlling for baseline levels of depressive symptoms at time point 1. Additionally, the model predicted a significant proportion of the total variance in ethnic identity ($R^2=.12$, $p<.05$).

**Longitudinal Predictions of Depressive Symptoms.** It was hypothesized that the AW accusation would also predict increased levels of depressive symptoms. A hierarchical
linear regression was used to examine if the AW accusation was longitudinally related to levels of depressive symptoms (see Table 3). Time point 2 depressive symptoms were used as the dependent variable, and depressive symptoms at Time 1 were entered as the initial step. Results indicated that the AW accusation predicted higher levels of depressive symptoms at time point 2 after controlling for baseline symptoms at time point 1. The model also predicted a significant proportion of the total variance in depressive symptoms ($R^2=.39, p<.05$)

**Discussion**

Ogbu and Fordham (1986) originally proposed the AW hypothesis as an explanation for the growing achievement gap between minority students and their white peers. Although much of their original hypothesis has been contested, their research, and the research that followed, has been limited in examining how the AW accusation affects minority students psychologically. While little research has examined such effects to date, the phenomenon is still prevalent for both minority youth and young adults. Thus, the goals of this study were not only to characterize the recipients of the AW accusation, but also to contextualize the accusation as a stereotype about minority youth, and examine the effects that AW has on mental health outcomes and ethnic identity development.

The first aim of this study was to describe the correlates of the AW accusation. Results supported the hypothesis that those who had stressful experiences with the AW accusation would also report higher levels of social anxiety, be more liked by their white peers, and would be ridiculed for the way that they speak. The results did not support the hypothesis that stressful experiences with the AW accusation would be associated with higher GPA's. However, the results were trending towards significance, and a greater
sample size may have yielded significant results. Despite this, these results are consistent with past research explaining that other factors, such as personal style choices, are more relevant determinants of who may receive the AW accusation (Durkee & Williams, 2015). Nevertheless, certain limitations with regard to the use of weighted GPA may have influenced the results of this study. GPA is a relatively raw measure of academic achievement because of the variety of factors that play into its calculation (e.g. class level and rigor, level of engagement, and daily attendance). Since performance and engagement in school can be negatively impacted by the AW accusation, future studies should look into other indicators of academic performance and school engagement to determine what, if any, relationship there is with the AW accusation. Although no relationship was found in both concurrent and longitudinal analyses, it may be that students who are accused of AW will withdraw from their schoolwork (instead of disidentification with their ethnicity) as a way of avoiding the peer victimization that comes with AW accusation.

This study also hypothesized that stressful experiences associated with the AW accusation would predict decreased levels of ethnic identity. Given that the AW accusation is a direct attack on what it means to be a minority, and the cultural norms that minorities are expected to observe, it is easy to imagine that someone who is chronically accused of AW will experience some degree of internal conflict about their own ethnic identity. Indeed, the results from the study supported this theory, as those who were accused of AW reported lower levels of ethnic identity by the end of their high school careers. The implications of this result are particularly troubling for minority students. Although some students may be indifferent to the accusation, others may feel that the choice between school and ethnic identity is mutually exclusive. Unfortunately for these students, neither
choice is without adverse consequences. Those who chose to maintain a strong ethnic identity are more likely to suffer from poor performance in school, potentially limiting their future opportunities in higher education. Those who chose to focus on school will experience more problems related to the development of their ethnic identity, which could lead to other psychological problems.

Research on stereotype threat, a concept first introduced by Claude Steele in the 1990’s, could explain why minority students reported lower levels of ethnic identity. In stereotype threat, when people are made aware of the negative stereotypes that relate to them, they consequently have reduced performances in those stereotyped domains on subsequent tasks (Steele, 1997). However, the situation with chronic accusations of AW could lead to a different outcome than reduced academic performance. Minority high school students are constantly made aware of the negative stereotypes about their academic abilities, whether it is through the AW accusation or the noticeable overrepresentation of white students and an underrepresentation of minority students in advanced placement (AP) or International Baccalaureate (IB) courses (Tyson, 2012). This constant awareness may lead to a feeling of chronic stereotype threat, and researchers have demonstrated that chronic stereotype threat could lead to domain disidentification and abandonment (Woodcock, Hernandez, Estrada & Schultz, 2012). In this situation, minority students would “disidentify”, or withdraw, from their ethnic group, as a result of the ridicule from their peers. Though their grades may not be affected, the psychological results may be profound.

Future studies should use a more comprehensive measure of ethnic identity to more accurately probe how the accusation is affecting minority students’ ethnic identity
development (the MEIM-R used in this study was only a 6-item questionnaire).

Additionally, the literature could benefit from a more diverse sample of minority youth (e.g. Asian American, Muslim, and Native American youth) to give a more in-depth examination of which minority communities have experience with the accusation. While Asian Americans are likely protected from the accusation because of positive stereotypes associated with their academic prowess and the common notion of Asian Americans as the “model minority”, the relationship is less discernable for other minority groups.

Lastly, this study hypothesized that stressful experiences with the AW accusation would predict an increase in depressive symptoms. Results from the study were consistent with this hypothesis. It is important to note that the longitudinal findings of lower ethnic identity and higher depressive symptoms are likely related. One possible explanatory model may be that those who are accused of AW have decreased ethnic identity, which could result in a sense of isolation, as they are not “black” or “Hispanic” enough for their fellow minority peers and not “white” enough for their majority peers. This isolation, or feeling that they do not fit in well enough with either peer group, could explain the increase in depressive symptoms. Though this proposed model of decreased ethnic identity leading to increases in depressive symptomatology was not directly tested in this study, future research should carefully examine these relationships.

There were several limitations that may have affected the general findings presented in this paper. First, the AW question that was used as the basis for the study was just a single item on the BSS. Ideally, a multi item scale designed for experiences associated with the AW accusation would be used as the basis for analysis. Additionally, the BSS was designed for use with Spanish speaking populations, as evident by questions such as “I
have felt pressure to learn Spanish” and “I have felt that I need to speak Spanish better” (Romero, Carvajal, Valle, & Orduña, 2007). Although the AW question is still applicable to the larger minority population, it is possible that it did not fully capture the experience of AW among all minority groups. Secondly, the sample of students used in this study was exclusively from rural North Carolina. Despite the three schools having relatively diverse student bodies, it would be erroneous to assume that the experiences of students in this school could be applied to minority youth nation-wide. It will be essential for future research to examine whether the frequency of the AW accusation and its association with negative mental health outcomes differs in schools that are majority white or majority black or Hispanic. Also, research should investigate if there is a social or economic class component to the AW accusation. For example, are minority students from a higher social class more likely to be accused of AW? Future research should also examine how widespread the accusation is, and in what types of school environments is it most common.

A final limitation of this study involves implementation. The original focus of data collection for this study was on how peer influences affect health risk behaviors. Because of this, the analysis on the AW data was done well after the completion of data collection. This prevented the addition of measures more specifically related to outcomes associated with AW, thus limiting the probing for additional longitudinal outcomes of the accusation. Nevertheless, despite the variety of limitations in this study, the presence of significant results despite a relatively small sample of minority students and decreased power to detect the effects of the AW accusation suggests a real phenomenon– one that warrants a great deal of future attention in psychological research.
In conclusion, this study begins to contextualize the AW accusation in terms of pervasive stereotype about minority adolescents. In addition, this study is one of a few to describe how being accused of AW can affect minority students psychologically. While most past research has focused on broader societal consequences of the AW accusation, this research indicates that accusations of AW have a profound and negative effect on the psychological state of minority individuals. Moreover, it is likely that the psychological distress associated with the AW accusation factors into broader, societal issues with underachievement among minority adolescents. Though there is no simple solution to the AW phenomenon due to the pervasive role of stereotypes in American society, additional research is needed to examine how the AW accusation produces poor mental health outcomes, and what interventions can be developed to combat such outcomes.
References


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Woodcock, A., Hernandez, P. R., Estrada, M., & Schultz, P. W. (2012). The

Appendix

Table 1. Means (and standard deviations) for Primary Variables at Time 1 - Time 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Time 1</th>
<th>Time 2</th>
<th>t (df)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA’s</td>
<td>1.70 (1.17)</td>
<td>1.64 (1.20)</td>
<td>-1.01 (151)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino (a)</td>
<td>1.89 (1.17)</td>
<td>1.75 (1.16)</td>
<td>1.01 (151)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acting White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depressive Symptoms</td>
<td>.38 (.35)</td>
<td>.28 (.31)</td>
<td>-.27 (155)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>2.57 (.71)</td>
<td>2.66 (.67)</td>
<td>- .52 (152)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech Ridicule</td>
<td>1.26 (.56)</td>
<td>1.28 (.56)</td>
<td>-2.40 (114.64)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Preference</td>
<td>.09 (.96)</td>
<td>.09 (.96)</td>
<td>-.47 (157.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Anxiety</td>
<td>2.37 (.73)</td>
<td>2.40 (.63)</td>
<td>-.33 (156)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPA</td>
<td>2.20 (1.02)</td>
<td>2.56 (.81)</td>
<td>-2.37 (164)*</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Note: * p &lt; .05; ** p &lt; .001</td>
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Table 2. Time 1 Variable Bivariate Associations by Race

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>1</th>
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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Grade Point Average (GPA)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>.24*</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.20</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Social Anxiety</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.24*</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.35**</td>
<td>.68***</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Speech Ridicule</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.23*</td>
<td>.26*</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Social Preference by White Students</td>
<td>.32**</td>
<td>-.22</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.24*</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Acting White (AW)</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Depressive Symptoms</td>
<td>-.22</td>
<td>.47***</td>
<td>.30*</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.34**</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Note: Results for African American students reported above the diagonal. Results for Hispanic students reported below the diagonal.
Table 3. Longitudinal Predictions of Depression from Acting White

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictors</th>
<th>ΔR²</th>
<th>b (se b)</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>b (se b)</th>
<th>β</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td>.357**</td>
<td></td>
<td>.649 (.085)</td>
<td>.597</td>
<td>.628 (.084)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depressive Symptoms,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.037*</td>
<td></td>
<td>.052 (.021)</td>
<td>.194*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acting White, Time 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total R²</td>
<td>.394</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. *p < .05; **p < .01.
### Table 4. Longitudinal Predictions of Ethnic Identity from Acting White

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictors</th>
<th>ΔR²</th>
<th>b (se b)</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>Final Statistics</th>
<th>b (se b)</th>
<th>β</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity, Time 1</td>
<td>.089**</td>
<td>.279 (.087)</td>
<td>.299**</td>
<td>.299 (.087)</td>
<td>.321**</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Acting White, Time 1</td>
<td>.107 (.053)</td>
<td>-.188**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total R²</td>
<td>.124</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. *p < .05; **p < .01*