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I am the melting pot: Multiple identity integration among gay/bisexual/questioning male ethnic minority adolescents

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I AM THE MELTING POT: MULTIPLE IDENTITY INTEGRATION AMONG

GAY/BISEXUAL/QUESTIONING MALE

ETHNIC MINORITY ADOLESCENTS

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VITA

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INTRODUCTION

Though the specific start and end points of adolescence has been debated across

researchers (Erikson, 1980; Arnett, 2004; Sternberg, 2008), overall it has been discussed as

occurring within the second decade of one's life. The period of adolescence is typically begun

with the biological changes in puberty, which prompts biological, physical, and social changes

within the individual. Of the many diverse changes occurring within the adolescent's body, the

development affecting the brain, namely the development of the frontal lobe and prefrontal

cortex (Casey, Tottenham, Liston, & Durston, 2005; Myers, 2007), determine vast and expansive

changes in cognition. Many scholars have described these specific changes according to a

variety of models (Demetrious, Cristou, Spanoudis, & Platsidou, 2002; Keating, 2004; Piaget,

1963), but one significant change reflected in the consensus of theories is the ability of the

adolescent to engage in hypothetical thinking.

According to Piaget (1963), this ability is developed during the Formal Operations stage

of cognitive development, and forms the basis for full formal adult thinking. Though

hypothetical thinking may be helpful for understanding external concepts and engaging in

problem-solving, hypothetical thinking can also be beneficial in internal cognitive processes. It

is by this process of internal hypothetical thinking, among other cognitive changes in

adolescence, that adolescents begin to question and have a deeper understanding of themselves.

During this process adolescents become keenly aware and hypercritical of their external

presentation to others and consequently to other people's perceptions. As a result, during

adolescence young people gradually develop a greater understanding of their sense of self, or of

their own identity.

The concept of identity is multifaceted and complex, and though identity has been typically referred to as the development of one's adult identity, one's overall sense of self also includes the development of several distinct and unique identities relevant to one's communities of membership. Therefore, adolescents who belong to multiple identity groups, such as those who are ethnic and sexual minorities, must develop both their ethnic and sexual identities as they develop their overall adult identity (Chung & Katayama, 1998). Identity has been described as the integration of all aspects of the self (Erikson, 1980), consequently the development of an identity would involve the integration of all other identities into one cohesive sense of self.

The proposed study will examine the process of identity integration among gay/bisexual/questioning (GBQ) male ethnic minority adolescents. Consequently, before examining the process of integration, research must be reviewed regarding the various types of identities that such youth must integrate into their larger sense of self. Among the major types of identity development to consider for GBQ male adolescents of color are ego identity, sexual orientation identity, ethnic identity, and gender identity.

<u>Ego Identity Development</u>

Current work on identity development owes much to the seminal work by Erikson (1980) and his stage theory of identity development. Instead of focusing on a particular point in an individuals' life, Erikson's theory emphasizes the growth of the individual throughout the lifespan. Consisting of eight stages, Erikson's stages are generally bound by age, beginning in childhood with a stage concerning basic trust and autonomy issues and progressing to ego integrity in late adulthood until death. Each specific stage is marked with a specific conflict of identity for the individual. If the individual undergoes the necessary experiences in order to resolve the conflict, one's sense of identity is strengthened. On the other hand, if a conflict is not

resolved at the age defined by the stages, the individual will carry the conflict into later stages of life.

Of particular importance is stage five, *adolescence*, where Erikson asserts that the individual is faced with the important challenge of developing a sense of identity in her/his occupation, sex roles, politics, and religion. Development of an identity involves creating a self-image which is meaningful to oneself and to significant individuals within her/his community. This conflict of determining one's identity, conceptualized by Erikson as one's ego identity, is termed *ego identity vs. identity diffusion*. If an adolescent does not attain a sense of identity at the end of this stage, s/he will lack a clarity regarding who s/he is and what his/her role is in life (*identity diffusion*).

Migrating from the initial work by Erikson, specifically the concept of *ego identity vs. identity diffusion*, Marcia (1966) identified four ego identity statuses to which individuals may belong to dependent on the presence or absence of crisis and commitment to religious, political, and occupational ideologies. Crisis is marked by a confusion or uncertainty among one's identity (e.g., "Who am I?"), while commitment is characterized by a statement of one's identity (e.g., "I am…"). However, both crisis and commitment may occur singularly, concurrently, or both may be absent in the individual. The possibilities for crisis and commitment in the individual therefore lead to four potential identity statuses.

First, Marcia (1966) identifies individuals who have attained *identity-achievement* as those who have completed the process of questioning and exploration of his/her identity, and have achieved resolution by committing to certain beliefs and life goals. Individuals who attained *foreclosure* commit to a particular set of attitudes, values, or plans without experiencing an identity crisis. Individuals in *moratorium* have not made such a commitment but are currently

undergoing a period of crisis accompanied by an active search among possible alternatives. *Identity-diffusion* is marked by an unwillingness or inability to make either a search or commitment.

Marcia's (1966) theory is not a stage theory, and as a result there is no predictable progression for individuals to attain their identity. Individuals may therefore shift from one identity status to the other, in no particular predictable order, which may include progression from *identity-achievement* to *identity-diffusion* and vice versa.

<u>Ethnic Identity Development</u>

The concept of identity, though inherently complex and multifaceted, becomes even more complicated for individuals who are ethnic/racial minorities. This is because an individual must not only develop his/her identity as an adult (ego identity), but must also develop a sense of who s/he is in terms of being an ethnic minority individual. The latter process involves a delicate balance of allegiances and identifications with the larger dominant White community and one's own ethnic minority community. Many ethnic identity models suggest that an individual must be aware of one's differences with the dominant White community to engage in the ethnic identity development process (Cross, 1978; Helms, 1990; Kim, 1981; Phinney, 1989). Though this does not occur at a specific time, it is initiated by a significant experience of being different, typically occurring in adolescence (Aboud, 1988; Phinney, 1989). The current literature on ethnic identity development will be described as progression of stages or statuses.

Initial models of ethnic identity development were grouped under the same larger category of racial/ethnic identity development. This involved understanding not only one's sense of ethnic heritage and culture, but also an awareness and understanding of their identity as members of a socially constructed racial category, followed with how this membership is

interpreted and perceived by other racial groups. The most significant stage model of

ethnic/racial identity development was Cross' (1978) cognitive "Black Identity Development

Model." According to this model, individuals enter the first stage *pre-encounter* upon birth,

where the person's world view is dominated by White American values (Cross, 1978). During

this stage the individual also internalizes negative attitudes toward her/his own race which are

present in the larger society. The second stage, *encounter*, occurs when the individual has

experienced a shocking personal or social event, typically involving an experience of racism,

which dislodges the person from her/his previous world view. This temporary change in the

person's framework enables the individual to be receptive to a new interpretation of his/her own

identity. In the *immersion-emersion* stage, the individual surrounds him/herself with symbols of

his/her own ethnicity, while avoiding symbols of White people. Typically, in this stage the

individual devalues White people and dominant culture while at the same time edifying Black

people and Black culture (Cross, 1978). The final stage, *internalization*, occurs when the

individual achieves pride and security in his or her race and ethnicity.

Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1979) developed a comprehensive multi-stage model of

ethnic identity development which attempted to understand ethnic minority attitudes and

behaviors within the contexts of already established personality theories. Unlike their

predecessor, Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1979) believed that one can begin the ethnic identity

development process at higher levels without having to experience the lower levels. Also,

Atkinson and colleagues (1979) stated that an individual may go backwards in their ethnic

identity development process.

The first stage in their model, *conformity*, occurs when the individual is not only self-

deprecating but also depreciates his/her own minority group, while valuing the dominant group.

During the next stage, *dissonance*, the individual is in conflict with maintaining the negative attitudes towards her/his own group along with an appreciation of both her/his ethnic minority group and the dominant group. The individual may initiate this stage due to an event which changes her/his frame of reference, leading to an alteration of one's own concept of her/his own identity. This leads to a stage of *resistance and immersion* which is characterized by the individual appreciating and valuing her/his ethnic community while depreciating the dominant group. The individual then undergoes a stage of *introspection*, whereby s/he realizes that the current appreciation of her/his community and devaluing of the dominant group is extreme. Further, experiences with the dominant group challenge the individual's current way of thinking, which leads to an attempt to not only attain a better self-understanding, but also to attain a more objective view of both his/her culture and the dominant group. S/he also tries to integrate the values of the dominant group and the minority group as well. Eventually, the individual reaches the stage of *synergetic articulation and awareness* whereby the individual is both appreciative of one's own self and his/her cultural group, but also values elements in both one's cultural group and the dominant group, not viewing one group as being superior or inferior to the other. Individuals in this stage hope to eradicate all forms of oppression.

Kim (1981) developed a multi-stage ethnic identity development model similar to Cross (1971), however her model was specific to Asian Americans. In the first stage, *white identified*, the individual has internalized White societal values and standards. Individuals in this stage may be either "active" or "passive" in their identification; in "active" they consider themselves as being very similar to their White peers, whereas in "passive" they do not consider themselves to be White, but have experienced periods of fantasy and wishful thinking about looking like White people. Regardless of identification of either "active" or "passive," the individual still idealizes

the values and standards of White people. The second stage, *awakening to social political awareness*, occurs when the individual has experienced an event which facilitates a change in her/his previous ways of thinking about race and ethnicity. The third stage, *redirection to Asian American consciousness*, involves a strong attempt by the individual to better understand him/herself and his/her people, which involves a heightened political consciousness and an increased involvement in social-political movements. Finally, the individual enters the stage of *incorporation*, where the individual has formed a firm ethnic identity which has blended with the rest of her/his identity.

Drawing from previous research in ethnic identity and ego identity development, Jean Phinney (1989) developed a three-stage model of ethnic identity development. The first stage, *unexamined ethnic identity*, is characterized by the lack of exploration of one's ethnicity. Typically, the ethnic minority individual accepts not only the values and attitudes of the dominant culture, but often internalizes negative views of her/his own group that are held by the majority.

The second stage, *ethnic identity search/moratorium*, is characterized by an initial event, a "turning point," which initiates an ethnic identity search. This search entails obtaining more information about one's culture. Exploration without a sense of closure results in a moratorium, or a confusion of the meaning of one's ethnicity.

The third and final stage, *ethnic identity achievement*, is marked by a distinct and confident sense of one's own ethnicity. An individual with an achieved sense of ethnic identity has resolved any conflicts regarding her/his own ethnicity and has made commitments that will guide her/his future action.

However, resolving conflicts during identity development is not a simple process, and in Phinney's (1989) multi-stage theory of ethnic identity development, there are four specific ways of addressing and managing identity conflicts. The first, *alienation/marginalization* involves an acceptance of the negative self-image presented by society while being alienated by one's own culture and being unable to adapt to the majority culture. *Assimilation* occurs when one attempts to be part of the dominant culture and does not maintain the ties with her/his ethnic culture. The third method by which individuals manage identity conflicts is by *withdrawal or separation*, where individuals emphasize their ethnic culture and withdraw from contact with the dominant group. Finally, individuals may reach a state of *integration/biculturalism*, whereby they retain their ethnic culture and acquire skills (such as languages, values, customs) which enable them to adapt to the dominant culture.

Helms (1990) expanded Cross' model of Black identity development while also incorporating elements from other ethnic identity development models. Janet Helms' model (1990) consists of ego statuses instead of stages, where the individual may have the particular statuses present psychologically within his/her ego, however particular statuses may be more prominent than others, which is determined by factors within the environment. Those statuses which occupy the greatest percentage of the ego will wield the most influence on the individual's racial identity or self expression. Typically, the more cognitively complex statuses will be dominant during latter stages of one's life. Statuses become dominant through reinforcement within the individual's environment, and are those which maintain the individual's personal esteem.

The first status, *preencounter,* is divided into either an "active form" where the individual idealizes Whites and/or devalues African Americans, or a "passive form," which involves the

assimilation of the African American individual into White society. In the second status, *encounter*, African Americans are made aware of the racial differences that exist through direct exposure to racism or knowledge of its existence, which then leads to a search for their African American identity. The third status, *immersion and emersion*, is where the individual idealizes one's own ethnicity while withdrawing from the larger White society and at the same time devaluing "Whiteness." During *internalization*, the fifth status, the individual moves towards internalizing a positive perspective on Black identity while also beginning to value and respect other racial and ethnic groups. In the sixth status, *commitment*, the individual is committed to this new positive and internalized Black identity. In addition, the individual recognizes shared oppressions within a broad range of societal groups and is motivated to promote and produce change.

The stage theories mentioned above suggest that development occurs in a linear fashion, with a steady progression from unawareness of ethnic identity into a later stage of integration of ethnic identity development into all aspects of the self. Despite the predominance of stage theories of ethnic identity development, some theories are non-linear. Aboud (1988) states in her model that one's ethnic identity is composed of several critical components. Though not attained in any particular order, these components are a product of one's own social learning experiences with family, the ethnic minority community, and the dominant group community. These components include: a) an ethnic identity that involves an individual categorizing him/herself as a member of a group, b) a sense of ethnic constancy whereby a child knows his/her ethnic character will not change, c) ethnic role behaviors that an individual engages in with his/her culture, d) ethnic customs and values, and e) ethnic feelings and preferences whereby an

individual, having gained knowledge of certain values and behaviors, prefers those values over the majority culture values (Aboud, 1988).

Smith's (1991) model of ethnic identity development is less defined by categories and stages, and instead focuses more on the fluidity of ethnic identity. Further, one's identification is determined by the relationships one has with the majority and minority group members. Potential conflicts with the dominant group may include the following: a) ethnic awareness versus unawareness, b) ethnic self-identification versus nonethnic self-identification, c) self-hatred versus self-acceptance, d) other-group rejection versus self-rejection, e) ethnic identity integration versus ethnic identity fragmentation or diffusion, and f) ethnocentricism versus allocentrism. Due to the continual interactions with the dominant group, the individual must continually manage the boundary lines between each group, a process which constantly changes the individual's sense of identity and identity development.

Summary of Models of Ethnic Identity Development

Literature on ethnic identity development therefore encompasses both stage and non-linear theories, and has spanned intended applicability from one to all ethnic groups. Despite the variety in the specifics of each individual theory, there are many similarities between the theories. First, many theories attest to an initial state of ignorance regarding racism and an individual's own ethnicity, a state which is challenged when the individual experiences oppression or racism first-hand (Atkinson, Morten & Sue, 1979; Cross, 1971; Helms, 1990; Kim, 1981; Phinney, 1989). Many theories also stress the importance of a search for one's ethnic identity, which typically involves a withdrawal from the larger White community and an immersion into one's ethnic community (Atkinson, Morten & Sue, 1979; Cross, 1971; Helms, 1990; Phinney, 1989; Smith 1991). Many theories also state a later integration of valuing both

members of their ethnic community and members of the larger White community (Atkinson, Morten & Sue, 1979; Cross, 1971; Helms, 1990; Kim, 1981; Phinney, 1989). Though the majority of the models for ethnic identity development are stage models, several models are fluid models (Aboud, 1988; Smith, 1991) while others state that the order of progression to stages or statuses is variable (Atkinson, Morten & Sue, 1979; Helms, 1990).

<div align="center">Sexual Orientation Identity Development</div>

Sexual orientation identity development, though in ways very similar to ethnic identity development, is inherently different due to a difference in visibility. Individuals who are members of an ethnic minority group are usually classified as being a "visible minority," in that one's status as an ethnic minority is typically visibly apparent. However, gay or lesbian individuals are typically referred to as belonging to an "invisible minority" status category, due to the fact that one typically cannot ascertain an individual's sexual orientation by mere sight alone. Gay and lesbian individuals therefore can "conceal" their sexual orientation to others in a public or private setting. Due to the heterosexism prevalent in Western society, one is often assumed to be heterosexual (Herek, 1993). Individuals who are either gay or lesbian must therefore "come out" and disclose their sexual orientation in a variety of settings. Identification as being gay or lesbian, to oneself or others, is therefore at the crux of many sexual orientation identity development theories. The road to disclosure is one rife with struggle, echoing some of the same roadblocks present within ethnic identity development.

In this discussion of the literature on sexual orientation identity development, a caveat must be made regarding terminology. Though stated as "sexual orientation identity development" in this review, authors of the original research have used the term "homosexual identity development." In order to be in accordance with the suggestions set forth by the

American Psychological Association (1991), all references to "homosexuals" have been replaced with "gay men and lesbians," all references to "homosexual identity development" have been replaced by "sexual orientation identity development," and all references to "homosexual behavior" have been replaced by "same-sex sexual behavior." In addition, all theories of sexual orientation identity development listed in this review were intended by their original authors to apply to both gay men and lesbians (Cass, 1979; Coleman, 1982; D'Augelli, 1994; Troiden, 1989).

Also, since both terms "sex" and "gender" will be used in this review, use of such terms will follow recommendations and definitions provided by Pryzgoda and Chrisler (2000) whereby sex refers to biological aspects of being male or female, whereas gender refers to the behavioral, psychological, and social characteristics of men and women. As a result, individuals with gay or lesbian sexual orientations will be also referred to as having same-sex sexual attractions, and an individual's sense of masculinity or femininity will be discussed as their level of gender identity.

Initial literature on sexual orientation identity development merely focused on the "coming out" experience. Evelyn Hooker, who was the first researcher to publish research which openly challenged the prevailing psychiatric assumption that "homosexuality" was a mental illness, saw "coming out" as an experience where an individual makes a public display by going to a gay bar (1956). In sociologist Barry Dank's 1971 article "Coming Out in the Gay World," which has been regarded as a seminal article in the field of gay and lesbian studies, he described sexual orientation identity development as a personal disclosure to oneself followed by a series of actions similar to a "rite of passage."

More specific theories later developed, beginning with Cass' multi-stage model of sexual orientation identity development (1979), a model which consists of six stages. The first stage,

identity confusion, is a point when a person becomes aware of gay-/lesbian-specific information and realizes that this topic has personal relevance. As the individual increasingly realizes the personal significance, so does the confusion about his/her own sexual orientation. The individual's sense of identity confusion can be addressed by two mechanisms: through an acceptance that his/her sexual behavior is characteristic of gay men or lesbians and s/he believes this to be true, or the individual can use denial, inhibition, and reinterpretation of behavior to deny such feelings and thereby inhibit sexual orientation identity development.

Cass' (1979) model is based on an interpersonal congruency theory, which is centered on the assumption that stability and change in behavior is dependent on the congruency or incongruency that exists within an individuals' environment. Incongruency may occur, for example, in individuals who maintain a private identification as being attracted to members of the same sex while at the same time displaying a public identification as heterosexual. In individuals where such conflict occurs, growth or change can only occur when an individual attempts to resolve the inconsistency between the self and others.

Specific to her theory of sexual orientation identity development, Cass' (1979) believes that the individual cannot progress through her/his sexual orientation identity development without first accepting the possibility that s/he may be gay/lesbian. When one has this realization, the second stage, *identity comparison*, begins. This stage is marked by a significant decrease in identity confusion, with an increased awareness of the larger society's negative attitudes towards gay men and lesbians. At the same time, the individual realizes that s/he does not belong to the larger dominant group. Cass (1979) states that this general feeling of alienation can be attended to in four ways. First, one may react positively and accept that one is different and view that being gay or lesbian is positive. One may also reduce feelings of alienation by

accepting that her/his behavior may be characteristic of other lesbians or gay men, but rejecting

that they may be gay or lesbian. Third, one may accept the identifier of being gay or lesbian but

may refuse to engage in sexual behavior typical of gay men or lesbians. The fourth way of

attending to the feelings of alienation is by rejecting both that their sexual behavior is typical of

gay men or lesbians or that they themselves may be gay or lesbian. In this last method,

individuals would fully inhibit their sexual behavior, and individuals would refer to her/himself

as being either asexual or heterosexual.

Only when the individual accepts her/his self-label as lesbian or gay and perceives that

his/her behavior is positive, can s/he progress to the next stage of identity development, *identity*

tolerance. In this stage, the individual is more likely to tolerate or embrace her/his gay identity,

and realize that many of his/her social, sexual, and emotional needs will be fulfilled with

members of the same sex. During this time, feelings of alienation will be alleviated through

increased contacts with gay men and lesbians, however this stage is also marked with increasing

isolation from the larger heterosexual community. Cass (1979) maintains that it is the quality of

these gay and lesbian contacts which determines whether or not one develops a positive self-

identification and hence progresses to the next stage of sexual orientation identity development,

identity acceptance.

In the stage *identity acceptance*, the individual is able to normalize the identity and

experience of gay men and lesbians through increased positive personal contacts. During this

process, the individual believes that being gay or lesbian is a normal and valid way of living

one's life. This stage is marked with an acceptance of one's identity as a gay or lesbian

individual, rather than a mere tolerance of the specific same-sex sexual behaviors in the previous

stage. However, the contacts again become very important, as the contacts' ways of dealing with

their sexual orientation will influence the individual's progress to the latter stages of sexual

orientation identity development. On one hand, the individual may have a negative view of

her/his own gay or lesbian identity if the gay or lesbian individuals with whom the person has

contact believe that one's sexuality should be kept private and should not be displayed in public.

While on the other hand, the individual may have a positive view of her/his gay or lesbian

identity if individuals with whom the person has contact are equally comfortable in either setting

with expressing their sexuality.

In the fifth stage, *identity pride*, the individual becomes aware of the incongruity of

her/his sexual orientation self-acceptance and society's negative attitudes toward gay men and

lesbians. In this stage, the individual values her/his gay and lesbian self and others while

devaluing her/his heterosexual peers. According to Cass (1979), by confronting others on issues

regarding sexual orientation, one not only validates her/his sexual orientation as being good, but

is also able to merge her/his private and public selves as a gay or lesbian individual.

The final stage of sexual orientation identity development, *identity synthesis*, involves a

movement away from a view of "us versus them" when conceptualizing the relationship between

gay men and lesbians with heterosexuals to a view which stresses the shared qualities and

characteristics of all groups and emphasizes group harmony. The individual at this stage

believes that there are supportive elements within the heterosexual community, and begins at this

stage to increase the number of supportive heterosexual contacts. At this time, an individual's

sense of pride diminishes, and her/his sexual orientation becomes a part of the person, but does

not subsume her/his entire identity.

Though thematically similar to Cass' (1979) model, Coleman (1982) later developed a

sexual orientation identity development model which he termed as a "coming out" model. The

first stage in his model is named the *pre-coming out* stage, whereby the individual is not aware of her/his own same-sex sexual attractions. As the individual realizes her/his own same-sex sexual attractions, one may develop a defensive posture toward family members, creating a tense family dynamic. An individual can maintain her/his defensiveness regarding her/his sexual orientation for an indefinite period of time, however one cannot progress to stage two, *coming out*, until the individual has appreciated her/his own sexuality and has acknowledged her/his feelings of same-sex sexual attraction. In this stage, the individual acknowledges her/his own sexual orientation to him/herself and discloses it to important individuals in the person's life. This stage ends when the individual discloses her/his sexual orientation to key individuals in order to have self-acceptance through external validation from others. In stage three, *exploration*, the gay or lesbian individual experiments socially and sexually with other gay/lesbian individuals. After experimenting and exploring, the individual enters stage four, *first relationships*, where the individual searches for more stable, committed forms of romantic relationships. In the final stage, *integration*, the individual combines her/his private and public image as a gay/lesbian individual into one self-image. This does not necessarily involve announcing their sexual orientation to everyone, rather it involves being comfortable with disclosure to any particular persons.

After examining the previous theoretical models of sexual orientation identity development, Troiden (1989) developed a stage model in which similarities may be found from Cass' model. The first stage, *sensitization*, occurs before puberty. This stage is similar to Cass' stage one of *identity confusion*, in that the individual sees that information regarding gay men and lesbians becomes personally relevant. This is also characterized by general feelings of marginalization due to perceptions of difference from same-sex peers.

In stage two, *identity confusion*, the individual progresses to adolescence, during which s/he begins to realize that s/he is qualitatively different from her/his heterosexual peers. The onset for this stage during adolescence varies among individuals, and is not necessarily indicated by the onset of puberty. Typically, identity confusion is initiated by the presence of one of the following: an altered perception of the self, the experience of same- and other-sex sexual arousal and behavior, awareness of the stigma surrounding being gay/lesbian, and being presented with inaccurate knowledge about gay men and lesbians. During this phase, the individual is beset with inner turmoil and uncertainty regarding her/his sexual orientation. During late adolescence, the individual perceives that s/he is "probably" a gay man or lesbian.

Conflicts and distress in this stage are resolved through an array of mechanisms including denial, repair, avoidance, redefinition, and acceptance. First, *denial* entails refusing to acknowledge the gay or lesbian components of an individual's feelings, fantasies, or activities. Second, in *repair* the individual makes a concerted effort to eradicate her/his feelings or behaviors specific to gay men or lesbians, at times by seeking the assistance of professional help. Third, in *avoidance* individuals recognize that their behaviors, thoughts, and fantasies are indicative of being gay or lesbian, and they avoid them because they view such behaviors as being unacceptable. People may avoid their sexual orientation by doing one or more of the following: a) they may limit their exposure to the same sex, b) they may limit their exposure to information concerning gay men and lesbians, c) they may assume an anti-gay stance, d) they may immerse themselves fully into heterosexual society, or e) they may escape through use and possible abuse of chemical substances. The fourth general means of reducing identity confusion involves *redefining* feelings or behaviors, not as being behaviors which are specific to being gay or lesbian, but as those that are behaviors which are specific to a given situation or are

characteristic of a particular phase. For example, one may view her/his same-sex sexual

behaviors as being a chance experience, a special case, or a temporary identity. Individuals may

also identify as being bisexual to redefine their same-sex sexual behaviors in a more socially

sanctioned category. Finally, the fifth overall strategy is *acceptance*, where individuals

acknowledge their feelings and behaviors are gay male/lesbian-specific and seek out sources of

information to learn more about their sexual orientation.

In stage three, *identity assumption*, the individual makes her/his sexual orientation part of

both the personal self-identity and the presented identity to other gay men or lesbian individuals.

However, the individual has only tolerated her/his identity and has not fully accepted it at this

stage. It is in the individuals' interactions with others in the gay and lesbian community that

determines her/his own self-perceptions concerning sexual orientation and the comfort level and

connection with the gay and lesbian community. Once adopting sexual orientation as part of

one's identity, the individual must manage the issue of stigma and discrimination (Troiden,

1989). To manage this, the individual may utilize the following tactics: *capitulation, passing*,

minstrelization, or *group alignment*. First, *capitulation* involves avoiding other gay men and

lesbians in romantic settings due to internalized homophobia.   Similarly, individuals who avoid

public displays of their sexual orientation may also engage in *passing*, which involves

intentionally concealing one's sexual orientation altogether in the larger public setting.

Individuals may also choose to be more public in their sexual orientation. For example, those

who engage in *minstrelization* express their sexual orientation according to stereotypes of

lesbians and gay men dictated by popular culture. Individuals with no interest in the larger

heterosexual community may engage in *group alignment* which entails immersion and total

identification with the gay and lesbian community.

In stage four, *commitment*, the individual adopts her/his sexual orientation as part of one's way of life. Troiden (1989) states that there are internal and external components to stage four. Internally, this involves changing what the individual's concept of a gay/lesbian identity. Also, the individual fuses her/his sexuality and emotionality into a cohesive whole. In addition, s/he perceives that a gay identity is positive and expresses satisfaction with her/his identity. There is also an increased level of happiness after self-defining as gay or lesbian. Externally, individuals may engage in same-sex romantic relationships, may disclose their gay or lesbian identity to heterosexuals, and may shift their types of stigma-management strategies. Individuals who are at this stage are more likely to use strategies such as *covering*, which entails an admittance of sexual orientation but is marked by an avoidance of a discussion of sexual orientation, and *blending*, which is characterized by acting typical to one's gender with a lack of public disclosure or denial of one's sexual orientation (Humphreys, 1972). These strategies are favored by individuals over *passing* and *group alignment* (Humphreys, 1972).

Anthony D'Augelli's (1994) model of sexual orientation identity development for lesbian/gay/bisexual (LGB) individuals presents a different perspective than prior models, since it is based in a social constructivist view of sexual orientation and takes a more fluid lifespan development approach to sexual orientation identity. This model presents sexual orientation identity development in terms of six interactive processes or steps, as opposed to a rigid progression of stages, emphasizing an individual's ability to move forward and backward between steps. D'Augelli's (1994) model also considers the simultaneous development of phases throughout the process of sexual orientation identity development. By being fluid, this model incorporates the individual differences and trajectories in identity development.

The first phase involves *exiting a heterosexual orientation identity*, where one confronts and refutes previous assumptions and assertions of heterosexuality of the individual. Second, sexual orientation identity development includes *developing a personal LGB identity status*, which involves determining how one specifically identifies and interprets her/his own LGB identity. Third, sexual orientation identity development involves *creating a LGB social identity*, where one develops a public label to identify her/himself to others. The fourth process includes *becoming a LGB offspring*, whereby family relationships are adjusted to account for the "coming out" process. Fifth, LGB individuals will *develop a LGB intimacy status*, which entails sexual and romantic relationships, as well as close friendships with significant others. Finally, sexual orientation identity development involves *entering a LGB community*, where one engages and participates in social networks and venues for LGB people.

Summary of Models of Sexual Orientation Identity Development

In summary, literature regarding the development of a sexual orientation identity is primarily encapsulated as stage theories, thus an individual typically begins at one particular stage and progresses sequentially until reaching a fully developed identity. D'Augelli's (1994) model also suggests gradual progression of identity development across six domains of identity, but in a more fluid fashion which involves varying levels of development across the domains. Regarding sexual orientation identity, the individual is characterized as beginning with initial same-sex sexual attractions and subsequent feelings of confusion regarding how one's own attraction is not similar to the individual's heterosexual peers (Cass, 1979; Coleman, 1982; Troiden, 1989). Following this stage Cass (1979) and Troiden (1989) identify a period whereby an individual becomes aware of the heterosexism present in larger society and withdraws from the heterosexual community. Following this stage is a period of exploration of the gay and

lesbian community, which involves personal contacts with publicly identified gay or lesbian

individuals (Cass, 1979; Troiden, 1989), as well as experiences with dating and having

relationships with openly gay or lesbian individuals (Coleman, 1982). Once the individual has

had positive contact with members of the gay and lesbian community, and is able to accept and

integrate one's sexual orientation as an element of her/his identity, the individual has reached the

final stage in her/his sexual orientation identity development (Cass, 1979; Coleman, 1982;

Troiden, 1989). D'Augelli's model (1994) posits that individuals engage in the simultaneous

and unique progression of phases related to the many facets of sexual orientation identity

development. In this fluid model, all facets are related to specific stages of sexual orientation

identity development from other theorists (Cass, 1979; Coleman, 1982; Troiden, 1989), however

in D'Augelli's model progression in identity development is not bound to the development of

other arenas of one's sexual orientation identity.

<div align="center">Gender Identity Development</div>

Although one's sense of gender represents a core concept to the understanding of

identity, research on how gender identity, or one's sense of masculinity or femininity, develops

over the course of adolescence is limited. However, with the greater understanding of feminism

and the many factors which impact women and their development, a call for research on males

has arisen (Faludi, 1991; Messner, 1997). Additionally, as research emerges which indicate the

risks associated with being a male adolescent, particularly with juvenile delinquency and other

risky behaviors (Kulis, Marsiglia, & Hurdle, 2003; Pleck, Sorenstein, & Ku, 1994), the focus of

research has shifted to examine how masculinity may impact engagement in destructive

behaviors oriented at self or others. Further, recent research investigating the process of

understanding one's gender identity has been propelled by challenges to the notion that gender

identity is wholly innate (Gough & Peace, 2000). The theories presented for gender identity

development are not easily grouped into discrete categories, rather they suggest that development

that begins in childhood continues well into adolescence and adulthood.

Of the initial writings on the development of gender identity development, Lawrence

Kohlberg (1966) proposed in his Cognitive Development theory that children actively interpret

messages that they receive from the environment regarding gender. According to this theory, by

the age of 6 or 7, a child has a clear understanding of her/his own gender, and s/he knows that

their gender is permanent. The key component of his theory was that from birth, children receive

and interpret messages about gender which are later internalized throughout childhood.

According to Kohlberg (1966), information about gender and one's internalization of these

messages continues to adolescence into adulthood, thus making gender identity development a

continuous process.

From a behaviorist perspective, the role of cognition as an agent of learning is not as

powerful compared to reinforcement and punishment as an antecedent or predecessor to

particular behaviors. Applying this concept to gender identity development, Perry and Bussey

(1979) suggest that one's sense of gender is learned by other people reinforcing the child's

gender "typical" behaviors and punishing gender "atypical" behaviors.   Additionally, they

suggest that gender is also learned through modeling by same-sex role models. This process is

also assumed to continue throughout adolescence and then into adulthood.

Several years later, Sandra Bem (1983) proposed that children categorize gender-specific

information into cognitive concepts called gender schemas. As children gradually encounter

more information about the world in general and gender in particular, their gender schemas

become more diverse. Eventually they see their world through a gendered lens, interpreting

everything as either masculine or feminine. Bem (1983) indicated that understanding gender and gender roles as either male or female has implications in practically all elements of one's experience. Though schemas are formed as early as information which fits into these schemas are made available, the process of adding information to, changing, and internalizing these schemas is a lifelong endeavor. Subsequent research investigating how children conceptualize gender show that children learn about gender and gender roles very early. For example, by the age of two children begin to apply gender labels of "he" and "she" when referring to men and women, respectively (Martin, Ruble, & Szkrybalo, 2002). By the age of four and five, they can identify gender typical and atypical toys for their gender (Marcus & Overton, 1978). Also, during role-play activities, girls continue to enact roles of "female typical" professions, such as nurses, teachers, and secretaries, while boys take on the roles of doctors, firefighters, and truck drivers (Connor & Serbin, 1977, Paley, 1984).

More recent theories have tried to understand masculine identity specifically through a psychodynamic/psychoanalytic analysis of the parent-child interaction a. First, Pollack (1995) identified the differences between gender identity and gender role identity. Gender identity is inherent early in childhood, where boys become aware of their core gender identity as male. Similar to previous theorists, issues of gender identity and masculinity hold special importance in childhood, with ramifications present in later perceptions of gender throughout one's life. According to his theory, emotional distance typical of males is learned through the dis-identification and separation process with one's mother. Gender role identity, on the other hand, is the internalization of unconscious schemas of what "being a man" means to a particular individual. This internalization involves managing multiple messages from multiple contexts, including society, culture, and most importantly through their family. Parents also serve

important roles in helping the youth learn which behaviors constitute masculinity, and consequently which characteristics constitute femininity. Though society has many messages concerning gender roles, some of which are conflicting in nature, it would be assumed that there may be many constellations to expressing one's gender. But according to Pollack (1995), because of rigid societal standards regarding gender identity and expression, and because of the early trauma of separation from one's mother, there are limited means of masculine identity expression for males. However, the process of gender socialization involves the interaction between societal messages about gender along with the person's own internal opinions and perceptions. This process of interaction and evaluation in spite of earlier developmental issues with mothers, presents an amalgamation of several other previously mentioned theories, suggesting that gender development is complex and multifaceted.

Bergman (1995) proposed a "self-in-relation model" to gender identity development, which is centered upon the primal desire to connect with others, and the belief that connections and interactions with others are the real catalysts to self-development, specifically with gender development. According to Bergman (1995), intimacy and the need to connect with others occurs prior to the establishment of identity, which is reversed in Erikson's (1980) theory of development. Throughout childhood and adolescence, males gradually develop their masculine identity through the quality and frequency of connections with other males who embody the masculine ideal. Similar to Pollack's (1995) theory of gender identity, boys also experience a premature disconnection from their mother, which then in turn teaches boys to become "agents of disconnection" (Bergman, 1995). This disconnection is also reinforced through cultural values, which consequently requires that in order for males to reach manhood, they must emotionally as well as physically distance themselves from their mothers. According to

Bergman (1995), the severing of the relationship with one's mother coupled with the

development of positive and enriching relationships with other males, serves as the primary

vehicle for gender identity development.

The research mentioned above indicates that the development of gender begins in

childhood and entails a process of learning, association, or interaction with significant others. In

contrast to theories which focus on the childhood experiences as a foundation for gender identity

development, other scholars have suggested that gender identity is primarily learned and

reinforced through elements within society. Pleck (1995) stated that gender is socially

constructed in a binary fashion, so that masculinity and femininity are created as analogs to one

another. Pleck (1995) also asserts that culture is important in transmitting roles and in

determining the venues where these gender roles are learned. The social structure is such that

these gender roles are structured and reinforced, but additionally place strong social

consequences for transgressions in gender role expression.

Judith Butler (1993, 1999) also emphasizes the role of society in defining and shaping

people's expressions of gender. First, she draws the distinctions between biological sex, which

concerns the anatomical parts of the person, which is unchangeable without surgical methods,

and gender identity, which is obtained primarily through social learning and is malleable. In her

theory of signification, or theory of performativity, we begin with a "blank slate" of gender

which is then molded into a rigid sense of masculinity or femininity based on society's standards.

Gender is molded through repetitive physical acts, such as mannerisms or behaviors, and internal

processes, including particular belief systems or thoughts. It is through this process of repetition

that males and females know and unconsciously internalize their own gender identity into an

internal gender essence. Because of this internal unconscious process, the end result is

interpreted by the person as an innate and natural way of being rather than an expression of artificial manipulation by patriarchal forces within society.

Despite the means of transmission and processes of development, the theories mentioned above suggest that individuals do attain an understanding of their own gender which becomes solidified during adolescence. Though the theories detailing specific processes of gender identity development differ across scholars, research has also investigated the components of masculinity, and the specific messages sent to youth. These are of particular importance when considering gender identity development.

Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1985) state that men are exposed to many different messages concerning masculinities, offering a variety of options for manhood, however society places varying weights on different types of expression. In addition, they state that many men experience social pressure to conform to dominant messages about being a man. This dominant description to which men aspire to conform is termed "hegemonic masculinity," and not all men conform to this version of masculinity. Those who do not fit into this definition find that they are disadvantaged or discriminated against in society (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1985). Within this definition of hegemonic masculinity are venues of behaving which are associated with dominance and power. Connell (1987) states that means of expressing masculinities are the primary social arenas where men and boys create and legitimate their domination over other males and females. However, this association between power and masculinity varies across cultures (Cornwall and Lindisfarne, 1994). The necessity to express dominance propelled by masculinity, according to Connell (1987), is determined by the amount of resources within the environment. This is particularly important for African American men within the United States who do not have economic privileges that White men may have. Consequently, masculinity

expression for African American male youth may be demonstrated through non-economic means, such as through having a masculine muscular body and using it as a tool of domination (Connell, 1987).

Males may also express the domination indicative of masculinity through their sexuality, which typically involves making sexual comments toward women within their age group. However, Ferguson (2000) found that male adolescents directed sexually inappropriate comments to not only their female classmates, but also toward teachers. Expressions of heterosexuality toward other women were not only used as a means of expressing dominance, but also as a way to direct sexual frustrations (Ferguson, 2000), Connolly (1998) reported that adolescent males used sexualized cursing as well as the flaunting of girlfriends to express domination over other men. However, domination of women and men through heterosexuality was not the only venue where sexuality was used as a tool of segregation and domination. Adolescent males also enforced heterosexuality amongst other males, and condemned those males perceived to be same-sex attracted or gender non-conforming. Froyum (2007) states that homophobic beliefs and acts of heterosexism toward others are committed to achieve status of "manhood" and to gain power over others. Pascoe (2005) states that anti-gay practices are used to not only demean individuals who are same-sex attracted, but also to marginalize those who fail to accomplish the key "masculine tasks of competence," (p.330) such as showing heterosexual sexual prowess, physical strength, or by minimizing one's femininity traits.

In addition to the traits mentioned above in describing masculinity, the Western concept of a masculine individual has been described as one who takes a leadership role, specifically in the family setting as the breadwinner and as the head of the household (Abreu, Goodyear, Campos, & Newcomb, 2000; Pleck, 1987). Additionally, research has indicated that masculinity

is associated with restricted emotions (Abreu et al, 2000; Resnick, 1992), physical strength and toughness, and as a person with high status and confidence (Thomson & Pleck, 1986). Resnick (1992) states that men are not only encouraged to restrict emotions, but also are criticized for being emotionally disconnected. Other components of the definition of masculinity are changing over time. For example, Auster and Ohm (2000) revisited the definitions of masculinity set forth by Sandra Bem (1974) twenty years earlier in her Sex Role Inventory. They found that of the original twenty characteristics of masculinity, only eight were still seen by participants as being specific to masculinity. The following descriptors were no longer interpreted as being gender-specific: analytical, individualistic, competitive, self-sufficient, risk-taking, and defending one's own beliefs.

Though theorists mentioned above (Butler, 1993, 1999; Connell, 1987; Pleck, 1995) have described the role of social learning and pressures to conform to standards set forth by hegemonic masculinity, research has also indicated that children and adolescents learn about masculinity through a variety of contexts. Not only do the messages vary, but variation also exists in where these messages yield the greatest impact and influence, especially when considering gender identity development. Youth primarily learn about masculinity and experience pressures to conform in the home and school settings. Oakley (1985) suggests that youth are indoctrinated by their parents into what is "gender typical" at an early age through a subtle four-fold process. The first process involves *manipulation*, where boys are generally treated roughly and girls are treated gently. The second process, *channeling*, involves directing the naturally curious attention of children to objects (such as toys) which are gender "typical." Third, *verbal appellation* is used to describe the same behaviors differently depending on the sex of the actor. An example of this would be if boy pushes another child, he is perceived as being

"active," however if a girl pushes another child, she is perceived as being "aggressive." Finally, *activity exposure* involves encouraging or discouraging a child from imitating her/his mother or father, depending on the sex of the child.

Earlier research by Fling and Manosevitz (1972) and Lansky (1967) support the above research findings that young boys are subjected to more explicit parental messages to conform to sex role stereotypes. Whether explicit or implicit, Egan and Perry (2001) attest to the internalization of the influence that parents have on the gender identity development of the child. They have found that when comparing boys and girls, boys are more likely to see themselves as "typical males," are more content to be a member of their sex, and report that they experience more pressure to act in a stereotypically male way.

Since youth are in the school system for over thirty hours a week (depending on specific school and involvement in extra-curricular activities) the school context is another environment where youth experience pressures to conform to standards of masculinity. According to Carlson (1985), school is the primary venue where masculinity is formed and defined because of the social hierarchies created and enforced within the school system. Concordant with research mentioned above (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee, 1985) linking masculinity with the expression of power, youth may therefore create and enact masculinity upon other youth to establish and enforce the social hierarchies within the school system. Though masculinity in the school system may appear a secondary factor to one's overall school experience, Carlson (1985) states that youth's overall experience of school is dependent on their position in the social hierarchy, which is determined by masculinity ideologies.

Further, Mac and Ghahill (1994) reported that within the school system, there are expectations of behavior where boys are encouraged to express masculinity through verbal and

physical behavior, which allows them to express masculinity and dominance to other students.

This dominance may explain why researchers have found that masculine boys have the highest

levels of self-acceptance in Western and non-Western societies (Frome & Eccles, 1996; Lau,

1989; Orr & Ben-Elaihu, 1993). The unfortunate consequence of this tough façade is that

masculine boys report difficulties in self-esteem and self-confidence (Carlson, 1985).

The environment may also facilitate within individuals expressions of masculinity in

particular settings. Farr, Brown, and Beckett (2004) found that among male college students,

when completing anonymous surveys students endorsed hypermasculinity where normal levels

of masculinity were expected. In their discussion, the authors suggested that social desirability

encouraged exaggerated expressions of masculinity (Farr, Brown, & Beckett, 2004). In the

school system, many youth routinely ostracize and exclude other male students who do not

follow behavioral norms of masculinity (Sandberg, Mayer-Bahlburg, Ehrhardt, & Yager, 1993;

Zucker & Wilson-Smith, 1995). Edley and Wetherell (1997) found that most male students

ostracized students perceived as being non-masculine in order to uphold and elevate traditional

masculinity ideals. As a result, masculinity's expression may be dependent on context.

Despite the pressures and negative consequences associated with conforming and

deviating from the hegemonic masculinity ideals, there is emerging research that alternative

masculinities can be created and expressed. Willis (1999) found that youth can learn to embrace

their own masculinity without the need to exclude or subordinate women. Also, Brod (1987)

states that youth respond well to a clear message that there are many concepts of masculinity and

that they do not have to conform to one particular notion of manhood. This is echoed by

Cornwall (1997) who states that there are already many ways to express masculinity but social

pressures enforce one particular ideology, and that removing the social pressures can help males feel more open to alternative expressions.

Summary of Models of Gender Identity Development

In summary, literature on gender identity development indicates that one's sense of gender and their subsequent identification with that identity begins in childhood and continues to develop in adolescence. However, the mechanisms proposed through which gender is developed are diverse. Scholars from a variety of perspectives, including psychoanalysis (Pollack, 1995), cognitive psychology (Bem, 1983; Kohlberg, 1964), behaviorism (Perry and Bussey, 1979), and ecological theory (Bergman, 1995) have suggested processes for how gender is developed.

Other research suggests that gender is socially-constructed (Butler, 1993, 1999; Pleck, 1995) and that these constructs are not only created by society, but are also enforced to maintain power hierarchies across gender. Due to the fabricated nature of gender, each society determines the content of gender, which in the United States has been termed hegemonic masculinity (Butler, 1993, 1999). The components of this masculinity ideology emphasize power and domination in a variety of arenas, but masculinity is also defined as a contrast to femininity (Pleck, 1995).

These messages are transmitted and enforced in a variety of settings, but most important of these settings are the home (Fling & Manosevitz, 1972; Lansky, 1967; Oakley, 1985) and school (Carlson, 1985; Ghahill, 1994). It is within these arenas and in the presence of these messages to conform to masculinity ideology that gender identity development occurs. Because of the social implications of upholding hegemonic masculinity, males who do not conform to masculinity standards often face ostracism and alienation (Sandberg, Mayer-Bahlburg, Ehrhardt, & Yager, 1993; Zucker & Wilson-Smith, 1995).

<center>Identity Integration</center>

The above-mentioned research indicates that during adolescence, GBQ ethnic minority male youths may be developing multiple identities, most notably ego identity, sexual orientation identity, ethnic identity, and gender identity. However, the concept of identity during adolescence is described as an integrated sense of self, which for GBQ male youth of color may involve the integration of many different facets of oneself, including ethnic heritage, sexual orientation, sense of masculinity, among others. Therefore, in order to develop a sense of overall identity, one must develop and integrate the component parts of one's identity. Theories of sexual orientation identity (Cass, 1979; Troiden, 1989) and ethnic identity (Atkinson, Morten, and Sue, 1979; Phinney, 1989) describe a final stage of identity development whereby the developed identity becomes integrated with all other aspects of their sense of self, often after one has entered a period of excessive pride of their own group membership. Also, though not explicitly stated, the process of establishing a gender identity and the internalization of masculine ideology assumes that masculinity is integrated amongst all other identities. Identity development theorists contend that the ideal state of identity development involves integration of that particular identity with other identities. Given the complication of having to develop multiple identities, GBQ male youth of color may experience difficulties in the multiple identity process. It is important to consider how developing multiple identities may present for difficulties along the process.

<center>Considerations in Identity Development Among GBQ Male Youth of Color</center>

Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation Identity

As indicated earlier, one of the core tenets of hegemonic masculinity ideology is the enforcement of anti-gay attitudes, which may include acts of individual heterosexism including

hate crimes or hate speech directed to those perceived to be non-heterosexual (Froyum, 2007; Pascoe, 2005). As a result, for a same-sex attracted male, it may be difficult to incorporate his masculine identity along with his sexual orientation identity, because some of the key components of masculinity ideology are heterosexuality and anti-gay attitudes. However, as indicated earlier, given that there are many expressions of masculinity, it is possible to develop alternative conceptualizations which do not necessarily include heterosexism (Brod, 1987; Cornwall, 1997).

Gender Identity and Ethnic Identity

The intersection between ethnic identity and masculinity has also been described earlier, with Connell (1987) stating that for African American males, who often do not have access to economic resources due to racism, masculinity may be expressed through a muscular body or through mannerisms and posturing. Lazur and Majors (1995) further explained masculinity among African American males as a concept created within the African American group because of disempowerment from the larger dominant White community. Majors and Billson (1992) describe the expression of masculinity as the "cool pose," described as a ritualized form of masculinity that entails behaviors, posturing, social scripts, and performances with the underlying message being of pride, strength, and control.

Among Latino men, the concept of *"machismo"* is used to describe an institutionalized form of masculinity. Though the definitions vary across scholars, there is a fair amount of research which has described *machismo* as endorsing sexism, chauvinism, and hypermasculinity (Anders, 1993; Ingoldsby, 1991; Mosher & Tompkins, 1988). In a review of literature, Anders (1993) described *macho* men (men who endorsed machismo) as incompetent, intimidating, and controlling of women. However, many scholars replied by stating that current notions of

machismo are very restrictive, in that they primarily depict men in a negative and narrow light (Casas, Wagenheim, Banchero, & Mendoza-Romeo, 1994; Felix-Oriz, Abreu, Briano, & Bowen, 2001; Mirandé, 1988, 1997; Penalosa, 1968; Ramos, 1979; Rodriguez, 1996). Mirandé's (1997) examination of literature and popular focus of *machismo's* negative characteristics led to his development of the Mirandé's Sex Role Inventory, which uses positive and negative qualities to understand the many meanings and expressions of *machismo*. Emerging research has revealed positive qualities associated with *machismo*, including nurturance, protection of the family and its honor, dignity, wisdom, hard work, responsibility, spiritualty, and emotional connectedness (Casas et al., 1994; Mirandé, 1988, 1997; Ramos, 1979). An emergent term in psychological literature, *caballerismo*, originating from the Spanish word for horse and horseman, has been used to allude to landowning Spanish gentlemen of high status. As a result, the descriptor *caballerismo* denotes men who are proper, respectful of manners, and who live an ethical code of chivalry (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008). The term of *caballerismo*, along with a research examining the positive and negative aspects of machismo, indicate that the intersection of ethnicity and gender identity does not necessarily implicate mutual exclusion or inherent negativity.

Sexual Orientation Identity and Ethnic Identity

Though the expression of masculinity among ethnic minority individuals has been explored, the research on sexual orientation identity and ethnic identity does not fully apply for individuals who are both sexual and ethnic minorities. Research indicates that GBQ male youth of color experience significant stressors present in both their sexual minority community (or "gay community") as well as the ethnic minority community. Though heterosexism continues within the United States (Ryan & Futterman, 1998), the environment becomes increasingly more

hostile when one examines specific ethnic minority communities (Chung and Katayama, 1998; Monteiro and Fuqua, 1994; Parks, 2001; Tremble, Scheider, and Appathurai, 1989). This decreased tolerance for gay and lesbian individuals may be a function of attitudes or perceptions of gays and lesbians which are specific to particular ethnic minority communities. For example, Tremble, and colleagues (1989) reported that for many Asian parents in Canada, being a gay male or lesbian is seen as a Western phenomenon, which is in part due to the "invisibility" of many gays and lesbians in their countries of origin. Despite these differences in perceptions, individuals from ethnic minority communities may perceive being gay or lesbian as inherently incompatible to a lifestyle as dictated by the ethnic culture. Chung and Katayama's (1998) review of the literature regarding Asian American gay and lesbian adolescents found that for Asian American families, the concept of the "traditional family" does not accommodate for gays and lesbians, and therefore is seen as deviant. There are also strong cultural expectations within Asian American families to have children, which relates to a strong stigma for those who remain childless. As a result, this stigma is placed on those lesbian and gay individuals who "cannot" or "choose" to not to have biological kin (Chung & Katayama, 1998).

These cultural demands and heterosexist attitudes are often reinforced by the individual's peers. Monteiro and Fuqua (1994), in their discussion and review of literature regarding African American gay youth, observed that for many African American gay adolescents, being gay or lesbian is strongly condemned among peers, and as a result many do not disclose their sexual orientation to their peers. Due to this lack of support, many deal with their sexual orientation without peer assistance (Monteiro and Fuqua, 1994).

Receiving messages from both their peers and family, GBQ adolescents of color must therefore manage the demands of various different groups. Parks (2001) notes that gay and

lesbian ethnic minority adolescents belong to three distinct communities: a Euro-American heterosexual community, a Euro-American gay and lesbian community, and an ethnic minority heterosexual community. This tension to appease and belong to all groups may therefore strain the adolescent heavily.

Many gay ethnic minority adolescents must also manage these competing groups at a time when their sense of identity is not fully intact. Many if not all are still in the processes of identity development. Further, unlike their heterosexual ethnic minority peers, gay male ethnic minority adolescents must attain an ethnic identity as well as a sexual orientation identity. The lack of acceptance in their ethnic community may hinder their sexual orientation identity development, and their burgeoning sexual orientation identity may inhibit their participation in their ethnic community.

GBQ male ethnic minority adolescents therefore must attempt the difficult task of balancing the needs of two distinct communities whose values are often contradictory. Often, this leads to a fragmentation rather than a cohesion of identities, as many gay and lesbian ethnic minority adolescents felt that they had to choose between their ethnic and sexual identities (Dube and Savin-Williams, 1999). Since many GBQ male ethnic minority adolescents develop their own gay identities without peer assistance (Monteiro and Fuqua, 1994), many adolescents face certain difficulty due to the inability to develop positive connections or a personal network of gay or lesbian individuals, which is paramount in developing a cohesive sexual orientation identity (Cass, 1978; Troiden, 1989). These obstacles may prevent the GBQ male ethnic minority adolescent from fully developing their ethnic and gay identities, which makes the adolescent susceptible to the risks associated with an unintegrated identity. As indicated by the literature on sexual orientation identity development, individuals who have unintegrated gay

identities or who have lower levels of self-acceptance, which is another indicator for sexual

orientation identity development (Cass, 1978; Troiden, 1989), are at higher risk for participation

in sexual risk behaviors than those with integrated gay identies (Chng & Geliga-Vargas, 2000;

Ridge, Plummer, & Minichiello, 1994; Waldo, McFarland, Katz, MacKellar, & Valleroy, 2000).

In examining the increased rates of HIV infection among GBQ male ethnic minority adolescents,

particularly Latino and African American adolescents (CDC, 2006), one can infer that GBQ

male ethnic minority adolescents who are having particular difficulty managing their ethnic and

gay identities, may engage in sexual risk behaviors.

<p style="text-align:center"><u>Risks Associated With Identities That Are Not Integrated</u></p>

The task of developing an identity, whether it be an ego, ethnic, gender, or sexual

orientation identity, is of particular importance during one's life, particularly during adolescence

(Erikson, 1980). Since specific risks are associated with particular types of identity

development, the literature regarding each specific type of identity development and associated

risks for having an undeveloped identity will be described.

<u>Ego Identity</u>

Marcia (1966) does note that though individuals may belong to particular statuses, these

statuses may predict positive or negative outcomes. For example, adolescents categorized as

relatively high in ego identity (*moratorium* and *identity-achieved*), compared to those

categorized as low (*identity-diffusion* and *foreclosure*), have been shown to be less susceptible to

efforts by others to lower their self-esteem (Marcia, 1966), are less influenced by peer pressure

(Adams, Ryan, Hoffman, Dobson, & Nielson, 1985), and are more likely to be self-accepting

(Rasmussen, 1964). Therefore, individuals with better developed identities are not as affected by

attempts to devalue or coerce the individual. This resistance may be due to a well established

sense of value and esteem within the individual as a result of the ego identity development process. Adolescents also categorized as relatively high in ego identity (*moratorium* and *identity-achieved*), compared to those categorized as low (*identity-diffusion* and *foreclosure*) were more likely to have an internal locus of control (Adams, Shea, & Kacerguis, 1978), indicating that individuals believed that they had an impact on their environment and their future, as opposed to being at its mercy.

Other researchers have suggested that adolescents categorized as relatively high in identity (*moratorium* and *identity-achieved*), compared to those categorized as low in identity (*identity-diffusion* and *foreclosure*) are less likely to use cocaine, marijuana, inhalants, or hallucinogens (Jones & Hartman, 1988). Individuals therefore who are categorized as having an *identity-diffusion or foreclosure* ego identity are less likely to resist peer influences, particularly as it applies to engagement of drug risk behaviors.

Ethnic Identity

Negative outcomes are also possible for those with a less developed or unresolved sense of ethnic identity. For example, adolescents who have a less developed sense of their ethnic identity also have lower levels of self esteem compared to their peers who have a better developed sense of ethnic identity (Parham & Helms, 1985). Further, those with more advanced ethnic identities, as compared to their less developed counterparts, report positive self-evaluations, as well as positive social, peer, and family relations (Phinney, 1989).

One of the most tragic effects of a non-existent or undeveloped sense of ethnic identity is marginalization, where an individual lacks both a connection with the larger majority community and to her/his ethnic community of origin (Phinney, 1989). The connection of marginalization to negative outcomes is perhaps most apparent in American Indian populations, whose native

traditions have been lost and who have not become part of the mainstream (Phinney, 1989). The

dislocation of the tribes and the alteration of traditions and customs have been associated with

hopelessness, alcoholism, and suicide (Berlin, 1987). In areas where religious traditions have

been disrupted, suicide rates are highest (Berlin, 1986). Lefley (1982) found that among two

tribes in Florida, low self esteem was related to tribal disintegration and identity conflict which

were results of sociocultural change. In a study which examined homicide rates among twelve

areas across the United States with American Indian populations, homicide rates were the

greatest among areas which were characterized as being in a state without any shared or agreed-

upon norms, which was caused by a rejection of shared, unquestioned, traditional norms (Young

& French, 1997). Through an examination of the rates of suicide among 18 American Indian

tribes, Lester (1999) found a significant positive correlational relationship between level of stress

associated with acculturation (one form of identity integration) and suicide rates. Therefore,

individuals who experience duress in the identity integration process or who may feel

disenfranchised or disconnected with their ethnic minority community may be at risk for a host

of negative psychosocial outcomes.

Sexual Orientation Identity

Though many sexual minority individuals are able to develop a sexual orientation

identity, there are specific negative outcomes associated with unresolved sexual orientation

identities. Often faced with hostility and heterosexism in the larger heterosexual community,

gay or lesbian individuals may not be able to adequately resolve their own gay or lesbian identity

development without some discomfort or strife (Ryan, 2001). Though many develop positive

means of coping despite stressors (Savin-Williams, 2006), some sexual minority youth may

manage distress with their sexual orientation identity through engaging in sexual risk behaviors.

In a sample of younger gay and bisexual male adolescents (ages 15-17), self-acceptance of a gay or bisexual orientation identity was associated with lower rates of participation in sexual risk behaviors (Waldo, McFarland, Katz, MacKellar & Valleroy, 2000). In a related study Ridge, Plummer & Minichiello (1994) found that young gay men (under 25) who did not belong to gay organizations reported higher rates of recent unprotected anal intercourse compared to those who did belong.

The problems faced by gay and lesbian adolescents and young adults often extend into adulthood. Adult men who did not adequately develop an integrated sexual orientation identity in adolescence and who currently lacked an integrated sexual orientation identity were at greater risk for engaging in unprotected anal intercourse compared to those with an integrated sexual orientation identity (Chng & Geliga-Vargas, 2000). As stressed in Cass' (1978) and Troiden's (1982) models for sexual orientation identity development, positive connections with the gay community are essential to the development of a cohesive sexual orientation identity. Adult gay men and lesbians who have connections with a personal network of gay or lesbian individuals are less likely to engage in sexual risk behavior compared to those without a personal network of gay and lesbian individuals (Joseph, Adib, Joseph, & Tal, 1991).

Gender Identity

One risk of not integrating aspects of masculinity ideology into one's gender identity is ostracism from other males due to perceived femininity, which is seen as antithetical to masculinity ideology, or due to perceived non-heterosexual sexual orientation (Sandberg, Mayer-Bahlburg, Ehrhardt, & Yager, 1993; Zucker & Wilson-Smith, 1995). However, aside from the social exclusion and marginalization experienced from other males, there is little evidence that an unintegrated sense of masculine gender identity is associated with negative outcomes. On the

contrary, research does suggest that high levels of masculinity among adolescents is associated with problem behaviors such as delinquency, drug and alcohol use, and unprotected sex (Kulis, Marsiglia, & Hurdle, 2003; Pleck, Sorenstein, & Ku, 1994). Conversely, the masculine component of androgyny, which has features of both masculinity and femininity, is associated with positive mental health outcomes among adolescence (Markstrom-Adams, 1989).

<div align="center">Ecological Theories of Development</div>

Integration and full development of one's identity into the larger self concept is an important part of adolescence and of adulthood, and as research suggests a lack of integration of identity may lead to a host of negative outcomes. Since according to Erikson identity development is a key task of adolescence (1980), the question for GBQ male youth of color is how specifically do these youth integrate their identities into a coherent self-concept? In order to first consider multiple identity integration, it is important to consider how identities are shaped and expressed differently in multiple contexts. One example is evidenced through Harter's research (1999) which found that depending on the context, adolescents' descriptors of their own personality style may vary, ranging from outgoing to defensive, and other traits, depending on the person whom they are interacting with and the environment.

The malleability of identity and self depending on context has been extensively described by ecological theorists, namely Urie Bronfrenbrenner's Ecological Systems theory (1979). In his theory, individuals interact with a variety of contexts, or systems, on a daily basis, each bearing some influence on the person and additionally with each person having some impact on the system. Five primary systems identified in his systems were: (1) the *microsystem*, which involves one's immediate environments (such as the family, peer group, and school) (2) the *mesosystem*, which is a system comprised of connections between the environments of the

microsystem (such as an adolescent's family and school), (3) the *exosystem*, which involves environmental settings which affect development indirectly (such as the parent's social network or workplace), (4) the *microsystem*, which consists of the larger general contexts in which the smaller contexts are situated (such as a political culture or the United States context), and a more recent addition, (5) the *chronosystem*, which entails how these contexts may change influence and content over time.

In a similar vein to Bronfrenbrenner's ecological systems theory, Lev Vygotsky's Sociocultural theory (Vygotsky, 1978, 1997) emphasizes the role of interactions with the environment as a means to develop the self. According to his theory, an adolescent's concept of the world and consequently of him/herself is acquired by interactions, specifically through problem-solving interactions, with adults and significant others in the environment. Throughout this process, adolescents learn about the environment and about themselves as well, thus becoming a reflection and internalization of the larger environment. According to Vygotsky (1978, 1997), to understand adolescent's development, attention must be paid to those elements, specifically to significant adults, within the youth's immediate and extended environment. The impact of this process is bidirectional, termed *reciprocal transaction*, whereby as people and contexts influence the adolescent, conversely the adolescent influences people and environments. Scholars believe that the interaction between members in the environment assist in many of the cognitive developments in adolescence (Edwards, 2005; Vygotsky, 1978, 1997; Winsler, 2003). Vygotsky's (1978, 1997) theory has gained gradual support in his understanding of the multiple influences which impact adolescents, particularly in an increasingly multi-cultural environment such as the United States (Edwards, 2005; Matusov & Haynes, 2000; Reis, Collins, & Berscheid, 2000).

Identity Integration Across Contexts

Bronfrenbrenner (1979), Vygotsky (1778, 1997), and other ecological or systems theorists attest to the role that the environment has on adolescent development, and suggest that the individual can also impact her/his immediate and extended communities. Considering the multiple developmental processes of GBQ male youth of color, which includes the development of an ethnic identity, sexual orientation identity, and gender identity, youth must inherently interact with and are impacted by many different communities. Ryan and Futterman (1998) stated that LGB youth of color must navigate three separate communities, namely the lesbian/gay community, their ethnic community, and also the community of mainstream culture, and propose that interactions between the three may lead to identity conflicts. As youth interact with multiple systems, according to ecological theorists, youth engage in reciprocal influencing relationships. Given the presence of barriers to full identity integration listed above, as youth navigate through various settings the expression of their identity may vary across contexts. Therefore, youth may not be able to fully identity, or fully integrate their identities across settings where one component of their identities may not be accepted.

The process of managing and expressing sexual identities in unfavorable environments has been the focus of limited research, but one area which has received increasing attention is disclosure of sexual orientation in the workplace. Today, within 30 of the 50 United States employers can freely terminate employment of an individual because of her/his sexual orientation (National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 2008). As a result of this imminent threat, many individuals are cautious of the environments in which they disclose their sexual orientation, despite being "out" (publicly-identified as LGB) in their homes or in other important contexts of their life. Griffin (1991) described four ways in which people are able to manage

their identities in the work setting. The first method involves *passing*, where one does not

disclose information about her/his sexuality and maintains a publicly-identified heterosexual

image. Second, individuals may be *covering*, in which they disclose information about their

private lives, but censor the information about romantic partners to portray an other-sex partner

instead of a same-sex partner. Individuals may be *implicitly out*, where they may not hide

aspects of their sexuality or identity, but will not openly disclose this information outright.

Finally, individuals may be *explicitly out*, where they disclose their sexuality with individuals

throughout the workforce.

　　　With regard to the psychological aspects of not being "out" at work, Franke and Leary

(1991) state that individuals must be vigilant about disclosing personal information, which not

only creates a sense within individuals of living multiples lives, but also induces feelings of

dishonesty and disconnection with their work environment. Consequently, one strategy to

manage perceived heterosexism in a variety of settings, including work settings, is to control the

level of disclosure, which is echoed in other research (Cody and Welch, 1997; Edwards, 1996).

　　　Though the work environment is one context where adults spend many hours a week, it is

not the only venue where individuals interact and connect with others. Individuals also connect

with their communities of membership, which for sexual and ethnic minority individuals include

a gay community as well as an ethnic community. Despite this need to connect, previous

literature indicates that due to heterosexism and racism within their ethnic and gay communities,

gay and lesbian ethnic minority individuals may not be not fully welcome in either community

(Peterson & Marin, 1988). Some felt ostracism and exclusion to the extent that they felt that

they had to choose between their ethnic and sexual identities (Manalansan, 1996). Additionally,

Zea (1999) reported that Latino gay men's identity depended on context, finding that some men

do not view themselves as gay when around family, but do identify as gay in venues of the LGBT community (such as gay bars or clubs). Among HIV-positive Latino gay men, researchers found that to avoid stigma from heterosexism and HIV status in their Latino communities, they would become involved in gay and HIV-specific organizations, interpreted as a way to compensate for alienation in their communities of origin (Ramirez-Valles, Fergus, Reisen, Poppen, & Zea, 2005). Wilson and Miller (2002) found that among African American gay and bisexual men, five overall strategies were used to manage heterosexism in intolerant contexts. The first method, *role flexing*, involved intentionally altering actions, dress, and mannerisms to conform to standards of masculinity, which included being homophobic towards others. This also included censoring information about one's sexuality to others, as well as not confronting others when they made anti-gay statements towards others. Other ways of publicly managing heterosexism involved *standing your ground*, where individuals openly confronted those who made anti-gay comments either directed towards them or towards others, or by frequenting and being surrounded by *gay friendly contexts.* Participants also employed internal coping strategies to manage heterosexism, including having high levels of faith (*keeping the faith*) and by trying to change their sexual behavior (*changing sexual behavior)*.

The research mentioned above concerns how adults manage expressing their identity in contexts which may not be fully accepting of all of their identities. However, it should be noted that across most theories on sexual, ethnic, and gender identity development it is assumed that adults have achieved an overall stable sense of identity, which may allow for minor fluctuations in identity expression. Identities which are constantly varying in their expression, on the other hand, would not indicate identity integration since a key component of identity integration involves the incorporation of that identity into the larger self concept, which would not

necessarily occur if identity expression was constantly in flux. Consequently, identity

development and integration theory may not fully accommodate for individuals who belong to

identity groups which necessitate identity expression variations. For example, a stage of pride in

one theory may require a youth to immerse oneself in a particular community, which may not be

fully possible of one is also simultaneously developing another identity. Further, previous

research detailed above (Franke and Learly, 1991; Griffin, 1991; Wilson and Miller, 2002; Zea,

1999) indicates how individuals shift identity expression in one particular setting, literature does

not explain how these identities may vary across multiple settings, such as in their ethnic

community, gay community, and work setting, among others. Additionally, research has not

examined how LGBT people of color's multiple identities may generally be integrated

holistically and internally without the influence of contextual factors. Since lack of integrated

identity may put individuals at risk for a host of negative outcomes, it is important to understand

how adolescents are integrating their multiple identities, at a time when identities are still in

development.

Qualitative Methodology

Due to the lack of literature regarding how GBQ male ethnic minority adolescents are

integrating their multiple identities, considerations must be made to research methodology.

Quantitative research typically seeks to demonstrate the specific degree to which a phenomenon

is present in a particular population (Carlson, Siegal, & Falck, 1995; Creswell, 1998; Kirk &

Miller, 1986). However, the current level of understanding of the identity integration process of

GBQ ethnic minority male adolescents as demonstrated by the lack of existing literature,

suggests that quantitative methodologies may not fully capture their unique experiences. This is

because the current literature on multiple identity integration is not wholly applicable to the fluid

and multiple processes of identity integration which occur for GBQ male ethnic minority adolescents. Consequently, if the body of research has not responded to this population, it can be assumed that quantitative measures also will not assess these nuances of fluid and multiple identity integration. Also, it is unknown to what extent to the processes detailed in the literature are applicable to this population, and what unique considerations should be made when understanding identity integration among GBQ male youth of color.

Qualitative research involves an inductive process to understand a particular social/psychological phenomenon by observing the degree of shared and patterned meanings, perceptions, behaviors, expectations, roles, and values among a group of people who have a shared cultural identification (Carlson, Siegal, & Falck, 1995; Creswell, 1998; Kirk and Miller, 1986). Thus qualitative research is not constructed based on a deductive theory and is not conducted to test specific hypotheses (Agar, 1980). Qualitative methodologies can therefore examine a phenomenon and its surrounding circumstances, which can be used to develop a theory or model to explain the phenomenon. Without setting predetermined limits on variables, qualitative research examines the content and definitions of the variables themselves, which is of particular value when investigating an understudied population. Due to the lack of relevant literature regarding the identity integration process among GBQ male ethnic minority adolescents, qualitative research methodologies are the most appropriate for this line of inquiry. Qualitative research methodologies will assist in successfully examining the complex issues related to multiple identity integration during adolescence.

The predominantly used qualitative methods are in-depth interviews and focus groups, which enable participants to not be confined in their responses to closed-ended surveys and questionnaires, and allows for participants to have their complete voices heard. However,

though interviews may be helpful in assessing psychological processes and constructs of those without a voice, there may be challenges for youth in expressing themselves. Piaget's (1980) theory of cognitive development states that during adolescence, youths begin to engage in formal operational thought, exemplified in propositional logic, which is the ability to hypothesize theoretical situations and predict possible outcomes. Understanding that the age range of adolescence proposed by Piaget (1980) begins at eleven years old and ends in adulthood, he stated that adolescents gradually obtain and master the skills of propositional logic over the course of adolescence. Therefore, the ability to think abstractly is not an immediately acquired skill, and youth may vary in their abstract thinking abilities during adolescence. Though Piaget's theory of cognitive development has met with some resistance in psychological literature, research examining brain development indicates that the prefrontal cortex, which plays an important role in abstract thinking, begins development in adolescence but continues to develop well into the twenties (Casey et. al., 2005). As a result, it should be assumed that abstract thinking may not fully be natural for adolescents, who may therefore struggle in articulating difficult concepts which require deep abstract or propositional thought. In these cases, it may be more prudent to use a more concrete task to assist in qualitative research, particularly when assessing complex constructs.

One qualitative methodology frequently used in a clinical setting with child and adolescent clients, who may not be able to discuss abstract concepts such as depression or anxiety, is the projective measure (Lubin, Larsen, & Matterazzo, 1984; Lubin, Wallis, & Paine, 1971; Piotrowski, Sherry, & Keller, 1985, Motta, Little, & Tobin, 1993). Examples of projective measures range from tests where clients are asked to generate a story or description of a given stimulus, such as the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) (Bellak, 1993) and the Rorschach

Inkblot test (Watkins, Campbell, Nieberding, & Hallmark, 1996), to tests where clients generate drawings of significant individuals or benign objects, such as the House-Tree-Person (HTP) (Buck, 1948) and the Human Figure Drawing (HFD) (Koppitz, 1984) test. Though projective tests such as the HFD tests are still recommended in textbooks as a component of a standard assessment (Lewis, 1996), there remains much controversy regarding their validity as tools for assessment (Cummings, 1986; Obrzut & Boliek, 1986).

Early methods to apply interpretive scales or methods to decipher drawings attempted to uncover hidden symbolic meaning through variations in the qualities of drawing style or of the figures within the drawing. For example, Koppitz (1968, 1984) developed a scoring system to examine qualities of the HFD drawing that proposed to differentiate between clinically normal and emotionally disturbed youth, which has been supported by other researchers (Marsh, Linberg, Smeltzer, 1991; Naglieri & Pfieffer, 1992; Tharinger & Stark, 1990). Machover's (1949) system of interpreting what was termed as "graphic indicators" as indicative of psychic areas of conflict is also widely used today as an interpretive method (Zalsman et al, 2000). However, despite the relative effectiveness of these systems, there are more studies which have failed to find any associations between drawing qualities and any indicators of psychopathology (Brannigan, Shofield, & Holtz, 1982; Forrest & Thomas, 1991; Hander & Reyber, 1965; Hibbard & Hartman, 1990; Joiner, Schmidt, & Burnett, 1996; Swensen, 1968). However, this line of research has also been subject to criticism (Roback, 1968).

Despite the controversy in using a scoring system to analyze drawings, the use of projective drawings continues today in research and clinical settings without the use of a specific analysis method. In clinical settings, drawings are not only used as a means of assessment but also as a therapeutic technique to help child and adolescent clients discuss difficult experiences

and as a catalyst for healing (Crenshaw, 2005; Furth, 1988; Gagel, 1984; Malchiodi, 1997; Moore, 1994; Stronach-Buschel, 1990). Additionally, drawings are also helpful for clients who may have difficulty expressing themselves verbally (Klepsch and Logie, 1982). When used as an assessment tool, researchers have found that general/holistic analyses of projective drawings, which involves examining important points in a drawing to create an overall impression, can be useful in assessing aggression (Graybill & Blackwood, 1996), and suicidal ideations (Orbach, 1988). The current use of projective drawings involves clinical cases where its interpretation is more holistic. Projective drawings are typically used in tandem with other data sources, such as the clinical interview and self-report scales (Halperin & McKay, 1998). Some scholars (Hammer, 1958; Handler, 1985) indicate that clinical interpretation of projective drawings have typically been generally intuitive in nature, whereby a general sense of the drawing is discerned without certain attention being paid to particular details of the drawing. In addition to obtaining the "gist" of a drawing, a general approach can assist in identifying the presence of particular warning signs important for clinical diagnosis and intervention (Hammer, 1958, Machover, 1949). Interpretation of drawings therefore has some utility, when analyzed holistically and for specific purposes.   The use of intuitive interpretation as a means of assessing artwork has also been advocated in other fields which analyze visual forms of data. According to Paul Crowther (2009), a Visual Culture philosopher specializing in analysis of artwork, an individual piece of artwork contains multiple meanings. Crowther (2009) advocates approaching a work of art utilizing a phenomenological focus to capture the many themes embedded in the work.

Aside from using projective drawings for diagnosis and therapeutic treatment, they also have utility in understanding the psychology of the artist. For example, psychoanalytically-oriented psychologists have applied their principles to works by acclaimed Renaissance artists.

Acccording to Freud (1957), the main figure in the *Mona Lisa* represented the artist Leonardo da

Vinci's mother, and similarly Zilahi-Beke (1931) envisioned the figure of Mary in

Michelangelo's *Pietà* to be the artist's mother as well. Freud (1957) expounded further by

stating that the human figure represents an artist's relationship to her/his parents, which is also

reflected in the "strange, blissful smile" (p. 114) in Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa.*

Psychologists have also attempted to understand the psychology of public art works by

adolescents, including interpreting the psychologies of graffiti art (Othen-Price, 2006). Currently

researchers and clinicians alike utilize projective drawings as a window into the unconscious.

For example, from an Object Relations perspective, Mayman and Krohn (1975) stated that

projective tests, including drawings, provide access to a person's inner object world. This inner

world may be communicated through shared meaning, as Freud (1920) suggested that within art

lies a symbolism of imagery which evokes pleasant and negative emotions. However, the means

to understanding this hidden or unconscious meaning is uncertain, as Goodenough (1926) also

wrote that drawings contain hidden meaning but that as a field, psychologists lack the

interpretative skills to fully understand.

Analysis of art has been the topic of psychological research for many decades, with

analysis occurring as early as Sigmund Freud (1957) in his analysis of Leonardo da Vinci's

Mona Lisa. Despite the legacy of this vein of research, drawings are still analyzed to understand

psychological factors, but are done so with caution since it should not be the sole diagnostic test

for assessment and diagnosis. This is because research on using specific scoring systems has

failed to demonstrate their effectiveness (Brannigan, Shofield, & Holtz, 1982; Forrest & Thomas,

1991; Hander & Reyber, 1965; Hibbard & Hartman, 1990; Roback, 1968; Joiner, Schmidt, &

Burnett, 1996; Swensen, 1968). Further, many scholars agree that projective measures should be

interpreted along with other sources of data, and if used in isolation, they should form the basis

of hypothesis generation, not confirmation. Despite the limitations placed on their use in

research and practice, when examined holistically projective drawings can be useful in

understanding general functioning and may assist in identifying aggression (Graybill &

Blackwood, 1996) and suicidal ideations (Orbach, 1988). Projective drawings can therefore

have utility in understanding important psychological factors present in individuals. Though the

interview setting may be helpful in assessing this psychological information in a more efficient

manner, drawings can be helpful for those individuals in the research or practice setting who also

may have difficulty expressing themselves verbally (Klepsch and Logie, 1982). Utilizing

projective measures may therefore be useful for research with adolescents who may not readily

disclose much information in an interview setting, and should be considered a viable method of

obtaining qualitative data.

Rationale

Current literature regarding the identity integration process among individuals who are multiple numerical minorities fails to fully address the unique circumstances regarding GBQ male youth of color, who belong to multiple minority statuses which may conflict and which may are still developing. Many models of ethnic and sexual orientation identity development (Cass, 1979; Coleman, 1982; Kim, 1981; Phinney, 1989; Troiden, 1989) describe an overall progression from an unawareness of identity to a full understanding of identity, with fluctuations noted in levels of pride with one's identity, and opposition towards dominant culture. However, the ideal state of identity development is typically encapsulated in a final stage of development which involves successful integration of the respective identity into the individual's larger holistic identity. Upon application of research on identity development as it pertains to sexual, ethnic, or gender identity to GBQ male youth of color, several conflicts in identity development arose due to the youth's multiple communities of membership. For example, research examining the lives of LGB people of color indicates that individuals may not be fully integrated into their ethnic or sexual communities due to heterosexism within their ethnic community and racism within the gay community (Chung and Katayama, 1998; Monteiro and Fuqua, 1994; Parks, 2001; Peterson & Marin, 1988; Tremble, Scheider, and Appathurai, 1989). Also, research on gender identity development (Bem, 1983; Bergman, 1995; Kohlberg, 1964; Perry and Bussey, 1979; Pollack, 1995) suggests that learning about one's gender is a continual process which begins in childhood and culminates into adolescence. However, one key component of masculinity ideology is heterosexuality and maintaining anti-gay ideology (Froyum, 2007; Pascoe, 2005), so full integration of one's gender identity along with sexual orientation identity may be difficult.

Consequently, due to multiple oppressive forces within their environments of origin, within particular settings, adults, who are typically seen as having fully developed identities, manage their external presentation of sexual, ethnic, and gender identity depending on context. For example, Zea (1999) indicated that sexual orientation identity may be minimized when gay and bisexual Latino men are within the home setting, but minimize their Latino identity when in the "gay community." Additionally, research indicates that gender expression, or levels of masculinity, may be used in work settings as well as heterosexist ethnic communities to avoid harassment and discrimination (Franke & Leary, 1991; Griffin, 1991; Wilson & Miller, 2002). Though the above research has been described among adults, it is unknown how this research may be applicable to adolescents who are still developing their multiple identities, which may necessitate varying levels of identification and expression. For example, pride with one's identity is a stage in ethnic and sexual orientation identity development literature (Cass, 1979; Kim, 1981) and consequently it is unknown to what extent pride in one's identity may impact the other identities. Further, pride in one identity at a particular stage may present a conflict in a setting where that identity is not necessarily accepted, such as being prideful of one's sexual orientation identity while in their ethnic community, which may subject them to harassment and victimization. It is therefore unknown how management of identity expression would occur in settings among youth who are still integrating their identity.

Additionally, aside from general factors such as heterosexism and racism, it is also unknown if there are other barriers which prevent full identity integration in each setting. Further, it remains unclear how this integration affects internal self-concept or identities, and how identities integrate without the presence of any contextual factors.

Due to the lack of applicable and relevant literature, qualitative methodologies were implemented in this study. Qualitative methodologies are helpful in assessing the breadth of experiences present among adolescents from an array of backgrounds, and assist in capturing the unique ways in which the participants have attempted to integrate and manage their identities across contexts. Due to the complexity of the topic of identity integration and the cognitive capacities of adolescents, qualitative data consisted of interviews, projective drawings, and quantitative surveys which were analyzed qualitatively. Qualitative semi-structured interviews are useful for participants who can verbally express concepts but who may be otherwise bound in their responses by a survey or strict interview protocol. Projective drawings enable participants to provide information which may not easily be expressed in words, or may be too abstract to fully articulate. Additionally, the projective drawing may serve as a stimulus for explanation and further verbal expression. Research has also indicated that hidden meanings can also be ascertained from drawings which may supplement or add to verbally expressed information (Klepsch and Logie, 1982).

Research Questions

1.   How are GBQ male ethnic minority adolescents integrating their sexual, ethnic, and

gender identities?

   a.   What factors have hindered identity integration?

   b.   What factors have facilitated identity integration?

2.   How does the presentation of the identity integration of the GBQ male ethnic minority

adolescents' sexual, ethnic, and gender identities vary across settings?

   a.   What are the factors which have hindered identity presentation across settings?

   b.   What are the factors which have facilitated identity presentation across settings?

1.   How does the expression of identity integration among GBQ male ethnic minority

adolescents vary across data collection methodologies used in the MOSAIC study?

   1.   What are the unique qualities of data from the qualitative interview?

   2.   What are the unique qualities of data from the projective drawings?

   3.   What are the unique qualities of data from the quantitative surveys?

   4.   What are the similarities across the data collection methods?

CHAPTER II

METHOD

<u>Overview</u>

Data from this dissertation originated from a multi-site study funded by the National

Institutes' of Health's Adolescent Trails Network for HIV/AIDS Interventions, and the author of

this dissertation was involved in the data collection process as its project coordinator. In this

larger study, called the MOSAIC study, two-hundred participants were recruited from a network

of community agencies which serve gay and lesbian adolescents in the metropolitan areas of

Chicago and Miami. Participants were first told of the study through flyers or through

announcements made at community agencies, and if participants were interested they met

privately with research staff for recruitment. After completing a brief screening interview to

determine eligibility in the study, participants completed a set of questionnaires assessing their

ethnic identity development, sexual orientation identity development, level of engagement in

drug and sexual risk behaviors, and demographics characteristics. Based on their responses on

the above questionnaires, sixty-one participants of the initial two-hundred participants were

selected to create a stratified purposive sample to participate in qualitative interviews. The

sample reflected two age groups (ages 14-17 and 18-22), three racial/ethnic groups (African

American, Hispanic/Latino, and White non-Hispanic/European American), and two levels of gay

identification (low and high), and the two recruitment venues (Chicago and Miami).The in-depth

interviews investigated gender, sexual, and ethnic identity development. Upon completion of the

qualitative interview, a projective drawing was completed to assess how their identities were

integrated across settings. Two validation checks were implemented to provide feedback to the

interview protocol and to verify the accuracy of the data analysis.

For this dissertation project, only the youth of color were among those selected for analysis, which occurred after all of the data were collected. Of the sixty-one participants who participated in both the quantitative survey and the qualitative interview, thirty-eight of the Latino and African American youth were considered for analysis.

Participants

This dissertation focused on the gender, sexual, and ethnic identity development in GBQ male ethnic minority adolescents, therefore adolescents who identify as being GBQ were considered. The MOSAIC study, the larger project from which the data in this dissertation originated, recruited youth by utilizing a network of gay and lesbian support organizations, community agencies for adolescents, and local venues for gay and lesbian adolescents. A total of two-hundred GBQ identified adolescent males were enrolled in the MOSAIC study. Participants were self-identified GBQ male youth who met the following criteria: 1) 14 to 22 years of age; 2) self-identify to be of African American, Latino, or White with non-Hispanic/European American ancestry; 3) self-identify as being gay, bisexual or questioning; 4) must have not tested positive for HIV, and 5) must live in the Chicago or Miami metropolitan area.

In addition to individuals who identified as gay, participants who identified as bisexual, or questioning (defined as individuals who are questioning to what level they are attracted to members of the opposite and same sex) were also eligible for the MOSAIC study. This is because individuals who identified as questioning are likely those who are currently in the beginning stages of their gay identity development, encapsulated in Cass' (1979) *identity confusion* stage and in Troiden's (1989) *identity confusion* stage. Though some research indicates that many bisexual individuals maintain their bisexual orientation identity throughout

their lifetime (Rust, 2003), some individuals who are bisexual may also be still undergoing their sexual orientation identity development processes. This is because some individuals who are gay may identify as bisexual in order to redefine their same-sex sexual attractions in more socially sanctioned ways (Troiden, 1989). Further, bisexual adolescents were included due to the shared experience of heterosexism common to both gay and bisexual adolescents, and due to the similar processes of developing connections with the larger heterosexual community as well as connections with the gay community.

Schneider (2001) posits that lesbian/bisexual/questioning (LBQ) females, though in some ways are very similar in their lived experience to their GBQ male peers, experience a process of identity development which is different to that of male youth. Hence LBQ female ethnic minority adolescents may develop their ethnic, sexual, and gender identities in different ways than their GBQ male ethnic minority peers. Incorporation of LBQ females would have added a potential confound to the study, and would make general trends in identity integration very difficult due to a difference in experience of identity development. As a result, LBQ females were excluded from participation in the MOSAIC study.

After recruiting two-hundred participants for the quantitative portion of the study, sixty-one participants were selected to participate in individual interviews. The sixty adolescents were selected to create a purposive stratified sample comprise the following groups: two age groups (ages 14-17 and 18-22), three racial/ethnic groups (African American, Hispanic/Latino, and White non-Hispanic/European American), two gay identification groups (low and high), and recruitment venues (Chicago and Miami metropolitan areas). These youth were intentionally selected to represent an array of diverse experiences which ranged across this stratified sample.

Also, participants were removed or added from the recruitment for the qualitative interviews due to availability, as contact was lost with several participants during the course of the study.

For this dissertation, data from the 38 African American and Latino youth who participated in both the quantitative survey and the qualitative interview of the MOSAIC study were considered for analysis. Of these 38 participants, one youth's data was removed from the sample because in his qualitative interview, he identified as a transgender female, though identifying as a gay male in the quantitative survey and screening interview. Five other participants were excluded from analysis because they described their ethnic identity as being multiracial, and the inclusion of their data would cause significant variance in the data. This is because multiracial GBQ youth must not only integrate their sexual and gender identities, but also must integrate two or more ethnic identities as well. The data from five participants were excluded because though they had completed the qualitative interview, they did not complete a man drawing. In the initial administrations of the qualitative interview, the Man Drawing was not included as a component of the qualitative interview. Additionally, because of time restrictions or fatigue, some of these five participants did not complete a Man Drawing, and instead chose to generally describe how their identities were integrated. The data from four participants were not included because their qualitative data concerning their sexual identities were not sufficient to assess how their identities were being integrated or presented across contexts. After excluding 15 of the 38 participants' data, the data from 23 participants were used in the analysis of this dissertation. The following table (Table 1) illustrates the demographic characteristics of the selected participants used for analysis in this dissertation.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Participants Included for Analysis

Ethnic Group	Age	Number	Mean Age	Sexual Orientation	Number	Living Situation	Number	Education Level	Number
African American			**20.4**						
	18	2		Gay	7	Parents	4	In High School	2
	19	2		Bisexual	3	Alone	4	Obtained High	3
	21	2				Someone	2	School Diploma	
	22	4						In College	5
Latino			**19.6**						
	17	3		Gay	5	Parents	10	In High School	3
	18	1		Bisexual	3	Alone	1	Obtained High	1
	19	3		Question	1	Other	1	School Diploma	
	20	2		-ing		Family		In College	9
	21	1				Other	1		
	22	1				Person			
	23	2							

Procedure

Participants were recruited for the MOSAIC study, from which the data analyzed in this dissertation originated, through either direct contact with the experimenters and related project staff or through advertisements at their local community agencies, support groups, or local venues. Depending on their level of involvement, the particular agency allowed the investigators to appear at the agency or group and present the study and recruit after the meeting, or distributed flyers at their location advertising the study. If the staff were in contact with the participant in person, the adolescent was interviewed in a private room in the agency. If no such room existed, or if the participant was unable to be interviewed at that particular time, the individual scheduled a time with the project staff to complete the quantitative survey. At that time, the study was described, and the participant was verbally screened for eligibility for the study. Participants were included if they were: a) White, Latino, or African American, b) identified as either gay, bisexual, or questioning, c) were born and currently identify as being male, d) were between the ages of 14 and 22, e) must not have tested positive for HIV, f) must have the ability to read English, and g) live in the Chicago or Miami metropolitan areas.

After determining eligibility, the participant was asked to sign informed consent or assent form (dependent on age). Though a signature of the parent or guardian is typically required for an assent form, a waiver of parental consent was granted because the study posed no greater than minimal risk for the participants. Further, if the adolescent would have their parents sign the consent form there would be possible risks of harm if disclosure of their sexual orientation would occur (such as expulsion from the home or violence against the adolescent). Given the increased heterosexism prevalent among ethnic minority communities, the need to maintain confidentiality was paramount. As a result, participants were identified using a code number, and their contact

information was stored in a double-locked file drawer in DePaul University and in the University

of Miami in an area separate from the other data.

Individuals who received information about the MOSAIC study through a flyer were

directed on the flyer to call a confidential phone number of the study in order to schedule a time

and place (either at the community agency or at the designated office area of the study at either

DePaul University in the Chicago site, or University of Miami in the Miami site) to complete the

initial quantitative measure. After confirming eligibility for the study by completion of the

screening interview, participants completed the necessary consent/assent forms. The participant

was then asked to either complete the quantitative measure or to schedule a later time to

complete the measure. With research staff present (in case questions arose), participants

completed the quantitative questionnaire. The participants completed a quantitative survey

containing the following measures: the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), the Gay

Identity Questionnaire (GIQ), the Identification and Involvement with the Gay Community

Scale, a survey assessing their level of engagement in drug and sexual risk behaviors, and a

demographics survey.

Participants also completed a contact information form, in order for the investigator to

contact the individual for participation in either the qualitative interview, the interview for

verification of themes, or focus groups. Participants were then asked to provide contacts that

they were comfortable providing, in order to maintain continued participation in the study. After

the research staff reviewed and ensured completeness of the questionnaires, the participant was

given the choice of a $25 gift certificate to a movie theatre, a local grocery store, a department

store, or an electronics store.

Using a stratified purposive sampling technique, sixty-one participants were selected to participate in the qualitative interviews for the MOSAIC study based on their ethnicity (White, African American, and Latino), their age group (ages 14-17 and 18-22), their level of gay identification (high or low), and recruitment venues (Chicago and Miami metropolitan areas). Though White individuals were recruited for the larger study in which this data from this dissertation originates, data from White participants were not used for this study.

After two weeks to thirteen months following the completion of the questionnaire, participants were contacted to request their participation in a qualitative interview. Participants were asked to schedule a time when the interview was to take place at either the organization site where the individual was recruited or the designated office areas for the study in either sites, such as the offices at DePaul University (the Chicago site) and the offices at the University of Miami (the Miami site). Interviews lasted between 2 to 3 hours in duration, and participants were compensated with a payment of $35 dollars at the conclusion of the interview.

In the Chicago site, interviewers consisted of the principal investigator, the researcher, and three other graduate students, all of which received extensive training in effective qualitative interviewing, including role plays and mock interviews. Members of the Miami site also received the same extensive training, and the interviewers included one graduate student, and two other research staff members who had ample experience working with GBQ male youth of color. In addition to obtaining general interviewing skills, training also entailed obtaining skills to effectively interview the targeted population. As a component of their training, interviewers also thoroughly reviewed the comprehensive interview guide, which prepared the interviewer to ask sensitive questions and also act as a guide to the questions/areas that the interviewer asked.

Upon completion of the qualitative interviews, the interviews were audio-recorded and the subsequent tapes were transcribed. The researcher and several members of the project staff reviewed the tape transcriptions and tapes for consistency, and made corrections where necessary. A year following transcription, the interview tapes were destroyed.

In order to assure the quality and accuracy of the emergent themes from the qualitative interview, several validation checks were enacted. The first validation check involved obtaining direct feedback in an individual setting from youth and adults. First, GBQ adolescent males who participated in the quantitative measures but who did not participate in the qualitative interviews, and three adult individuals not associated with the study but who are considered "experts" in the field were interviewed to corroborate the findings of the study. Emerging themes identified in the initial set of in-depth interviews were presented to the participant and s/he was asked to remark on the accuracy of the themes. This interview involved a semi-structured format aimed at assessing the "correctness" of the themes and eliciting suggestions for modifications to the interview protocol to improve data collection. All interviews were conducted by professional qualitative interviewers, experienced in conducting in-depth interviews with GBQ adolescent males, and were conducted in private rooms. Interviews lasted approximately one to two hours and were audio-taped and transcribed. In the feedback, the participants suggested that questions be added to the protocol to assess the participant's involvement in the internet as a means of connection to a "gay community" and to assess their involvement in sex work, or "hustling."

The third validation check consisted of focus groups. After the interviews were completed, sixteen adolescents who participated in the qualitative interviews were recruited to participate in four focus groups for further validation of the findings of the qualitative interviews. Overall youth validated findings from the analysis and provided examples from their personal

experience, but did not significantly add to the themes presented. Participants also provided

suggestions for how the findings could inform an HIV prevention intervention oriented

specifically to the needs of GBQ male youth. Obtaining feedback by the studied population and

knowledgable experts is described as "member checking" (Guba & Lincoln, 1981) which serves

as a source of "phenomenological validity" (Brofenbrenner, 1979).

For this dissertation, analysis involved examining the data which were already collected

in the MOSAIC study. As a result, participants were not contacted for purposes of this

dissertation, and instead this project involved examining the rich data already obtained through

the MOSAIC study. A similar process of providing feedback to experts was enacted after the

data was analyzed for this dissertation, which involved a different panel of experts who had

experience working with GBQ youth.

Instruments

Quantitative Measure – MOSAIC Questionnaire

This 112-item measure (Appendix A) consists of five questionnaires: a demographics questionnaire, the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992), the Gay Identity Questionnaire (Brady & Busse, 1994), the Identification and Involvement with the Gay Community Scale (Vanable, McKirnan, & Stokes, 1998), and a survey assessing substance use and sexual behaviors. Ethnic Identity was measured using the Multi-Group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) and Sexual orientation identity was measured using the Gay Identity Questionnaire (GIQ) and the Identification and Involvement with the Gay Community Scale (IGCS). The two above mentioned sexual orientation identity questionnaires were used for the sexual orientation identity construct because of concerns that the GIQ may not be sensitive enough to detect sexual orientation identity and its variations among youth to the extent that it is able to do so with adults. This is because many adolescents are still going through the process of forming their identity, and the concept of connectedness with the gay community may be an alternate manifestation of sexual orientation identity for an adolescent.

Demographics Questionnaire

This experimenter-generated questionnaire (Appendix A, items 1-16) included questions regarding the participant's age, race/ethnicity, education, family composition, and sexual orientation.

Multi-Group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)

The MEIM (Appendix A, items 17-40) is a 24 item scale which is used to assess one's ethnic identity. This questionnaire contains close-ended questions which require the participant to choose an ethnic group for himself as well as for each parent. In addition, there are open-

ended questions which ask for the participant to identify his ethnicity. The other items are

Likert-scale responses, which measure affirmation and belonging as well as attitudes and

orientation toward other groups (such as "I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in

my life"). The measure has two major factors, a) ethnic identity search (a developmental and

cognitive component) and b) affirmation, belonging, and commitment (an affective component).

Higher scores on the factors (as indicated by higher scores on items corresponding to the

factors), indicates higher levels of identification with the corresponding identity component

(either developmental/cognitive or affective). This is the most widely used measure of the

adolescent ethnic identity measures and has been used with the ethnicities which compose the

study's participants. Reliability within a high school sample was .81 and with a college sample

was .90 (Phinney, 1992). The Cronbach's alpha for the current study sample was .81.

In the development and testing of the MEIM, Phinney used samples which were derived

from a high school population of ethnically diverse public schools and who were regular

classroom students. To examine the construct validity of the MEIM by administering it to a

different population, Worrell (2000) administered the MEIM to a sample of 309 academically

talented adolescents in the San Francisco Bay Area. Worrell found that the two factors were

relatively robust; structure coefficients ranged from .35 to .77 on Factor I (ethnic identity search)

and .40 to .77 on Factor II (affirmation, belonging, and commitment). The reliability coefficients

for the subscale scores were .89 for Factor I and .76 for Factor II. The Cronbach's alpha for the

current study sample was .43 for Factor I and .58 for Factor II.

Gay Identity Questionnaire (GIQ)

The GIQ (Appendix A, items 43-87) consists of 42 true-false items which are used to

confirm thoughts, feelings, and behaviors specific to gay men and lesbians (for example, "I have

gay thoughts and feelings but I doubt that I'm gay.") Three validity items are also included. The subscale scores are summed; each score measured six stages of sexual orientation identity based on Cass' model of sexual orientation identity: identity confusion, identity comparison, identity tolerance, identity acceptance, identity pride, and identity synthesis. High scores on a particular subscale indicate increased levels of identification with that particular corresponding stage. The Cronbach's alpha for the current study sample was .64 for Stage 1, .78 for Stage 2, .65 for Stage 3, .71 for Stage 4, .34 for Stage 5, and .34 for Stage 6.

Since a central hypothesis within the sexual orientation identity formation literature has been that a fully integrated sexual orientation identity is related to psychological health, Brady and Busse (1994) administered a Background Questionnaire to establish the validity of the GIQ. They administered the Background Questionnaire, a demographic and psychosocial characteristics survey, and the GIQ to a "developmentally heterogeneous sample of (N=225) men with same-sex thoughts, feelings, and behaviors" (p. 6). They found a statistically significant positive relationship between participants' sexual orientation identity stage level and participants' psychological well-being, indicating the construct validity of the GIQ.

Identification and Involvement with the Gay Community Scale

The Identification and Involvement with the Gay Community Scale (IGCS) (Appendix A, items 88-95) consists of 8 Likert-scale items which examines the self-identification and association with the gay community (four items; for example, "Being gay makes me feel part of a community"), the utilization of gay establishments and gay-oriented media services (three items; for example, "How often do you go to a gay bar"), and number of gay friends. Scores were summed and an average score was obtained, with high scores indicating high levels of identification and involvement with the gay community. The scale was normed on White and

African American gay men, with reliability ranging from .74 to .78 (Vanable, McKirnan, &

Stokes, 1998). However, for the sample for the current study, the reliability was .32, which may

reflect the youth's inability to access resources listed in the questionnaire due to age

requirements.

Greater degrees of sexual orientation identity and same sex behavior are key theoretical

constructs that one would expect to be related to high levels of gay community identification and

involvement. McKirnan, Vanable and Stokes (1995) administered the 7 point Kinsey ratings of

sexual orientation ($r = .58$, $p<.0001$) and a sexual behavior survey to assess the construct validity

of the IGCS. The IGCS reliably differentiated between men who identified as either gay,

bisexual or heterosexual on the Kinsey scale (Ms = 3.09, 2.38 & 1.51), $F(733, 2) = 159.0$,

$p<.0001$. Additionally, McKirnan et al. (1995) found that rates of sexual behavior with men and

women were directly related to differences in identification and involvement with the gay

community, with high scorers on the IGCS correlating with primarily same-sex sexual behavior

and low scorers correlating with opposite-sex sexual behavior in the past 6 months.

Substance Use and Sexual Behaviors Questionnaire

Questions on this survey (Appendix A, items 96-111) included questions assessing the

frequency and type of substance use within the past ninety days. Also, in this measure questions

assessed various types of sexual behaviors occuring in the past ninety days, and assessed other

factors related to those sexual behaviors including: frequency of condom use, frequency of

sexual acts while intoxicated, and ages of the past three sexual partners relating to that sexual

activity.

Qualitative Interview Guide

The interview guide (Appendix B) served as the framework for the qualitative interviews. This semi-structured qualitative interview guide was created specifically for this study during a three month development process by a team of researchers (including the author) who had extensive experience working with GBQ youth. The interview guide consists of a listing of general topics, scripts for introduction of these topics, and probes for necessary information. The in-depth qualitative interview explored several issues that young GBQ males experience, such as challenges to developing an identity, exploration with sexual behaviors and drug use, and community involvement. With regard to identity, there were sections that explored four aspects of GBQ male youths' identities: gender identity, ethnic identity, sexual orientation identity, and an integrated identity (i.e., integrating the three previous identities as well as other identities they claim). Specific to each section of identity, participants were first asked to offer a label that described how they conceptualized their identity (e.g., "gay" or "Black"), and then to offer positive and negative aspects of that identity group.

The interview covered the following primary topics: 1) assessing what messages they have heard about their gender, sexual, and ethnic identities, and how they have reacted to those messages, 2) description of process by which one's gender, sexual, and ethnic identities have developed, as well as a description of challenges and struggles associated with identity development; 3) development and current levels of comfort with the sexual and ethnic communities; 4) development and current levels of connection with the sexual and ethnic community; and 5) descriptions of personally useful role models/resources in both sexual and ethnic community. The interview can generally be described as discussing three concepts: 1) identity, 2) sexual risk and protective scenarios, and 3) man drawing.

Identity. During the identity portion of the interview, participants were first asked if they heard any messages about being a member of their identity group, captured in the following question: "What messages do you get about what it takes to be an (insert identity group—e.g., African American/Latino)." After determining what comprised their concept of identity, they were then asked how they developed their sense of identity. For example, regarding their sexual orientation identity, they were asked to describe the moment when they were first aware of their sexual orientation identity. Afterwards, they were asked to describe their current connection to their respective community and how that connection developed over time. This inquiry therefore assessed important connections and developments over time; however this did not provide a developmental trajectory of identity development from conception to current identity.   As a semi-structured interview, interviewers were not bound solely by the subject areas listed above, and if participants desired to discuss a topic in greater or less depth, or to discuss related topics, they were allowed to do so if deemed relevant and important by the interviewer.

Sexual Risk and Protective Scenario. Following the identity section on identity development, participants were then asked to describe a past situation when they were at risk for sexually contracting a STI, and another situation when they used protective measures to prevent transmission of an STI in a sexual situation. Following the initial validation process conducted after the initial set of interviews, a revision was made to sexual risk and protective scenario portion of the interview. Among the questions added was a question regarding the existence of the internet community and one regarding participation in "hustling."

Man Drawing. The "Man Drawing" (Appendix C) consisted of an outline of a man drawn by the author, and served as a venue where youth could abstractly conceptualize identity integration. Following the interview, participants were instructed to represent how their

identities were integrating by coloring in a drawing consisting of an outline of a man (Appendix

C). Termed the "Man Drawing" by the research staff, participants were first instructed to select

a colored pencil which represented each of their identities discussed in the interview, such as

their gender identity, ethnic identity, and sexual orientation identity, and also selected up to three

other pencils to show relevant identities not specifically captured or discussed in the interview.

The participant was then given several minutes to depict how his identities were "coming

together" (integrating) by coloring in the figure. Participants were not given any directions how

to specifically color the figure, as it was encouraged that each participant color the drawing

according to his personal preference. After the participant finished coloring the drawing, he was

asked to describe the drawing, explaining how and why the drawing was colored in the way

represented. Participants were then asked if their identities may be integrated differently

according to context or environment. If the participants indicated varying levels of integration

across settings, participants were directed to color individual man drawings for each context,

with explanations provided following each of these additional drawings.

Analysis

Since the data utilized in the analysis originated from the MOSAIC study, interviews were transcribed by a transcription service, and the transcripts were already verified for accuracy by the author and members of the research staff prior to the analyses of this dissertation. For this dissertation, the interview text was entered into the NVivo software (QSR NUD*IST Vivo software; Qualitative Solutions & Research) according to the participant identification number (PID). The NVivo software assisted in partitioning and clustering data in order to develop explanatory hypotheses from the existing data. Additionally, the participant's man drawings were electronically scanned in color format, and copies were made for note-taking purposes. An electronic file was created for each man drawing within the NVivo software where notes were also placed, which was labeled with their PID. Data for the case study analysis were housed within the NVivo software, in order to facilitate data analysis. Concerning the quantitative data, prior to the analyses conducted in this dissertation, the surveys had already been entered into an online database service (WESTAT), which was then downloaded into a database software (SPSS). The individual responses were then printed for review across individual participants.

The MOSAIC study approached participants and their experiences through a psychological phenomenological focus. This entailed focusing on the individual's experiences to ascertain the meaning of a phenomenon. By understanding the individual's experiences, the researcher can determine the larger framework to describe the structure (or "essence") of the phenomenon (Schutz, 1970)

Despite the MOSAIC study's psychological phenomenological focus in data collection and analysis, a case study analysis was employed for this dissertation. This is due to the multiple contexts in which identity is managed and expressed, and because of the differing abilities of

adolescents to articulate the processes of identity integration. A case study analysis involves understanding each individual through multiple perspectives, partly through understanding of the contexts in which a construct is manifested (Yin, 1981). According to Yin (1981) a case study assists in investigating a contemporary phenomenon in a real-world context, and is especially relevant where the distinction between context and phenomenon are not clear. Because the role of context in identity integration is not yet known, case study analysis is therefore recommended. Case study analysis also assumes that not all participants have provided the same types of information for analysis, which therefore requires that multiple sources of evidence be used across participants to triangulate into a coherent result (Yin, 1981). Therefore, a case study analysis was utilized to triangulate the three data sources across each participant into a coherent "case," and then these case conceptualizations was used to understand the phenomenon across all participants.   The necessity for multiple data sources also impacted the selection of the participants for this analysis, as only those participants who had intact surveys, qualitative interviews, and Man Drawings were considered for analysis.

In order to analyze the data from a case study perspective, a description of an individual case and its setting was required (Creswell, 1998). This involved creating a general impression of the individual based on the two data sources, which comprised of the entire interview transcript and the man drawings. In this process, a four-step process advocated by Stake (1995) was employed in analyzing the data. First, *categorical aggregation* involved reviewing the case and all of its relevant data for important developments or findings. This then entailed examining the data from the interview transcript, man drawings, and quantitative survey data to create a larger case impression consisting of important points. In this first part of the analysis, differences between the data sources were examined to note differences in integration that are

dependent on context. Second, *direct interpretation* involved examining a particular data point without examining the context in which the data occurs. This entailed examining either the interview transcript or the man drawings in isolation and identifying key findings in either data source. The researcher then attempted to unearth *patterns* between concepts, which involved identifying key concepts resulting from the first two analyses, and then further organizing these concepts into logical patterns. Finally, *naturalistic generalizations* were made from the data to apply to the entire case and also to be applicable to other cases. In this final process, overarching themes were generated which encapsulated the many ways GBQ male youth are integrating their multiple identities.

The case study therefore examined both forms of data, both quantitative and qualitative, each specifically (through *direct interpretation*) and collectively across each individual participant to create a single holistic case impression (*categorical aggregation*). Key features of both sources of data were obtained through reading the interview transcripts and the individual quantitative survey responses, and through holistic impressions gleaned from the projective drawings. Since projective drawings are currently examined through a holistic or intuitive analysis (Hammer, 1958; Handler, 1985), a similar analysis was employed for the man drawings. As a result, specific qualities and features of the man drawings were examined in a routine and manualized fashion, assessing the variations in coloring, amount of coloring, size of body features, line quality, among others. A checklist and scoring system similar to Koppitz's (1968, 1984) system of determining "graphic indicators" for projective drawings was employed. Though research on the use of Koppitz's (1968, 1984) system in interpreting drawings has been met with conflicting research (Brannigan, Shofield, & Holtz, 1982; Forrest & Thomas, 1991; Hander & Reyber, 1965; Hibbard & Hartman, 1990; Joiner, Schmidt, & Burnett, 1996; Roback,

1968; Swensen, 1968), which involves linking a specific graphic indicator with psychological

functioning, for the purposes of this analysis this checklist was used to organize and label the

drawings, but was not be used specifically for scoring or interpretation. Therefore, after

examining the specific qualities of the drawings, a general "gist" of the drawing was determined,

and was summarized through several key points which were used in subsequent data analysis.

The specific types of data summary across data sources occurred through the process of

labeling information by creating and managing descriptive codes. Descriptive codes were used

identify and label responses emergent from the data. Through this process, as additional

constructs emerged from the data, they were included in the coding scheme. As codes are added

into the coding scheme, others were also collapsed and redefined.

Creswell (1998) suggests that in addition to the case study analysis process detailed by

Stake (1995), descriptions of the cases be provided which can be used to condense and collapse

generalizations made across cases into core constructs. A holistic case multiple-case study

methodology was employed (Yin, 2003) where each case was examined holistically to provide

data to all aspects of the research questions, as opposed to several case studies being used to

separately apply to each particular research question. As a result, though many cases were

examined for this analysis, each participant's experience was used to inform all the research

questions. The intended result of the analysis was to create a larger conceptual framework to

describe the general processes of multiple identity integration among GBQ male ethnic minority

youth. The framework was then presented to four adult experts who had experience either as

sexual and ethnic minority individuals, or who had extensive experience working as therapists

and interventionists with GBQ ethnic minority youth. From the feedback provided, themes were

consolidated and rearranged to best express how multiple minority adolescents integrated and

presented their multiple identities.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

For this section, results will be presented in the following manner. First, a case summary of each participant will describe general important findings of each participant included in the analysis. As indicated in the description of the analysis, the holistic case summaries were created later in the analysis process, but they are presented first to orient the reader to the diversity of the sample. In this section, the participant's pseudonyms will also be presented for later use throughout the results section. Following the case summaries, general findings will be presented individually as they relate to the data sources that comprised each participant's "case," and will be described in order in which they were analyzed. The data summaries will be presented in the following order:

1. Case Summaries of individual participants

2. Summary of "Man Drawing" projective analysis

3. Summary of "Man Drawing" using manualized coding process (Koppitz, 1984)

4. Summary of analysis of "Man Drawing" and accompanying text from qualitative interviews

5. Summary of Quantitative Data analysis

6. Summary of Qualitative Data analysis

7. Findings from cross-case analysis

As indicated above, after describing the collected summary results from each step of analysis, the final description of results will comprise of general findings of the cross-case analysis, where the general processes of integration and presentation will be described.

Throughout the results section, references are made to LGBT (lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender) and GBQ (gay/bisexual/questioning). The researcher uses these different terms to signify LGBT as a shared identity for non-heterosexual individuals, which is akin to the "gay community" as described by sexual orientation identity development theories according to Cass (1989) and Troiden (1989). The term GBQ, however, is used to describe the specific sexual orientation identity of the participant, which may consist of a different gay community than encapsulated in the LGBT or "gay community." As a result, the author uses the terms differentially to refer to the larger "gay community" (LGBT) and the community and identity specific to the participant (GBQ).

Overall, the participants responded positively to the research experience. A significant amount of time was spent in the initial screening and quantitative assessment phase to ensure that the youth understood the importance of the research, and the steps which were enacted to ensure confidentiality. Participation and effort by the participants despite the exciting and at times, disruptive environment of the community agencies spoke to the value that the youths placed on this research. The youth also exhibited great patience during the process of scheduling the follow-up interviews and overall responded very well to the interviewing process. Though at times discussing personally distressing material, all participants felt reassured and validated by the interviewers, who had training both as interviewers and for some additionally as doctoral students in clinical psychology. Upon completion of the qualitative interview, many youth remarked that it was a pleasant experience, as this was the first time that they were able to tell their unique experiences to others. Though the time frame for the interviews was proposed to the participants to be within 1-2 hours, often they exceeded this time limit, as they were fueled to tell their full story to the interviewers. Across all participants the average time spent during the

interview was 2.5 hours. Additionally, A few participants openly refused compensation for their interviews, stating that the experience of the interview was itself invaluable.

<u>Case Summaries of Individual Participants</u>

For the following section, a brief case summary will be presented with notable findings for each participant from the various data sources that will be discussed further in the subsequent sections of the results. Participants were ordered in relation to their PID number, with the 18 Chicago participants presented first and then followed by the 5 Miami participants. PID's were assigned by recruitment venue, with each participant having their own unique PID number. In this section, participants are presented with their assigned code number for this analysis, their pseudonym, their sexuality as reported in the qualitative interview, their ethnicity as stated in the qualitative interview, their current age, and city of recruitment. With regard to their sexuality and ethnicity, at the onset of the interview, the participants were asked to provide a label to describe their own sexual orientation identity and ethnic identity. These self-generated labels are used below in their case summaries. Further, each participant's Man Drawings are presented following their individual case summaries.

01, "Trevor," Gay, African American, 22 years old, Chicago

Is a sophomore in an out-of state university, which has little ethnic or sexual diversity on its campus. He reports having primarily heterosexual and White friends, and often has to defend his sexuality by continually explaining his identity to peers. He also reported feeling defensive about his ethnicity while on campus, and vigilantly presented a positive portrayal as a member of the African American community by being intelligent and articulate. He doesn't readily disclose his sexuality to others, but is proud of his ethnic identity and culture.
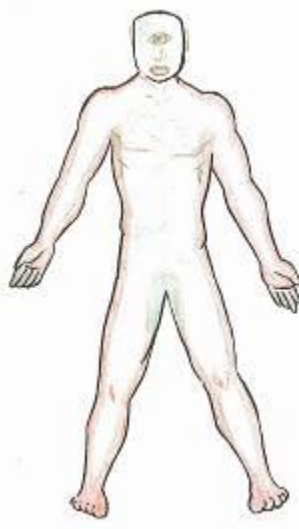
Figure 1. Man Drawing for Trevor. Red represents his physical body, brown represents ethnicity, and green represents his gay identity.

02, "Jerome," Bisexual, Black, 18 years old, Chicago

     Is a professional dancer, and states that he is the only individual in his neighborhood who has a clear plan for his future. He reports that he has not disclosed his sexuality to family, friends, or anyone else in his community, which is predominantly African American. This is because his neighborhood is intolerant of LGBT individuals and they will not accept him. He is able to connect to a LGBT-oriented community agency in the city. In his community he reports feeling ostracized because he "acts White" and because he critiques the negative aspects of his community.

Figure 2. Man Drawing for Jerome. Red represents his male identity, violet represents his sexual orientation identity, and brown represents his ethnic identity.

03, "Malcolm," Trade, African American, 19 years old, Chicago

Was raised in the foster care system for his adolescence, and noted that one of the

families that he lived with was psychologically and physically abusive to him and his foster

brothers. He states that he does not have a strong connection to his ethnic group, but is proud of

his identity. He identifies his sexual orientation identity as "Trade," which he described is an

identity whereby individuals personally acknowledge their same-sex attractions, but do not make

their attractions known publically. He also indicated that individuals who identified as "Trade"

have different social venues and cultures compared to those in the gay community. He reported

that "Trade" individuals have a distinct community in which he is heavily involved and

connected. He also described being able to broadcast his sexual orientation to others in public by

his manner of dress and demeanor.

Figure 3. Man Drawing for Malcolm. Orange represents his sexual orientation identity, Brown

represents his ethnic identity, and red represents his male identity.

04, "Cameron," Bisexual, African American, 22 years old, Chicago

　　Is a sophomore at a local university, and he lives in a predominantly African American community. He states that overall he is able to fluctuate his masculine and feminine aspects of himself to fit into his surroundings, and also to attract masculine gay men. He reports that occasionally he can act feminine, or "ghetto fab" in his ethnic community and is respected in some environments. He also ventures to the predominantly gay neighborhood and states that he "feels free," but overall has not disclosed his sexuality to many people, particularly to those in his community.
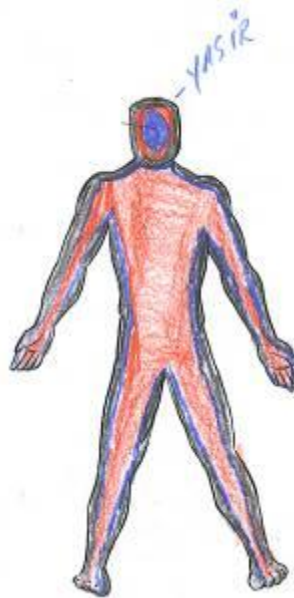
Figure 4. Man Drawing for Cameron. For Body (not including head), black represents his male identity, red represents his sexual orientation identity, and blue represents his ethnic identity. For his head, red represents his ethnic identity, blue represents his sexual orientation identity, and black represents his male identity.

05, "Taji," Homosexual, Black/Brown, 21 years old, Chicago

Is not currently in school, and works two part-time jobs in the city. He recently turned 21

and is enjoying exploring the nightlife in Chicago's gay neighborhood. He lives independently

and maintains distant contact with his family members. Aside from feeling open in the gay

community, he feels guarded about disclosing his sexuality to others. He states that despite

racism and heterosexism in society, he does not let those issues affect him personally. He sees

himself as a unique person which allows for some variation in presentation and identity.

Figure 5. Man Drawing for Taji. Red represents his sexual orientation identity, black represents

his male identity, and brown represents his ethnic identity.

<u>06, "Dante," Gay, African American, 22 years old, Chicago</u>

Is a senior at a local college studying interior design, and has been involved in professional dancing for the past 3 years. He is currently living with his family, but in the course of his life his family has moved several times. Despite these frequent changes, he has found a good support network in Chicago, and feels a welcome part of his gay community. He does not have strong connections with his ethnic group, and "does my own thing" in regards to masculinity. Overall, he is very careful in his neighborhood for fear of being labeled as gay, which targets him for harassment. He is supported in his sexual and ethnic identity by his immediate and extended family members.
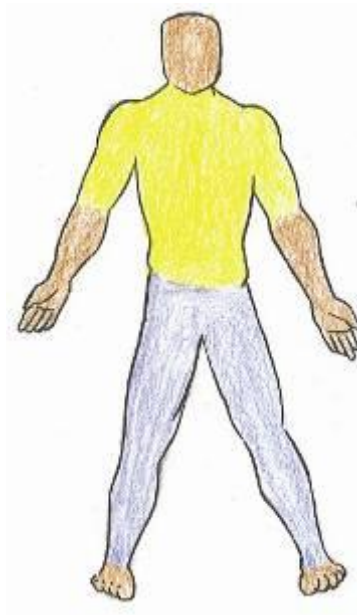
Figure 6. Man Drawing for Dante. Blue represents his male identity, brown represents his ethnic identity, and yellow represents his sexual orientation identity.

07, "Ashani," Full-Blown Gay, African American, 21 years old, Chicago

At the age of 14, he both disclosed his sexuality to his parents and was also removed from his household to be placed in DCFS (Division of Child and Family Services) custody. He reports that his family is very religious, and several of them are evangelists and ministers. After leaving protected custody, he became involved with the sex-work industry after speaking with youth at a community agency. He reports to have had 65 lifetime sexual partners but has temporarily discontinued sex work because he is currently in a relationship with a man who provides him with full financial support.

Figure 7. Man Drawing for Ashani. Brown represents his male identity, blue represents his ethnic identity, red represents his sexual orientation identity, dark blue represents his "character," purple represents his "emotions," and orange represents his "communities."

08, "Bernard," Gay, African American, 22 years old, Chicago

He dropped out of high school when he was 17, but is currently looking to enter the Job Corps to become a bricklayer because he believes the field is profitable. He was recently fired for being gay at a local fast-food restaurant chain, and is currently looking for employment. In the meantime, he is earning a living through sex work with people that he meets over the phone ("party line"). He personally views being gay as sinful and states that men lose their masculinity through having sex with other men. He also believes that even though there are many portrayals of young gay men as happy, he states that elderly gay men are destined to live alone without any sustainable relationship.
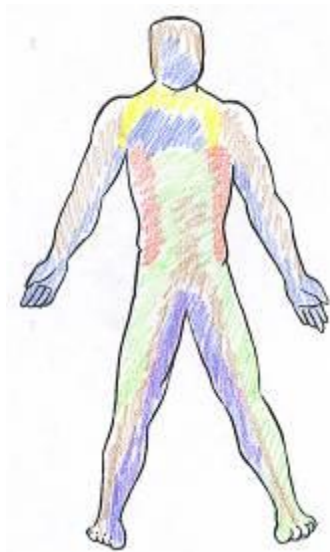
Figure 8. Man Drawing for Bernard. Purple and blue both represent his sexual orientation identity, brown represents his ethnic identity, green represents his male identity, and yellow represents his "Attitude/Heart."

09, "David," Gay But Likes Girls, Mexican American, 17 years old, Chicago

      Was born in Los Angeles, California, and is currently enrolled in a magnet school. He

expressed stresses in integrating within the school environment, which is very culturally diverse

but also where rumors of his sexuality are spreading. During childhood, he reported being

reprimanded by his alcoholic father for playing with dolls, which escalated into forcing him to

take cold showers as a punishment for being gay. He was able to find some support for his

multiple identities through a local community agency.
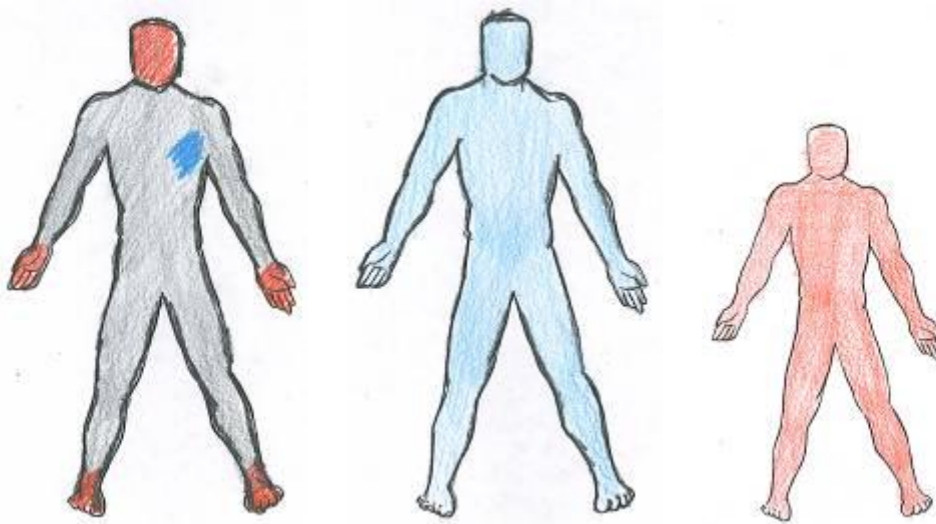
Figure 9. Man Drawings for David. His first drawing (from left to right) represents his overall

identity integration, his second drawing represents him among gay friends, and his third drawing

represents him among his family members. Red represents his ethnic identity, blue represents

his sexual orientation identity, and black represents his male identity. On the drawing

representing his identity among family members, a small blue dot was made in the upper-right

corner.

10 "Octavio," Bisexual, Latino Hispanic, 17 years old, Chicago

      Was enrolled in the military but left during training because the environment was heterosexist and disrespectful to all individuals. At the time of the interview, he was waiting to start his senior year in high school, which was difficult to reengage because of poor academic performance in the semester preceding his military training. He currently works at a fast-food restaurant chain and has many openly gay co-workers who are older than him, who give him support and tutelage.
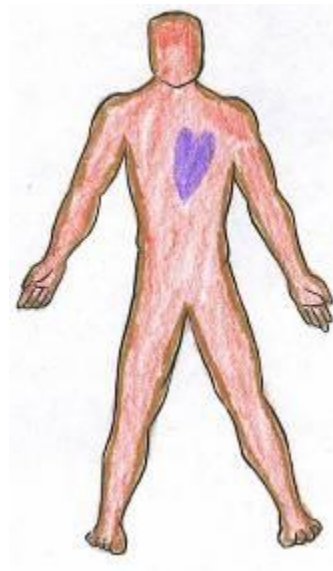

Figure 10. Man Drawing for Octavio. Blue represents his male identity, yellow represents his sexual orientation identity, red represents his ethnic identity, and green represents his "Personality."

11, "Antonio," Bisexual, Mexican, 17 years old, Chicago

Is enrolled in high school and was preparing for his senior year. Prior to the interview, he mentioned that he was robbed while venturing back from school while on the North side of Chicago. He currently lives with his parents, one sibling, and two uncles, and reports that though his immediate family is aware of his sexuality, he was ordered by his parents not to disclose his sexuality to his uncles. Further, his parents have taken great lengths to limit his interactions with the gay community and other gay men. Despite his parent's efforts, in the interview he discussed ways that he coped and connected with other LGBT individuals.

Figure 11. Man Drawing for Antonio. Black represents his male identity, blue represents his ethnic identity, and green represents his sexual orientation identity.

12, "Ricardo," Gay, Mexican, 19 years old, Chicago

     Is currently enrolled in a state university which is located outside of Chicago, and at the time of interview he was taking a semester off of his studies. In the meantime, he is working two part-time jobs, with the hopes of earning an internship at one of his job sites. He states that he is not fully identified as gay to others, and in the interim he has publically labeled himself as bisexual. He states that his family is gradually coming to terms with his bisexual orientation identity, but overall they do not approve. He does not live in a Mexican American neighborhood and does not feel welcomed by those in the Latino community. He reports being connected to many different ethnic and sexual communities.
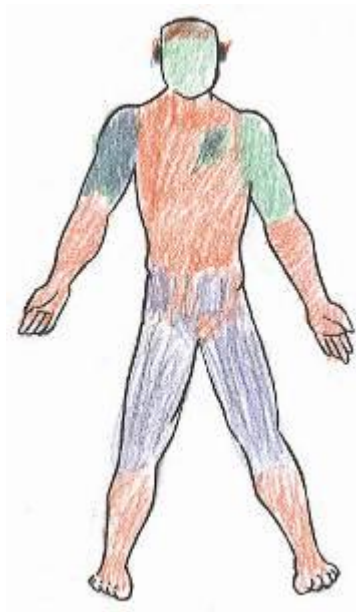
Figure 12. Man Drawing for Ricardo. Green represents his male identity, blue represents his sexual orientation identity, red represents his ethnic identity, and black represents his identity as an "Honorary African American."

13, "Joshua," Queer, Hispanic, 19 years old, Chicago

Recent graduate of high school, who is currently employed after quitting his previous job. He reports having difficult relationship with his parents, who do not know about his sexuality but who "get on my nerves." He notes very strong cultural pressures to be and act Latino by his family, which he states limits his identity and his future life path. As a result, he feels as though he is the "black sheep" of the family. In addition, he reports oppression which is religiously based from his family and other members of the community. He has a supportive sister who has linked him with community agencies.

Figure 13. Man Drawing for Joshua. Red represents his male identity, brown represents his ethnic identity, blue represents his sexual orientation identity, and orange represents his "Spirituality."

14, "Pedro," Gay, Hispanic, 18 years old, Chicago

Is an immigrant from Mexico, and has lived in the United States for approximately five

years. He recently graduated from high school after taking 2 and ½ years worth of credits in one

academic year, which involved taking classes during every day with the exception of Sunday.

Though he is unsure at the time of interview if he wants to go to college, he currently is

employed at a clothing store and reports working many hours. He reports that after coming out

to his mother, she was very abusive and avoidant, while treating his other siblings normally. As

a result, he currently lives by himself in an apartment in the city.
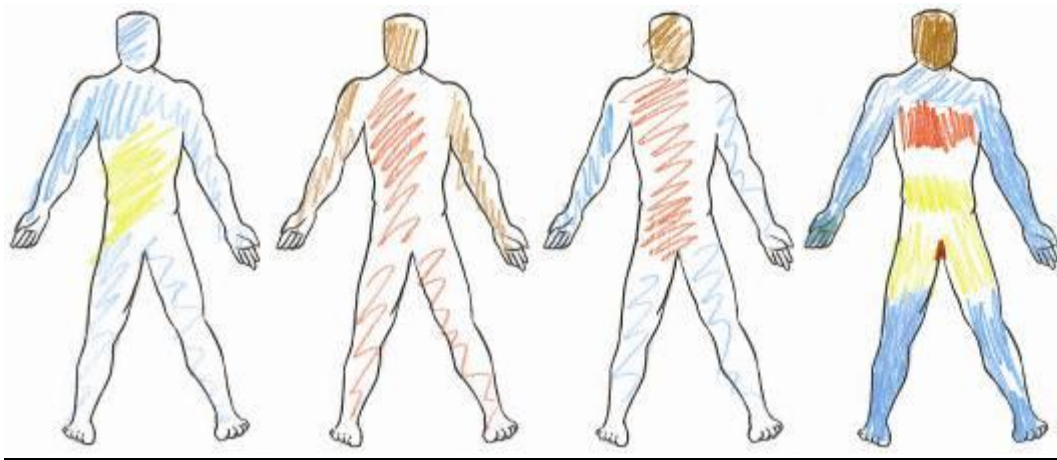
Figure 14. Man Drawings for Pedro. His first drawing (from left to right) represents his identity

integration among friends, his second drawing is with family, his third drawing is at work, and

his fourth drawing is in an unspecified setting. The color blue represents his sexual orientation

identity, red represents his male identity, brown represents his ethnic identity, and yellow

represents his "girl" identity.

15, "Esteban," Gay, Mexican American, 18 years old, Chicago

Is currently enrolled as a junior at a local religiously-oriented university. During

childhood, he lived in the suburbs with his family, which consisted of his parents and three older

siblings. This past summer, he moved into the city with his sister to be closer to college. He

reports difficulty in creating a social network since most of his friends live and socialize in the

suburbs. He states that his family is very religious, and knows of his sexuality. His father is

overall distant to all of the family members, while his mother refuses to talk about the topic. He

reports fitting in to the LGBT community.
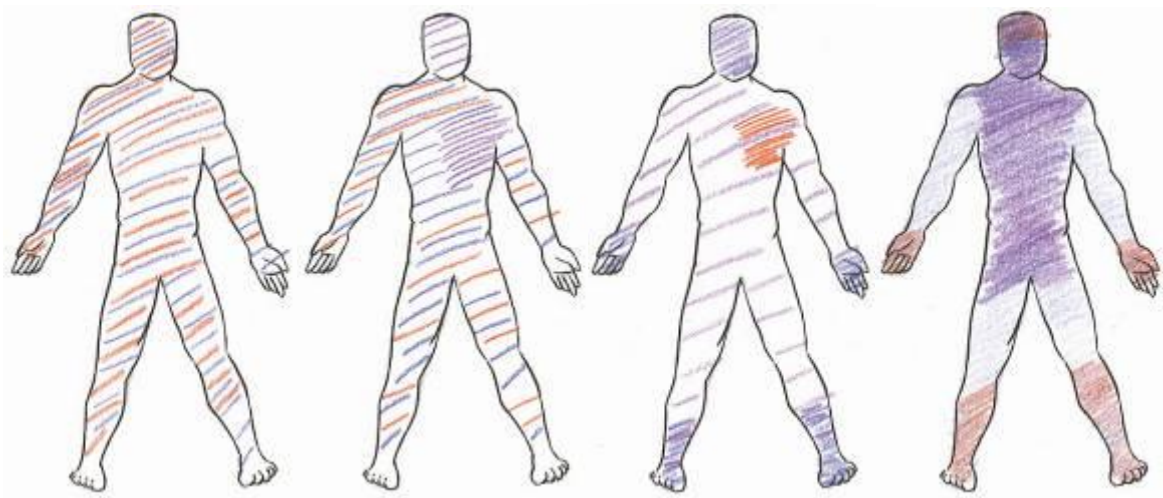
Figure 15. Man Drawings for Esteban. His first drawing (from left to right) represents his

identity integration with extended family and acquaintances, the second is among immediate

family, his third is in the gay community, and the fourth is among his close friends. Blue

represents his identity as a man, red represents his ethnic identity, and purple represents his

sexual orientation identity.

16, "Alfonso," Questioning, Mexican, 19 years old, Chicago

At the time of interview, participant recently turned 19 years old. He describes himself

as a creative and artistic person, and would to pursue art therapy because he enjoys art and

psychology. He is currently enrolled at a local community college taking prerequisites for a

degree at a 4-year university. He states that he has two sets of friends, one whose members are

primarily religious and conservative, whom he has not disclosed his sexuality, and another group

which is more creative, which he describes as a "punk rock group," whom he has disclosed his

sexuality to and to whom he has a greater interpersonal connection. He also noted family

rejection after disclosure to family but that his sister is supportive.

Figure 16. Man Drawing for Alfonso. Brown represents his ethnic identity, black represents his

sexual orientation identity, purple represents his male identity, and red represents his "mistakes."

17, "Sergio," Gay, Puerto Rican, 23 years old, Chicago

Is currently a junior at a local university studying political science. He was born in Puerto Rico but when he was 5 years old, his family moved into a predominantly Mexican American neighborhood in Chicago. He has 3 other siblings, one younger than him, and his family is supportive of his sexual orientation identity and is protective of him. Though he is not physically connected to the Puerto-Rican community, he reports being involved in causes that support all Latinos, and is connected to sexual communities as well through political activism and volunteering.

Figure 17. Man Drawing for Sergio. Black represents male identity, brown represents his ethnic identity, blue represents his sexual orientation identity, and yellow represents his identity as a "community leader."

18, "Carlos," Gay, Mexican, 21 years old, Chicago

Is currently unemployed and is not attending college after completing three years of studies while majoring in Film. He reported that his college experience was not positive, and that he didn't fit into the university environment because he could not connect with anyone. Currently, he reports that he is "not doing anything" and is not currently looking for a job. He had experienced racism and heterosexism first-hand during his childhood and adolescence, saying "life hasn't been easy." He seemed to be experiencing depression which was apparent throughout the interview, and appropriate referrals to counseling were made at its conclusion.
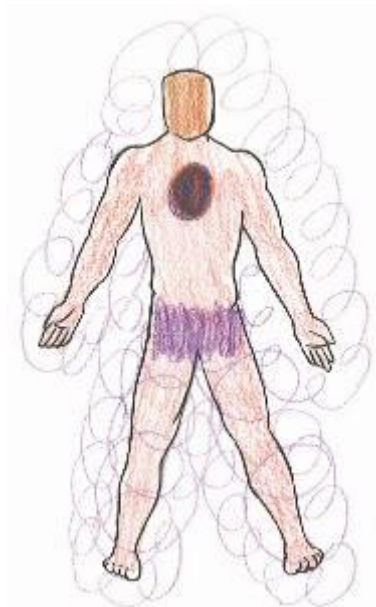
Figure 18. Man Drawing for Carlos. Blue represents his male identity, Brown represents his ethnic identity, purple represents his sexual orientation identity, and red represents his "identity that doesn't identify with identities."

19, "Horace," Gay, African American, 18 years old, Miami

Is a dancer and model, and he reported that he has a distinctive look with a red and black Mohawk. He has been dancing for the past 8 years, and currently teaches various types dance professionally. His uncle passed away from complications of AIDS, and his mother has been supportive of her son's sexuality but notes that he should be careful. He reports that overall his life has been positive, with no harassment or discrimination. He feels comfortable being himself around his friends and community.
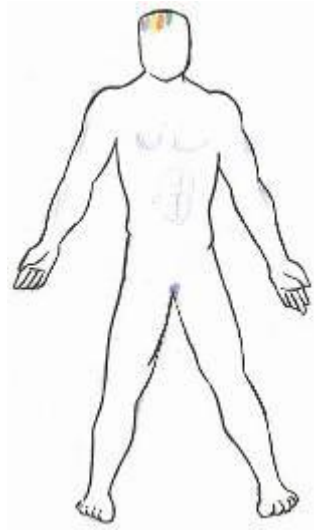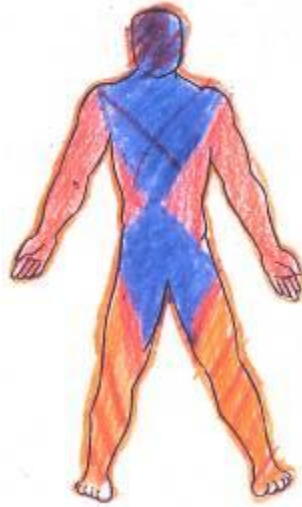

Figure 19. Man Drawing for Horace. Blue represents his male identity, orange represents his sexual orientation identity, and red represents his ethnic identity.

20, "Marcus," Gay, Black African American, 22 years old, Miami

At the time of the interview, this participant recently ended a relationship after learning that his boyfriend was cheating on him with his best friend. As a result, he reported that he was depressed but states that "I'm bouncing back." He is currently enrolled as a senior at a local university majoring in elementary education. He understands that becoming a teacher will involve minimizing his sexuality and being responsible outside of school. He reports being involved in a variety of activities and communities, and feels connected with all aspects of his identity.
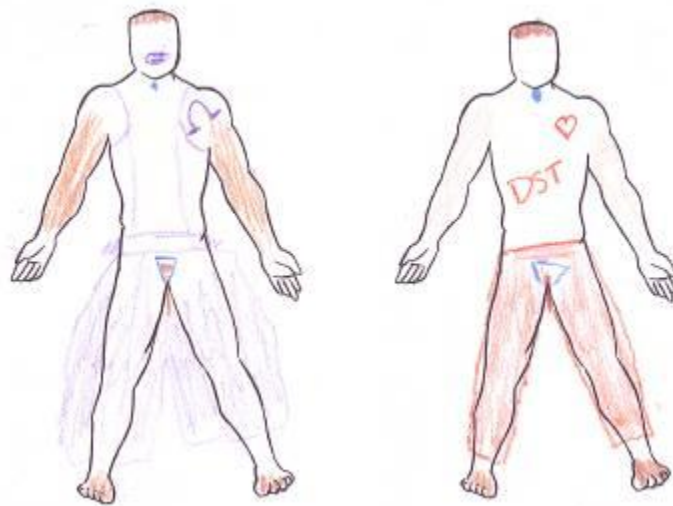
Figure 20. Man Drawings for Marcus. His first drawing (from left to right) represents his identity integration among family members, and the second is among friends. Brown represents his ethnic identity, blue represents his male identity, red represents his identity "as a gay man," and purple represents his "masculinity."

21, "Luis," Gay, Hispanic, 21 years old, Miami

      This participant recently completed his associates of arts in Engineering, and must attend

3 semesters to complete his bachelor's degree. In his free time, he volunteers at community

agencies and conducts outreach, and is chairman of the board for one particular outreach group.

He has several sets of friends whom he interacts with in the various settings in which he is

involved. He feels connected to his ethnic and sexual orientation identity through his

volunteering and interaction in those communities. Though he has not disclosed his sexuality

"officially" to his family, he reports that members of his family have their suspicions and use

gender non-specific pronouns when addressing his potential partners.
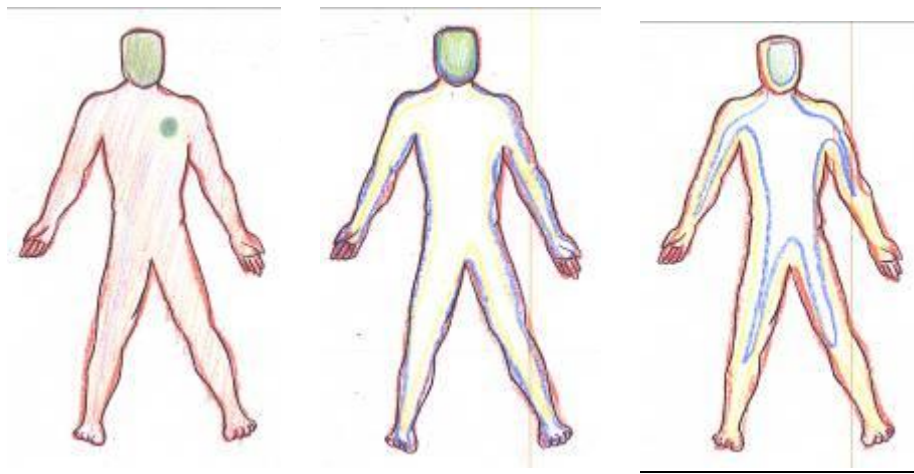
Figure 21. Man Drawings for Luis. His first drawing (from left to right) represents his overall

identity integration, the second is his identity integration in "professional" settings, and the third

represents his identity integration when attending social events, such as parties. Red represents

his male identity, blue represents his ethnic identity, yellow represents his sexual orientation

identity, and green represents his "intellect."

This participant is currently enrolled in a local school for professional psychology, and is in his second year of studies. He notes that he is "still confused" about his sexuality, and doesn't enjoy being secretive of his sexuality to others. Eventually, he would like to marry a woman and have children, and though he admits his attraction to men, he currently views the thought of having sex with men strange. Additionally, he is hesitant to disclose his sexuality to his family members because his cousin was beaten recently for disclosing his sexuality, which involved an admission to the hospital.
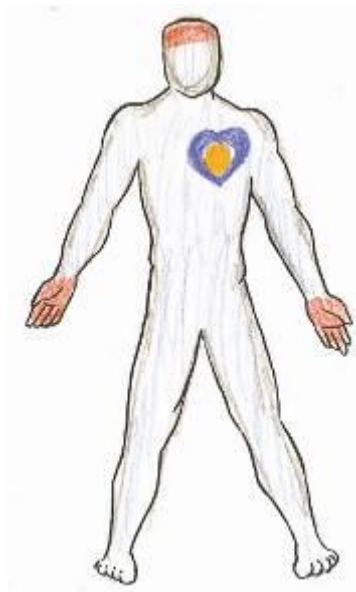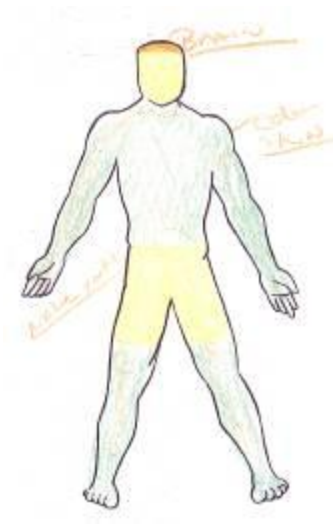

Figure 22. Man Drawing for Donovan. Yellow represents his male identity, green represents his ethnic identity, and orange represents his sexual orientation identity.

23, "Eric," Gay, Hispanic, 23 years old, Miami

This participant has lived in Miami for the past five years, after being born in Chicago and being raised in Ecuador. He has his high school diploma and is currently employed full-time, and is considering going back to school eventually. Since he was raised in Ecuador, he was able to reflect on the differences between the two countries in how LGBT individuals are treated, and states that overall the attitudes are better in the US. Additionally, he noted difficulty in "coming out" to both people whom he knew in Ecuador and people in the US. He reports being active in volunteering within the gay community but does not feel very connected to the party-focused scene.

Figure 23. Man Drawing for Eric. Yellow represents his ethnic identity, blue represents his identity as a man, and green represents his sexual orientation identity.

Summary of "Man Drawing" Projective Analysis

The first step in the analysis process was to examine the qualities of the individual participant's "Man Drawings" (hereafter referred to without quotations) without having read their individual interviews or knowing any identifying information about the participant other than which colors represented which identities. Analysis of the Man Drawings entailed highlighting notable themes in the manner of which the participants represented their identities.

Overall, participants utilized all of the individual colors that they selected to represent their identities (masculine, ethnic, and sexual), with no participants abstaining from coloring their man drawings in any of their primary identities. Participants did, however, vary their drawings from one another, and notable themes are presented below in the order of frequency among all collected drawings, along with similar but less frequent themes presented afterwards.

Twelve of the 23 participants colored the groin area of the Man Drawing with a distinct color. This did not involve drawing genitals in color, but it seemed clear that the genital area was highlighted as a part of a distinct identity. Therefore, in one or all settings, participants' sexualities were governed primarily by one aspect of themselves, without influence by the other portions. Eleven participants colored their head in one color, also indicating that either their face or their brain was where their identities were salient. Nine participants further specified their identities in the head region by coloring in the area of the brain in either one or a combination of colors. Eight participants colored an area of the heart in one or a combination of colors. This representation of the heart was in the general vicinity of the true location of the organ, and for most participants, the heart's size was proportionate to the actual organ. Some participants exaggerated the size of the heart, therefore making it the most prominent feature of the drawing.

The colors included in the heart varied among participants, with many, but not all, using sexual orientation identity as a primary color in this organ.

Ten participants colored their drawings in such a way that their identities were presented as layers of themselves, akin to the layers of an onion. One identity would present as the outer-most layer, followed by other less visible layers. The amount of layers would vary across individuals, but all involve an outer-most layer at the border of the drawing which does not go beyond the perimeter. During analysis it was interpreted that the outer-most identities were intentionally made salient to those outside, such as to strangers viewing the participant's ethnic identity first before knowing them personally. Another interpretation was that participants may emphasize a particular identity to avoid harassment in a particular setting, such as in a homophobic environment. Along a similar vein, six participants colored their man drawings as a representation of themselves as they would appear in a picture or photograph. This would involve drawing a realistic face with features such as eyes (1 participant), mouth (2 participants), and hair (2), but also articles of clothing, as represented in 5 of the drawings. By appearing to be a realistic depiction of themselves, it was inferred that this integration of identities was how participants wanted to be seen by others, or how they presented themselves to other people. By doing so, they did not display the ways in which the identities were integrated internally.

Ten participants colored specific appendages in one color, which varied across drawings. Some youth who did not color in a groin area in the color of their sexual orientation identity often colored their feet or calves in the color of that identity. Participants most often colored hands, forearms (including the hands), and the individual arm in either the color of ethnicity, or more frequently the color of their gender identity. This was interpreted as the youth expressing

that their identities were involved in essential actions of daily functioning, such as work ethnic or life aspirations.

Nine participants colored one of several of their drawings completely in one color. As indicated earlier, participants did eventually use all three colors in their man drawings, but for nine participants, the integration of these identities varied across settings, with only one identity being present in a particular setting. Interpreting this pattern, it seemed as if a fair number of participants had difficulties integrating their identities, and either felt internal or external pressures to express one identity in a particular setting. It was assumed that these participants would have great difficulty seeing themselves as integrated multi-faceted individuals in the absence of any external pressures to present a particular identity.

In contrast of participants who colored their drawings in one color, eight participants colored their drawings using mixed color patterns throughout the drawing without any particular order or organization. This may indicate that participants are having difficulties in integrating multiple identities into a cohesive whole, with disorganization and disorientation with their identities and their integration. Eight participants colored their man drawings with alternative coloring methods, such as sketching lightly in portions or the entire body, or for a particular identity. It was interpreted that in the drawings where portions were lightly colored in a particular identity, participants were integrating that identity with the larger identity, but they were expressing that the particular identity was not as prominent as the other more salient identities. Eight participants were noted to have left areas of the Man drawing uncolored, which in 2 cases appeared to represent a participant's skin color, because these were areas where there was no clothing present in the drawing. However, for others there appeared no symbolic explanation for the absence of color. For these drawings, it was inferred that participants were

cognizant of the presence of their multiple identities, but were unsure about how these identities would constitute the larger whole. It was also inferred that these youth still were in the process of understanding how their identities would influence themselves.

Finally, two participants added color outside of the Man drawing figure. One participant drew an aura around himself and the color of his sexuality, while the other participant colored a small circle encapsulating his sexual orientation identity which was removed from the figure. Though in the latter case there was no direct physical connection to the actual figure, it was inferred that this part of his identity was still part of himself, but it was repressed to the extent that it had to be removed outside the person. In the case of the sexual orientation identity aura, it was assumed that this aspect of his identity was made very salient to others, becoming the first impression made on other people.

<div align="center">Summary of "Man Drawing" Using Manualized Scoring Process</div>

In this phase of analysis, the man drawings were analyzed using the scoring system described by Koppitz (1968, 1984), which examines four key identifiers in the drawings which may indicate psychopathology. For this scoring system, the clients were directed to draw a human figure on a blank sheet of paper. After completing the drawing, the scoring system entailed examining the qualities of the drawing itself, which included the size, proportions, accuracy, and orientation of the figure. However, the Man drawing which was used in this study already included a figure of a man, and the instructions were to color in the figure. Therefore, many of the criteria for the Koppitz system could not be used for this stage of analysis. An additional complication to using the Koppitz system was that one element of the system, "Shading," drew attention to those areas of figure which were colored or shaded using a particular color. However, in the case of the man drawings, participants were explicitly

instructed to color areas which represent their identity, so the meaning of the use of color differed from the system proposed by Koppitz.

The components of Koppitz's system which were usable in this analysis identified important themes which have been already identified in the previous stage of analysis. For example, "poor line quality" was noted in stage II analysis as being inconsistent coloring patterns. Additionally, visibility of organs, which was coded in Koppitz's system as "Transparencies" was described in our analysis as the visibility of a particular organ, such as either the brain or heart. "Clothing" was also a part of the scoring system, but was also noted in the previous level of analysis. In Koppitz' system, the greater number of articles of clothing was indicative of psychopathology.

Due to the fundamental differences of the human figure drawing (HFD) scored with the Koppitz system and the Man drawings in our study, and additionally due to the similarity of findings between the two methods, further extrapolation and interpretation of findings using the Koppitz system were not conducted. Further, as is suggested by several researchers using the system (Koppitz, 1984), the system was not helpful for analysis on its own without supplemental data, which primarily involved a clinical interview. In our study, the supplemental data included the qualitative interview text where participants described the drawings.

Summary of Analysis of "Man Drawings" and Accompanying Text

from Qualitative Interviews

During this phase of analysis, the qualitative drawings were analyzed using a holistic interpretation while examining the accompanying text from the qualitative interviews. Utilizing the qualitative interviews was helpful in providing the participant's explanation of their own drawings, which in many cases provided clear indication to why participants may have colored

their drawings using their selected method. Overall, summary codes that were provided in previous steps of the analysis were echoed in this current stage, however, by participants reiterating what themes were gleaned from analysis of the drawings on their own, this provided validation of the earlier analysis. Similar to previous sections, the most frequent themes will be presented along with accompanying similar themes.

First, seven participants stated that identities were present solely within their head, often indicating that the identities resided within their brain. Often, participants stated that identities in their head or brain were used to describe how their identities influenced their ways of thinking. For example, one participant stated that he thinks in a masculine way which explained why masculinity was primarily located in his head. Other participants stated that components of one identity which was seen as a positive personality characteristic is located in their head, including work ethic and ideals, which were described by participants as originating from their ethnic identity. In addition, this placement of identities was used to describe the multiple components of their personality, which is housed in the brain or head.

Second, six participants stated that they intentionally drew identities on the periphery of the figure. By doing so, they indicated that the identity closest to the border of the figure represented that identity which was most visible to others, or that identity that they wanted to make present to other individuals in a particular setting. Similarly, five participants stated that they colored their Man drawing figure to express their own individuality. This included dressing the figure in clothing indicative of their own personal style, and drawing facial features onto the figure (such as eyes, a mouth, hair, etc.). Contrastingly, other youth colored the man drawing not necessarily to represent the way in which their identities were coming together, but rather as a way to present their own personal style by positioning the colors in order of preference. In

several cases this involved creating designs through the color to look aesthetically pleasing, rather than a true placement of their identities. In these cases, participants still indicated that these identities were part of their larger holistic identity, but the placement of their identities was solely an artistic decision. One participant stated explicitly that the choice of colors and their specific placement, would covertly identify his sexuality in public to someone of a similar sexual orientation identity.

Five participants explicitly stated that they focused their sexuality in the groin area of the figure. Explanations of this decision varied across participants, with explanations including that this region was where their sexual urges originated or were fulfilled, whereas others stated that their sexuality was a separate component of themselves which was separate from their brain but still part of the self. Similarly, four participants indicated that they had specifically colored the heart of particular color for varying reasons, ranging from housing a specific identity (typically sexuality), to maintaining that an identity would be housed there to represent a core identity that may not be necessarily visible. One participant stated that all of his identities were located in his heart which was represented by a multicolored heart in the drawing. Three participants colored their arms in a specific color, with one indicating that his masculinity was visible in his arms with musculature, while two others indicated that they work with their hands which was a manifestation of their ethnic identity.

Four participants stated that their identities change entirely across individual settings. However, two participants said that their entire figure was a combination of all three identities which did not change across settings.

Several participants approached the man drawing exercise with a particular theme. First, four participants colored the man drawing with a predominant masculine color because the figure

was a male body. This may indicate that participants were trying to fit their identity integration into the mold presented by the man drawing figure. Two participants first internally identified one identity as their core identity and made it a prominent aspect of their man drawing, identified as a foundation. One participant specifically stated that the foundation was located in the feet, while the other created a background color throughout the figure which was the core identity. In other cases, one identity served as the primary identity where others were built upon. Two participants intentionally drew the drawing with a predominance of white space, or uncolored areas, specifically because they stated that they had "room for growth," suggesting that they had not fully developed their sense of identity or identity integration. These participants stated that they were not fully assured about their sense of self because of their age and maturity level.

Finally, two participants specifically selected colors to represent their identities based on how they interpreted the color itself, often placing a positive or negative valence to the color. For example, one participant indicated that though black was his favorite color, he selected black as the color to represent his masculine identity because it is a "sorrow color," perhaps signifying the difficult relationship between masculinity and his sexuality. On the other hand, one participant selected black to represent his masculinity because he thought it was a "strong color." Also, one participant stated that he positioned a color in a particular manner because he was proud of his identity. Finally, one participant stated that he omitted drawing a heart in one of his man drawings (while drawing them in the others) because in that particular setting, he felt as though he could not openly show his feelings in the presence of others.

<div align="center">Summary of Quantitative Data Analysis</div>

Analysis of data which occurred during this stage involved examining the individual and patterns of responses from the quantitative measures which examined ethnic identity (Phinney's

Ethnic Identity Measure –1992) and sexual orientation identity (demographics, and both the GIQ and IGCS). During analysis, the questionnaires were analyzed collectively, with notable findings highlighted and placed within the participant's individual case file. Those notable individual findings will be discussed in the seventh stage of analysis, while the summary findings of the analyses of the entire set of quantitative data will be presented in this section. Since the data which were analyzed during this stage entailed examining the patterns of responses or notable individual responses, descriptive statistics will not be provided during this summary. Instead, overall patterns of responses will be described.

Ethnic Identity Questionnaire Summary

Overall, participants overwhelmingly indicated that they had developed a firm sense of ethnic identity. Most participants reported that they had pride in their ethnic identity and felt some level of connection and affiliation with ethnic community. The reported level of connection varied across participants, while some reported affiliation but little to no connection, whereas others reported affiliation and strong connection with their minority community.

In addition, many felt a strong sense of ethnic identity but reported that they had not engaged in an individual search for their ethnic identity, which entailed either exploring their own customs or inquiring others for such information. Nonetheless, at the time of data collection, they reported a strong sense of individual ethnic identity, with varying levels of connection with their communities.

Sexual Orientation Identity Questionnaires Summary

Unlike the previous section, multiple quantitative data sources were used for assessing sexual orientation identity. In developing the questionnaire for the MOSAIC project, the investigators wanted to capture the many nuances of sexual orientation identity, which involves

sexual attraction, personal identity label and its personally derived meaning, community involvement, and experiences of heterosexism from non-sexual minority communities. As a result, multiple quantitative means of assessing for these constructs were used in the questionnaire.

After examining for trends which emerged from analysis of these three data sources, it became evident that participants were arranged into general patterns of response types. These ranged from individuals who were identified as being either: "out" or publicly identified in multiple settings; one who was publicly identified around friends but not in other settings; individuals who were bisexual, in that they had physical and/or sexual attractions for both males and females; and individuals who were questioning both the level of attraction for members of the same and other sex, and also the label to which to ascribe their sexual orientation identity. Each will be described in the following sections below.

First, individuals who were "out," had patterns of responses which indicated that they were both clear and firm in their own sense of sexual orientation identity, and did not hide their sexual orientation identity from other individuals across contexts. Participants in this category did not endorse items which indicated shame regarding their sexual orientation identity and often confronted heterosexism in public arenas.

The second grouping of individuals typically ascribed a "gay" identity label to describe themselves, however their level of disclosure with the identity label varied. Individuals in this stage may have identified two close friends and/or family members but did not feel comfortable disclosing their identity in other contexts, such as their community or place of employment. Overall, it seemed that participants within this grouping were in the process of identity development as was described in previous sexual orientation identity development literature.

Participants who identified as bisexual seemed to have great difficulty in responding to items posed in the GIQ, which was primarily due to the survey construction, which assumed that if individuals choose to acknowledge same-sex attraction then they would identify as gay. For example, question 49 of the survey "I do not want most heterosexuals to know that I am definitely gay" asks participants both about their level of disclosure to heterosexual individuals but also implies that they would identify as gay if they were to identify with a particular sexual orientation identity label. Though the initial developer of the questionnaire may have assumed that these questions assessed for one individual construct, such as disclosure or internalized pride or shame, for individuals who were bisexual this also assessed whether or not they would use "gay" as their identity label. During the survey administration participants noted difficulties in the question construction, but were instructed to answer to the best of their ability. As a result, participants who identified as bisexual noted varying responses which could not fully be interpreted due to the double-barreled nature of the questions which occurred because of their non-gay sexual orientation.

Individuals who identified as questioning followed a similar pattern of responses to individuals who were not in the "out" and not-"out" groupings but presented with distinct differences to the other groups. Individuals in this category noted the most confusion regarding the nature of their attractions, questioning whether or not these attractions were transitory or a stable part of their orientation, and as a result expressed uncertainty concerning whether or not they were attracted to males, females, or both. Participants in this group endorsed items which indicated that they either dreaded or were upset with the possibility that they may be gay. In addition, participants in this grouping, similar to those bisexual participants, questioned if the label of "gay" was the most appropriate to their identity. Similar to participants who identified as

gay (either "out" or not-"out"), participants in this category varied the level of disclosure to other individuals.

Diverse results were also obtained from the Identification and Involvement with the Gay Community Scale (IGCS), which assessed the level of interaction and connection with the gay community. Overall, participants stated that they had some level of connection with the gay community, regardless of identity label. Further, in all of the survey administrations, no participant endorsed the "1" response indicating that they were distant from the gay community (question 89). However, there seem to be great variation between the levels of connectedness expressed by participants. For example, some explicitly felt distant from the gay community (question 91), and other these participants, several indicated that their attraction was important to their sense of self (question 90). Most notable was that for individuals who reported being distant to the gay community, many stated that they did not have many friends who were also gay men. This was the case for individuals who were in the groupings of not-out gay, bisexuals, and questioning participants.

The venues of involvement differed as well, with many stating that they did not patronize gay bars, which were in part due to the age restrictions in entrance to such establishments and the age of the youth in the sample. Also, many participants stated that they were involved in gay or lesbian organizational activities, which was primarily because individuals for this study were recruited primarily through community organizations which served lesbian and gay individuals.

<u>Summary of Qualitative Data Analysis</u>

During this stage of analysis, the interview transcripts were analyzed for relevant themes relating to the methods of identity integration and presentation for these youth. Primarily, this entailed identifying those themes which presented either as barriers to the identity integration

process or facilitators helping youth integrate multiple identities. Though the process of integrating multiple identities into one cohesive self-concept was not often directly discussed by the participants, as it occurred primarily during the Man drawing section (whose text was analyzed in an earlier stage of analysis), most discussion by the participants related to the integration of one specific identity into their larger self-concept. This was primarily due to the interview guide (Appendix B) which asked participants to discuss their identity development and presentation as it related to one identity in isolation. Consequently, most of qualitative data relates to the integration of one identity with their larger self-concept, with occasional discussion of how their individual identities interact with the others. In the following section, themes will be presented according to the barriers and facilitators experienced to integrating each of individual identities (ethnic, sexual, and gender). General themes will be presented, with subsequent underlying sub-themes presented beneath.   The general themes are provided in Figure 1. Both the general themes and sub-themes will be discussed in greater detail in the last section of analysis, where selections of qualitative interview text will be provided to illustrate the overarching themes.

| Barriers to Ethnic Identity Integration |
| Barriers to Sexual Identity Integration |
| Barriers to Gender Identity Integration |
| Facilitators to Ethnic Identity Integration |
| Facilitators to Sexual Identity Integration |
| Facilitators to Gender Identity Integration |
| Barriers to Ethnic Identity Presentation |
| Barriers to Sexual Identity Presentation |
| Barriers to Gender Identity Presentation |
| Facilitators to Ethnic Identity Presentation |
| Facilitators to Sexual Identity Presentation |
| Facilitators to Gender Identity Presentation |

Figure 24. General Themes for Qualitative Interview Analysis

Barriers to Ethnic Identity Integration

Participants discussed multiple barriers to integration of their ethnic identity into their larger self-concept. These included: experiences of racism, disconnection with ethnic group, and rejection of ethnic group's intolerance of others.

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│        Barriers to Ethnic Identity           │
│               Integration                     │
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    │  ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
    ├──│        Experiences of Racism          │
    │  └──────────────────────────────────────┘
    │  ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
    ├──│     Disconnection with Ethnic Group    │
    │  └──────────────────────────────────────┘
    │  ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
    └──│  Rejection of Ethnic Group's Intolerance of │
       │                  Others                 │
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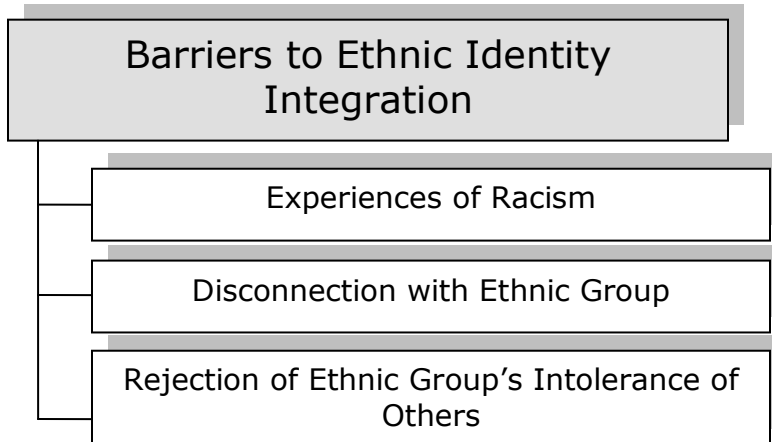
Figure 25. Sub-Themes for Barriers to Ethnic Identity Integration

Experiences of Racism. The youth in the study reported that they were cognizant of

various types of oppression which targeted members of their ethnic group. This took form in

direct or indirect forms oppression and was lobbied by members by individual people. Though

rare, participants discussed experiences of direct, or overt, forms of racism by individuals which

was experienced through verbal harassment or hate speech, racial profiling, or differential

treatment from others. Through these experiences, the youth understood that individuals within

a specific environment were not tolerant of their ethnicity, and these individuals made their

discomfort known through speech or behavior toward them.

In contrast to being targeted by intolerant individuals in various settings, the youth also

were keenly aware of larger societal forces which promoted the oppression of their ethnic group.

Such covert or endemic types of oppression included negative messages or stereotypes about

their group which were presented in the media or were assumptions made by others in everyday

interactions. Participants reported that others assumed that members of their group were lazy,

prone to criminal behavior, or seen as inferior to White individuals. Similarly, the youth

reported that their lives were made more challenging because of their ethnic group membership, as they must overcome the pre-existing negative stereotypes and expectations of others. These attitudes were also translated to other aspects of the youth's lives, as racism also prevented many youth from being interviewed or hired for positions.

Through these experiences of racism in overt or covert forms, the youth were inhibited in the integration of their ethnic identity into their larger self concept. This was because youth internalized these negative messages and experiences, which then hindered youth from identifying with their ethnic group in other settings. Also, these experiences would inhibit identity integration because some would be hesitant to associate with or explore an ethnic group who was being marginalized by members of other communities.

Disconnection with Ethnic Group. Several of the participants indicated that one barrier to their integration of their ethnic identity to their larger identity was due to a lack of connection with their ethnic community. The type of connection was self-determined by the participants, and the types and reasons for strained community relations varied across participants. First, on an individual level, this entailed participants not feeling a connection with other individuals from their ethnic group, primarily due to a lack of shared interests.   Second, participants discussed ideological differences between themselves and their ethnic community, describing their group members as not being goal-oriented, ambitious, and prone to criminal behavior. Other participants desired to connect with their ethnic community, but did not have physical access to a congregation of similarly-identified individuals. As a result of this lack of connection, participants were not able to find support in their developing sense of ethnic identity, and consequently were hindered in the full integration of their ethnicity with their larger self-concept.

      <u>Rejection of Ethnic Group's Intolerance of Others.</u> The youth in the study also experienced a significant barrier to the integration of their ethnic identity within their larger self-concept in the intolerance held by many individuals within their ethnic group. The predominant source of intolerance was concerning individuals who were GBQ, and whose intolerance was discussed in the context of ethnic-specific notions of masculinity or religion. The youth also stated that these messages were present in a variety of aspects of their community, as they were held by family members, peers, and acquaintances in the community. This intolerance was also exhibited through discord within their ethnic community, and the lack of unity within the community also served as a barrier to the participants. Because of these barriers within the community, participants were hesitant to connect with their community. Through these negative perceptions of their own community, the youth were inhibited in fully integrating their ethnic identity with their other identities.

<u>Barriers to Sexual Orientation Identity Integration</u>

      Participants identified many barriers to the integration of their sexual orientation identity into their larger self-concept. This included: experiences of heterosexism, disconnection with gay community, and limitations associated with sexual orientation.

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│    Barriers to Sexual Identity       │
│          Integration                 │
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    │   ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
    ├───│   Experiences of Heterosexism   │
    │   └─────────────────────────────────┘
    │   ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
    ├───│  Disconnection with Gay Community │
    │   └─────────────────────────────────┘
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    └───│  Limitations Associated with Sexual │
        │            Orientation          │
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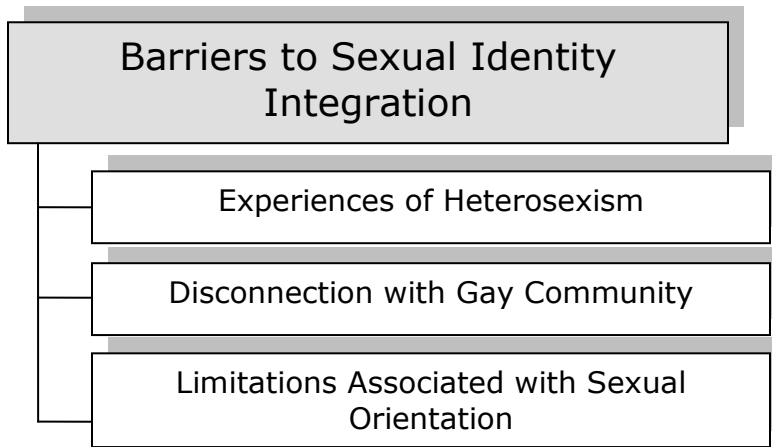
Figure 26. Sub-Themes for Barriers to Sexual Identity Integration

Experiences of Heterosexism. The predominant barrier to the integration of one's sexual

orientation into their larger self concept was the oppression experienced both directly through

interactions with others, and also in their interactions with societal messages and structures

which are also oppressive in nature. Concerning more overt forms of oppression, several

participants reported verbal harassment from strangers while in public, with terms "fag/faggot"

and "sissy" used most frequently. This type of hate speech occurred in the individuals' ethnic

communities, schools, and in the larger White heterosexual community as well. Additionally,

two participants reported being physically assaulted due to their perceived sexual orientation.

Two participants reported that their employment was terminated because employers were

informed of the youths' sexual orientation, though their official reason for termination was

explained by the employer for other reasons, such as tardiness. Other participants stated that

after disclosing their sexuality to others, they either lost relationships with their friends, or their

friendships changed significantly after the disclosure. They also described strained relationships

with family members, who often were initially condemnatory after learning of their son's sexuality. Having unsupportive family members prevented the youth from feeling fully comfortable with their sexual orientation, and presented a barrier to the full integration of their sexuality with their other identities.

Another type of heterosexism entailed societal or cultural forces within society which were perpetuated by individuals within society. Several participants stated that they had difficulties becoming employed because of their sexual orientation, and one participant noted that society as a whole marginalizes GBQ people. This marginalization is perpetuated through negative messages concerning gay men and bisexuals, which characterize them as being promiscuous, HIV/AIDS-infected, abusers of substances, and secretive concerning the disclosure of their sexuality. These messages were expressed in all the communities in which the participants interacted. Additionally, many of these negative messages concerning GBQ individuals were promoted by religion, as the family members often used religion as justification for their oppression of their child. Condemnatory religious messages were also promulgated in religious institutions, and in public debates concerning homosexuality within public venues.

Disconnection with Gay Community. Many participants reported having strained relationships with their gay community, which was self-defined as in other identity discussions. Their notion of gay community therefore included gay-friendly areas within their city of residence, gay bars, community organizations, groups of individuals, and virtual spaces online via chat rooms or websites. Despite the variation of types of sexual communities, participants nonetheless experienced many barriers in establishing meaningful and positive connections to their gay community. Several participants noted negative characteristics of the gay community, such as pervasive negativity in the community, pressures to engage in sexual and drug risk

behaviors, anger and violence, and a lack of unity. Because of these negative perceptions, the participants reported challenges in developing personal connections with individuals within their gay community. Other youth could not connect because of a lack of common interests with those individuals in the gay community, while others lacked access to physical or virtual gay communities.

   <u>Limitations Associated with Sexual Orientation.</u> The final barrier to the integration of the youth's sexual orientation with their larger self-concept was the limitations associated with being a member of a sexual orientation community. For example, one participant noted that the same milestones which define the lives of heterosexuals, such as marrying and bearing children, are either not possible for GBQ individuals (due to heterosexist laws banning gay marriage and adoption in some states) or are made difficult (such as legal legitimacy of civil unions). One participant noted that even if such legal hurdles can be navigated, they are not viewed with the same legitimacy as heterosexuals. Two participants expressed the firm belief that one could only have children with women, implying that if one were to live life as a GBQ male, it could not involve raising children. According to one youth, because the gay community is focused on youth, an openly gay individual will eventually be single during old age. With regard to their ethnic identity, several participants noted that their ethnic culture was incompatible with a GBQ sexual orientation identity. Taken altogether, according to the participants in this study, being a member of the gay community presents unique challenges to the immediate and future life paths which the youth can traverse, and this incompatibility between the challenges and their own personal desires presented a barrier to the integration of their sexual orientation identity with their larger self-concept.

Barriers to Gender Identity Integration

Youth in the study identified one primary barrier to the integration of their gender identity to their larger holistic identity and self-concept. This included the misperception of gender and sexual orientation.
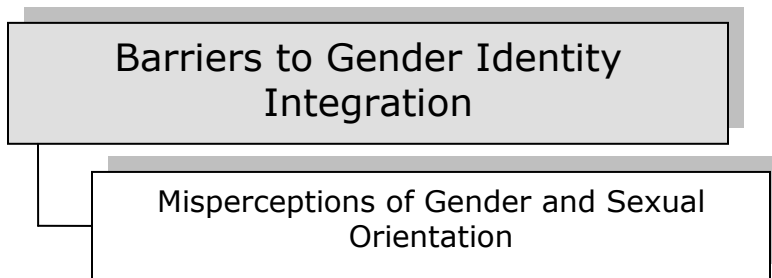
Figure 27. Sub-Theme for Barriers to Gender Identity Integration

Misperceptions of Gender and Sexual Orientation. Several participants noted that they felt unable to fully integrate their gender identity into their larger identity because elements of their sexual orientation identity were fundamentally opposed to their understanding of masculinity. Three participants reported that their understanding of masculinity required gender dynamics where men maintain power between the sexes. According to the youth, by having sex with another male, one thereby relinquishes the power associated with masculinity, and is not considered a man any longer. Consequently, they believed that one cannot be openly gay or bisexual while ascribing to the standards of masculinity.

In addition to the demands for a gender hierarchy maintained through masculinity, three participants reported that the notions of masculinity enforced by members of their ethnic community demanded that male members of their ethnic community enter into heterosexual marriages and produce children. Therefore, by being openly gay or bisexual, one would

challenge the demands of being a "man" as described by their ethnic community. In the cases of these three youth, sexual orientation identity and masculinity were seen as incompatible. Through these restrictions in behavior, the youth were hindered in the integration of their identity.

The previous themes related to those factors which inhibited the integration of the youth's identities into their larger self-concept. The following sections illustrate those factors which facilitated the integration of one specific identity into the participant's larger self-concept.

Facilitators to Ethnic Identity Integration

Despite the many barriers to ethnic identity integration described earlier, participants also recalled many aspects of themselves and their communities which promoted the integration of their ethnic identity into their larger holistic identity. These included individual decisions and behaviors, supportive individuals, and attractive cultural qualities.

Figure 28. Sub-Themes for Facilitators to Ethnic Identity Integration

Individual Decisions and Behaviors. The youth in the study reported personal actions or decisions which assisted in the integration of their ethnic community and identity. The youth

focused their efforts in challenging either a negative perception concerning their ethnic group held by individuals in other communities, or a negative aspect of their own ethnic group which observed by the participants themselves. By doing so, the youth felt satisfied in their interactions and identity associated with their ethnicity, which served to facilitate their ethnic identity with their larger self-concept. For example, several youth attempted to be role models and leaders within their respective communities. They also attempted to raise their own standards of living by obtaining a high-paying job, with the hopes of raising the goals and aspirations of those in the community. The youth also joined peers in attempting to adapt and assimilate their culture with the dominant American culture. Other youth who could not easily adapt their culture with their peers chose to selectively adhere to tenets of their ethnic culture while disassociating from others. Some participants who disagreed with aspects of their culture chose to connect with their ethnic community selectively through other aspects of their community. Concerning interactions with other ethnic groups, several youth intentionally challenged the stereotypes held by others concerning those within their ethnic group.

Supportive Individuals. The participants in the study also identified individuals who were crucial in the integration of their ethnic identity with their larger self concept. These were people from the youth's multiple communities in which they interacted, which included family members, peers, and other ethnically-similar individuals. Family members often educated the youth about their ethnic identity and heritage, while also maintaining cultural traditions and practices. Peers also served a similar purpose, but were also crucial in assisting the youth in integrating their ethnic culture with dominant American culture. With their peers, they challenged the permanency of their ethnic culture and realized that they could attend to particular aspects of their culture while ignoring others. Finally, individuals employed in a variety of

organizations also facilitated identity in ways similar to peers and family, by giving the

participants a history of their ethnic heritage, or by modeling ways of integrating their ethnic

identity with their larger identity as an American.

   Attractive Cultural Qualities. Participants in the study were also facilitated in the process

of integrating their ethnic identity with their larger self-concept through a connection with

perceived positive aspects of their culture. Several participants expressed pride in their cultural

heritage, and despite the negative aspects of their own culture, they appreciated the history of

individuals of their ethnic group. By learning their history, they also valued the legacy of

struggle that occurred to ensure the rights of their ethnic group in today's society. Other

participants were drawn to the music and food of their ethnic group, while others identified

cultural traditions of their ethnic group, in part because of the supportive environment created by

family members during these celebrations. By viewing their entire culture or its individual

aspects as positive, they were able to integrate their ethnic identity with their larger self-concept.

This is because within their larger internal mosaic of identity, they could place that particular

aspect as a representation of their ethnicity.

Facilitators to Sexual Orientation Identity Integration

   During the processes of identity development and integration, many participants

identified many facilitators both within their communities and themselves. These included:

individual decisions and behaviors, supportive individuals, supportive institutions, and attractive

cultural qualities.
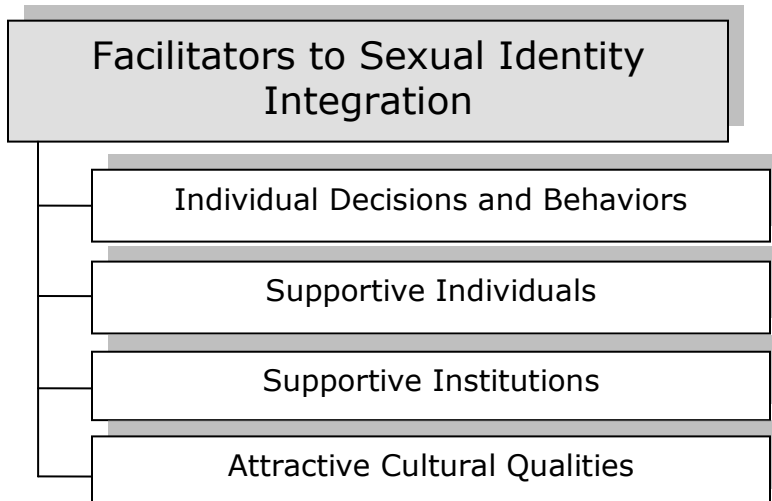
Figure 29. Sub-Themes for Facilitators to Sexual Identity Integration

Individual Decisions and Behaviors. The participants in the study also engaged in

personal behavioral or cognitive strategies to integrate their sexual orientation identity with their

larger self-concept. A significant aspect of these strategies involved avoiding environments

where sexuality-based oppression would occur, which helped in maintaining a positive

perception of their sexuality. Others engaged in a more introspective approach concerning their

sexual orientation identity, and determined that their experience as a GBQ male is positive

overall, despite negative oppressive forces existing in all aspects of society. Youth managed this

dissonance of oppression and positive self-concept by reflecting on their own lack of direct

exposure to homophobia, and by internally managing the negative messages concerning GBQ

individuals. By engaging in this self-reflective process, the youth were able to create a positive

perception of their sexual orientation identity, which was facilitative in the process of integration

with their larger self-concept.

Supportive Individuals. During the process of developing and integrating their sexual

orientation identity within their larger self-concept, youth identified particular individuals who

assisted in this process. First, the participants reported many family members who were supportive of their sexual orientation, thereby facilitating integration within their self-concept. This included heterosexual immediate family members who were supportive of their sexual orientation identity and who sometimes linked the participants to resources to further assist in the process of identity development and integration. Participants also were supported by gay or lesbian family members who connected the youth to resources and also provided support through modeling of how they have integrated their larger identity with their sexual orientation.

In addition to family members, participants reported that their heterosexual peers' positive reaction to their disclosure of their sexual orientation helped facilitate their sexual orientation identity and integration. Others noted health and mental health providers as supports through their school and community-based organizations.

Supportive Institutions. Youth in the study also identified community agencies as being crucial in the facilitation of their sexual orientation identity integration within their larger identity. The community agencies were reported to have provided both direct and indirect forms of support, as they learned from the educational and informational material discussed during meeting times. The weekly group meetings at some agencies provided educational experiences for the youth which exposed them to various other aspects of the gay community compared to the limited portrayal presented in media. Other youth commented on the environment of the community agency itself, which placed emphasis on confidentiality, and was open in their discussions around sexuality. Through the positive and supportive environment of the agency, the participants were able to develop a sense of comfort with their growing sexual orientation identity, which facilitated its integration into the larger self-concept.

Attractive Cultural Qualities. During the process of integrating their sexual orientation identity with their larger self-concept, the participants in the study also identified qualities unique to being gay or bisexual (GB) or to individuals who share their identity. Concerning living a life as a GB individual, participants stated that even though they technically can have children, they are not pressured by society to reproduce and to create a standard heterosexual family. Another participant stated that by being openly gay, one is allowed the freedom to follow his own personal interests without necessarily having to follow the requirements of one specific group. Participants stated that gay men are often well-dressed/fashionable, clean in hygiene, attractive, creative, artistic, hard-working, and wealthy. With regard to the gay community, one described it as "paradise," while others described it as festive, diverse, and supportive. Another participant was emboldened by the political power that the gay community yielded during the Stonewall riots. Through allegiance with a group which they perceived as positive, the youth were able to integrate their sexual orientation identity along with their larger sense of identity.

Facilitators to Gender Identity Integration

Youth in the study identified one primary facilitator to the integration of their gender identity to their larger holistic identity and self-concept. This included individual decisions and behaviors enacted by the participants.

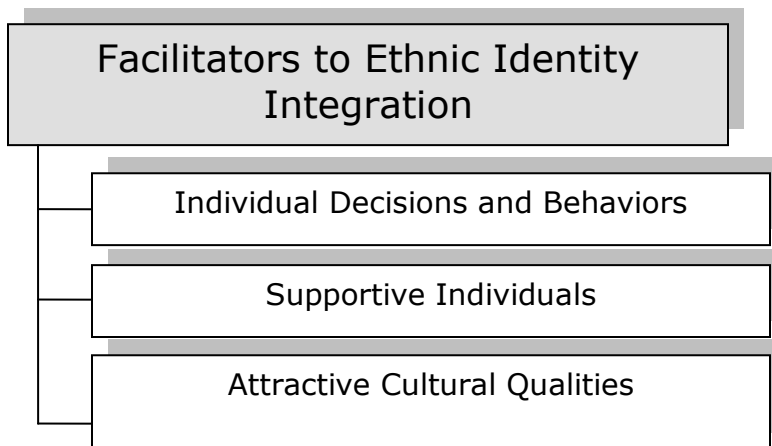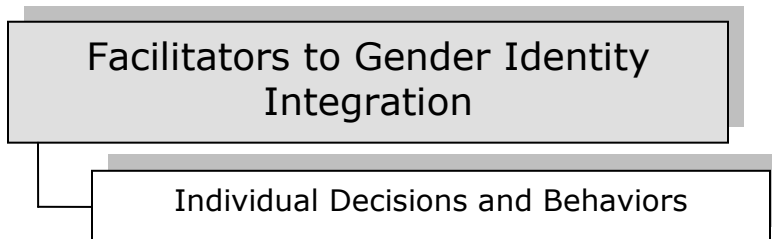*Figure 30.* Sub-Theme for Facilitators to Gender Identity Integration

Individual Decisions and Behaviors. The youth in the study engaged in cognitive strategies to facilitate the integration of their gender identity with their larger self-concept. Primarily, this entailed analyzing and interpreting particular messages with regard to their gender and other aspects of themselves, particularly with their sexual orientation. Participants reported agreeing with particular messages while disagreeing with others, such as agreeing with the belief that men should be responsible and take care of others, while disagreeing with the message that men should engage in particular heterosexual-specific behaviors. In addition to behaviors, youth also challenged messages concerning overall demeanor, agreeing with messages that men should effectively manage their emotions without the use of drugs and/or alcohol, but disagreed with messages stating that men should not show emotion. Other youth disagreed with the entire concept of masculinity, stating that the ideology is antiquated and maintains sexism. As a result, these youth recreated their own sense of masculinity, stating that they were men but had both stereotypically masculine and feminine characteristics. Others were firm in their sense of masculinity because of the existence of their own genitals, which despite conflicting messages concerning their masculinity and sexuality, maintained their maleness.

The previous themes related to those factors which impacted the integration of the youth's identities into their larger self-concept. The following sections illustrate those factors which impact the presentation of their identities while traversing their multiple communities in which they interact.

Barriers to Ethnic Identity Presentation

Youth in the study reported many barriers to the presentation of their ethnic identity in a variety of settings. Participants reported barriers in their interactions with members of their own ethnic community, the larger White community, and within the gay community.

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    │   ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
    ├───│  Negative Experiences with Their Own │
    │   │            Community             │
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    ├───│  Interactions with Members of the White │
    │   │            Community             │
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    └───│  Interactions with the Gay Community │
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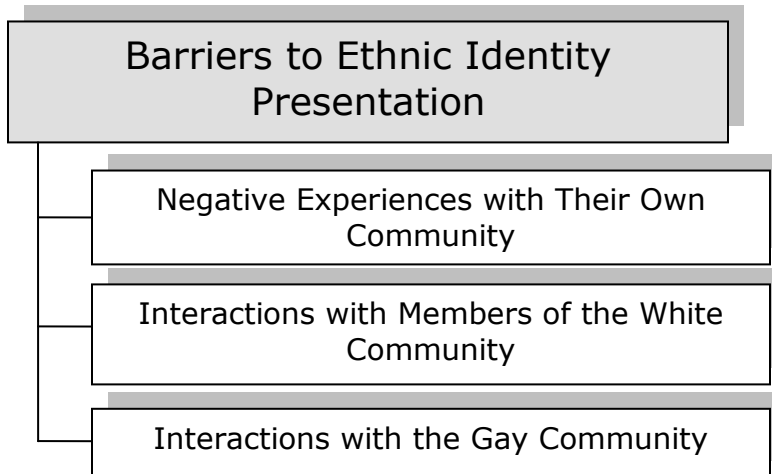
Figure 31. Sub-Themes for Barriers to Ethnic Identity Integration

Negative Experiences with Their Own Ethnic Community. While traversing their ethnic

community or interacting with other members of their ethnic group, participants identified

several barriers in expressing their ethnic identity. First, among the African American

community, the youth reported that there exists a pressure to not criticize members of the

community. If one were to criticize African American individuals, they would be seen as allying

themselves with White individuals, which is interpreted as betraying their ethnic community.

Among Latino participants, lack of Spanish language proficiency or an Americanized accent

when speaking Spanish presented a barrier to connecting with other individuals within Latino

communities. Among both ethnicities of participants, youth expressed pressures to act or dress

in a particularly heterosexual and masculine manner for fear that would not be fully accepted

within the community. These behavioral restrictions through dress and speech inhibited the

participant's interactions with members of their own community. These limitations on behavior

thereby prevented the full expression of a youth's identities while navigating their ethnic

community.

Interactions with Members of the White Community. Participants also identified barriers to the full presentation of their ethnic identity during negative interactions with White individuals. This included individuals making comments or sarcastic humor focusing on the participant's ethnic identity. One Latino participant noted that White people make assumptions based on his ethnicity. In particular, he stated that many assume that he either does not speak English or has limited English language skills. One participant noted that depending on the style of dress, Latinos are treated differently by White individuals. He stated that if he appeared dapper or fashionable, others viewed him as being White, despite his skin color and facial features. These negative interactions concerning their ethnicity consequently inhibited the presentation of their ethnic identity while interacting with individuals in the larger White community.

Interactions with the Gay Community. One participant noted that within the gay community, people of color are treated differently based on their presentation of ethnic identity. Several participants described race/ethnicity specific discriminatory practices by other GBQ men as it related to sexual or romantic relationships. This was exhibited in either a preference of men from a particular ethnicity/race, or a rejection of individuals of color by either White or ethnic minority men. This discrimination or fetishization was mentioned in venues such as phone lines, where older White men were described as being "predatory" towards the youth. Additionally, participants identified discriminatory practices in internet dating profiles, where men would state their ethnic preferences for dating partners, which often would not include individuals from ethnic groups other than European-American. Both forms of discrimination occurred not only by White men, but also by other males of color, who also would refuse to engage in romantic/sexual relationships with the participant because of his race/ethnicity. However, discriminatory

practices were described as being limited to those venues, and were not stated to be generalized to the gay community as a whole.

Barriers to Sexual Orientation Identity Presentation

Youth in the study reported many barriers to the presentation of their sexual orientation identity in a variety of settings through significant negative experiences. Participants identified negative experiences with friends and family, with individuals from their own ethnic community, and with individuals from the larger heterosexual community.
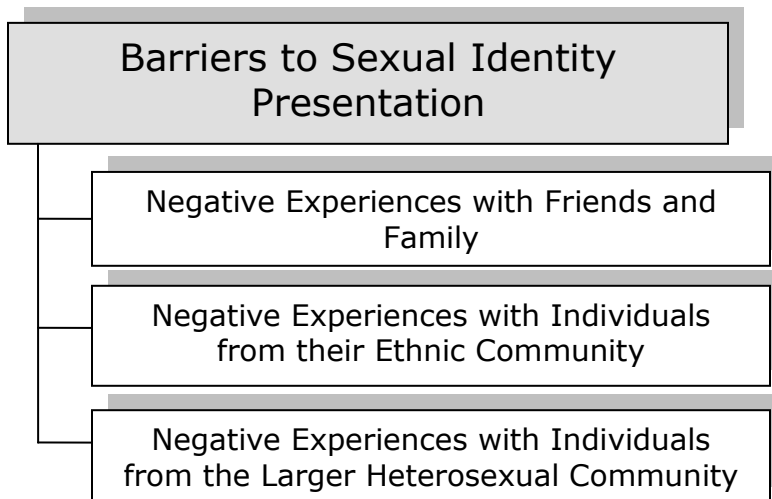
Figure 32. Sub-Themes for Barriers to Sexual Identity Integration

Negative Experiences with Friends and Family. Negative experiences with individuals in the participant's immediate environment prevented the youth from fully expressing their sexual orientation identity across multiple contexts. First, because the youth perceived their friends as being intolerant of GBQ individuals, many participants did not disclose their sexuality to their closest friends. Other youth were challenged by the predominance of heterosexual friends among their peer group, and were hesitant in the continual disclosure of their sexuality with their growing friendship networks. The hesitancy of disclosure, both to close and extended friends,

was rooted in the fear of negative reactions, which may include verbal harassment or violence. These fears were unfortunately realized and were experienced by several of the participants. Also, by disclosing to heterosexual peers, youth were often forced to become educators of their sexuality, by challenging and disproving negative inaccurate stereotypes concerning other GBQ individuals. By being inhibited in the disclosure of their sexuality to their peers, they were prevented in fully expressing their identities in the communities in which they interacted.

Similar to peers, participants were also hesitant to disclose their sexual orientation to family members because of fear of negative repercussions. For those who chose not to disclose their sexuality to their parents, the process of maintaining a heterosexual image and avoiding discussing their sexuality was difficult. Also, similar to their peers, youth were hesitant in disclosing their sexuality to their parents for fear of the loss of financial or emotional support. This inhibition in the presentation of their sexual identity also enabled the participants to avoidother consequences, including the placement of limitations to their access to the gay community through the restriction of social outlets and internet connectivity. For both peers and family members, the participants were inhibited in presenting their identities in order to avoid negative repercussions following the disclosure of their sexual orientation identity.

Negative Experiences with Members of their Ethnic Community. Participants reported that they were inhibited from expressing their sexual orientation identity because of negative interactions with members of their ethnic community. Many participants reported that they experienced barriers arising from fears that their sexual orientation would be known throughout the community. As a result, the participants were cognizant of their dress and mannerisms when venturing in their ethnic neighborhood, and avoided actions and clothing that may be indicative of GBQ individuals. Because of these pressures for behavior and appearance, several

participants limited their interactions with individuals in their ethnic community, either by avoiding interactions with individuals of their ethnic group, or by refusing to venture into their ethnic community.

Negative Experiences with Members from the Larger Heterosexual Community.   Youth in the study identified barriers to the presentation of their sexual orientation identity through interactions with heterosexual individuals who are not members of their ethnic group. Similar to previous sections, participants experienced varying forms of heterosexism dependent on their level of disclosure of sexual orientation. Most frequently, participants reported an atmosphere of intolerance when in the presence of predominantly heterosexual individuals. They felt restricted and repressed, and were reluctant in displaying affection with their boyfriends, or in acting effeminate for fear of negative repercussion. For participants who had not disclosed their sexuality, they expressed concern for others learning of their sexual orientation. These participants stated that if they acted in a feminine manner, people would make assumptions that they are gay, and would consequently mistreat them. Even after disclosing their sexuality, negative reactions included responses such as disgust, statements of condemnation, and shock. Other participants were perceived as being gay without disclosing their identity, and as a result, while in public many people stared at them and conversed about them while in public settings.

Barriers to Presentation of Gender Identity

Participants in the study noted one primary barrier to fully presenting their gender identity while navigating the many communities of interaction. This included the gender presentation pressures.

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│      Barriers to Gender Identity       │
│             Presentation               │
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      │      Gender Presentation Pressures     │
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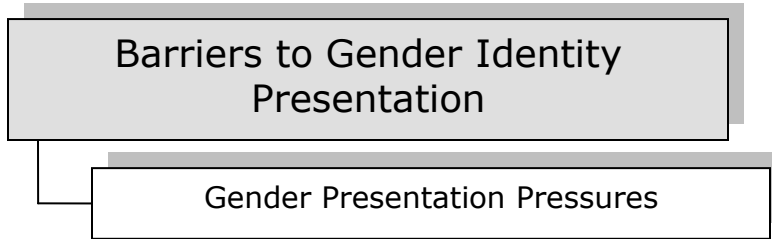
Figure 33. Sub-Themes for Barriers to Gender Identity Integration

Gender Presentation Pressures. Participants also described additional pressures to act or behave in a particular way ascribed by masculinity, behaviors which were a barrier to the integration of their gender identity to their larger identity. One participant stated that men are required to walk and talk in a particular manner. Three participants stated that men should act in a particular manner, and engage in "manly" behaviors such as eructation and flatulation. In addition, participants described pressures on masculine mannerisms, styles of dress, and in the restriction of emotion.

The previous themes related to those factors which inhibited the presentation of the youth's identities as they traversed their multiple communities of involvement. The following sections illustrate those factors which facilitated the presentation of multiple identities across contexts.

Facilitators to Presentation of Ethnic Identity

The participants in the study identified engaging in several strategies to facilitate the presentation of their ethnic identity across multiple settings. This included: the individual ability to assimilate as well as a resistance to assimilate across settings.
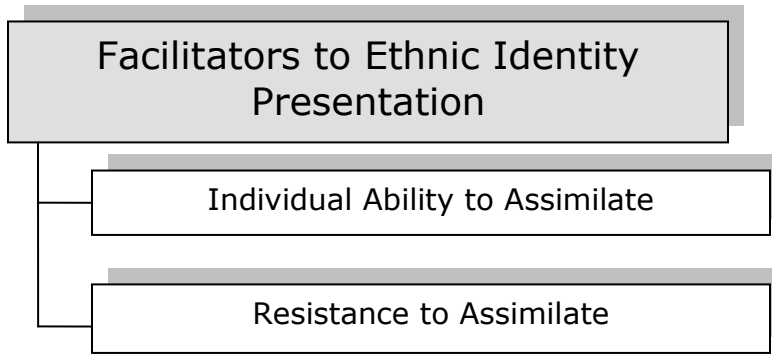
Figure 34. Sub-Themes for Facilitators to Ethnic Identity Presentation

Individual Ability to Assimilate. Several participants reported changing their

presentation to facilitate connection and interaction while traversing various communities, which

facilitated in their presentation in those contexts. Several participants stated that by making

subtle changes to their personality, such as by being friendly or introverted, they were able to fit

into various settings by assimilating along with the members of those communities. Other

participants stated that by acting in a masculine manner, they could fit within a variety of

settings. By being flexible in their presentation, the youth were able to assimilate into their

communities in which they interacted, which facilitated in the presentation of their multiple

identities across settings.

Resistance to Assimilation. Other youth reported that the presentation of their ethnic

identity was facilitated through its consistent presentation across settings. These participants

reported that they did not change their presentation while navigating their communities of

interaction, which often was not aligned with the demeanor of other individuals in that

community. Participants stated that they spoke and acted in a manner which was consistent in all

contexts. While interacting with all communities, several participants presented themselves

without concern for self-censorship, indicating that no individual or group of people should limit

who they are. Through this honesty in presentation, the participants were accepted by those within these communities, which facilitated the presentation of their identities in future interactions.

<u>Facilitators for Presentation of Sexual Orientation Identity</u>

Participants indicated several strategies to facilitate the presentation of their sexual orientation identity across multiple settings. This included: a capacity to adapt to environment, their individual decisions and behaviors, and through external supports.

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┌──────────────────────────────────────────┐
│     Facilitators to Sexual Identity        │
│               Presentation                 │
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        ├──┌──────────────────────────────────┐
        │  │  Capacity to Adapt to Environment │
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        │  │  Individual Decisions and Behaviors│
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           │         External Supports          │
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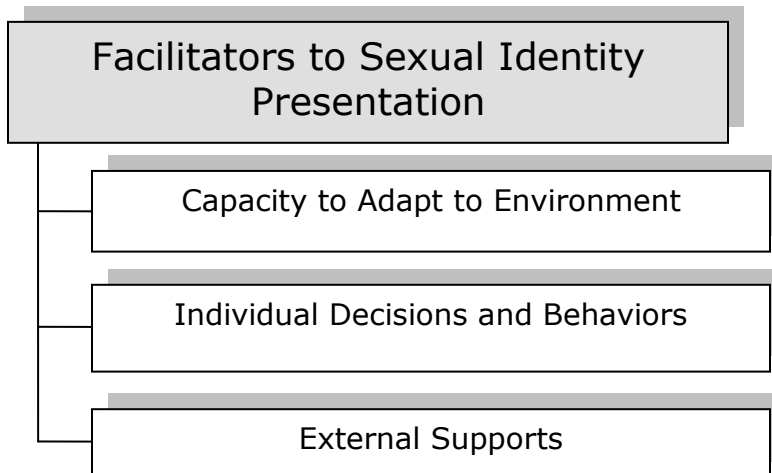
Figure 35. Sub-Themes for Facilitators to Sexual Identity Presentation

<u>Capacity to Adapt to Environment.</u> To facilitate the presentation of their sexual orientation identity across settings, youth exhibited a capacity to utilize adaptive behaviors to manage their presentation. For participants who were not comfortable having their sexual orientation made public, several stated that they were able to fluctuate the performance of their gender to fit into particular settings, since effeminacy in men is most often indicative of homosexuality. Though they would alter their gender presentation, they would not hide their sexual orientation identity when asked by others. Another adaptive means of presenting their

identity manifested in the form of covert communication with other individuals with similar sexual orientations. One participant explained that by wearing clothing which contained multiple colors, akin to a rainbow, he is able to covertly broadcast his identity to other GBQ individuals.

For participants who were publically-identified as GBQ, others utilized adaptive behaviors in the management of potentially negative reactions. First, several participants stated that by being forthcoming with their sexuality when meeting others, their responses have been primarily positive. Others utilized their friendly personality and charm to engage and connect with individuals who may not normally be supportive of GBQ individuals. On the other hand, some participants engaged in an intelligent and non-reactive discussion with them to challenge potentially hostile individuals' negative beliefs. Through the adaptation into their surroundings, the youth were able to present their sexual identities in environments which could be potentially hostile, while at the same time maintaining their sexual orientation identity.

Individual Decisions and Behaviors. Youth in the study also engaged in individual commitments to facilitate the presentation of their sexual orientation identity across multiple environments. Primarily, this entailed participants personally being steadfast in personal commitments to behaviors and beliefs. For example, some reported that they do not pay attention to what others think of themselves, and if they were to elicit a negative reaction from others, they would not allow it to hinder their own presentation.   The participants also maintained that despite the presence of oppressive forces and negative messages concerning GBQ individuals, they maintained a positive attitude overall while interacting in both the gay and heterosexual communities. Several identified positive characteristics of their sexual orientation identity community or of themselves which served as reminders to help maintain a

positive self-image. This positive sense of self emboldened the youth to present themselves authentically across settings despite being at-risk for negative interactions from intolerant individuals. Their commitments to be themselves despite the threat of oppression thereby facilitated the presentation of their sexual orientation identity when navigating multiple communities.

External Supports. The youth in the study also stated that with the support of individuals, they could present their sexual orientation identity across multiple contexts. Concerning family, one participant reported that his family members imbue him with a sense of resilience regarding his sexual orientation, which facilitated an authentic presentation of his sexuality in his multiple contexts of interaction. Youth stated that the presence of GBQ individuals in a bar setting or in a congregation of friends or co-workers allows both a sense of protection, but also allows the participants to be authentic to themselves. Others felt a sense of safety with other GBQ individuals, as they did not fear negative reactions or the presence of others offered protection against possible negativity.

Facilitators to Expression of Gender Identity

Youth in the study identified one primary facilitator to the presentation of their gender identity across contexts. This included the use of good interpersonal skills.
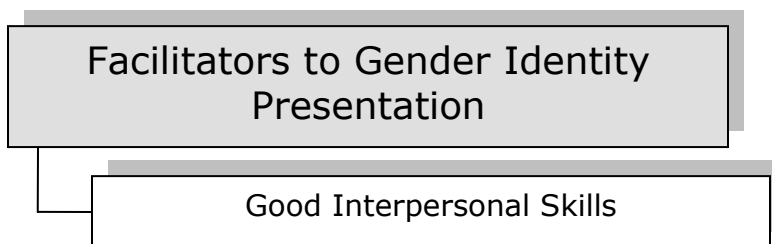
Figure 36. Sub-Theme for Facilitators to Gender Identity Presentation

Good Interpersonal Skills. Several participants stated that by successfully navigating interpersonal relationships with others, they were able to effectively present their gender identity. One youth reported that he speaks in an assertive manner which commands respect and attention by other individuals. Other youth reported that through their outgoing and personable personalities, they are able to attract and connect with heterosexual and GBQ individuals in the multiple environments in which they interact.

<div align="center">Findings from Cross-case Analysis</div>

During this stage of analysis, data collected for analysis as part of this study were assembled and collated according to participant, which then comprised the "cases" for analysis. Each case was then individually analyzed for notable patterns in identity integration and presentation. In the following section, themes will be presented describing the ways in which youth integrated and presented their identities across multiple settings. Previous stages of analysis examined how the youth integrated and presented their identities separately, whereas this current stage of analysis examined how the participant's multiple identities integrated and interacted within the larger self concept, and how this was presented to others. As was indicated in the previous sections of analysis, the process of integrating multiple identities involved cognitively negotiating the multiple aspects of identity into a cohesive self-concept. On the other hand, identity presentation was primarily behavioral, as youth determined to what extent their internal identities would be made visible to others. Since this section discusses how multiple data sources are integrated for illustration of shared themes, both identity integration and presentation will be discussed concurrently in the first half of this analysis section. The second half will detail the variations in identity integration and presentation across settings.

Data supporting these themes consist of the participant's Man drawings accompanied by descriptive text from the youth, selected quantitative data, and quotes from the in-depth individual interviews. Though participants noted many barriers and facilitators to the processes of identity integration and presentation within each data source, as indicated in previous stages of analysis, data will only be presented within this section if multiple data sources support a particular theme.

During the process of analysis, several themes emerged which illustrated negative aspects of the processes of identity integration and presentation. Consequently, these negative themes were not translated to their Man drawings, since many youth still viewed themselves as positive individuals overall, consistent with qualitative data, and seemed reluctant to portray themselves negatively during the final phase of the data process. As a result, these notable themes, whose data were described in more detail in earlier stages of analysis, will be briefly summarized in this section to avoid redundancy.

| Persistent External Barriers to Identity Integration and Presentation |
| Reactions of External Messages |
| Community |
| Outcomes of Multiple Identity Integration |
| Fluctuation of Multiple Identities Across Multiple Settings |
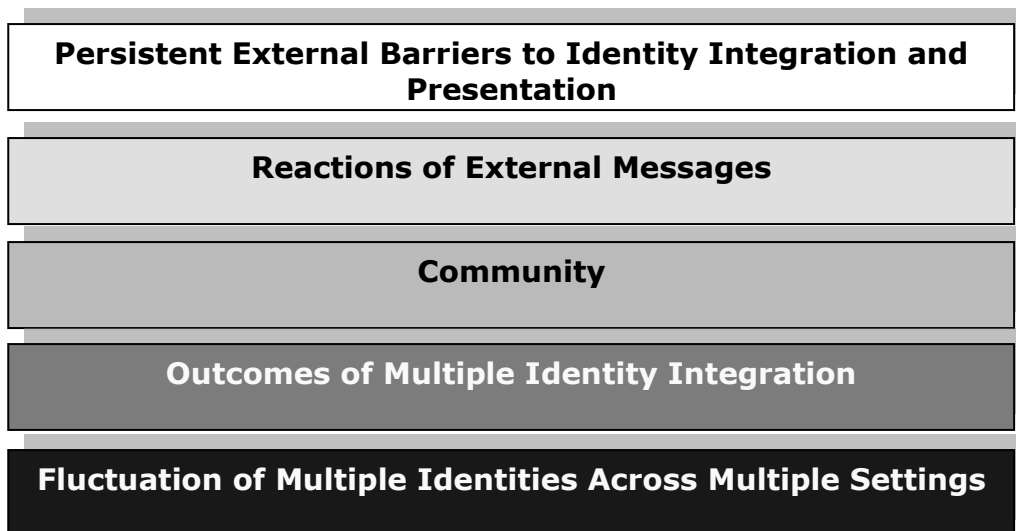
Figure 37. General Themes for Cross-Case Analysis

Persistent External Barriers to Identity Integration and Presentation

While navigating their various communities, participants noted ever-present barriers which hindered the full integration or presentation of their identities. These persistent barriers included: perceived fundamental incompatibility in identities, cultural pressures, in-group tensions, family rejection, and experienced or threat of oppression.

Persistent External Barriers to Identity Integration and Presentation

Perceived Fundamental Incompatibility in Identities

Cultural Pressures

In-Group Tensions

Family Rejection

Experienced or Threat of Oppression
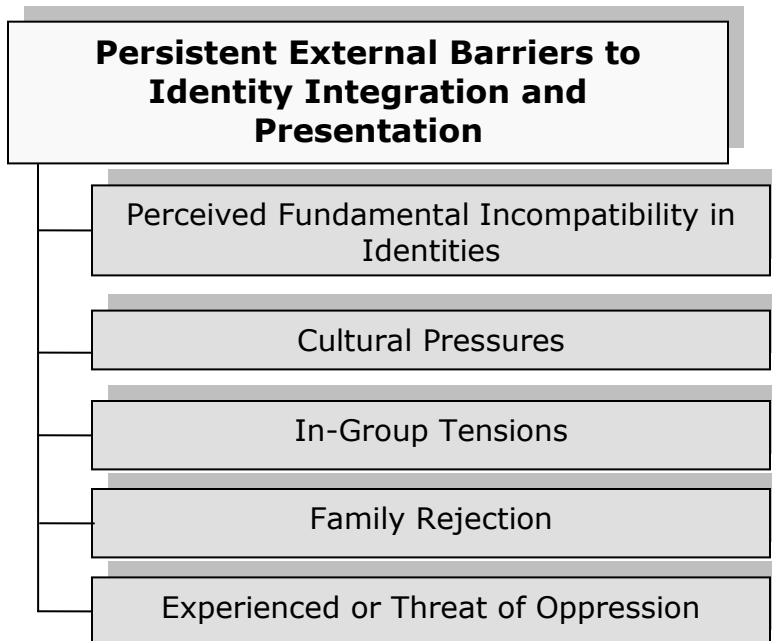
Figure 38. Sub-Themes for Persistent External Barriers to Identity Integration and Presentation

Perceived Fundamental Incompatibility in Identities. Youth in the study also reported experiencing difficulties integrating their multiple identities because they believed that there were elements inherent in their separate identities which prevented full integration. Several youth indicated that messages concerning their sexuality conflicted with tenets of masculinity (as described earlier) or with standards for behavior within their ethnic group, which may include cultural pressures to have a family, or to act in a masculine manner. For these youth, they

reported that to integrate their multiple identities was, at the time of data collection, virtually impossible.

This theme is exhibited through the case of Taji (Homosexual, African American, 21 years old, Chicago), who expressed a conflict between his presentation of a masculine man, which should not show emotion and be sensitive, and his truer personality at home which is sensitive and emotional. In the following text, he describes this inner conflict and how this is difficult to maintain on a daily basis:

> Um, the only thing I think where sometimes conflict is my tough guy image and my heart. Because…
>
> *Tell me about a time when you felt a bit of a conflict.*
>
> Well, because with me, for me to have my feelings hurt, I let my tough guy image take care of that. Or with my attitude, like that. Um, so that's where…
>
> *So you can turn it on, you can turn on the tough guy?*
>
> Well, I mean basically if my feelings are being hurt, the tough guy just turns on by itself because that's something I don't think I can necessarily control. But um, I mean, that's where those two go at it. But um…
>
> *I see. So the tough guy sort of protects the…*
>
> Right. The heart.

This segregation of the self as expressed in the quote is also echoed in his Man Drawing, which was colored to represent his external appearance. In his drawing he created articles of clothing, such as a shirt, a glove, and pants, and also colored in his hair. Through these elements within the drawing, one should note the separation of the colors with a boundary outlined in color, with no mutual overlapping areas. The separation of the selves as indicated in his interview text is therefore also present in other data sources.
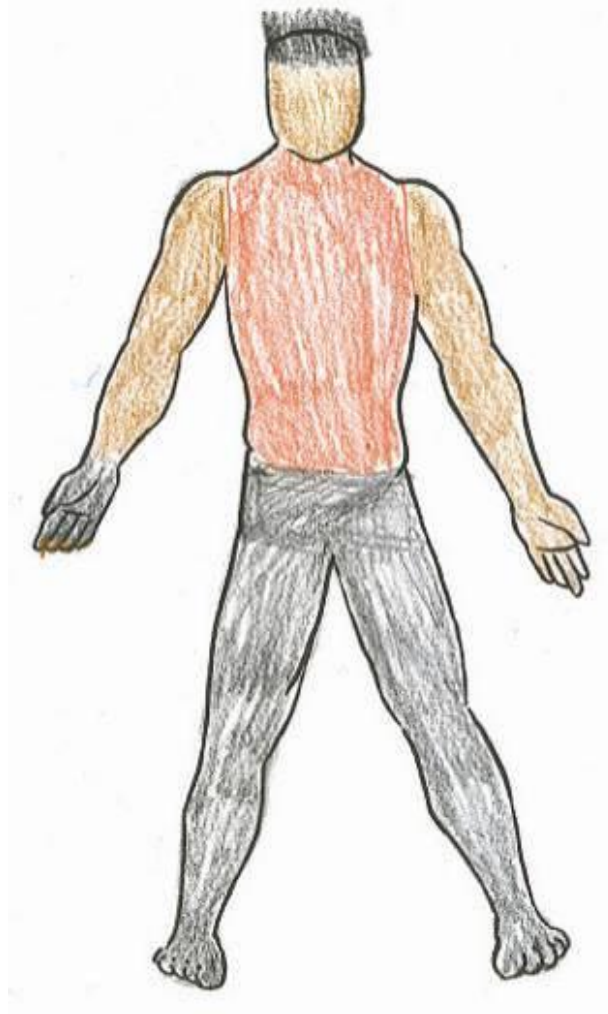
Figure 39. Man Drawing for Taji (Homosexual, African American, 21 years old, Chicago).

Red = Homosexual, Black = Man, Brown = African American.

Another type of perceived incompatibility was within conflicts between participants' sexual orientation identity and either their ethnic or gender identity. Most salient was that participants found it difficult to live an adult life as a member of their ethnic community with a same-sex partner, or that they found it difficult to have a family with such a partner.

In the case example of Antonio (Bisexual, Latino, 17 years old, Chicago) discussed that though he identifies as bisexual, he primarily has same-sex sexual and romantic attractions. In

his interview, he discusses his reticence in identifying as gay because since he wants to raise

children, which he believed only can be possible through a relationship with a woman. In the

following text, he illustrates his rationale, including the nuances in his attractions towards

women:

> Actually I do. I want to have kids. That's the thing.
>
> *How would you do it?*
>
> How would I do it? Hopefully I would go straight.
>
> *Okay. So you are, do you still identify as bisexual?*
>
> Yes. I'm more, see, like I could fall in love with a girl, like I could have a crush on a girl and like a girl, mentally. A guy it's more physically.
>
> *Right. I see.*
>
> Which is kind, it kind of does think, because you can have both worlds at the same time. But of course the mental one's always better than just physically.

As indicated in his quote, he not only disavows the possibility of being able to have children with

another man, but also reports that he is unable to have an emotional connection with men. As a

result, he indicates that having a future with another male as a life partner is not possible..
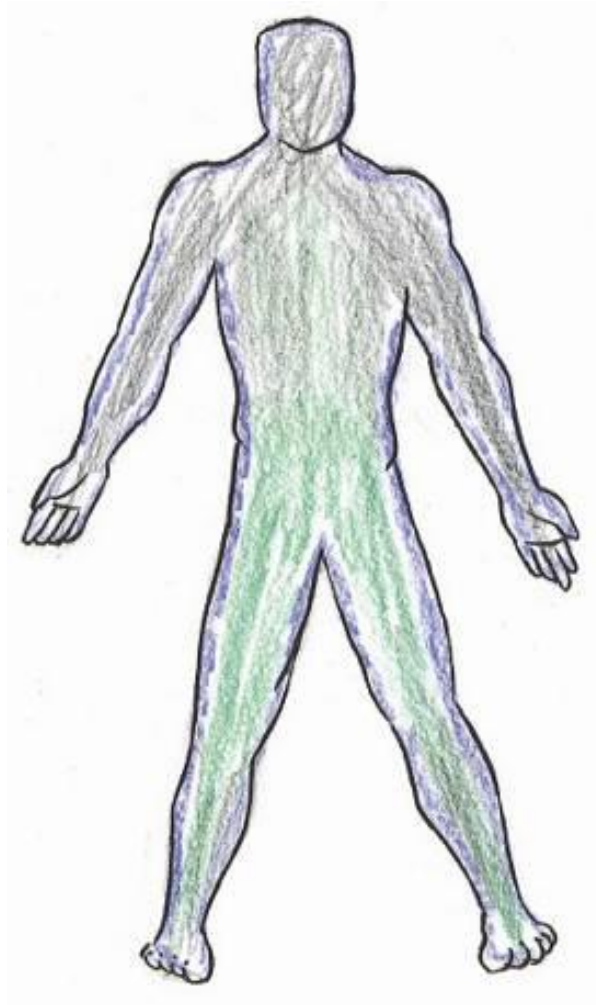
Figure 40. Man Drawing for Antonio (Bisexual, Latino, 17 years old, Chicago). Black = Man, Blue = Mexican, Green = Bisexual.

This segmentation of levels of attraction are also exhibited in his Man Drawing, in which he denotes that the identity for bisexuality and masculinity is the same, however "below the belt" is colored in green. He therefore acknowledges the shared features of both identities, but also notes that there are fundamental differences concerning his sexuality and his masculinity.

Cultural Pressures. Youth in the study identified pressures originating from their sexual orientation identity community or their ethnic group which presented as a consistent barrier to

their identity integration and presentation. These pressures varied from mandates regarding

dialect and mannerisms to demands to participate in risky behaviors, such as drug use or

unprotected sex. Regarding ethnic identity, participants reported that they were compelled to act

in accordance with members of their ethnic community, by participating in shared rituals and

customs indicative of their culture. As indicated in previous steps of the analysis, participants

chose which rituals were most compatible with their preferences, and many found that

participation in these activities were part of their connection and integration with their ethnic

identity. However, youth also indicated the presence of pressures which were seen as

incompatible with their sexual orientation identity. For example, several youth stated that part of

being a member of their ethnic group was to bear children with a wife, and that this life path was

an essential part of their ethnicity. Being an openly-identified GBQ individual conflicted with

culturally-enforced heterosexual lifestyle, and the youth indicated that this presented as a

pressure to their full interaction and connection with their ethnic community. Additionally,

youth reported that pressures existed for individuals to act in a masculine manner, called

"machismo" by some Latino participants, though similar concepts existed for African American

youth. This masculinized manner of interaction was perceived by the youth as being

contradictory to having a non-heterosexual sexual orientation, which is understood by members

of their ethnic community as having a feminine presentation.

The pressures suggested from the youth's ethnic community are best illustrated in the

case of Joshua (Queer, Latino, 19 years old, Chicago). In his quantitative data, he endorsed true

to the statements "I have disclosed to 1 or 2 (very few) people that I may have gay feelings,

although I'm not sure I'm gay," and "Even though I am definitely gay, I have not told my

family." As indicated through his quantitative data, he is reticent about disclosing his sexuality

with others, including his family. Though his reasons for why he has not shared his sexuality

with others was not indicated in his quantitative data, his other data illustrated the pressures

which inhibit his presentation.
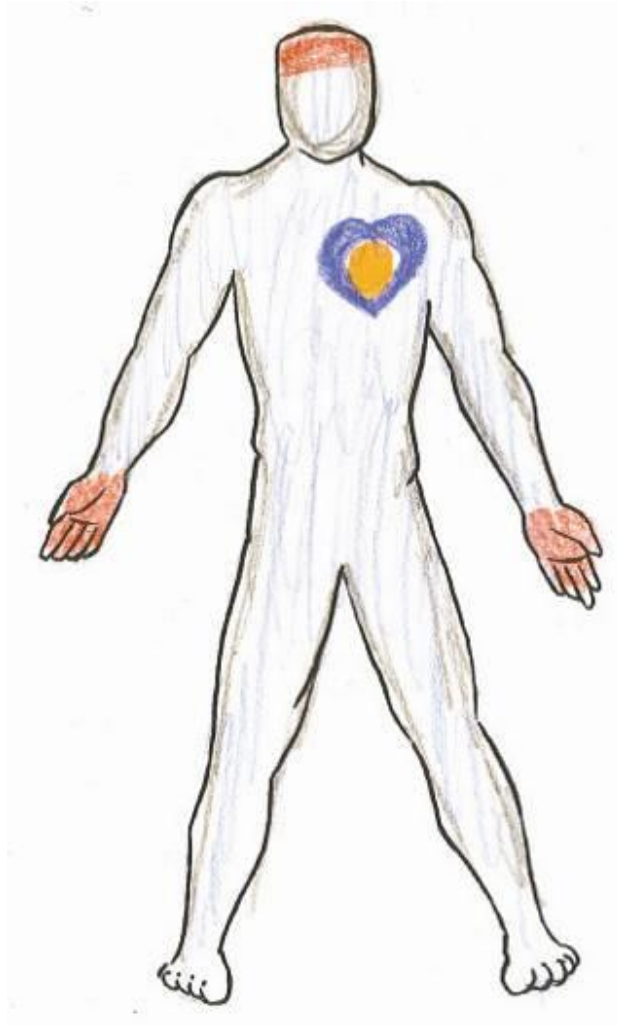
Figure 41. Man Drawing for Joshua (Queer, Latino, 19 years old, Chicago). Red = Man, Brown

= Latino, Blue = Queer, Orange = Spirituality.

        In the Man Drawing from Joshua, he colored his identities to reflect how he presents his

identities across most settings. When asked how his representation would change when

navigating multiple environments, he reported that when around his family, the violet blue which

is thinly colored throughout his body but is concentrated in a heart would disappear.

Consequently, the change in his drawing indicates that he does not consider his sexuality to be

integrated with his other identities while around his family. However, his drawing alone does

not explain why he perceives his family environment to be intolerant of his sexual orientation

identity. In examining the text from his qualitative interview, he indicates that his family places

strong cultural pressures which not only impacts how he lives his life now, but also has

implications on his life in the future. In the following text, Joshua provides context to his family,

and to the immense pressures placed upon him by his cultural background:

> I love to see my family close, it's nice. You feel really warm and welcome around them.
> But at times I can't be around them. Because my family is, I feel, I feel like an outcast
> around them. I can't really say I'm the black sheep of the family, but I just feel awkward,
> because they have this whole idea that I'm supposedly gonna be this and that, and I can't
> tell them otherwise. But yeah, I like it when they're all together, but now and then I can't
> be around them.
>
> *When you say you can't tell them otherwise, like you tried to and you can't, like they're
> not listening or you just can't, you haven't?*
>
> I've tried before, but it's like, because my parents, they practically planned out my whole
> life. And I can't do anything to prevent that from happening, well, I can, but like I can't
> say anything to them. They own my life, just because they gave it to me. But yeah, that's
> how I, to them I'm supposed, at this age, I was supposed to graduate and then go into
> college. Once I'm out of college, I'm supposed to marry. Once I marry, no, yeah, once I
> marry, have my own house, and then I have to come back now and then gave them
> money. What if I don't want to do that, then I have to stay in Chicago to be near the
> family. That's how my parents own my life.

As exhibited by his qualitative interview text, the pressures placed by his family originating from

his ethnic culture which he felt dictated the course of his future, impacted him greatly in the

present. This strong familial pressure thereby prevented his full integration and expression of his

sexual orientation identity when around other family members.

Along a similar vein, youth also identified cultural pressures from their sexual orientation identity community. This is exhibited in the case of Carlos (Gay, Latino, 21 years old, Chicago), in which he describes the norms of what he envisions as the gay community and his conflicts with his own identity. First, in examining his quantitative data, he endorsed items which indicated a distant connection with the gay community. First, he highly agreed with the statement "I feel very distant from the gay community." Additionally, he reported visiting gay-oriented organizational activities, such as meetings, fund-raisers, or political activities less than once a month or less frequently. In addition to visiting venues in the gay community, he stated that he never read gay or lesbian papers or magazines. In sum, through his quantitative data, Carlos indicates that he is neither well connected to the gay community physically through activities or organizations, nor indirectly through accessing relevant news concerning GBQ individuals.

Carlos' qualitative data provide context to his reported distant connection to the gay community. In speaking to his low levels of connection relating to both his sexual and ethnic communities, he stated "Oh, I mean, I don't, it's like I don't, I don't feel any like any connection with Mexican or gay, so it doesn't matter to me. (chuckles)." However, when he discusses his interactions with members of the gay community, he provides some explanation why his lack of connection is primarily a voluntary decision. He reports that though the gay community is diverse, there is strong pressure within the gay community to conform to a stereotypical representation of a gay individual, which involves using drugs and having sex in excess. In the following text, he describes the prevalence of these pressures and his personal reaction to them:

> The um, just like I was talking about. Um, lots of sex, lots and lots of sex. (chuckles)
> Lots and lots of drugs. That's basically it. And then that doesn't really lead no where [?],
> and just party all the time. Whatever. And I mean, that's the same with straight people,
> too. Is that they're kind of, I think they're all the same thing. But I think it happens a lot

more with gay people because we don't have anywhere else to connect with people in the gay community, other than gay, I mean, what else is there? I mean, there are other places, I guess, but that seems to be the, I mean there is other things. That's not the way it really is, but that's just what, just talking about on the surface of things, that's the way it seems to me. So that's where the pressure is, definitely, to be, to be whatever, and do those same things other gay men are doing. Well, everybody else is doing.

I mean, how do you, how do you react to that? ...

R - In the gay community it's just a little bit more [HIV and other STI's]. Just because I think society does that to gay men like that, like just, HIV is big, have sex, they're deviant. And then we like to come back.

I - I mean, how do you fit in terms of like the stereotype, or not the stereotype but like in terms of all these competing, like um, pressures and ideas about what it means to be gay? …

R - I feel like, like I definitely fell into the pressure of that yeah, yeah, I definitely feel like I, like I, I think I definitely was like…yeah.

As explained in his interview, Carlos reports pressures to have sex and use drugs which are present in both the heterosexual and gay community, however within the gay community these pressures are magnified because there are few social venues for other gay individuals to interact with one another.
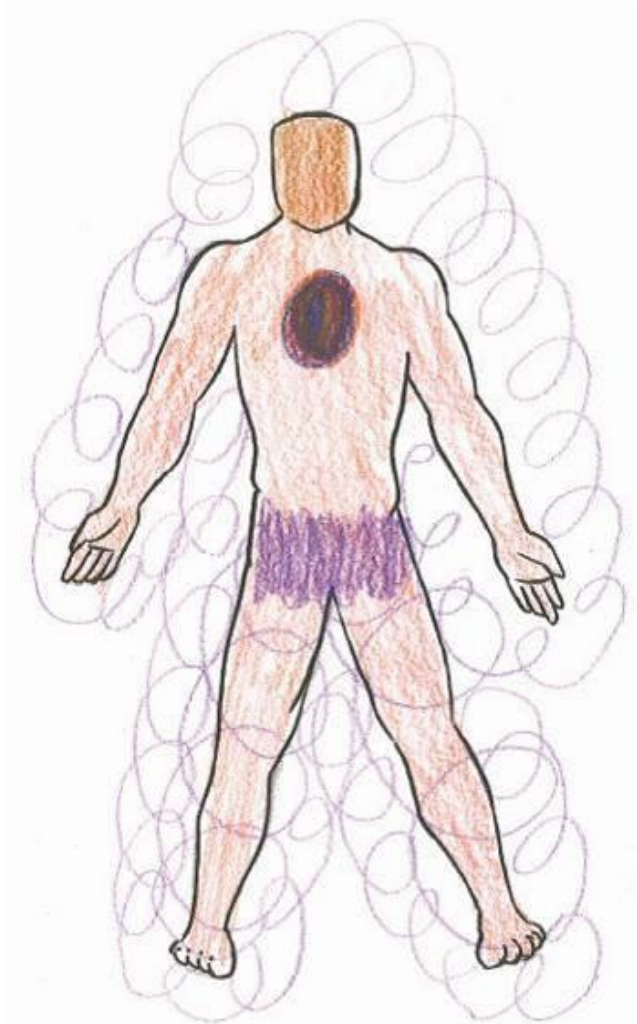
Figure 42. Man Drawing for Carlos (Gay, Latino, 21 years old, Chicago). Blue = Man, Brown = Mexican, Purple = Gay, Red = "Identity that doesn't identify with identities."

These pressures are also present in his Man drawings, in which the color of his sexual orientation identity, purple, is not only lightly colored throughout the drawing but centralized in his torso and his heart, but is also drawn outside of his figure. In his explanation of his drawing, Carlos reports that this is an "aura" which extends outside of himself, broadcasting his identity to other similarly identified individuals. However, one can also interpret the aura alternatively, as instead of being an internal identity projected outwards, to being the external pressures of the gay

community being forced upon him. This alternative explanation is supported by his quantitative and other qualitative data, in which he discusses the gay community as being close in proximity, yet very distant in his level of connection due to ideological differences. Regardless of the interpretation of his Man Drawing, Carlos clearly expressed the pressures of the gay community to engage in behaviors which are not in tandem to his personal beliefs, resulting in his subsequent marginalization from the gay community.

    <u>In-group Tensions.</u> Aside from the direct or indirect threat of oppression from members of their ethnic community, their sexual orientation identity community, and the larger dominant group, participants also reported observing tensions from within their own numerical minority groups toward other fellow minority group members. Participants noted oppression for an array of reasons volleyed against members of their own ethnic group, including not conforming to behavioral expectations of their ethnic community, lack of Spanish language mastery, and violence amongst members of their own community. Among their respective sexual orientation identity community, participants also noted a variety of reasons for tensions within their group, including not maintaining a standard for beauty and hygiene, struggles within the community to combat important political issues, among others.

    One example of within-group tensions from the ethnic community is made apparent after examining the data from Luis' (Gay, Latino, 21 years old, Miami) case. In his quantitative data, he endorsed "true" for the following items: "I have not told most of the people at work that I am definitely gay," "Even though I am definitely gay, I have not told my family," and "I'm probably gay, even though I maintain a heterosexual image in both my personal and public life." The quantitative data indicate that he is not forthright with his sexual orientation when in multiple settings, including work and home.

This sentiment is also apparent in his Man drawing, which he describes as his "professional" or work setting. In his accompanying explanation after creating the drawing, he states that the layered nature of his figure represents the levels to which his identities are made apparent to others and himself. Consequently, in the professional setting, his masculinity is most apparent, followed by his ethnicity, and then his sexuality.
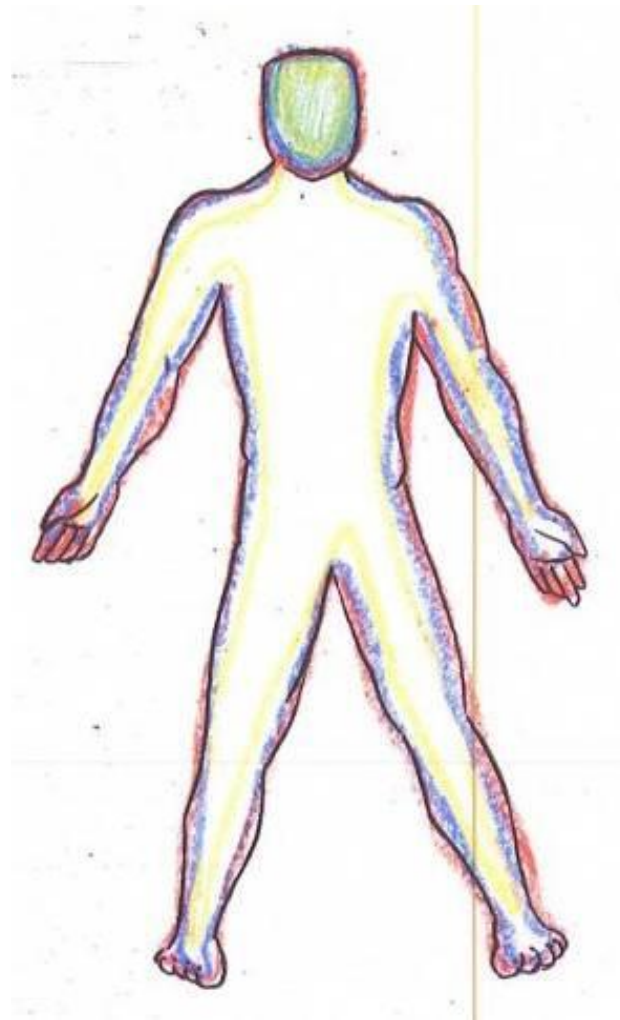
Figure 43. Man Drawing for Luis (Gay, Latino, 21 years old, Miami). Red = Man, Blue = Hispanic, Yellow = Gay, Green = Intellect.

Additionally, he states that he has not disclosed his sexuality to other people because of cultural barriers to the acceptance of sexual minority individuals. He describes the perceived

cultural taboo regarding homosexuality within Latino culture, which is inexorably tied with notions of masculinity:

> Being Hispanic and being gay, I think, is, it's a little bit hard, I think, but I'm not sure because I wouldn't be able to compare it to anything else. So I think when you live in a Hispanic family, there are certain views that go with that. And our culture. And I think it's, it's the type to, well, when you're, well, I come from, I guess you have to understand my background. … I think that view, their idea, to some extent, was that I was gonna carry the family name and this guy was gonna go ahead and I guess be the alpha male and supportive and stuff like that. Like I don't know White, like culture is a lot different, like it's more, I guess acceptable and, and more used the idea of being gay as opposed to Hispanic. Like it's more of an underground thing. It's very taboo and nobody, we know you are, but we kind of keep it on the side and nobody talks about it.

Family Rejection. In addition to the intolerance and rejection experienced by members of their own ethnic group, their sexual orientation identity group, and the larger White heterosexual community, participants noted that they experienced the most personally impactful oppression from their extended and immediate family members. Though much of the oppression originating from their family members mirrors the types of oppression described in earlier sections, intolerance by family members held a particular significance for the youth. In addition to the oppression discussed in earlier sections, participants reported that family members would ignore their disclosure of sexual orientation, often refusing to speak of the matter in future discussions. This silence would prevent youth from conducting a dialogue with their parents regarding their level of acceptance of their sexuality, but would also deter discussion concerning the impact of their sexual orientation on the family structure. Also, this form of rejection from parents differed from other types of rejection from other members of their communities and peers in that they had long standing relationships with their parents compared to other individuals, and that they obtained multiple forms of support from their parents with regard to their other identities.

Rejection from family members was exhibited among many participants, but is best illustrated in the case of David (Gay But Likes Girls, Latino, 17 years old, Chicago). For

example, in his man drawing, he created four drawings for his multiple settings in which he interacted, shifting identities dependent on the setting. His Man drawing exhibited the oppression faced in the home setting, which is colored entirely in the color of his ethnicity, while a small dot of color indicating his sexuality.
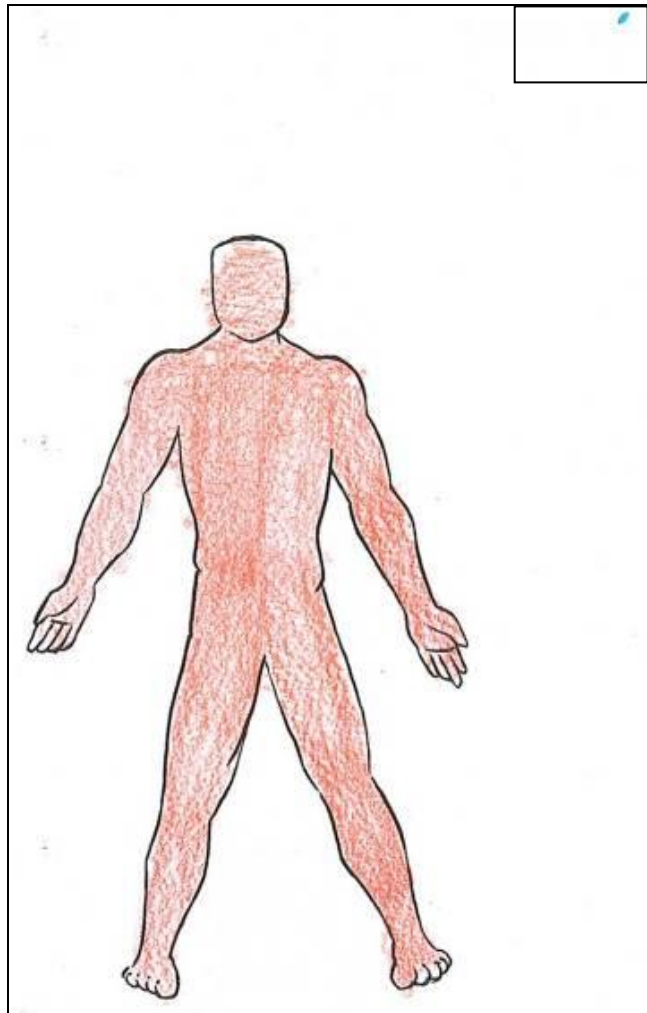
Figure 44. Man Drawing for David (Gay But Likes Girls, Latino, 17 year old, Chicago). Red = Mexican American, Blue = Gay.

When describing his drawing, he noted that because of his family member's attitudes about his sexual orientation, his sexuality remains outside of himself:

…And I have a blue dot outside, really far away, because I feel really small in the fact that I'm gay next to them sometimes.

What do you mean, you feel really small?

Like I feel like, not small, but I feel like I shouldn't bring it up. Like I should just make it something that's small and period. Something that doesn't want to be talked about.

This sentiment is also echoed in his quantitative data, and additionally his data also suggest that he may be suppressing his sexuality in other settings as well. This is because he endorsed responses for the statement "I do not want most heterosexuals to know that I am definitely gay," and false to the statement "I am very proud to be gay and make it known to everyone around me."

Though his Man drawing and quantitative data do not discuss the actual oppression focused on his sexual orientation, through his qualitative data he describes the toxic environment which is intolerant of homosexuality. In the following text, he describes his mother's refusal to acknowledge of discuss his sexuality in the home:

Well, whenever I talk to her about it, she's always telling me to be quiet, like hush, hush, hush. I mean, she's like, when I talk with my sister knows that I'm gay, like my sister's more like, she's more honest about it. She's like, she accepts it but she doesn't think it's right, but it's different, because I don't feel as hurt by my sister as I do by my mom. Because my sister's just out there, she's honest and she says what she has to say. And my mom's more like quiet, like she doesn't want to tell me how she really feels, and that hurts me more. And like whenever I talk to my mom, she's like keep quiet and stuff.

Additionally, he noted that the intolerance by his father began from early childhood based on his behavioral and early interests. In the following text, he describes the physical and verbal abuse which contributed to an environment of inhospitality regarding his sexuality:

Like my dad's not dumb. My dad's like ultra machismo. I remember when I was little he used to hit me and tell me that he didn't want a faggot, because I used to play with Barbies.   And he used to tell me he didn't want a gay son. And he would give me cold showers and stuff, and then um, my mom just sat there and she's, because it's like you're a Mexican woman, you just, you have to be with what your husband does and I guess that

in a way, in a sick kind of way she cared for me too much. And she probably thought that by him doing that I wouldn't grow up to be gay. And life would be easier for me. But I don't know. Anyway, my dad's not gay, my dad's not dumb. Because I mean, he sees my room. It's covered with like Mariah Carey and stuff and like I have like Britney Spears and all these like "gay things." I don't know what's up with him.

You're talking about giving you cold showers, things like that. Did he say what he was trying to do in doing that?

No, he never told me, but he just told me that he didn't want a gay son. And um, yeah, he was really clear about that.

Experienced or Threat of Oppression. The youth also experienced persistent barriers to their expression and integration of their multiple identities because of either the threat of oppression or actually experiencing oppression. The types of oppression differed contingent on their minority group. For example, members of their ethnic minority group typically oppressed or expressed intolerance regarding the participant's sexuality, while members of their sexual orientation identity community were oppressive of the participant's ethnic identity. Members of the dominant White community oppressed the youth both on the basis of their sexuality and their ethnicity. Participant's data suggested that this persistent oppression mitigated how they would present their identity to others.

This theme is illustrated in the case of Jerome (Bisexual, African American, 18 years old, Chicago). In his quantitative data, he answered "true" to the following items: "My sexuality is a valid private identity that I do not want made public," "I do not want most heterosexuals to know that I am definitely gay," "I am definitely gay, but I do not want to share that knowledge with most people," and "I dread having to deal with the fact that I may be gay." His quantitative findings suggest that he has not disclosed his identity to others, and is concerned with the long-term implications that his sexual orientation may have on his identity.

Jerome notes that while in different settings, his expression of sexuality is contingent on who is in his surroundings. In the following text, he describes his two methods of presenting his sexuality:

> Um, if I'm like downtown with some friends of mine who um, I've told that I'm bisexual with, I feel more free with them because I can do or say things or I can tell these other people, like um, go and talk to a guy if I see, or something, and they're more supportive. But for the most part, I would say 85% of my friends, like they mostly think I'm just completely straight. And um, I want to keep it that way. That way I won't feel not so much intimidated but like if an issue came up, like a conversation like gay marriage or gays in the military, I don't want them to immediately come to me and harass me, basically, or ask me some of the questions.

As indicated in the text, he maintains a heterosexual image among the majority of his friends, avoiding any suspicion regarding his sexual orientation, while feeling "free" and supported by his more supportive friends to whom he has disclosed. In the following text, he describes the cognitive complexity of maintaining the image of heterosexuality in public settings:

> *Are there any other negative things about being bisexual that you can think of or that you experienced?*

> Um, yeah, sometimes, like if, if like you're in school or a party, just anywhere, and if a certain, like a female come up to me and was trying to get to know me or talk to me, or try to have sex with me, if I'm not interested in her and then I turn her down, but later on she might see me somewhere else or I'll be talking to a guy and she gets, like she would throw it out of proportion because she would be angry because I'm not good enough for him because he wants another guy. Or I'm not good enough for him …

Reactions of External Messages

During the process of integrating their multiple identities and presenting these identities to others in their communities of involvement, the participants reported receiving an array of positive and negative messages concerning those within one of their identity groups. The participants reported ways in which they have reacted to these messages, including: recreating or redefining their identity, assimilating or updating their culture, and refuting or disagreeing with ideas.

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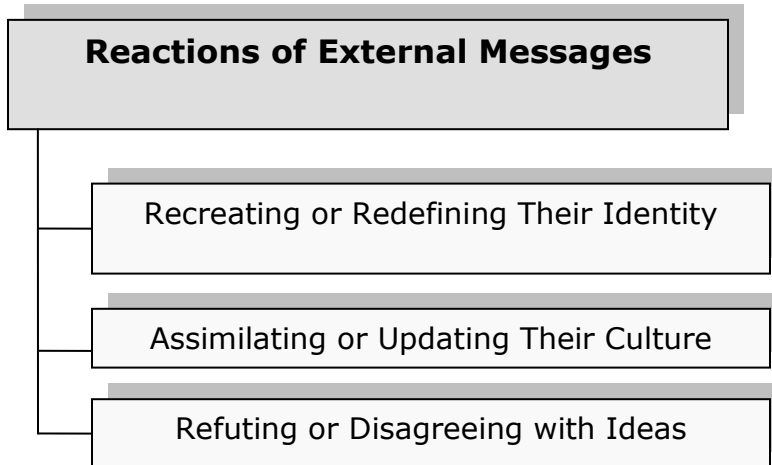
Figure 45. Sub-Themes for Reactions of External Messages

Recreating or Redefining their Identity. Several participants reported that in reaction to negative messages or pressures exerted by their many communities, they have redefined themselves and their identity to accommodate for their multiple identities. In the case example of Jerome (Bisexual, African American, 18 years old, Chicago), he was aware of many messages concerning masculinity with which he does not agree, particularly those pressures which condemn same-sex sexual behaviors. However, during his interview he stated that he agreed with some aspects of masculinity ideology, as indicated in the following text:

> Um, I agree with having an education. Um, speaking properly when times calls for it. Um, like if you're going for yourself or your family, just not letting the world carry you down with it as opposed to not taking care of your business. Like um, drugs or alcohol, that take over your body.

Additionally, in his Man Drawing he discussed his mixed agreement with masculinity messages, and in the drawing he colored the entire drawing in the color of his gender identity.
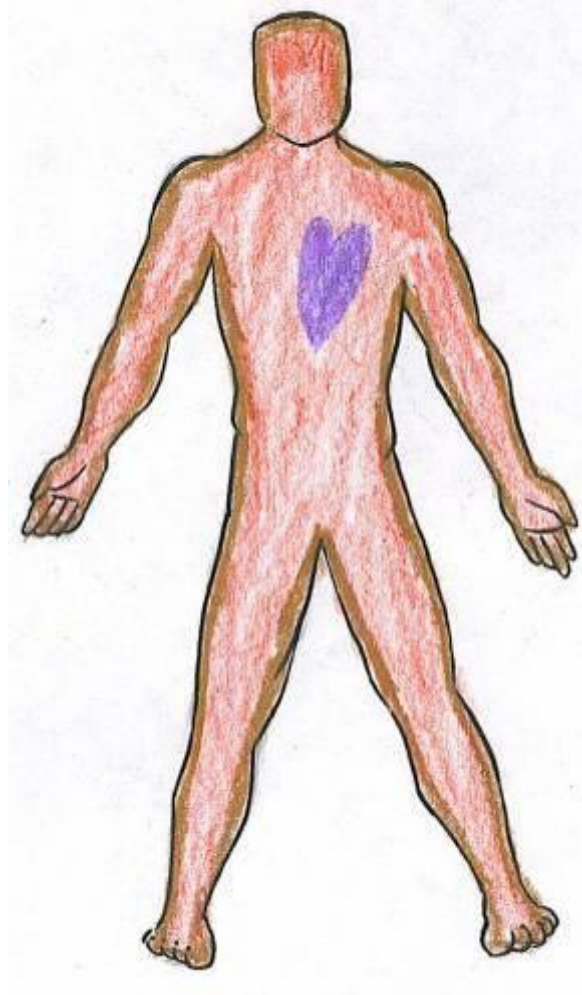
Figure 46. Man Drawing for Jerome (Bisexual, African American, 18 years old, Chicago). Red = Man, Purple = Bisexual, Brown = Black/African American.

In describing his drawing, he stated that despite the negative messages, he considered himself to be a man nonetheless. He consequently interpreted the multiple messages concerning his masculinity and created a new definition of manhood which was amenable to his own identity integration.

Youth in the study also reported reacting to concepts or stereotypes held by both members of their minority communities of membership and by the larger dominant community by acting in direct opposition to them. Participants stated that they challenged misconceptions

relating to their sexual and ethnic identity. One African American youth reported that he purposefully made intelligent statements in class in order to challenge the stereotypes concerning African Americans and academic performance. Another African American youth reported that by succeeding in life through obtaining an education and living in a safer neighborhood, he is able to challenge the belief that African Americans cannot succeed which is held by many members of his community.

Others challenged stereotypes by being authentic and open to themselves without regard to opinions of others. In the case of Horace (Gay, African American, 18 years old, Miami), his Man Drawing was colored to express his individuality by using bright colors and patterns. In explaining his drawing, he acknowledged that such bright colors may be indicative of effeminacy, but he colored an "X" design on the chest because it is within that area that men are distinguished from women. Men are characterized by a masculine face, broad shoulders and chest, and male genitals which are not present in women. By accenting these areas, he noted that aspects of his holistic identity are male because of these biological characteristics.
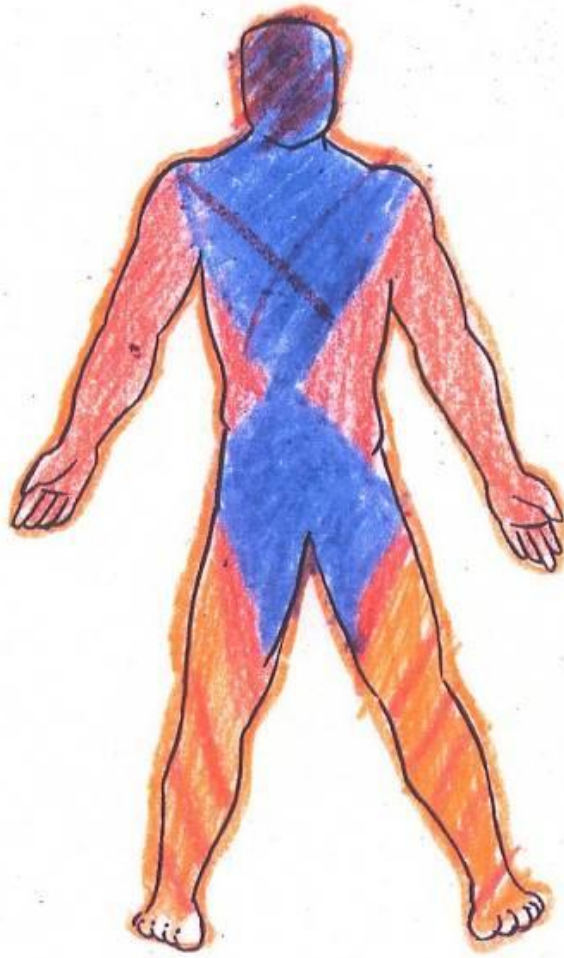
Figure 47. Man Drawing for Horace (Gay, African American, 18 years old, Miami). Blue =

Man, Orange = Gay, Red = African American.

His sense of individuality despite negative messages is also expressed in his qualitative

interview, where he reported that he is comfortable with himself and his presentation despite

having friends and living in a community which is not openly accepting of his tastes in fashion.

In the following text, he described how a GBQ-supportive community agency helped facilitate

his resilience in his individuality:

And now I'm more comfortable with my stuff. And they [community agency staff] like, and he [individual staff member at community agency] also taught me how to be myself, like don't do what everybody tells you. Like if they say why are you wearing that, blah, blah, blah, so that's how I, because I used to be like, they used to say, when I'd try out the different things, it's why are you wearing that? I used to say, I don't know, I just want to, you want me to dress like that, and I would dress the way THEY wanted me to. So then after all, it's like, it's because I can. And because I paid for it. And so, it's me. And since then I've been dressing weird, I don't know, I can't say weird, but like, I don't think this is weird. Oh, well, this is just today. I was, I tried on something, (chuckles) but it wasn't working. Because I usually wear a shirt, a short sleeved shirt with the wife beater on top. Because I don't see the point of it being under. I don't sweat, so I don't use it, but I use, I say, if you want to wear it, let people see it, so I get any colors and I would wear like my blue polo with a black, you know, top, and the tie and my new jeans, it's like safety-pinned and stuff, and like my shoes. And like my people, my friends, they like just colors, like greens and yellows and my friends say I have a weird sense of style, but it's that I wouldn't look good with anything else, because I try, I told my mom I wanted to try to get dressed like the gangster or whatever, so they know you look good how you are. So I just, it's good, put on anything. And my hair.

Assimilating or Updating Culture. Youth in the study also reported that by immersing themselves into their cultures of membership, and by making adjustments based on their multiple identities, they were able to facilitate the integration of their identities into their larger self-concept. For some youth, by entirely assimilating into their ethnic community or sexual orientation identity community, they felt part of one community while being distant from their other communities. The participants who chose to fully assimilate into one identity and community at the expense of others acknowledged that they did not have a feasible alternative due to threats to their safety and lack of comfort with their other identity communities.

Additionally, several participants reported that they were able to connect with their ethnic communities, which are otherwise intolerant of GBQ individuals, through sub-groups of fellow ethnic minority individuals who are attempting to update their customs and traditions to the modern times. These primarily similarly-aged youth are challenging a variety of cultural norms, including notions of nationalism to their home countries, procedures when dating, religious beliefs, and attitudes towards GBQ individuals. In the case of Esteban (Gay, Latino, 18 years

old, Chicago), he discussed the importance of such progressive ethnic minority youth in his own

reflections of his own identity:

> I guess just a lot of people [peers] are able to combine aspects of their culture with new culture, or keep them all together, like the language and the clothes and the flag and that type of thing. So…

His quantitative data also support the impact of his ethnic pride on his larger identity. He

endorsed agreement in the statements "I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background," "I

feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group," and "I think a lot about how my life will

be affected by my ethnic group membership." As indicated in his last qualitative statement, he

was very interested in how his ethnic identity impacts him currently, and how this will impact his

life in the future.
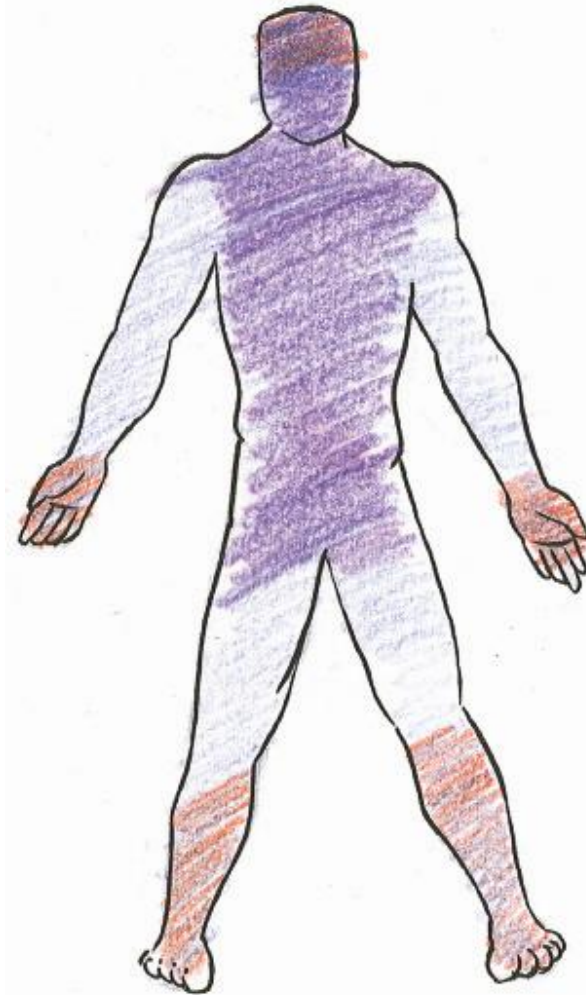
Figure 48. Man Drawing for Esteban (Gay, Latino, 18 years old, Chicago). Blue = Man, Red = Mexican American, Purple = Gay.

In Esteban's Man Drawing, he echoed the value of supportive friends who are also progressively challenging ethnic traditions and beliefs, as in his drawing he colored his drawing in multiple bands of overlapping color representative of his multiple identities. When he is in the presence of his close friends, he reported that his identities further blend together. The presence of supportive friends who both accept his sexuality and who are trying to facilitate change in cultural norms assisted in the process of multiple identity integration.

Refuting or Disagreeing with Ideas. In response to the messages and pressures, several other youth reported that they selectively disagreed with some messages and pressures, while still asserting their group membership. In expressing their disagreement, they often discussed why they disagreed with the particular messages. Through their opposition, they refuted the personal relevance of these cultural pressures and messages. This theme is illustrated in the case of Dante (Gay, African American, 22 years old, Chicago) who acknowledged that there were messages held by many within his ethnic community concerning masculinity which were opposed to his same-sex sexual attractions. Nonetheless, he identified as both a man and as gay, and he describes his rationale in the following interview text:

> I know myself. I AM a man. And whether I like guys or not like guys, no. That don't have anything to do with anything. A real man is just gonna be a man about it. And that means taking responsibilities. When bills come in the house or when it's time for a bill to get paid, they're not looking for how much of a man you are or how much strength you got or how much, no, they want what? They [unclear from interview data to whom this refers to] want their money. What do a man have to do? Work. You don't work, you don't get paid. You don't get paid, you can't pay those bills. They not gonna care if you do have all the strength in the world. They're not gonna care how much of a man you are or how built you are or how, how, how much you could probably walk like a man, talk like a man, and how much, no, they don't care about all that. They just want what's they, what they need, for what you use.

In his Man Drawing, Dante continued the theme of individuality by choosing blue jeans, representing his masculine identity, because of a personal preference for jeans. He therefore chose his placement of color to express his individuality and lack of deference to societal standards regarding masculinity.
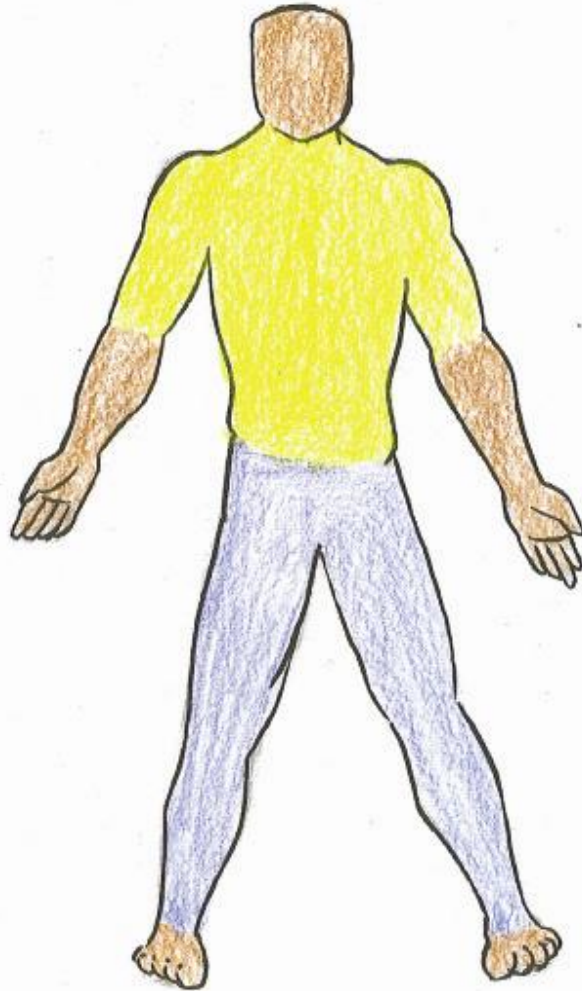
Figure 49. Man Drawing for Dante (Gay, African American, 22 years old, Chicago). Blue =

Man, Brown = African American, Yellow = Gay.

Community

For the participants, the communities in which they interacted served multiple purposes

for the youth while they integrated their multiple identities into a cohesive whole, and in the

presentation of their identities. The relationship was reciprocal, as youth had an impact on their

communities and were influenced by their communities as well. In examining the data from the

previous stages of analysis, several themes relating to the participant's communities arose. This

involved how youth felt connected to their communities of membership, as well as their current levels of interaction with these communities. Notable themes relating to the importance of community in the integration and presentation of their multiple identities included: pride, avoiding community members, connected through cultural events and practices, creating own community, and feeling free in gay community.

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Figure 50. Sub-Themes for Community

Pride. Several participants identified a strong connection to one or several of their communities of membership. At times this was at the cost of a weakened connection to another community, while others were able to maintain strong connections to all of their respective communities. Creating a balance between their multiple identities presented a challenge, as the case Sergio (Gay, Latino, 23 years old, Chicago), who in his Man Drawing segments his body into larger areas of color.
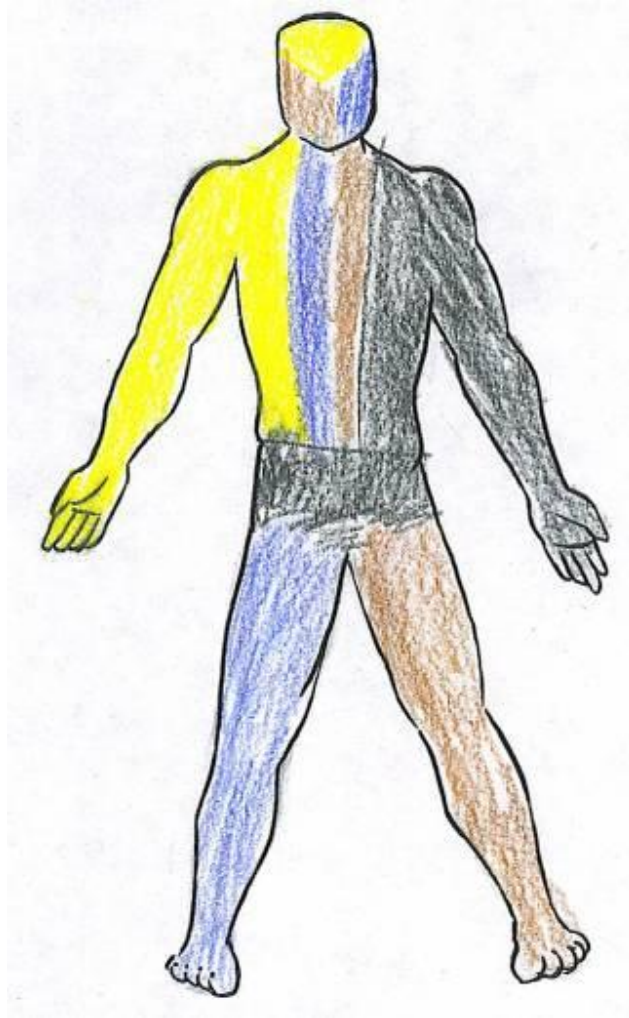
Figure 51. Man Drawing for Sergio (Gay, Latino, 23 years old, Chicago). Black = Man, Brown = Latino, Blue = Gay, Yellow = Community Leader.

In describing his drawing, he stated that his intent was to have each identity represented in a separate appendage, which signified his interaction in multiple venues. For example, he reported that with his work primarily in Latino communities, he utilized his gender identity, represented in black, and with his Latino identity, colored in brown. As indicated in his drawing, he represented all of his identities in spans of color, signifying the equal representation of the identities within the self. However, there are no areas where the color overlaps, perhaps indicating that there is little interconnectedness between the identities.

In his qualitative text, he expounded on his connectedness within his ethnic community, which as he indicated follows many years of working for the advancement of other Latinos:

> My first connection with the community, the most important one is that I live there. So I experience what my neighbor would experience. The second is I've had the opportunity for a couple of years to work at a public service office, because I worked for an alderman in my community. So I got to see people, hear their story, get to know people, get to know how the process worked and doesn't work for the community. And the third is just being able to go out there on my own time and organize, kind of like sit down with people and hear what's going on each individual block. And just know whether they want to have a clean-up or a block party. And people be like, can we do that? Will they give us permission to do that? I'm like, well, do you know who your neighbor is? And they're like oh, yeah, people, blah, blah, blah. So I talk these people in it and just like kind of building that sense of family within a block.

His quantitative data support his statements made above, as he endorsed items which confirmed his attachment to his ethnic community. For example, he stated agreement with items such as "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group," "I am happy that I am a member of the [ethnic] group that I belong to," and "I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group." However, he indicated that though he is connected to his ethnic community, he had his reservations toward his ethnic group, potentially due to intolerance within the community. To illustrate, he disagreed with the statements "I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group," and "I feel a strong attachment toward my own ethnic group." His case example therefore illustrates that one can be both invested in one's ethnic group and community, but at the same time acknowledge the faults within the group.

In contrast, several youth reported that they had the desire to be connected to their ethnic or gay community, but were unable to find a meaningful means to do so. This lack of connection was due to a variety of reasons, such as intolerance in one community for the participant's other identities, as well as racism in the gay community or heterosexism in their ethnic community. Many youth also had concerns concerning safety, due to high rates of crime in their

neighborhood. Others reported that though they could navigate their ethnic neighborhoods with relative ease, they could not connect with other fellow ethnic minority individuals.

This lack of connection is exhibited in the case of Pedro (Gay, Latino, 18 years old, Chicago), who reported that he attempted to be connected with other Mexican American youth in his high school. In his qualitative interview, he indicated that though this was a stressful experience, he also learned about himself in the process. He describes his experiences in the following selection of text:

> Like a true Hispanic, you should, like you should do that, you should do this. I don't know. Like in school it was weird. Like I really really thought that if you were Hispanic, you should like hang out with Hispanic people. Because [inaudible]. Stuff like that. I just, I'm just a person that thinks a lot and I'm just like, to me it happens, I'm like, I might like it at the moment, but I just think about it a lot. And I'll be like, stuff. So I didn't think anyone helped me, I mean, my mom never did anything. She's not really like what we would call a Hispanic, actually, probably. No one in my family is like that. So I just figured it out myself.

> *Okay. How about that, you mentioned that group in high school?*

> Well, I tried to fit in, but I couldn't. I just couldn't. I tried so much, and believe me, I tried. I tried to join the Mexican Hispanic club and I couldn't either. I just didn't like it. I didn't like the people in it at all. God knows I tried, but I…

> *Did that help you understand yourself? Did you get any understanding of yourself as being Hispanic from that trying to join the group?*

> No, because, yeah, I realized that I'm Hispanic, but I'm not like them. (chuckles) I'm different, I guess. And the reason is like, the reason I'm not Mexican, and most people think it's like if you're Hispanic, oh, you're Mexican. I forgot to tell you that. A lot of people think so. That's one of the questions before. When they think of Hispanic, they think of Mexicans. And that's not cool, because not all the Hispanics are Mexicans. I mean, there are a lot more. And I guess it's just, I don't know. I, the [inaudible] are Hispanic, but not like Mexicans.

Though this youth was not able to connect with other Latino youth, he nonetheless valued the need to connect with other similarly identified individuals. In his Man Drawing, he colored

his head in the color in his ethnicity, and colored different Man Drawings for different settings including the home, work, and amongst friends.
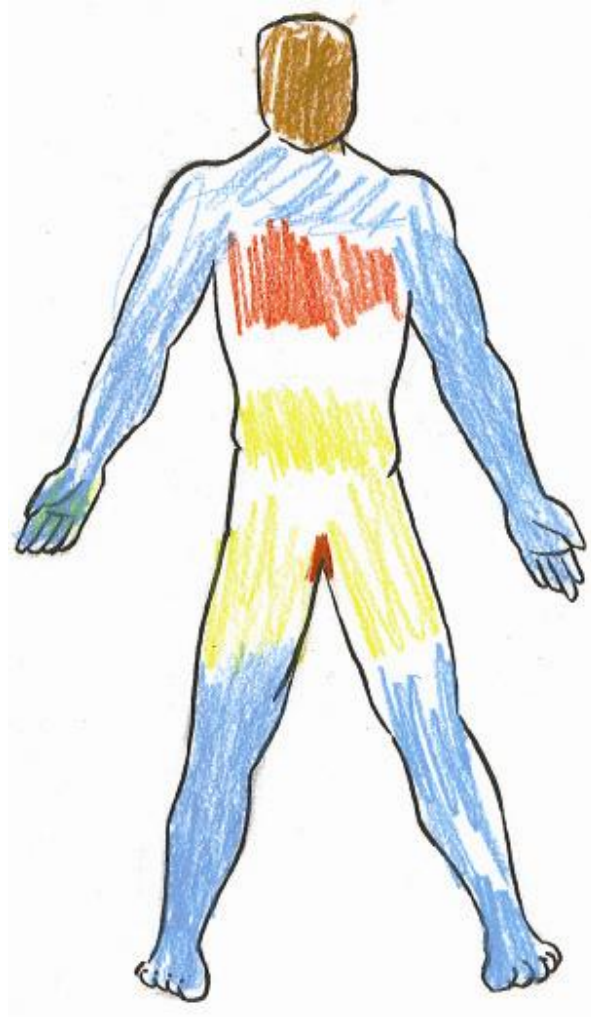
Figure 52. Man Drawing for Pedro (Gay, Latino, 18 years old, Chicago). Blue = Gay, Red = Male, Brown = Hispanic, Yellow = Girl.

The drawing presented above is his general placement of identities, and as indicated there are many spaces where there is no color. In his description of the drawing, however, he noted that when he is surrounded by other Mexican Americans his ethnic identity is magnified, signifying his desire to connect with other members of his group.

His quantitative data also reflect this desire coupled with an inability to connect with fellow Mexican Americans. For example, he agreed with the statements "I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group," "I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background," and "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group," but disagreed with the statement "I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group."

Avoiding Community Members. Some youth in the study reported that they actively avoided interactions with other members of their ethnic community. These participants echoed the sentiments in the previous theme, in that they could not connect with other ethnic minority individuals because of intolerance within their ethnic community. Youth may have also been the target of physical violence or verbal assault in their communities, and as a result of this real trauma they have chosen not to interact with their communities.

The case example of Dante (Gay, African American, 22 years old, Chicago) illustrates the need to avoid a participants' ethnic community. In the following text, he describes his interactions with his African American community, described primarily as his neighborhood:

> Ah, say like, it's just like, it's different, because the area I grew up in, you didn't, I'd say like, the whole gay, being out thing, does NOT happen. Like there are, they're out there, I know they are, well, I ain't stupid, because half my class is, I found out that recently already. (chuckles) But it's like, well, yeah, you live in my area and you're young and you, you just in that area, and there is no other, to everyone else there is no other area. It's just that particular spot. So you were brought up to know the streets, you were brought up to know different things. You were brought up to know what to say, when not to say, and you were brought up to like easily listen before saying anything. Because either you could get yourself in a situation that you DON'T want to get into, or get yourself in a situation where you get into it but you gonna have a, have a lot of problems. And that means like people probably picking with you or um, bothering you or doing stupid things.

Contrary to his interactions with fellow African Americans, he reported feeling welcomed in the gay community, and reported feeling at ease and welcomed there. His

quantitative data support this, as he endorsed items which indicated a strong connection to the

gay community. He agreed with the statements "Being gay makes me feel part of a community,"

"Being attracted to men is important to my sense of who I am," "It is very important to me that at

least some of my friends are bisexual or gay," and disagreed with the statement "I feel very

distant from the gay community." He also reported visiting a gay bar once a week. As a result,

he reported a diametrically opposed connection with his gay community compared to his ethnic

community.

The different types of relationships that this youth has with his many communities can

also be seen in his Man Drawings, as he created his drawing using all the colors representing his

various identities. However, in examining the drawing it is evident that there is no shared

overlap between his identities, perhaps indicating that his identities, though personally relevant,

are segmented from one another and are kept primarily in isolation. He therefore has integrated

his multiple identities, but did so without utilizing multiple identities at one time.
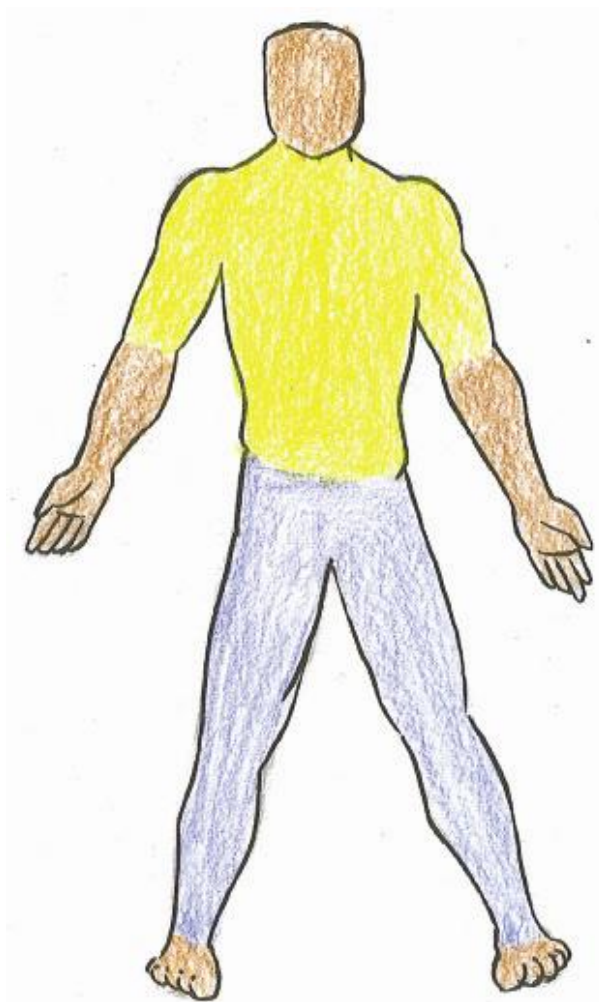
Figure 53. Man Drawing for Dante (Gay, African American, 22 years old, Chicago). Blue =

Man, Brown = African American, Yellow = Gay.

Connected Through Cultural Events and Practices. Youth in the study reported that they

were connected to their various communities of membership not through venturing into ethnic

neighborhoods, but rather through connecting with particular practices or interacting with and/or

consuming particular cultural elements. For some participants, this entailed connecting with

their ethnic heritage by eating food specific to their cultural background, prepared either at home

or ordered at a restaurant. Other youth connected with their culture through the appreciation of

music and its celebration through dancing. Attending cultural events hosted in their community or at community agencies also served as a robust connection to their cultural background.

This theme is best illustrated in the case example of Ricardo (Gay, Latino, 19 years old, Chicago), who identified as Mexican but was able to connect with his larger Latino identity by dancing to Latino music from a variety of Latin-American countries. He described this appreciation for multiple cultures and its impact on his own identity through dancing in the following interview text:

> Anyway, the positive things, I love Spanish dancing. It's something that all started with my freshman year of high school, which goes back a long way, but one of the positive things, I'll explain about that later, more of the positive things, um, just being able to dance Spanish dances. And you have to really slow down to explain to people how we do it. Because I teach, I taught it for a bit when I was in college and I'm still teaching it to people who want to learn. Like yeah, I want to club out when some Bachata comes out to is like, oh, yeah, come here, I'll show you how to get this. And um, it's, I just love Spanish dancing, let's just say that.

Dancing served as a means of connection not only to his ethnic identity. As indicated in his Man Drawing, he combined many identities within his torso. While explaining his drawing, he reported that within his torso all of his other identities interact, particularly when dancing.
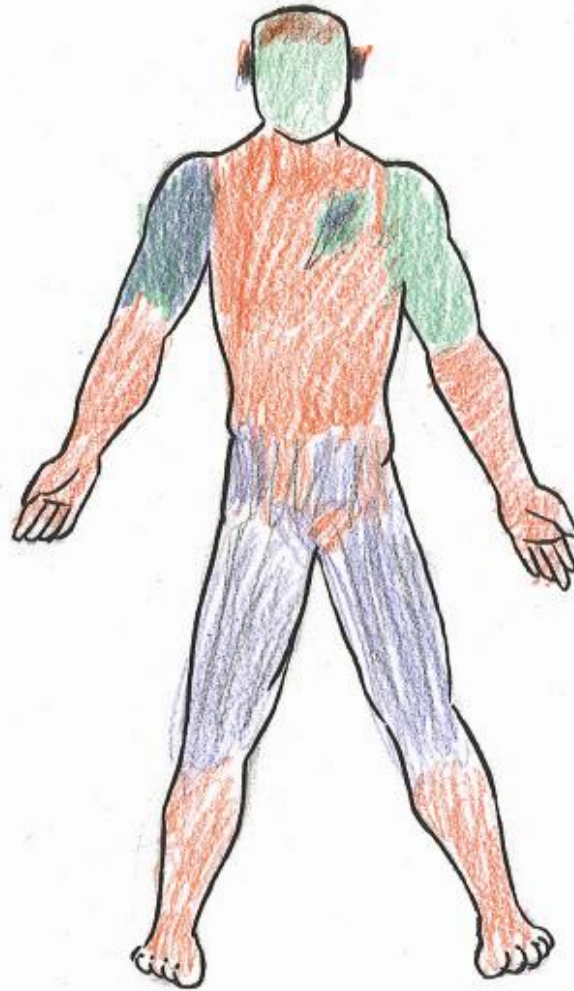
Figure 54. Man Drawing for Ricardo (Gay, Latino, 19 years old, Chicago). Green = Male, Blue = Gay, Red = Mexican, Black = "Honorary African American."

As a result of his multiple identity integration which occurs while dancing, he reported that he is generally proud of his identities, which is also evident in his quantitative data. For example, he agreed with the statements "I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs," and "I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me." Additionally, he strongly agreed with the statements "I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group," and "I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background."

Creating Own Community. Several youth reported that for an array of reasons, they were unable to connect with their ethnic or sexual communities, but were able to connect with other similarly-identified individuals through ad-hoc communities. As discussed in a previous theme, one youth was able to connect with other progressively-thinking Latino youth through a school-based organization. Another youth connected with other individuals who identified as "trade" through house parties which he hosted at his house. Community, therefore, was defined by the participants and could consist of physical locations, such as meetings at a particular area or venue, or virtual spaces in online chatrooms, online profiles, or message boards.

This notion of created community is exemplified in the case of Eric (Gay, Latino, 23 years old, Miami) who reported that in Miami, the gay community primarily entails LGBT-oriented bars or clubs. These venues do not allow for dialogue and a sense of community between members, rather bars or clubs are areas where individuals venture to find sexual partners. Also, in bars and clubs there are strong pressures to use drugs and alcohol in excess. This participant and his friends were able to connect with other gay men through another informal venue; by congregating weekly at a local coffee shop. He described his gay community and his connection to this community in the following text:

> I have a lot of friends who always go to Starbucks in Lincoln road, they always go like every day. Like 60 years old, 50 years old, 20 years old, 18 years old. So we are like a group. All of us love each other and we're like spend Christmas and all this stuff. So maybe yeah, that's a community of my friends. My circle of friends that I have. I used to go like every day with my boyfriend, right now we're like working so hard that we haven't gone for a while, but yeah, I have friends over there. Like if I'm, if I feel super alone and my boyfriend is not there, we had a fight, whatever, I just go to Starbucks and that's, someone has to be there.

> *That you know.*

> That I know. That I can talk to that person and being friends, and yeah. Yeah, I believe, the Starbucks gang.

So you feel connected to this community?

Yeah, yeah. Well, yeah. Yeah, I mean, yes.

His quantitative data provided further clarification to his qualitative interview text. For example, he agreed with the statement "Being gay makes me feel part of a community," and as indicated above defined his community as a selection of gay men who met at a local coffee shop. He also reported that he had "3-4" personal friends who identified as gay men. However, though he reported that he created a new type of personal gay community consisting of friends, he still reported going to a gay bar once a week. Consequently, though he may interact with elements of a largely identified gay community, he did not consider this to be a means to connect with other gay men.

Eric's Man Drawing reinforced the value placed on his connection with his friends who identify as gay.
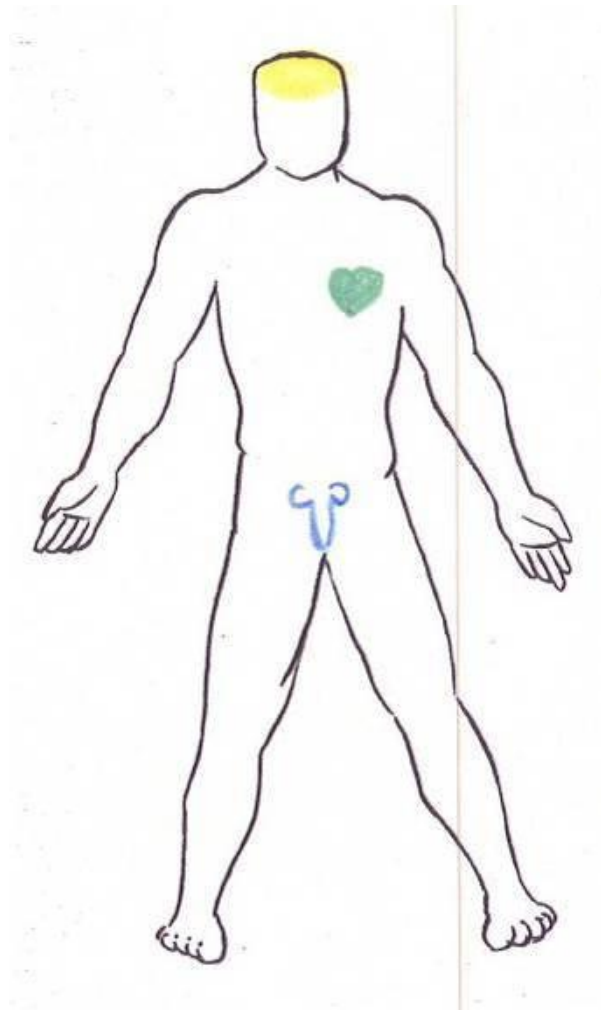
Figure 55. Man Drawing for Eric (Gay, Latino, 23 years old, Miami). Yellow = Hispanic, Blue = Man, Green = Gay.

As indicated in his drawing, there are several areas where there is no color indicated, and only his brain, his heart, and his genitals are colored to represent his identities. He placed his sexual orientation identity in his heart, which he reported was placed because of his strong emotional connections with his gay friends.

        Feeling Free in Gay Community. Another influence of the community in the expression and integration of the youth's multiple identities was in facilitating comfort within the participants regarding their own identities. Though this was mentioned by some youth when

traversing their ethnic communities, youth primarily identified the gay community as a place where they could openly express their true identities. For some, this manifested in an exaggerated sense of sexual orientation identity, characterized by behaviors including effeminate mannerisms, heightened sexuality, and feigning interests of other LGBT people. Nonetheless, many participants acknowledged the supportive nature of the gay community and felt welcomed regardless of their own diversity within this group.

The liberating effect that the gay community has on identity integration and presentation is best exhibited in the case example of David (Gay But Likes Girls, Latino, 17 years old, Chicago). As discussed earlier, he discussed a fragmented sense of self when venturing in his Latino community which was intolerant of his homosexuality. However, throughout his data he noted that the gay community was a space where he was welcomed. For example, in his quantitative data he endorsed strong agreement with the statement "being gay makes me feel part of a community," and that he frequently attends gay or lesbian organizational activities, such as meetings, fund-raisers, and political activities. However, he reported that he only had two friends who are openly gay or bisexual, despite his high participation in the gay community. He explained this dichotomy through his Man Drawing, which is colored entirely in blue which represents his sexuality, though he noted that this is because there are pressures within the gay community to act in a particular manner.
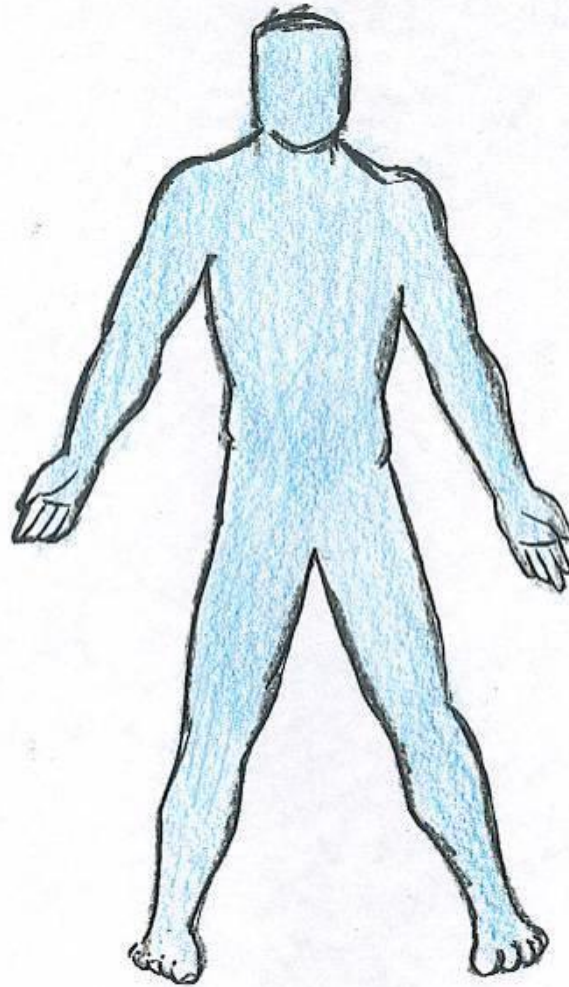
Figure 56. Man Drawing for David (Gay But Likes Girls, Latino, 17 years old, Chicago). Blue = Gay, Black = Man.

Consequently, though he felt pride and comfort with the gay community, he experienced difficulty in building friendships with individuals within the community. In the following text, he discussed his complicated relationship with the gay community:

> [The gay community] is a community that's really um, I think out there. A community that's really fighting for equality, a community that loves music, a community that loves, that loves each other and that they're there for each other. Because they know they have to be there for each other. And it's I think a really loving, caring community. A fun community, too.,,
>
> *How do you fit in with this?*

> With the gay community? Um, I don't have that many gay friends, because I don't know, I just don't and stuff. But like I think that I have like, I don't think that, well, I don't know, I think that I am comfortable enough with my friends who are straight, and I don't think that in order to be gay you need to have gay friends. Um, and I'm still young, so I mean, I still have like, going, getting out there in the clubs and stuff.

Outcomes of Multiple Identity Integration

In addition to managing the persistent barriers to identity integration and presentation, youth discussed unique outcomes to the process integrating their multiple identities into their cohesive larger identity. These included: being in a state of defensiveness regarding identity, believing that many or all identities are combined selectively, being firm in identity, feeling unique, or being in a state of development.

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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│        Multiple             │
│        Identity             │
│        Integration          │
└─────────────────────────────┘
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   │   State of Defensiveness     │
   │     Regarding Identity       │
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   │  Multiple Identities are Combined │
   │          Selectively         │
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   │     Being Firm in Identity   │
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   │  Being In a State of Development │
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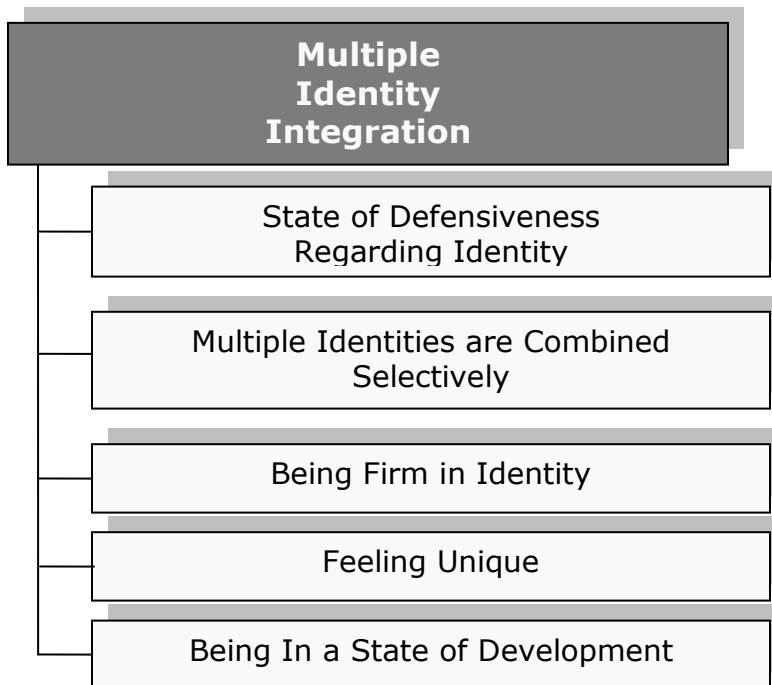
Figure 57. Sub-Themes for Outcomes of Multiple Identity Integration.

State of Defensiveness Regarding Identity. One unique method of multiple identity integration involved experiencing a consistent defensive state regarding a particular identity.

They felt as though this identity was both most visible to others, and also an identity with which others would take offense or find disagreement. The data from the youth indicated that this state of defensiveness was evoked both in particular settings and also in all communities.
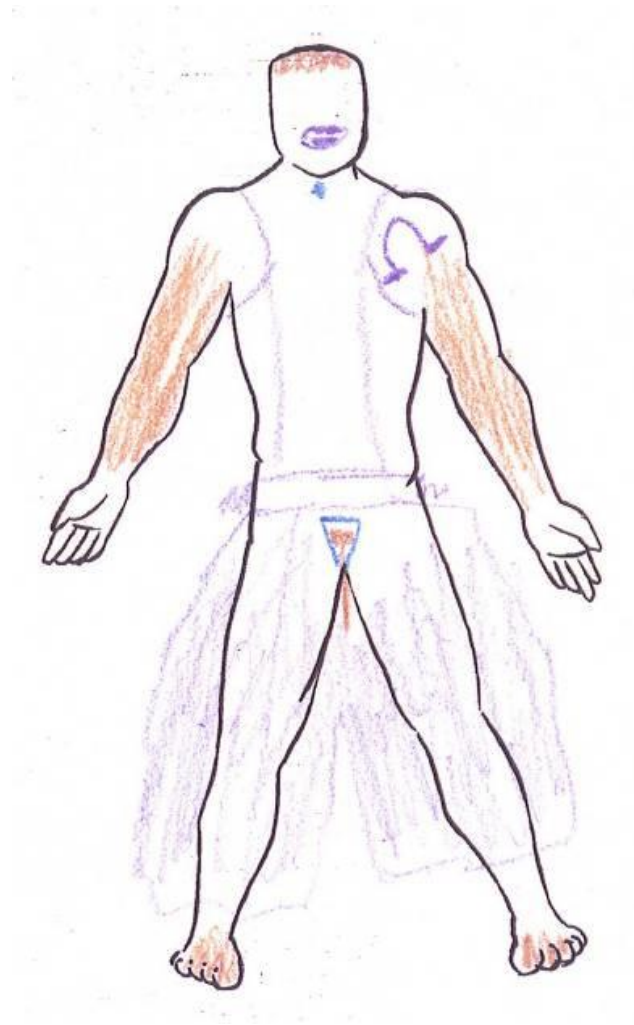
Figure 58. Man Drawing for Marcus (Gay, African American, 22 years old, Miami). Brown = African American, Blue = Man, Red = Gay Man, Purple = Masculinity.

This is best exhibited in examining the data of Marcus (Gay, African American, 22 years old, Miami). First, his Man Drawing illustrates how his identities were integrated when he is at home. When describing his drawing, he stated that while he is at home, he does not show

outward emotion, which he explained is shown by the lack of color or differentiation in the area

of the heart. He reports that while at home, he vigilantly maintained a heterosexual image to his

family members, who envisioned Marcus to later marry a woman and have children. In his

qualitative interview text, he discussed how he maintained a heterosexual façade among his

family:

> I mean, I think I have a girlfriend, it will probably be most likely for show, just for show. …To show my parents that I have a girlfriend, whatever, and it might be now I might have a child. I don't know. I have a plan, but (chuckles) I would have that worked out with my plan.

> *Okay. What is your plan? Tell me a little about that.*

> My plan is me and my best friend, we're planning on having, we're gonna plan to have a child. We have a deal, I get three shots. If it don't happen, it don't happen.

> *Would that make you happy?*

> Would that make me happy? I do want a child, but at the moment, no, I don't want one. But I do want one for myself and also for my parents. I am the last, the last person having my last name, so I do want to carry on the generation. I mean, that's the only way, that's the only way possible.

His secrecy among family members was also expressed in his quantitative data, as he stated

agreement in the following questions: "I am definitely gay, but I do not want to share that

knowledge with most people," "I don't mind if gays know that I have gay thoughts and feelings,

but I don't want others to know," and "Even though I am definitely gay, I have not told my

family."

Finally, Marcus reported that when navigating his ethnic minority community, he must

maintain a hyper-masculinized image among his peers. He reports that when he acted masculine,

he was better accepted by other peers than if he were to act as his "normal" self. In the following

quote, he described the ease in which he was able to don the mask of a masculine male:

I mean, who you are, that's what determines the way you walk, the way you talk, and how you feel. It all depends on, I mean, because days, I have my days that I can throw on a silly cap and some baggy jeans and I can pull this real, real boy, this real boy act off. Anytime I have on fitted jeans and my tight shirt, then I go for what I know, so it all depends on how you feel.

Do you identify with both? Do you feel comfortable being both? Like however…

Yeah, I feel comfortable being both. But you're more accepted, given that boy role, that more masculine act. I mean at times, I mean, it's great. I can do it for months and months.

Multiple Identities are Combined Selectively. Participants also noted specific instances where multiple identities would become manifest in their presentation and integration. Many of these activities occurred during ethnic-specific activities with family or friends who were also supportive of their sexuality. For those youth who did not have individuals who were supportive of both their sexual and ethnic identities, youth nonetheless were able to participate in activities where internally they felt safe in the integration of their multiple identities. These events included parades or dances which were specific to one identity.

In the case of Octavio (Bisexual, Latino, 17 years old, Chicago) he noted that while navigating his multiple venues in which he interacted, he expressed his identities consistently and equally. This is best explained in examining his Man Drawing, in which he placed all of his identities in small but equal portions in his brain. He reported that his identities are therefore present in all situations, and is integrated equally within his larger identity.
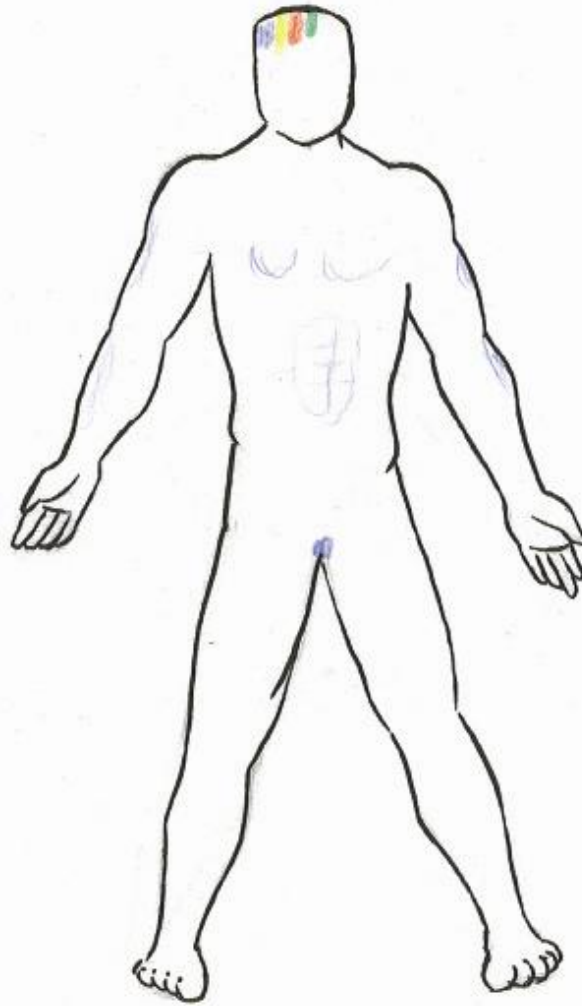
Figure 59. Man Drawing for Octavio (Bisexual, Latino, 17 years old, Chicago). Blue = Male,

Yellow = Bisexual, Red = Hispanic, Green = "Personality."

This notion of authenticity to himself is also present in his qualitative interview text,

where he expressed his defiance in being himself across multiple settings. He discussed his

philosophy regarding identity integration in the following text:

> Well, one time I almost got jumped because one of the kids at my high school didn't like
> me because I was so like, actually he wanted me to join his gang because supposedly that
> will toughen me up. And I said, no, so like he wanted to jump me and like I got scared.
> So for a while I just kept it to myself. I'm like freak, like F it, I'm not gonna, I'm not
> gonna hide, this is who I am. I'm not gonna hide it for anyone. So that's when I just left

it, and like he hasn't bothered me since, because I confronted him AND his people, so it's like…

This sentiment is also expressed in his quantitative data, as he endorsed agreement in the statement: "My heterosexual friends, family, and associates think of me as a person who happens to be gay, rather than as a gay person." In summary, his responses from his multiple data sources indicate that he is fully cognizant of his level of integration, and manages his many identities across contexts.

Another process of identity integration involved participants integrating multiple identities into singular and essential components of themselves. These youth acknowledged that though their identities were present in alternative manifestations while interacting in multiple communities, they had single areas on their body where all identities coalesced. Other participants had multiple identities consisting of a centralized concept, such as personality, which mitigated the presence and integration of the other identities. This multiple integration of identities into a core aspect of the self is made evident in the case of Ashani (Full-Blown Gay, African American, 21 years old, Chicago). In his Man Drawing, he colored the entire drawing in multiple colors, but focused the identities of "community," "personality," and "emotions" in his head. Throughout the rest of the body, the drawing represented his ethnicity, sexuality, and masculinity.
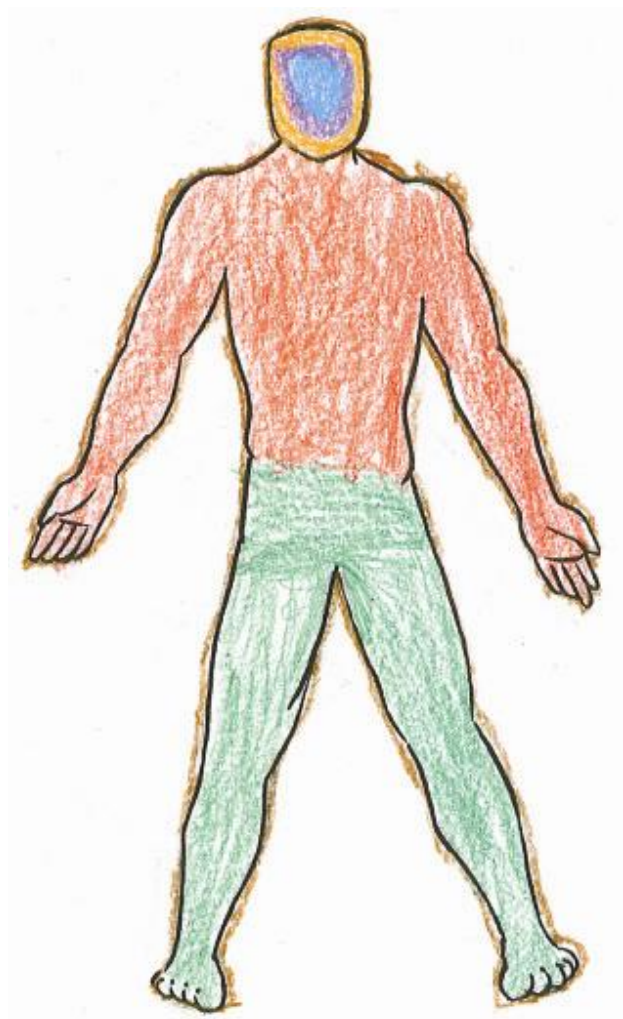
Figure 60. Man Drawing for Ashani (Full-Blown Gay, African American, 21 years old,

Chicago). Brown = Man, Blue = African American, Red = Gay, Blue = "Character," Purple =

"Emotions," and Orange = "Communities."

In his qualitative interview, he explained why the rest of his body is colored in the colors

of his multiple identities. He reported that he was able to fit into multiple communities because

his natural presentation was complimentary to many different ethnic communities. He explained

his presentation in the following text:

> The way I act and the way I come across people, people may think that I'm um, mixed
> with something more than African American.

> *Why is that?*

Well, because of my character, mostly. Sometimes I can come across as um, African American mixed with Indian or something. Hispanic trait in me. Some people used to say, he looks like he has some Hispanic trait before. He looks like he used to be Mexican, or he had some people in his family, which I do have people in my family that are Caucasian, yeah.

His qualitative text and Man Drawing are supported by his quantitative text, which indicated that he is also integrated with his sexual orientation identity. For example, he endorsed items which supported his sexual orientation identity integration, stating agreement in the statements "Being gay makes me feel part of a community," and "I am not about to stay hidden as gay for anyone." He also indicated that his identity is well-integrated into his larger self-concept, agreeing with such statements such as "I am openly gay and fully integrated into heterosexual society," and "I am proud and open with everyone about being gay, but it isn't the major focus of my life."

Firm in Identity. Youth in the study discussed being able to manage multiple identities which often theoretically conflicted with one another by being steadfast in their belonging and identification with a particular identity. Although discussed in the context of all identities examined in this study, most youth maintained that they considered themselves to be men, and thereby masculine, despite societal messages which inferred that men who had same-sex sexual and romantic attractions cannot consider themselves men. In the following text, Bernard (Gay, African American, 22 years old, Chicago) described this determination in his discussion of his own masculinity:

What it takes to be a man. I see a different perspective than what everybody else say. Because they feel homosexuals are not considered to be men, because you sleep with another man. That's not part of a manhood. But to me I don't think that's true. Being a man is knowing that ain't nobody else in this world gonna take care of you but you. Men have it way harder than females. And once you become good enough to hold a job, take care of your own bills. And not have to go home and live with your mom and not asking everybody for this or for that. And you go out there and you earn your money. That

makes you a man. That's all about being a man to me is. I don't see the thing of a man's supposed to be the breadwinner of the family, have kids and all that, I don't see that. Because nowadays some men don't want to have kids. Then when they say men are not supposed to arch their eyebrows or whatever, I don't even agree with that. Some men just love to look good. And they could actually date womens that love to go get their nails did sometimes. If you got a job that don't require you breaking your nails, then you could have nice looking nails, and you get them all nice manicured and polished up, do that.

He reinforced this notion of being firm in his identity in examining his Man Drawing, where he presented multiple colors representing his personality, his emotions, his sexuality, and weaved them throughout his drawing. In a band of color present in his torso and present in both of his legs, he drew the color of his masculine identity. When describing why he colored the drawing in the way presented, he stated that with regard to his masculine identity "The green is my manhood, no matter what, I'm still a man, no matter [inaudible]. I'm always looking at myself as a man." He therefore viewed his masculinity as a fundamental aspect of his identity which was present in harmony with his other identities.
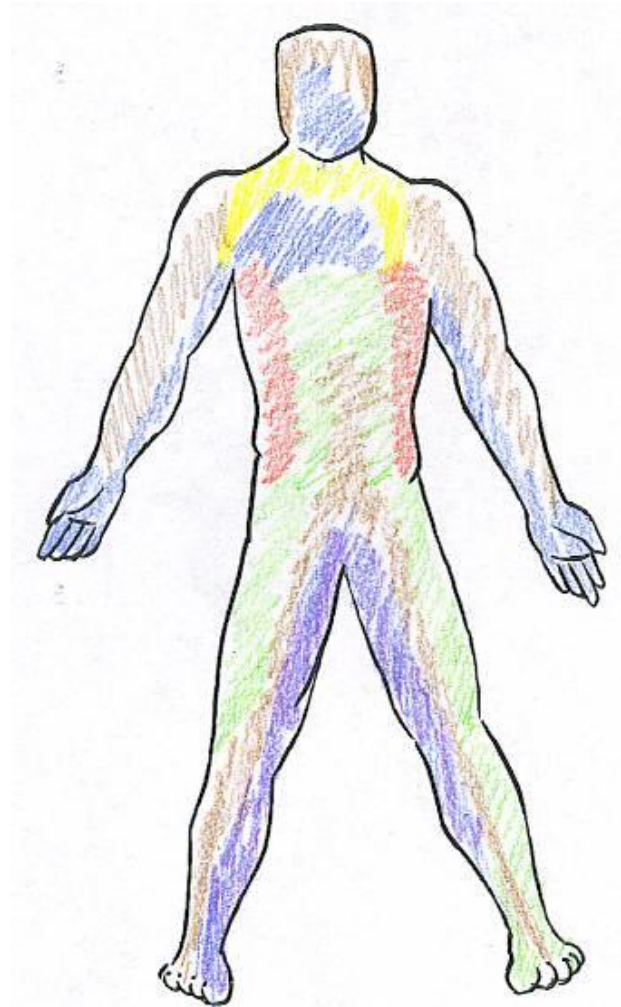
Figure 61. Man Drawing for Bernard (Gay, African American, 22 years old, Chicago). Purple and Blue = Sexuality, Brown = African American, Green = "Manhood," Yellow = "Attitude/Heart."

This notion of being firm in his identity extended to other aspects of his identity, as he reported in his quantitative data. For example, he agreed with the statements "I am happy that I am a member of the [ethnic] group I belong to," and "I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group," therefore noting his integration of his ethnic identity and his ability to be active in his ethnic community despite messages concerning the incompatibility of masculinity and homosexuality.

Is Unique. The study participants also negotiated their multiple identities by admitting that being part of multiple minority communities made them inherently a minority within a minority group. This imbued them with a sense of uniqueness, who admitted that though there may be conflicts within their multiple identity communities, they were able to manage their identities without much distress. In this careful negotiation, they understood that they were special in their circumstances, and viewed this with distinction rather than stigma.

The case of Malcolm (Trade, African American, 19 years old, Chicago) best illustrates this perception of uniqueness held by several participants in their efforts to integrate their multiple identities. In his quantitative data, he reported high levels of connection with the gay community, and stated that he attended both gay and lesbian organizations and activities, and patronized gay bars. Additionally, when asked if he felt very distant from the gay community, he strongly disagreed. However, upon examining his other types of qualitative data, it becomes apparent that both his definitions of his gay community differed, as well as his means of connection with that community.

First, Malcolm reported that he was able to connect with individuals who also have same-sex sexual attractions in public settings. In the following text, he described the process by which he met people in such settings, which include public transportation:

> Yeah, I meet some people just by riding the bus and like, oh, hey, how you doing? Or I'll probably try to flirt with them, by hey, how you doing, I like you, can I get your number?, but all of a sudden we start talking, then decide we not going to be in a relationship but we could be friends and hey, start hanging out with friends. So just like that.

Malcolm also reported being able to connect to other same-sex attracted individuals through his unique method of self-expression. In his Man Drawing, he created the drawing as if to appear as an external representation of himself, with features made in his face, as well as clothing,

including a belt which has text which identifies the item. In his interview text where he
described his drawing, he reported that he drew facial features because he saw himself as an
attractive person. Additionally, his selection of clothing, including the belt which has the text
"belt," was also indicative of his own personal style, which he reported involved making bold
and unorthodox selections for his self-expression.
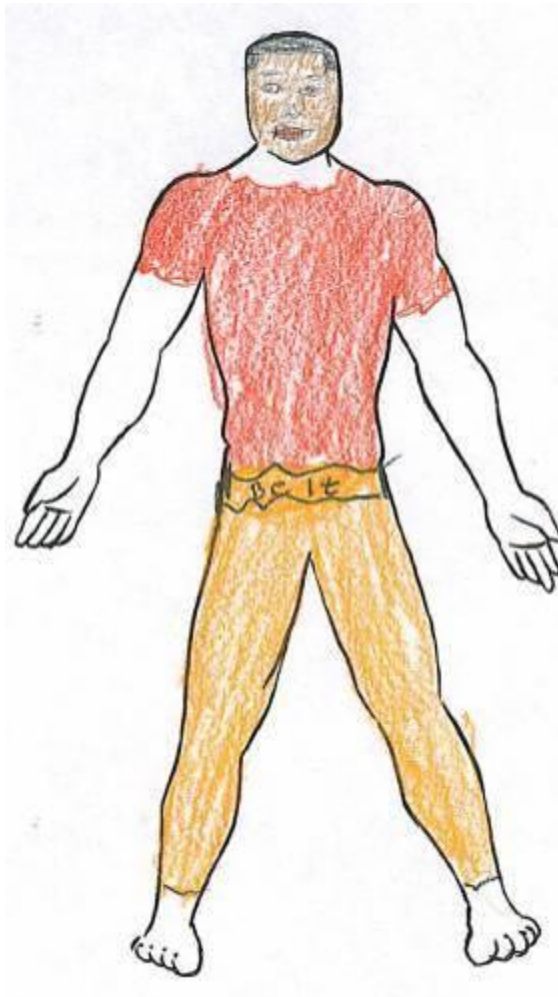
Figure 62. Man Drawing for Malcolm (Trade, African American, 19 years old, Chicago).

Brown = African American, Red = Male, Orange = Trade.

        In addition to using his clothing to express his own uniqueness, Malcolm also stated that
clothing can be used within African American communities as a means by silently broadcasting

their sexuality to connect with other same-sex attracted youth. This was accomplished through

the selective use of particular colors in one's outfit.   He described this process and its purpose

in the following selection of interview text:

> So just, this basically spot, you'll find somebody. Real quick. Especially in the city of Chicago. People have the colors on. Guys, they have colors on or they have an outfit with the [primary] colors. A lot of people won't catch it….They got to wear the whole color, but say for instance, they might have some red, red or orange shoes, they're like, those are nice shoes. All of a sudden you have like your purple shirt matches some bluejeans. And you be thinking, huh, they might have a green handbag or some green, or some black gloves with green on them. That's like a code. That is actually a code. Nobody at the…
>
> *So you're gonna wear all the colors but on different parts of your body.*
>
> Different parts of your body, and a lot of people, that's a new way of finding anybody that's trade, anything like that, you would definitely never, you would never come up short and that right there, that is a new thing that recently just started. Land the person who did start it was myself and like 10 other people. And that's our way identify, and the word spreads real quick. And right now, you will start to see a whole lot more when it gets warmer outside and but right now it's in the process of getting it big right now. And you will start to see, wow, no more rocking the be's because straight people didn't know what the be's mean and…
>
> *What do you mean, rocking the be's?*
>
> You know, the beads, like the pride beads where only the, the beads or necklace, anything, watch or whatever, or just have a belt. Or anything that say PRIDE. So you have to speak in code, wearing code, so that's how it goes.

In Development/Work in Progress. Several participants stated that at the time of the

qualitative interview, their multiple identities were still in a process of development. Youth

indicated that this presented a barrier to full identity integration because they were not fully

aware how the fully-developed identity may interact with their other established identities.

This theme is exhibited in examining the cases from two participants, each with different

identities which at the time of the interview, were still undergoing development. First, Alfonso

(Questioning, Latino, 19 years old, Chicago) reported that he was in the process of developing

his masculine gender identity, and described his situation in the following interview text:

> Mmm, well, I don't if I would consider myself a man as far as like, I don't know, because
> I'm still likely growing, and ah, but I think like I've learned some things, I'm trying to
> think, well, I managed to like absorb things mostly um, I guess a sense of feelings and
> just a matter of [inaudible].

As he described in his interview text, he was assessing which masculinity messages and concepts

to include in his own definition, and if he fits within this definition. This process could involve

reflecting on the conflicting messages concerning other identities of membership, although this

was not necessarily indicated in his interview text.
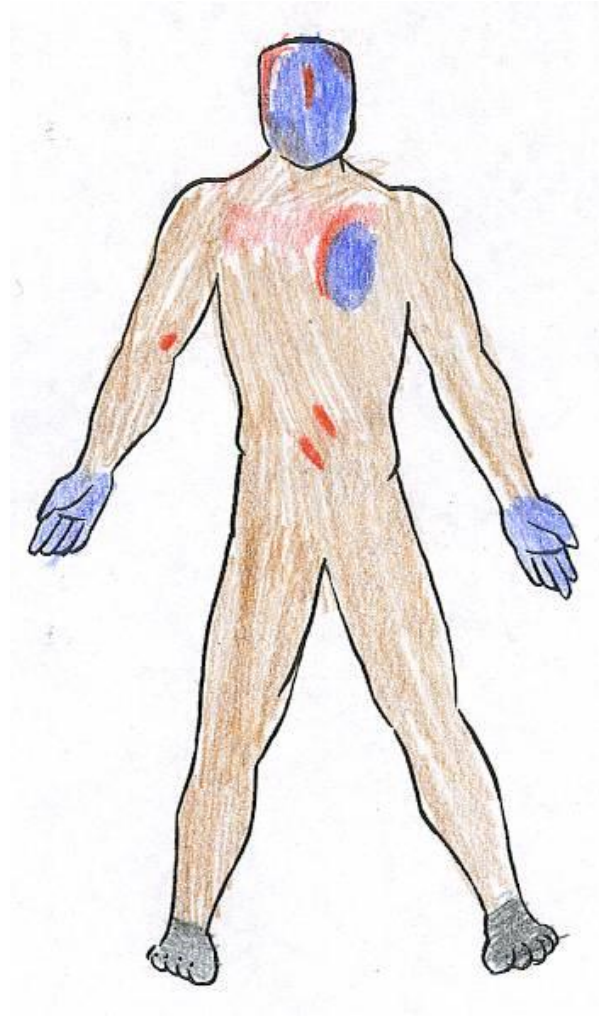
Figure 63. Man Drawing for Alfonso (Questioning, Latino, 19 years old, Chicago). Brown = Mexican, Black = Questioning, Purple = Man, Red = "Mistakes."

The concept of masculine identity development was echoed in his Man Drawing, where the color black represented his masculine identity was located primarily in the soles of his feet, isolated from other identities. Additionally, in his drawing he created multiple "scars" in red to represent the many mistakes he has made in his life. Though these "mistakes" were not specified as relating to masculine identity development, it does indicate that he was developing his entire self-concept.

Similarly, Cameron (Bisexual, African American, 22 years old, Chicago) reported that his bisexual sexual orientation identity was still developing, and his Man Drawing reflected his lack of understanding how his identity would be integrated into his larger self-identity. His drawing was then created to represent a transparent view of his identities, with the most salient identities being present in the periphery, while those most centralized were those not easily visible by others. In his drawing, a black outline representing his gender identity was most visible to others, followed by his ethnic identity. He then drew red inside the drawing to represent his sexual orientation identity, and when asked why his sexual orientation identity was located in the center of the drawing, he reported that he "has no idea" about his sexuality, as an individual who is struggling with understanding with his own sexual orientation. Consequently, his process of full integration of all of his identities was hampered due to the continued development of his sexual orientation identity.
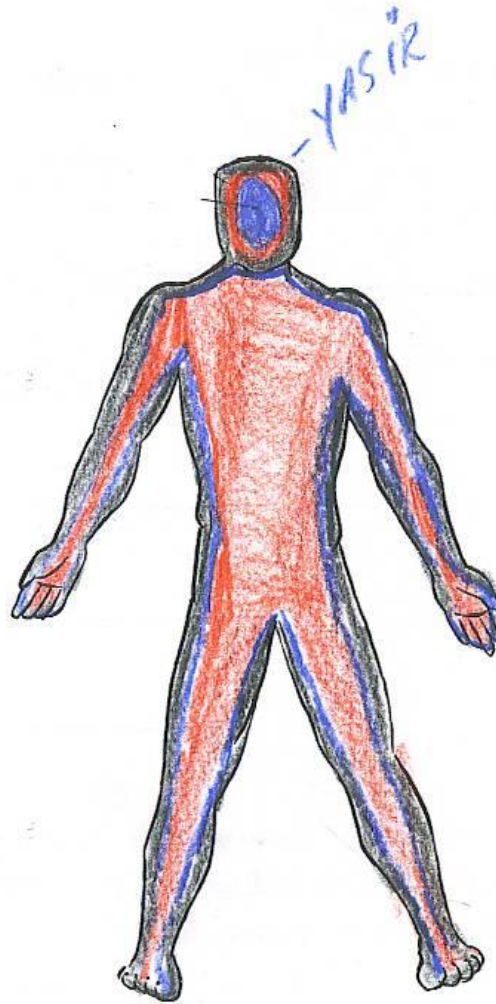
Figure 64. Man Drawing for Cameron (Bisexual, African American, 22 years old, Chicago).

For Body (not including the head): Black = Male, Red = Bisexual, Blue = African American.

For Head: Red = African American, Blue = Bisexual, Black = Male.

His other data also supported the notion that his sexual orientation identity was still in development. In his qualitative data, he noted that there were both positive aspects to being bisexual, such as being able to date both men and women. On the other hand, there were also many negative aspects, including the intolerant attitudes held by members of his own community concerning bisexual people. In the following text, he described what other African American

individuals say about bisexuals, which has impacted his own comfort with openly identifying as

bisexual:

> Like damn, I'm fucking with a bad nigger. I got to worry about if he fucking on, if he fucking with some shit, or the nigger, if you fucking with a nigger that's masculine, that's really like the D.L. Nine times out of ten he's bisexual himself, so he really don't give a fuck. Because while you outside got dog all the time you all gonna be talking to the girls, but all the time you gonna know that you all still together.

Additionally, Cameron's quantitative data indicated that at the time of the interview, he was

developing his sexual orientation identity. He endorsed agreement with the statements "being

gay makes me feel part of a community," "being attracted to men is important to my sense of

who I am," and agreed with the statement "I feel very distant from the gay community." His

results therefore indicated that though he emphasized the lack of importance of his sexuality on

his life and identity, his qualitative Man Drawings showed that this was a fundamental aspect of

himself which would determine how the rest of his identity was integrated.

<u>Fluctuation of Multiple Identities Across Multiple Settings</u>

Through the cross-case analysis of all relevant data from participants, the final set of

themes which emerged from analysis concerned how participants managed the presentation of

their multiple identities while traversing a variety of settings. Compared to previous sections

which discussed themes relating to identity integration and presentation, this section solely

details how the youth presented their identities in their multiple communities of interaction. In

these themes, the youth noted that while their external presentation of themselves fluctuated,

their internal identities and its integration remained intact. The notable themes relating to the

management of their identity presentation across multiple settings included: fluctuating their

presentation by adding or removing behaviors, fluctuating their presentation by maximizing or

minimizing identities, noting a disconnect between external presentation and internal identity, and reporting no change in identities across settings.
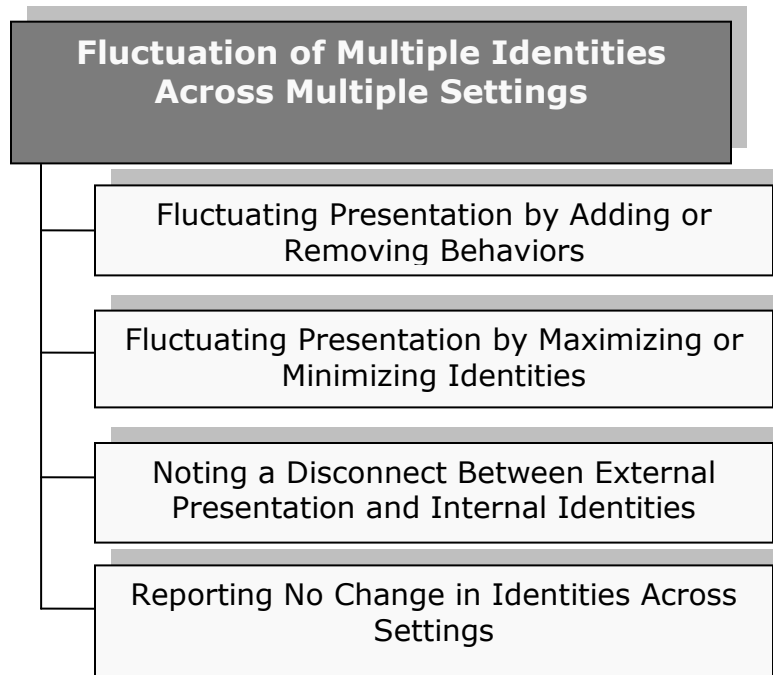
Figure 65. Sub-Themes for Fluctuation of Multiple Identities Across Multiple Settings.

Fluctuating Presentation by Adding or Removing Behaviors

While interacting with individuals from a variety of communities, the youth in our study reported that they fluctuated the presentation of their identities by making minor changes in behavior in order to increase the level of acceptance by those in the community. Overall, these changes were subtle and occurred without much reported conscious effort on the behalf of the participants. Much of the changes which occurred were in the participant's reaction to the perceived intolerance of their ethnic communities regarding individuals who are gay or lesbian. Consequently, youth engaged in behaviors which increased masculine behaviors while decreasing those behaviors which would be perceived as being effeminate. Youth who were adept in making these minor changes to their presentation stated that their overall presentation

was naturally in-between the poles of masculinity and effeminacy, and consequently this facilitated the fluctuations reported to fit in to their communities of interaction.

The case example of Cameron (Bisexual, African American 22 years old, Chicago) best exemplifies this theme of fluctuating presentation to facilitate interactions within communities. In his Man Drawing, he intentionally placed his masculine identity on the outside of himself to obtain acceptance with the multiple communities where he traversed and interacted, which generally are intolerant of sexual minority individuals.
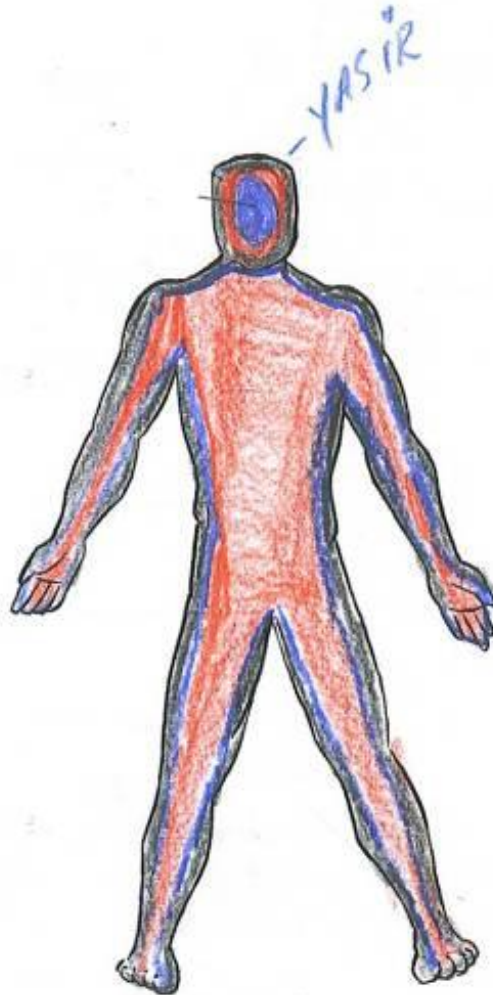
Figure 66. Man Drawing for Cameron (Bisexual, African American, 22 years old, Chicago).

For Body (not including the head): Black = Male, Red = Bisexual, Blue = African American.

For Head: Red = African American, Blue = Bisexual, Black = Male.

When asked how his identities would change while in multiple settings, he reported that though his presentation of identities remained consistent overall, when going into the gay-friendly neighborhood in Chicago his sexuality was more visible, becoming the most external presentation.

This fluctuation of identities was also expressed in his quantitative data. Though he noted that he was openly bisexual with other individuals at home and within his many

communities, he was resistant to discuss this openly to strangers or to have this information

widespread throughout the community. Consequently, he endorsed items which indicated that he

was discreet about his sexuality, agreeing with statements such as "I live a gay lifestyle at home,

while at work/school I do not want others to know about my lifestyle," and "I am probably gay,

even though I maintain a heterosexual image in both my personal and public life." Additionally,

he expressed being open to select trusted individuals, and disagreed with the statement "I do not

want most heterosexuals to know that I am definitely gay," and agreed that "I am openly gay

around gays and heterosexuals."

Since he identified as bisexual, Cameron discussed in the following text how he

managed his gender presentation in order to solicit either male or female sexual or romantic

partners, as well as his motivations for doing so:

> …a bisexual boy could fit in in the straight world, or the gay world. Because it's like when you a bisexual, sometimes you might want, sometimes you might have those days that you want to be straight.

> *What does it mean to be straight?   How do you fit into a straight world?*

> Mainly talking to a girl, hey, that's what you need to be goddamn straight.

> *So what are some of the things that you might do to change how you act when you talk to a girl?*

> I mean, just, I mean, if you were masculine, you're gonna talk the same way that you talk to a boy, if you're masculine. But if you a, a gay boy and you're bisexual, and sometimes you voice be like (raises voice) hey, girl, how are you? Sometimes you gonna very much deepen up your voice and everything, help your stuff out…

> *So why is that that they're gonna change their voice quality? Why do you have to change your voice when you're talking to a straight girl?*

> It's all about masculinity. That's all that is. Identity. Who you are.

Cameron later discussed in his interview that successful management of masculinity not only led to acceptance among heterosexuals, but also was beneficial in the gay community, where gay men are attracted to masculine partners.

  <u>Fluctuates Presentation by Maximizing or Minimizing Identities.</u> Participants also reported that in order to feel accepted by those in their multiple communities, they had to either over-emphasize a particular identity or to minimize an identity entirely. Contrary to the previous theme, participants in this case were not naturally in-between polar opposites of gender presentation, and thus they could not easily add behaviors to be accepted. Additionally, unlike the previous theme, these participants did not state that these changes were subtle, rather they required great effort to manage these changes in identity presentation. Though most of the changes occurred within the spectrum of gender presentation, some youth also reported changing their behaviors to those typical of members of their sexual orientation identity group, such as discussing GBQ-related news or entertainment topics or expressing interests which are primarily GBQ-oriented. A couple of participants also reported minimizing or maximizing their ethnic identity in order to fit within a particular community.

  The case example of Trevor (Gay, African American, 22 years old, Chicago) best illustrates the complexities of presenting multiple identities in an environment whose inhabitants are predominantly White and heterosexual. In describing his Man Drawing, he stated that while at college, where he was one of only a few African American individuals on campus, he maximized his presentation of his ethnic identity to serve as a positive example of other African Americans to the other students. In his qualitative interview text, he also described how he educated others by intentionally making intelligent contributions to class discussion, as well as engaging in conversations with students about his ethnicity.
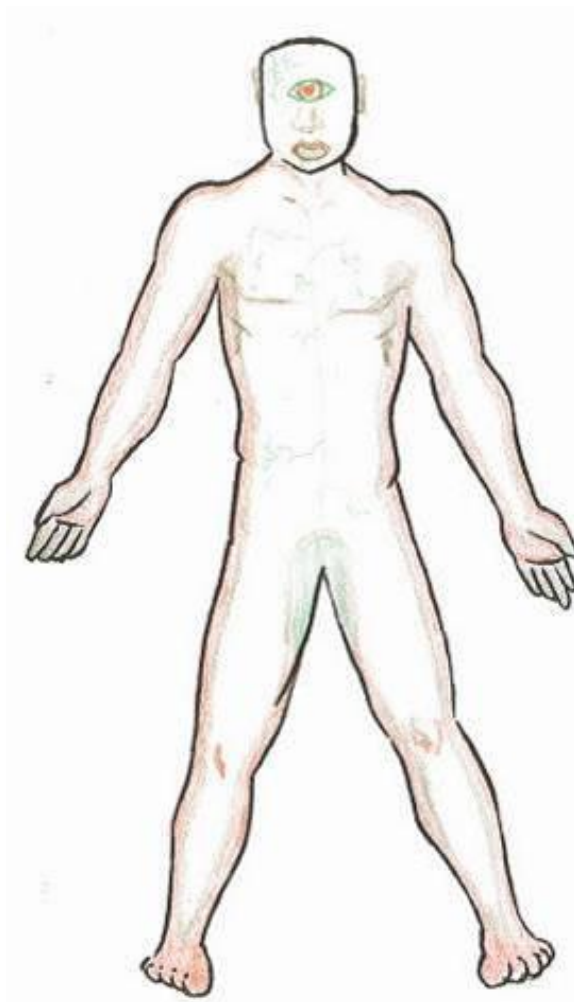
Figure 67. Man Drawing for Trevor (Gay, African American, 22 years old, Chicago). Red =

Male, Green = Gay, Brown = African American.

In addition to educating students about his ethnicity, he felt compelled to also inform

others about his sexuality. In his qualitative interview he stated that he had intelligent

discussions concerning homosexuality to individuals from a variety of backgrounds, despite their

previous experiences and negative attitudes. In the following text, he discussed how he

approached one his South Asian friends concerning not only his homophobic but sexist attitudes:

> Well, I mean, I've explained to them what's wrong with how they're acting [in a
> heterosexist manner]. Because I mean, they have other things, there's other things that
> they do, just like um, womanizing, things like that, that just kind of do on a regular basis,
> that we all have to sit them aside and say, like there's a specific problem with this. And

this is why. Because I mean, for the most part, my one friend in particular, R, isn't overly defensive. Like he'll try to adjust his behavior. And when you just bring it up directly, then it really isn't an issue.

Esteban (Gay, Latino, 18 years old, Chicago) also reported making drastic changes to his presentation of identity, which he reported was dependent on those present within a given community. In his Man Drawing, he created several drawings not to represent physical environments, but rather constructed different presentations of identity depending on the individuals present. His drawing below illustrated how his identities generally were integrated, with equal representation of his sexual, ethnic, and gender identity. When interacting with other individuals, however, he reported that his identity fluctuations dramatically changed. For example, when with acquaintances, he totally minimized the expression of his sexual orientation identity, making no mention of his sexuality and being vigilant of his behaviors.
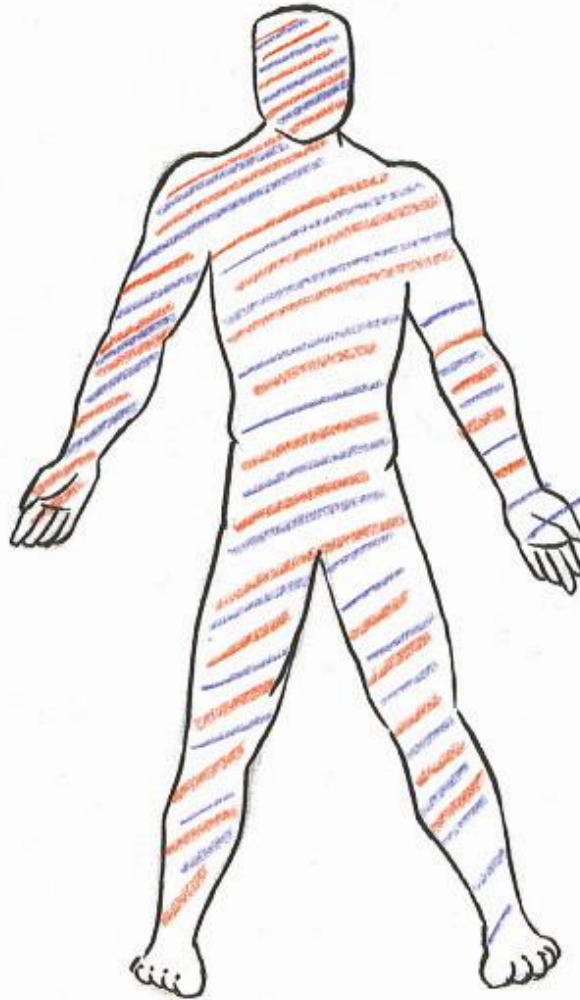
Figure 68. Man Drawing for Esteban (Gay, Latino, 18 years old, Chicago). Blue = Man, Red = Mexican American, Purple = Gay.

In his qualitative interview, he provided some context to why he presented his identity differently when interacting with other Mexican American acquaintances. In the following text, he described a negative experience in his Mexican American community which impacted how he viewed and later interacted with his community:

> Um, I don't know. Like a good example, my brother's girlfriend, she lives in Pilsen and I was going to their place, but it was short notice, so I had been out the night before, so I was still in my clothes from the night before, so, and it was very awkward just walking through that community at that time. Just because you could tell I was gay and I kept getting these looks so… it was just different. Like if I had been dressed as I was dressed

now, you could, I wouldn't be getting so much attention, but that one specific day, just because I was dressed differently, which I guess was a lot of the acting differently part, it was just very awkward. So I'd say that at certain times I, I, I'm not part of that community.

Noted Disconnection between Presentation and Identity. Though many youth were able to manage the presentation of their multiple identities and change them without much effort depending upon the situation, several youth reported being uncomfortable with the lack of authenticity exhibited through their presentation. By creating a façade to present to others, they were not being authentic to themselves, and this dissonance had varying effects on the participants of the current study.

This theme is best exemplified through the case example of Taji (Homosexual, African American, 21 years old, Chicago) who in his quantitative data reported that he disclosed his sexuality selectively to trusted individuals. For example, he agreed with the following statements: "I do not want most heterosexuals to know that I am definitely gay," "I am definitely gay, but I do not want to share that knowledge with most people," and "My sexuality is a valid private identity that I do not want made public."

In discussing his notion of masculinity in his qualitative interview, he expressed disagreement between the connection made between the expression of effeminacy with homosexuality. He noted that men can both have feminine and masculine qualities, and that their gender presentation is not indicative of their sexuality. Though his notions of masculinity and manhood differed from those in his community, he acknowledged that he nonetheless had to maintain a stereotypically masculine image to be accepted within his community. As a result, he presented externally as masculine even though he internally maintained feminine qualities. In the following interview text, he discussed how this presentation created an internal conflict:

Um, the only thing I think where sometimes conflict is my tough guy image and my heart. Because…

Tell me about a time when you felt a bit of a conflict.

Well, because with me, for me to have my feelings hurt, I let my tough guy image take care of that. Or with my attitude, like that. Um, so that's where…

So you can turn it on, you can turn on the tough guy?

Well, I mean basically if my feelings are being hurt, the tough guy just turns on by itself because that's something I don't think I can necessarily control. But um, I mean, that's where those two go at it. But um…

I see. So the tough guy sort of protects the…

Right. The heart.

…other part.

This disconnection was also evident in his Man Drawings, where he partitioned areas of color representing his gender, sexual, and ethnic identities without little room for overlap or interaction.
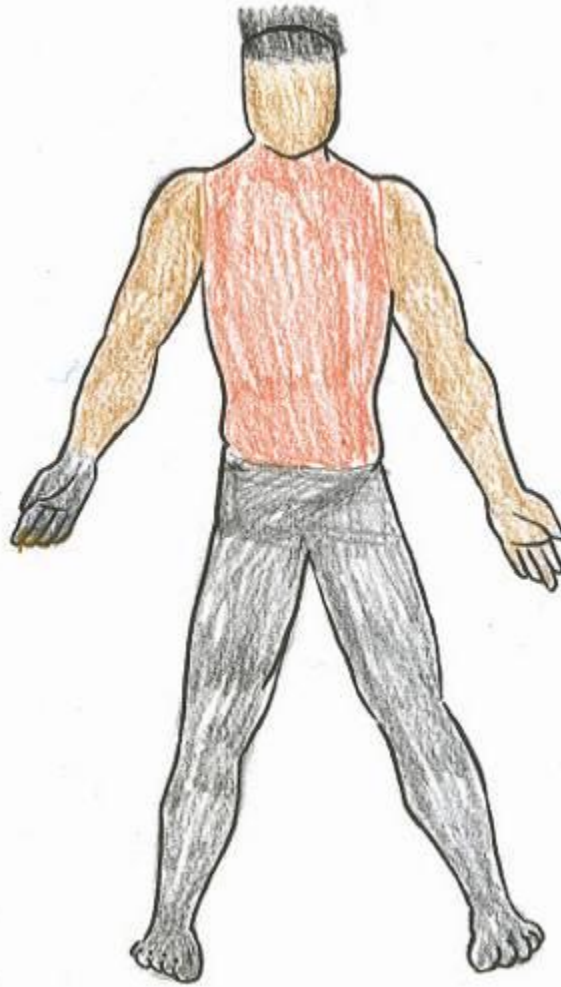
Figure 69. Man Drawing for Taji (Homosexual, African American, 21 years old, Chicago). Red = Homosexual, Black = Man, Brown = African American.

He further segregated the areas of color by outlining borders where the colors meet, which was evident in his shirt, pants, and hair.

No Change in Identities across Settings. Several participants reported that despite individuals or communities which are intolerant of one or several of their identities, they remained firm in the presentation of their identities when navigating their multiple communities of membership. Some youth thereby managed the intolerance lobbied by intolerant individuals

by either ignoring or challenging those within the community. Some limited their connections to these communities by venturing into safer areas while others disassociated with these communities entirely.

This theme is best illustrated by the case of Malcolm (Trade, African American, 19 years old, Chicago) who in his quantitative data reported that he was resistant to a full public disclosure of his sexuality to others, and agreed with the statement "My sexuality is a valid private identity that I do not want made public." However, he also stated agreement with the statements "I am very proud to be gay and make it known to everyone around me," and "I feel accepted by gay friends and acquaintances even though I'm not sure I'm gay."

His qualitative interview provided some context to his quantitative findings. Malcolm identified as "Trade," which he described is akin to bisexuality but differs in that individuals typically are not public with their identity. In his interview, he described that there was a small community of trade individuals whom he interacts and was open about his sexuality. However, to those outside this community trade individuals remained very private concerning their sexuality. In order to meet other trade individuals, he reported that by managing his presentation through his clothing, he was able to silently broadcast his sexuality to others who are aware of this identity. He described his process in the following qualitative text:

> So just, this basically spot, you'll find somebody. Real quick. Especially in the city of Chicago. People have the colors on. Guys, they have colors on or they have an outfit with the colors. A lot of people won't catch it.
>
> *What color?*
>
> Um, primary colors. Red, orange, yellow, green, blue, purple.
>
> *So any of those colors?*
>
> No, actually…

Oh, they got to wear the whole…

They got to wear the whole color, but say for instance, they might have some red, red or orange shoes, they're like, those are nice shoes. All of a sudden you have like your purple shirt matches some bluejeans. And you be thinking, huh, they might have a green handbag or some green, or some black gloves with green on them. That's like a code. That is actually a code. Nobody at the…

So you're gonna wear all the colors but on different parts of your body.

Different parts of your body, and a lot of people, that's a new way of finding anybody that's trade, anything like that, you would definitely never, you would never come up short and that right there, that is a new thing that recently just started. Land the person who did start it was myself and like 10 other people. And that's our way identify, and the word spreads real quick.

This coded broadcasting of identities was also evident in his Man Drawing, where he

colored his drawing using primary colors which drew attention to his individuality, as discussed

in an earlier theme, but also connected himself with other trade individuals.
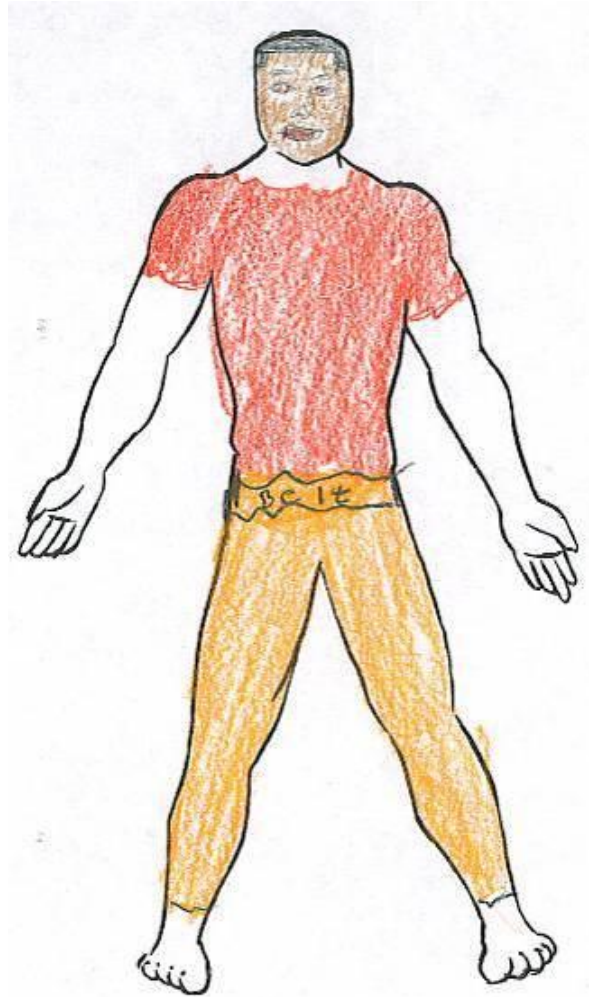
Figure 70. Man Drawing for Malcolm (Trade, African American, 19 years old, Chicago).

Brown = African American, Red = Male, Orange = Trade.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The purpose of the current study was to examine the processes of gender, sexual, and ethnic identity integration and presentation among GBQ male African American and Latino adolescents utilizing qualitative methodologies. Through this study, it is hoped that insight will be gained into the many ways in which youth integrate multiple identities into their own larger self-concept despite the presence of opposing messages throughout their communities . Additionally, this research hopes to identify the nuances of identity presentation that these youth engage in while they navigate multiple contexts. The following chapter will discuss the major findings related to the research questions, as well as the applications of these findings for therapeutic and intervention efforts. The discussion of strengths and implications will be followed by a discussion of the limitations of the study, and of directions for future research.

Overview of Primary Findings

Overall, youth in the study were able to integrate their multiple identities into their larger self-concept in spite of the various barriers to identity integration in all the communities in which they interacted. This process did not occur easily for many youth, as the participants' ability to integrate their multiple identities was impacted by several factors. First, due the age of the adolescents in the sample, many were still undergoing the biological process of puberty, which generally is perceived as a time where young males mature into men. Therefore, young males integrate their masculine identity into their larger self-concept with the understanding that their physical sense of masculinity is still in development. This acknowledgement of future growth was also evident for other identities, such as for youth who identified as questioning for their sexual orientation identity. Inherent in that label is the understanding that they have not fully

identified with a particular sexual orientation identity community, and that they were in the

process of determining the nature of their attractions, be it toward members of the same-sex,

other-sex, or both sexes. Though ethnic minority youth did not explicitly report that their ethnic

identity was still in the process of development in their qualitative data, many of the participant's

responses on the quantitative measure indicated that they were still developing their ethnic

identity. For example, participants disagreed with statements on the ethnic identity measure

including: "I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me," "I think a

lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership," and agreed with the

statement "I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life." Consequently, the

youth must not only balance their larger self-concept with identities which are undergoing

varying levels of development, but also must negotiate the conflicts between their multiple

identities at the same time. Though youth in the study stated that they had fully integrated their

identities, their assertions are in contrast to existing theories of sexual orientation identity (Cass,

1979; Troiden, 1989) and ethnic identity development (Atkinson, Morten, and Sue, 1979;

Phinney, 1989), which assert that these youth are still developing their sense of identity. They

would argue that the participants have not fully integrated their multiple aspects of themselves,

many of which are still in development, into a cohesive whole. The youth's experience reflects a

change in the construct of identity integration, one which is fluid and changes over time as youth

continually develop their sense of self.

Another factor which impacted the integration of multiple identities was the presence of

negative messages and pressures which impacted the youth across a variety of settings.

Participants reported experiencing direct and indirect forms of intolerance directed toward all of

their identities of membership as they traversed their multiple communities. This included

heterosexism expressed in their ethnic minority community, racism within the gay community, and accusations of not being authentic males by those who either know or assume that they are sexually attracted to other males. In addition, the youth experienced such intolerance from individuals in White heterosexual community. The participants also reported that cultural pressures originating from their ethnic and sexual communities presented as conflicts to their multiple identities, and prevented full identity integration. For example, youth experienced pressures within the gay community to participate in behaviors, such as sexual and substance use behaviors, which were outside of their personal area of comfort. Within their ethnic community, participants stated that they felt strong pressures to marry a woman and to have children in order to fit into the community. These strong and pervasive messages and pressures had varying levels of personal impact for the youth, as some internalized and accepted the messages and thereby devalued their own identities, whereas others rejected them and became resilient in reaction to these messages.

Finally, the presence and impact of positive messages facilitated the process of integrating the youths' multiple identities into their larger self-concept. The participants in the study were able to garner supportive resources creatively while at the same time negotiating the negative and condemnatory elements within their multiple communities of membership. Concerning their masculinity, many youths reported that the relationships with their fathers were strained due to their fathers' lack of understanding concerning their sexuality. As a result, they learned about masculinity by observing others in their lives, including other male relatives, male peers, and they also learned from their mothers and images in the media. In seeking this knowledge about masculinity, and in reacting to the inherent conflict between hegemonic masculinity and homosexuality, several of the youth were able to engage in a critical analysis of

the notion of masculinity, and develop an advanced and nuanced understanding of their own

gender identity. Concerning their ethnicity, the youth reported that though they often could not

be open with their sexuality in their ethnic community, they could be supported in their ethnicity

by interacting with other ethnic minority individuals in community-based organizations, school

groups, or gentrified ethnic minority neighborhoods. Further, though their relationships with

their parents were sometimes tenuous due to their sexuality, youth felt connected and supported

with their ethnic identity through practicing cultural customs and traditions with family

members, which often occurred when the participants were living on their own. The participants

were also supported with their sexual orientation identity in a variety of arenas, via physical

locations such as community-based organizations, school-based organizations, neighborhoods

which were accepting of sexual minorities, gay bars or clubs, or social gatherings consisting of

primarily LGBT individuals. Through these venues, they interacted with other LGBT

individuals and not only learned about their identity, but also were supported by their peers. As

a result of these positive interactions, youth developed a positive sense of identity which could

be integrated into their larger sense of self. The participants were also supported by essential

individuals in their lives, which primarily included select family members, but also involved

heterosexually-identified peers and other adults. Additionally, virtual (or non-physical) means of

support were also beneficial to these youth while they integrated their sexual orientation identity

into their larger sense of identity. These venues included online spaces to connect with other

youth, such as through chat rooms or message boards catering to GBQ individuals, including

specific websites oriented to GBQ individuals belonging to their ethnic group. They also

consulted LGBT-oriented magazines, books, or other types of media to learn about the "gay

community" and to normalize an identity which was condemned by other individuals who were not sexual minorities.

Taken together, the youth were able to develop a complex sense of self despite the presence of both positive and negative messages maintained by elements of all the communities of their membership. This process was further complicated because these identities were still under development during the integration process. Despite these challenges, the youth were able to integrate the many parts of themselves into one larger cohesive self-concept.

Concerning the presentation of these multiple identities, the youth also engaged in a creative process to avoid the negative elements within their multiple communities by managing the expression of particular identities while participating in various aspects of their communities. The youth were adept in understanding the level of acceptance concerning their identities, and managed their behaviors to either minimize or enhance the visibility of particular aspects of themselves. Other participants did not engage in such a process of managing their behaviors, rather they limited where they ventured to avoid harassment and to access venues which supported their identities. Similar to the process of identity integration, the ways in which youth presented their identities was unique to the individual and their circumstances.

<u>Specific Findings: Sexual Orientation Identity Integration and Presentation</u>

<u>The Role of Family in Sexual Orientation Identity</u>

For the GBQ youth, the impact of parents on the integration of their sexual orientation identity and their subsequent interactions with family members was profound. Many of the participants reported that their family members were intolerant of their same-sex sexual attractions. This intolerance took many forms, as some family members expressed this directly

to participants themselves if they had disclosed their sexuality, or indirectly through heterosexist comments directed toward others. Consequently, the youth were hesitant to disclose their sexual orientation to their family members, and if they had done so already were resistant to discuss topics related to their sexuality with their family such as romantic partners, future life plans, or pertinent political or social issues relating to the gay community.

Many participants reported experiencing negative reactions from parents in two forms. First, the youth experienced *overt* experiences of rejection, condemnation, harassment, or violence from their parents. Though all overt forms varied with regard to their direct physical impact on the adolescent, the participants reported that all forms of rejection left insurmountable wounds to their identities and well being. The second and more insidious form of negative reaction was in *covert* forms of intolerance, which involved the creation of a heterosexist family environment. This consisted of imposing a silence on discussions regarding their sexual orientation, by a refusal to disclose the participant's sexual orientation to other family members, or by creating a hostile environment within the family in which heterosexist comments or dialogues was encouraged. Rejection in this covert form was also traumatic, as youth indicated that they experienced both initial and continued rejection and oppression related to their sexual orientation. Further, this lack of communication between parent and child prevented further dialogues and discussions from occurring, and often left the participant without any familial support. Family disapproval and removal of support is also consistent with previous literature (Rivers & D'Augelli, 2001; Ryan & Futterman, 1998; Ryan, 2010), however the delineation between direct and non-direct forms of rejection has not been reported.

Heterosexist environments in the home setting not only impacted how the youth felt internally about their identity, and subsequently its internalization within their larger self-

concept, but also impacted the presentation of their identities in the home. Consequently, youth

whose family environment was perceived as being intolerant were hesitant to disclose their

sexuality to their parents, and minimized the presence of their sexuality by not discussing topics

related to their sexuality, while also enhancing their expressions of masculinity and minimizing

thire effeminacy.   This shifting of behaviors is consistent with the findings of Zea (1999) who

reported that adult Latino males change the presentation of their identities while interacting with

family members, such that their ethnic identity was most evident, while the presentation of their

sexuality was negligible.

Remarkably, participants reported that eventually many parents were able to overcome

their initial rejection and heterosexism and provided support for their child. Youth indicated that

some parents provided support in the form of advice on dating and relationships and education

on STDs and condoms. However, most important of the types of support parents provided was

unconditional love and support.   The ability of parents to overcome their anger and frustration

and eventually support their child is poignant given the initial lack of shared communication

between parents and adolescents after the participant's disclosure of their sexuality. This also

indicates the potential for intervention with adults who may need support after their child's

disclosure of their sexual orientation. Concerning the presentation of their identities with their

family, those youth who had supportive family members were more likely to present themselves

in a well-integrated manner without altering their presentation in order to fit within the family

setting.

Reconciling Sexuality with Larger Identity

One significant finding of this study was that compared to their ethnic and gender

identities, the youth faced significantly greater challenges to integrating their sexual orientation

identity into their larger identity, and subsequently presenting this identity to others. In comparing the types of oppression that youth faced from the multiple communities in which they interacted, they experienced significantly greater oppressive messages and actions relating to their sexuality. These messages were not only directed toward the youth, but also volleyed toward others and were pervasive in media. The bombardment of negative messages concerning the youth's sexuality thereby placed the youths at continual alert regarding their sexuality, for fear that they may be attacked or harassed by individuals while interacting in their multiple communities. As a result, their sexual orientation became a primary feature in their conceptualizations of themselves, and their respective integration of identities. This primacy of sexual orientation identity both manifested in their Man drawings and in their qualitative interview. Further, in examining the types of conflicts between identities, the youths' sexuality presented the most conflicts between their other identities.

As a result of this anticipated oppression while navigating their multiple communities, youth also were reticent about fully presenting their sexual orientation identity in potentially unsafe areas. Youth often presented with an exaggerated masculinity to fit within a particular setting because sexuality was often manifested behaviorally through gendered behaviors, such as through masculinized speech and mannerisms. This finding is echoed in Barron and Bradford's (2007) research, where they found that to avoid gay-related victimization some youth engaged in behaviors in the school setting which were typical of heterosexual males. These behaviors included using masculine mannerisms and speech, feigning interest in women, and participating in sports. The participants acknowledged that after disclosure, others may focus on their sexuality when understanding them as individuals, which hindered future disclosure across settings.

Previous research also suggests that individuals may negotiate the internal discomfort originating from their developing sexual orientation identity through the use of bisexual as an alternative label (Troiden, 1989). However, the youth in the current study who identified as bisexual were firm in their mutual sexual attractions to men and women, and did not indicate that they had stronger attractions to one sex compared to the other. This stability in bisexual sexual orientation identity is consistent with Rust's (2003) findings that bisexual identities are typically constant throughout one's lifetime.

A Public compared to Private Identity

Another important finding as it related to the presentation and integration of sexual orientation identity was that compared to gender or ethnic identity, youth were the most conflicted between the external presentation of their sexual orientation identity and its internal integration. This may be related to the previous theme in this discussion, where the primacy of their sexual orientation identity dictates the presentation of the youth's identity in all settings. The constant state of alert evoked by their sexual orientation identity may automatically create a disconnection between their internal and external self. Through this disconnection in themselves, the youth present an inauthentic self to the outside world, and experience distress in maintaining this presentation. This disconnection of the self when navigating multiple contexts has been noted in Franke and Leary's (1991) findings regarding how adults do not disclose their sexual orientation identities at work.

Further, because of the endemic heterosexism evident throughout American and ethnic minority cultures, youth are understandably resistant to openly disclose their sexuality when venturing into public venues and when interacting with strangers. As a result, the youth developed dual types of presentations. First, some youth were open about their sexuality which

was presented to close friends who were supportive of their sexuality or while traversing the gay

community. The second type of presentation occurred when they interacted with others where

participants did not want to disclose their sexuality, in which their sexuality was more private.

The youth therefore created two distinct presentation styles to fit into settings in which they

found support. In examining previous research, this finding is similar to Griffin's (1991) notion

that the four varying types of sexual orientation identity disclosure in a work setting varies

depending on the level of acceptance towards LGBT people within the setting. However, the

findings in this study reveal that such a presentation style can occur across multiple settings, and

is primarily influenced by those with whom the person is interacting.

The Role of the Gay Community

Participants in the study also noted the importance of the gay community while

integrating and presenting their sexual orientation identity. Though most participants described

the "gay community" as being a physical venue where GBQ men congregate, such as a bar or

club, this also included physical venues such as establishments frequented by gay and bisexual

individuals, LGBT community-based organizations, and online spaces such as websites or chat

rooms. The gay community facilitated the youths' connection with other similarly-identified

individuals in a relatively safe setting. Additionally, by interacting with other GBQ-individuals,

youth were able to learn how one lives a life as an openly gay or bisexual individual, and to find

needed support from other individuals. As a result, by interacting with other GBQ individuals,

they were able to normalize an otherwise stigmatized sexual orientation identity. Further, by

learning that their lives would not significantly change if they were to live a life as an openly gay

or bisexual individual, they were able to integrate their sexual orientation identity with their

other identities. This is because they understood that if they would later identify as a gay or

bisexual individual, they could continue to retain and maintain their other identities without significant conflict.

Previous research acknowledges the importance of interacting with members of the gay community in the integration of one's sexual orientation identity with her/his larger self-concept. Konik and Stewart (2004) state that interaction with other GBQ individuals both provides support and modeling of the individual's growing sexual orientation identity, which is especially important given the strong pressures within society to act heterosexual. Fassinger's (1998) model of sexual orientation identity development acknowledges that the process of identity development has both internal and external components. The internal component involves determining an individual's identity, while the external aspect involves interacting with the gay community. Only through successfully socializing with non-heterosexual individuals can one fully integrate their sexual orientation identity with other aspects of themselves (Fassinger, 1998). Because of age restrictions, many youth in the study did not have access to typical venues in the gay community, such as bars or clubs. As a result, the youth were limited in their methods of connecting to other GBQ individuals, and did so by accessing community-based organizations and resources on the internet. Utilizing alternative venues for support was echoed in the research by Seal and his colleagues (2000), who found that GBQ youth value both community-based agencies as well as other resources outside of the gay community. Regardless of venue, the previous research acknowledges that individuals need to interact with other sexual minority individuals to normalize their identity, which the youth in our study did as well through alternative venues to those discussed in previous research.

Concerning the presentation of sexual orientation identity, the predominance of youth reported that by accessing the gay community they were able to present their identities in a way

most authentic to themselves, without fear that they would be targeted because of their sexual

orientation identity. For some youth, the gay community was the only venue where they felt safe

in expressing their identity to others. As a result, accessing this community was essential for

youth who were beginning to feel comfortable in expressing their sexual orientation identity.

Other youth reported that while in the gay community, they over-emphasized their sexual

orientation identity, creating a presentation which contrasted their presentation outside the gay

community, where their sexuality was minimized. Participants also stated that in order to fit into

the gay community, they had to act in a stereotypically "gay" manner, which included effeminate

behaviors and having interests in fashion and gay-oriented media. This notion of pressure to act

in a particular manner in order to fit into the gay community was expressed generally in Zea's

(1999) work with Latino gay men, in which the participants minimized their ethnicity and

emphasized their sexual orientation identity to fit within the gay community. Consequently, for

some youth the gay community was a place to enjoy freedom in the safe expression of their

growing sexual orientation identity, while for others it was a place of conditional support, as long

as individuals who access the community behave in a particular manner.

Sexual Orientation Identity Supports

In addition to the role of the gay community and those within it, other supports outside

the gay community were helpful while youth integrated and presented their sexual orientation

identity. Since several youth had not disclosed their sexuality to their parents, many accessed the

gay community and supports for their growing identity by accessing clandestine resources such

as through the internet. The internet allowed youth to anonymously explore their identity in a

safe manner without fear of accidental disclosure. Through their interactions on the internet, the

youth formed social networks with individuals to whom they disclosed their identity. These

social networks then could facilitate self-acceptance of the participant's growing identity. In addition to the internet, some youth disclosed their sexuality to heterosexually-identified peers or adults, and found support through the acceptance given by those individuals. Unlike with the gay community, the youth did not necessarily learn how to live their life as a gay individual through these heterosexual supports. Instead, the youth found solace in understanding that other heterosexuals, who belonged to a group which generally was intolerant of their sexuality, could accept and support them. Additionally, youth who disclosed their sexuality to these heterosexual individuals could later present themselves authentically to these individuals without fear of negative reaction.

The finding that youth could find support in their emerging sexual orientation identity among heterosexuals, many of whom were also members of their ethnic community, does not support previous research which indicates that ethnic minority communities are not supportive of GBQ individuals (Chung and Katayama, 1998; Monteiro and Fuqua, 1994; Parks, 2001; Tremble, Scheider, and Appathurai, 1989).   Though the participants did not openly disclose their sexual orientation to all members of their ethnic community, they were able to selectively disclose to those whom they thought would be supportive of their identity. As a result, contrary to Monteiro and Fuqua's (1994) research, participants were able to develop and integrate their sexual identities with the assistance of their peers. The participants noted that overall, their ethnic communities were not supportive of sexual orientation identity, but the current study indicates that youth were able to find supports from within their community despite disapproval by some of its members.

This process of disclosing to select individuals to find support is similar to the findings of Savin-Williams (2001), who stated that a youth's disclosure of sexual orientation typically

entails first disclosing to supportive heterosexual friends, then to brothers/sisters, and finally to parents. The current research indicates that such supports do not necessarily reside within a geographical gay community, and can exist in non-physical venues and within other communities as well.

<div align="center">Specific Findings: Ethnic Identity Integration and Presentation</div>

Religion in Ethnic Identity

One significant finding which emerged through the study was the role of religion in the integration and presentation of ethnic identity among the participants. Within both the African American and Latino participants, religion served a primary role in expressing culture, as it was through religion that many of the traditions specific to their cultural heritage were articulated. Many participants stated that one institution that was a continual means of connection to their ethnic community was their church or other religious institution whose patrons were predominantly members of their ethnic group. Further, several religious holidays were expressed solely within the participants culture, such as the celebration of Kwanzaa and All Saints Day for African Americans and Latinos, respectively. Therefore, it was through religious worship or celebrations that the youth were able to integrate their ethnicity by finding support through expressing their culture with members of their ethnic community.

Despite the positive aspects of religion in expressing and integrating the participant's ethnic identity, religion was the primary source of heterosexism held by many within the ethnic minority communities. Participants reported that negative reactions condemning their sexuality disseminated by others in their ethnic community would originate from statements found in religious beliefs or texts. Several participants reported that when attending religious services, condemnations of homosexuality during weekly sermons by religious leaders were

commonplace. As a result, these messages within the community and specifically in religious institutions created a barrier to the identity presentation. Additionally, these religious barriers also prevented the youths' future participation in such religious institutions, thereby inhibiting the presentation of their ethnic identity.

Previous research does acknowledge the religiously-oriented forms of heterosexism, particularly within an individual's own ethnic community, and discusses the negative impact that this has on an adult's religiosity and interaction with religious institutions (Miller, 2007). Further, the impact of the church and religious teachings on heterosexism and intolerance of LGBT individuals has been discussed by Parks (2001). However, previous research has not discussed the dual roles of religious institutions in the lives of sexual and ethnic minority individuals, which act as both a source of support in ethnic identity through religion and a promoter of heterosexism.

Role of Supports for Ethnic Identity

Though their relationships with family members may have been strained due to intolerance related to the youth's sexual orientation, the participants identified the family as an essential factor in the process of ethnic identity integration. It was through their parents that the youth were introduced to their ethnic identity, and were told of the specific customs and traditions inherent in membership of their group. Though some youth were not connected to other similar ethnic minority individuals due to lack of physical proximity or other factors, they were able to connect with their culture through cultural practices occurring in the home setting with family. Further, family members served as positive role models for these youth, as they contrasted the negative messages promoted by the White heterosexual community, as well as those observations made by the participants concerning their own ethnic group. Through their

family members, they learned that it was possible to balance both their own culture with the dominant American culture. By witnessing the acculturation process with their parents, youth later applied this to their own identity integration. Also, in the home setting youth were able to practice their own cultural traditions which they later used in the presentation of their identity in other settings. The family therefore provided a venue where youths could first learn about their identity and integrate it into their larger self-concept, and later learned how to present their identities to the outside world.

In addition to the youths' family members, participants were also assisted in the process of identity integration and presentation through other supports, including similarly identified peers and community-based organizations. First, with peers they were able to learn how others with similar ethnic identities are able to manage cultural belief systems and traditions alongside those of the dominant American identity, which often conflicted with one another. Several participants in our study noted that they found comfort with other similarly identified ethnic minority youth because they were challenging more traditional notions of their ethnic culture and updating them to the modern times. As a result, it was through their peers that the participants learned how to integrate their ethnic identity alongside their other identities. Further, youth were able to practice the presentation of their identities in the presence of their supports, which helped in other contexts as the youth ventured into other areas where they were not supported in their multiple identities.

Previous research indicates that in the process of learning about one's ethnic identity, an individual may utilize resources and supports in a process of learning about their identities through an active search for information (Cross, 1978; Kim, 1981; Helms, 1990; Phinney, 1989). On the other hand, the youth in our study learned about their identities through observation and

practice, a primarily passive process which spans many years. The current study provides some insight into the roles that family, peers, and other supports play in the process of acculturation and integration for youths who have multiple identities. In addition, the study highlights the importance of practicing identity integration and presentation among those supports, which facilitates the youth's presentation of themselves in other settings where they are without their usual support networks.

Types of Connection to their community

Another relevant finding as it relates to identity integration and presentation of the youth concerning their ethnic identity was the degree to which they connected with their ethnic community. Due to heterosexism within their own ethnic community, youth may be wary of venturing into their own ethnic neighborhoods for fear of negative repercussions, including verbal harassment and violence. As a result, youth may be prevented from accessing a resource of connection with their ethnic community, which in turn prevents the expression of their identity with other similarly-identified individuals. Despite this barrier, the participants connected with alternative sources of their ethnic community through cultural expression with family members at home. Additionally, they reported that they could connect through similarly-identified peers in social settings outside of their ethnic neighborhood. Often, these individuals shared ethnic-specific interests, such as music or food, and maintained traditions or cultural practices with the youth. Others connected through GBQ community-based organizations which catered to fellow ethnic minorities, and it was in such venues that youth could also learn from others how to integrate their ethnic identity amongst their other identities. Youth also connected to their ethnic community through cultural traditions and practices, enacted by themselves or with friends. The participants therefore did not have to be in a physical neighborhood to connect

with their culture. By safely connecting with their ethnic community, they were able to present their ethnic identities without the fear of negative repercussions which may have occurred in the presence of heterosexist community members.

The types of connections with their ethnic community highlights the ability of youth to maintain connections to their ethnic identity in spite of a variety of factors, such as lack of physical proximity to ethnic-specific neighborhood and heterosexism. Previous literature indicates that at times many gay and lesbian ethnic minority adolescents felt that they had to choose between their ethnic and sexual identities (Dube and Savin-Williams ,1999). However, Wilson and Miller (2002) state that among African American gay and bisexual men, they engaged in behaviors which concealed their sexuality, such as maintaining masculine mannerisms, censored information about their own private lives, and engaged in acts of heterosexism towards others. Youth in our study negotiated such environments by avoiding them altogether, and finding alternative means of expressing their identities safely.

Identification of Positive Characteristics

While integrating their ethnic identity among their other identities, the participants negotiated the multiple messages from their many communities in which they interacted when developing a cohesive sense of ethnic identity. This process entails managing negative messages promoted by members of the larger dominant White community, the gay community, and also from other fellow ethnic minorities. Without a direct challenge to the existing messages, several ethnic identity development theorists contend that one is left with an overall negative perception of their ethnic group (Atkinson, Morten & Sue, 1979; Cross, 1971; Helms, 1990; Kim, 1981; Phinney, 1989). For youth in our study, who were in the process of challenging their own notions of ethnicity as it relates to themselves, the process of identity integration entailed

interpretation of these multiple messages. Youth were thus able to develop a positive sense of ethnicity byidentifying positive characteristics within their ethnic identity and community, which facilitated its integration into their larger self-concept.

This was primarily evident in elements which are distinctive qualities or characteristics of their ethnic group, such as food, language, and music. Additionally, festivals or events celebrated among ethnic group members, and other cultural traditions, were seen as positive elements of their ethnic identity. Additionally, the youth drew upon role models within their ethnic group and also identified shared characteristics with their ethnic group members. Despite having varying levels of connection with their ethnic community, participants were still able to identify many positive elements and reported that historically such positive elements were helpful in maintaining a sense of pride and positivity regarding their ethnicity. Positive elements subsequently were found in a variety of sources within their ethnic community and served many purposes throughout the lifespan.

Literature on ethnic identity encapsulated the integration of positive elements in one's own concept of his/her ethnic identity in stages such as *identity search/moratorium* according to Phinney (1989), *immerson and emersion* according to Helms (1990), and *resistance and immersion* according to Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1979). During these stages, individuals delve into their ethnic minority group and examine the history and culture of their group, and subsequently develop a sense of their identity. Here the individuals confront their own internalized biases concerning their own ethnic group and develop a positive sense of their ethnic identity, drawing upon positive elements of the ethnic culture and history. These positive cultural elements were described by the participants as serving multiple purposes; as a connection with members of their ethnic community group, as the foundation of their positive

ethnic identity, and also as a source of pride and esteem toward their ethnic group. This sense of

pride may assist in managing racism and marginalization by the larger community. Youth can

respond to negative experiences or comments by reflecting on the positive aspects of their

identity. Therefore, these findings extend those found in previous ethnic identity literature in

that positive cultural elements were utilized not only during the identity development process,

but throughout adolescence, and had a variety of functions.

<u>Tensions and Pressures within the Community</u>

While youth engaged in the process of identity integration and later presentation of their

multiple identities, they also had to contend with the many internal pressures and tensions within

their own ethnic community. One such barrier, ignorance, was specific to heterosexism within

their community, and has been reported through other research on GBQ youth of color (Chung

and Katayama, 1998; Monteiro and Fuqua, 1994; Parks, 2001; Tremble, Scheider, and

Appathurai, 1989;). Youth indicated that they felt pressured by those in their ethnic community,

primarily their family members, to live a heterosexual life by marrying a woman and having

children. As a result, several youth perceived their ethnicity as incompatible with their sexuality,

thereby inhibiting full integration of both identities. This also affected the presentation of their

identities as they could not fully discuss their sexual orientation without feeling pressured to live

a heterosexual life promoted by those in their ethnic community. Internalized racism also served

as a barrier to the presentation and integration of his ethnic identity, because internal tensions

within the adolescent's ethnic group, often in the form of violence, prevented him from

positively identifying or connecting with his ethnic group. Previous research does not address

the lack of cohesion within ethnic groups, and largely assumes that an ethnic community is

unified and serves as a positive source of culture, support, and identity (Atkinson, Morten & Sue,

1979; Cross, 1971;Helms, 1990; Phinney, 1989; Smith 1991).   Previous literature with ethnic

minority heterosexuals indicates that the relationships with and attitudes toward members of their

ethnic group are predominantly positive in nature. However participants in the current study

indicated that they hold both positive and negative attitudes concerning their ethnic group, which

informs how they internalize their ethnic identity within their larger identity framework. The

differing types of messages also impact the presentation of their identity to members of their

community.

<div align="center">Specific Findings: Gender Identity Integration and Presentation</div>

Definition of Masculinity

Though messages concerning masculinity are pervasive many participants in the study

disagreed with the concept of hegemonic ideology. Further, research indicates the concept

leaves little room for flexibility in its expression (Cornwall, 1997), and this restricted notion

according to the youth, was seen as archaic, oppressive to both men and women, and illogical.

During the qualitative interview, it appeared that youth had spent much time analyzing their own

gender identity in relation to the concept of hegemonic masculinity, and ruled that the standard

was not one that they were willing to follow. This comfort in the rejection of an ideology which

was steadfastly held by the vast majority of other people is remarkable for already stigmatized

youth. However this rejection is understandable given that sexual and ethnic minority

individuals must also challenge similarly oppressive ideologies which marginalize them, such as

religion or cultural pressures. Nonetheless, the youth were able to challenge these notions and,

in many cases, to discard them entirely. This facilitated the integration of gender identity

because though they did not fit into the standard set by hegemonic masculinity, they still

considered themselves men regardless of other people's opinions.

The findings of the current study support those found in previous research. In Striepe and Tolman's study (2003) they found that both heterosexual and gay youth engage in a process of challenging masculinity ideology as a part of adolescent development. The current study indicates that the notion of masculinity ideology may not be held by all, and it is not entirely unusual for youth to reject the notion entirely.

Resisting Conformity to the Masculine Ideal

Another important finding as it related to the participant's gender identity was the acknowledgement that they did not conform to the concept of hegemonic masculinity. Being atypical with regard to masculinity could target them for harassment by their peers; however the participants themselves did not express any distress in their lack of conformity to hegemonic masculinity. The youth were content in that they had varying levels of both masculine and feminine characteristics, and did not feel internal pressure to change their behaviors to become more masculine. This has strong implications for the integration of their gender identity into their larger self-concept, as the youth were content in their gender identity because they were being authentic. This is in contrast to the struggles reported in previous research by Abalos (2002) through his investigation of identity formation with heterosexual Latino men. He found that Latino men experienced distress in not being able to fit into standards of masculinity as dictated by North American society and their Latino culture (Abalos, 2002). Additionally, some participants in the current study did not feel that their presentation had to undergo fundamental changes in order to fit into venues where they may be oppressed due to gender atypical behaviors. As previous research indicates, adolescent males experience the greatest amount of ostracism in the school setting concerning any slight variations in the expression of their gender identity (Barron & Bradford, 2007; Mandel & Shakeshaft, 2000; Plummer, 2001).

Consequently, the youth in our study exhibited great skill in avoiding such harassment despite being outside of the strict masculinity ideal. This is especially poignant given that adolescence is the time when males are at highest risk for harassment for their perceived lack of masculinity (Kimmel, 2006).

Developing One's Own Sense of Masculinity

In reaction to the perceived incompatibility between the masculine ideal and their sexual orientation, or their disagreement with the tenets of masculinity, many youth in the study reported that they created their own sense of masculinity. For some participants, this involved understanding that their unique style of gender, comprising of a mixture of both masculine and feminine traits, was acceptable in their revised concept of masculinity. Often, this entailed the youth identifying that their interests in fashion or the arts would technically be considered a feminine interest, but they stated that they could still be considered men while maintaining these interests. As a result, having stereotypically feminine interests does not necessarily disqualify a person's possibility to be masculine or male. Other participants reported that they identified and maintained the positive aspects of masculinity, while discarding those concepts which they perceived as being oppressive or archaic. For example, some youth agreed with the notion that men should be independent and be caretakers of the family, while disagreeing with the belief that men should treat women as inferior or that men should have an overly masculine appearance through musculature or demeanor. By being able to create an alternative understanding of masculinity, youth were then able to integrate their gender identity into their larger self-concept without much negotiation of their other identities. This also facilitated the presentation of their identities because they continued to see themselves as men, and thereby did not have to make many behavioral or internal changes to fit into multiple settings. The changing nature of

masculinity and the recent focus on positive characteristics is akin to the notion of *caballerismo* (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008), where men are encouraged to be respectful and live ethically, but do not endorse destructive behaviors.

The malleability of the masculine ideal has been discussed in previous research, which suggests that changes in men's concepts of masculinity are possible. For example, Willis (1999) reported that men can learn to still consider themselves as masculine without the need to demean or oppress women. Brod (1987) stated that once men realize that there are many different ways to express their masculinity, they will begin to change their own behaviors while at the same time embrace their masculinity. By allowing for the possibilities of masculinity expression, more youth who are outside of the strict notions of masculinity will view their gender identity positively. Additionally, through Davidson's (2009) case studies with three young Latino men, two of which were sexual minorities, he found that young Latino males routinely redevelop their sense of masculinity due to the oppressive nature of masculinity ideology. According to Davidson (2009), this process entails embracing one's femininity and accepting the fluidity of gender.

Masculinity a Core Concept of the Self

Another notable finding was that regardless of the messages promoted by multiple communities which state that homosexuality is incompatible with masculinity, several youth reported that they were firm in their identity as men. In these cases, these youth reported that they would always be men because of fundamental factors, such as genetics or anatomical parts which distinguished them from women. Though some could be considered effeminate in appearance and presentation, they considered themselves men because they would always have male genitals, and would always have male secondary sexual characteristics. Youth who stated

that they were fundamentally men for this reason also disagreed with the notion of masculinity, and discarded the notion for the reasons stated above. By rejecting messages attempting to disqualify their masculinity, and by holding firm in their gender identity because of their male biology, they could integrate their gender identity into their larger self-concept. Though previous research does not specifically address those who report that they are masculine only because of constitutional factors such as biology, Kohlberg's (1996) research reported that youth understand their gender on a similar basis at a very early age. The youth in our study therefore are identifying with an ingrained and fundamental sense of masculinity learned early in childhood, which messages heard later in adolescence cannot disqualify.

<u>Work in Progress</u>

The final significant finding as it relates to gender identity integration and presentation was that some youth understood that they were still in the process of developing their personal sense of gender identity. For some of these participants, they agreed with tenets of masculinity ideology but had not fulfilled them at the time of data collection. For example, some had not lived independently or did not have a source of employment, which was seen as essential characteristics of masculinity. Others were still in the process of interpreting the myriad messages concerning masculinity and how this may apply to their life. At this state, they were determining if they fit within a particular notion, if they should change themselves to fit within this tenet, or if the ideal should be discarded entirely. Though some participants who reported that they were developing their gender identity would technically be considered adults according to some definitions, the findings of this study show that young adults are continually determining their sense of identity for several years, and that this process is complicated. These findings support those found in previous research which indicate that gender identity development and

integration is difficult, especially when one is outside the strict standards of masculinity (Abalos, 2002; Davidson, 2009; Striepe & Tolman, 2003).

<center>Specific Findings: Multiple Identity Integration and Presentation</center>

Primacy of Sexual Orientation Identity

Though youth in the study reported that they were able to integrate their multiple identities into their larger self concept without great distress, and that they were able to connect with elements of their ethnic identity and community without harassment, the youth were continually made aware of their sexual orientation in all the contexts in which they interacted. With the exception of the gay community, youth were at risk for experiencing harassment concerning their sexual orientation identity in their ethnic community as well as the larger White heterosexual community, which were the primary venues where participants interacted on a daily basis. Further, during the qualitative interview, the participants discussed the impact of messages within society which condemned homosexuality, such as discourse on gay marriage and adoption as well as other heterosexist messages portrayed in media. As a result, the participants were continually aware of heterosexism, and were keenly aware of the possible negative repercussions of the disclosure of their sexuality while interacting in their multiple communities. Therefore, the youth were careful about their disclosure, and once they had disclosed their sexuality were hypervigilant to avoid harassment.

This notion of centrality of sexual orientation internally and externally by others was encapsulated in the notion of Master Status, coined by sociologist Everett Hughes, (Macoinis, 2005) whereby an individual's minority identity, in this case sexual orientation identity, becomes primary amongst all other identities when understood by others. According to this notion, individuals who were seen previously as multi-faceted individuals are only seen as solely being

gay or lesbian once the individual discloses her/his sexuality. As a result, their sexual orientation identity becomes the master status which dictates how others see them. Youth in our study were cognizant of the effect Master Status had on others' perceptions of themselves, and consequently continued to be wary of heterosexism compared to other forms of oppression while navigating their multiple communities.

<u>Disconnection between Integration and Presentation</u>

As youth navigated their multiple communities of membership, they reported that in order to successfully connect with those within a particular community, and to avoid harassment by others, they had to make changes to their presentation. For some youth, this process involved managing their behaviors in such a way that was socially acceptable by those within that particular community. For example, youth heightened the masculinity of their behaviors to facilitate interactions with individuals in their ethnic community, as well as with individuals in the larger White heterosexual community. Typically, most changes in presentation occurred through the level of masculinity of their behaviors, and these changes had implications in all three discussed aspects of their larger self concept. While some youth were able to manage these behavioral changes with ease, other participants reported a wide disparity between their external presentation of self and their internalized identity integration. As a result, the interactions while in this exaggerated masculine state were challenging for many youth, and some reported discomfort in the process of not being authentic to themselves. Consequently, though some youth could separate their presentation with their internal identity, and could make the changes necessary to facilitate interaction, this was straining and uncomfortable to maintain.

Concerning previous research, Downs (2005) discussed a similar process which occurs with gay and bisexual men. In his book "The Velvet Rage," he discusses the continual negative

impact on the self that gay men endure when they present a heterosexual image to others, and are not truthful to others about their sexual orientation identity.   As a consequence of this deception to others, the gay individual engages in an unending cycle where he seeks to garner accolades in his respective field of employment. According to Downs (2005), these individuals desire approval not for their accomplishments, but rather they want validation for their true identity which has been hidden to those around them. Further, he states that individuals may engage in high-risk and pleasurable behaviors to temper the feelings aroused by self-deception, which includes hyper-sexuality, substance use, or criminal behavior. His theory suggests that the continual process of false presentation to others may have an accumulated detrimental effect to the entire self.

<u>Context-Specific Identity Presentation</u>

Another poignant finding was that one's context has strong impact on which identities were presented to others. Youth were keenly aware of the level of tolerance in their multiple settings, and seemed to automatically and intuitively alter their behaviors to fit within their multiple contexts. Further, youth were not merely avoidant of heterosexism in these contexts, as they also wanted to avoid racism and racially-based ostracism. The youth in the study were social creatures adept in navigating their multiple communities, seeking those whom they could find support while avoiding those who would harass them despite their best efforts of presentation management. Primarily, youth mitigated their presentation in the home or in settings where members of their ethnic community were situated by minimizing their sexual orientation identity. When traversing the gay community or the larger dominant White heterosexual community, the participants managed the presentation of their ethnic identity.

However in other settings, such as school, their neighborhood, or around particular peers or acquaintances, they may alter the presentation of all of their identities in a variety of ways.

This notion of the contexts mitigating the presentation of one's identities has been discussed in previous research. For example, this echoes Barron and Bradford's (2007) research which found that some youth feigned interest and engaged in behaviors at school which were typical of heterosexual males. One's behavior being impacted by the setting has also been discussed extensively in Stereotype Threat research. Shih, Pittinsky, and Ambady (1999) examined how cognition of one's identity may impact performance on a mathematics measure. In their study, which examined Asian American female college students, they found that the testing environments impacted the students' math performance. In settings where their identities as women were made cognizant through comments made by the researchers or through posters present in the environment, their performance was significantly lower compared to the comparison group without environmental effects. On the other hand, scores were highest among all other groups in environments where their Asian identity was made apparent. Shih and colleagues (1999) highlight how individuals present their identity towards others depending on the environment, implying that identity presentation is fluid.   The current study expands the findings of previous researchers by illuminating the various ways in which identities are presented across multiple contexts.

Core Identity

The results of this study indicate that youth were able to successfully integrate disparate aspects of the self, despite conflicted messages about each identity in its relation to the other. However, when traversing the many separate communities in which they interacted, most participants stated that they had to make changes to their presentation in order to avoid

harassment and to facilitate connection with those in the community. For some, the change was subtle, making small behavioral changes, whereas others made more dramatic alterations in their behavioral presentation. These behavioral changes mitigated the masculinity or effeminacy of their behaviors, which to many was an indicator of their sexual orientation and gender identity. Additionally, the level of masculinity and femininity of their behaviors also dictated their ethnic identity as well if youth identified ethnic-specific methods of masculinity expression to which they felt the need to conform. Youth who made minor alterations in their behavior stated that since their behavior was typically masculine or androgynous, even when within the gay community, they did not have to significantly alter their behavior while navigating their multiple contexts. These participants reported having a single core identity in which their identities integrated, and that they made subtle changes in their behavior to fit across environments. Unlike participants whose presentation significantly shifted across settings, these youth reported that the process of navigating into multiple contexts occurred naturally and without distress.

Previous research does not discuss the youth described above, who did not have to make significant change in their presentation to fit within their multiple contexts, however this finding does indicate that for some youth, the process of identity presentation across multiple contexts is neither negative nor distressing.   By being able to make drastic changes to their presentation, youth in this category may avoid engaging in potentially destructive behaviors as suggested by Downs (2005).

Uniqueness

In order to negotiate the experienced or threat of oppression in their multiple communities, as well as the conflicting messages concerning their multiple identities, several youth perceived themselves as being unique as a way of rationalizing this dissonance. This

perception is understandable as these youth represent a minority group existing within a minority group, and consequently the participants understood that their experiences were outside of the norm for not only sexual minority individuals, but also most members of their ethnic community. Consequently, the youth understood that their circumstances were truly unique, and that conflict between their multiple identities and communities is normative and eventual. The youth interact with at least three communities which have individual pressures. By stating that they are unique, they were able to immunize themselves from significant conflict in their attempts to fully assimilate into one of their communities.

This adaptive means of addressing multiple identity integration and presentation has not been discussed in previous research, but could be interpreted as an extension of a normal process in adolescence whereby youth view themselves as distinctly unique individuals. According to Elkind (1978), otherwise ordinary adolescents perceive themselves as being truly unique and distinct individuals from others, often magnifying the differences between themselves and their peers. In Elkind's (1978) research, he suggests that youth develop a "Personal Fable" to describe their unique life histories, which is a product of egocentricity, defined as the preoccupation with the self. Unfortunately, Elkind (1978) states that egocentricity and the "Personal Fable" imbue youth with a sense of invincibility which places them at risk because they do not see themselves immune to negative outcomes. The youth in our study, on the other hand, may engage in such cognitive coping strategies as an adaptive means of understanding themselves, which may prevent them from future internal conflicts and their subsequent harm on physical and mental health.

<u>Creating a New Identity or Community</u>

Finally, several participants bypassed the oppression of their multiple communities of membership by affiliating with a smaller community which is both inclusive and supportive of their multiple identities. For some youth, this involved creating a new identity, such as the "Trade" identity discussed by two participants, to which they then connected with other similarly-identified individuals. Other youth chose to create a niche within their larger community, such as considering their own personal "gay community" to be a congregation of other sexual minorities who meet in venues other than gay bars or clubs. By recreating a new identity or community, youth obtained the benefits of connecting to a community, through affiliation and support, and avoided the negative consequences of other communities, including pressures to act contrary to their desires or ostracism and oppression. Previous research does not address the alternative creation of identities and communities for youth within larger minority communities, but the research indicates that many youth are able to find sources of support and thereby avoid negative consequences arising from their attempts to fit within a community.

<div align="center">Specific Findings: Data Sources</div>

<u>Quantitative Data</u>

The quantitative survey was utilized in the larger study to both obtain data concerning the participant's engagement of risk behaviors, and was also used in the creation of the purposive sample of participants to be interviewed for the next phase of analysis. Since participants were instructed that their responses would be confidential, they were able to share with the research team a wealth of information about their lives, including ethnic identity, sexual orientation identity, substance use and sexual risk behaviors, and detailed demographic information. Unfortunately, many participants who completed the survey expressed difficulty with the survey

questions, to which clarification was provided by the research staff. This situation primarily was

evoked by participants completing the GIQ measure, to which they were instructed to either fully

agree or disagree with statements concerning their identity. As indicated in Appendix B, many

of the questions in this measure made several assumptions. First, it assumed that youth

identified as gay, and would not choose alternative identifications such as bisexual, queer, or

trade. As a result, a participant may answer "false" to a question which otherwise was true, but

the question's wording assumed that they identified as gay. As a result, when analyzing the

quantitative data individually and qualitatively, several conflicts arose in response styles for

individuals who identified as bisexual or other non-gay identities.

One advantage of using survey data qualitatively was its power as a qualitative tool,

compared to a quantitative survey. The intended use of the GIQ was to create a summary score

based on their total responses, which corresponded to a stage of sexual orientation identity

development. However, by examining the individual responses, the specific ways in which the

youth's identities were developed are revealed. For example, a participant may state that he is

fully identified as gay, both to himself and to select friends, but has not publically disclosed to

members of his ethnic community. As a result, his quantitative summary scores would imply

that he had an underdeveloped sense of sexual orientation identity. In examining the data,

however, it is apparent that though he is public about their sexuality toward others, there are

some arenas where he will not disclose his sexuality. In examining the quantitative data

qualitatively, more information is provided compared to a larger summary score.

Qualitative Data

The qualitative interview was a powerful tool in the collection of data for this project. As

opposed to the quantitative survey, the qualitative interview enabled participants to qualify their

responses with explanations, and further enabled the participants to ask directly for clarification and explanation of concepts. In addition, the interviewer could readily probe the participant for further information concerning a response or concept discussed. The semi-structured nature of the interview protocol further enabled the interviewer to ask subsequent questions to the participant which is not specifically listed on the interview protocol, but which may seem pertinent to the interviewer. The interview protocol also allowed the participant to provide context to his answers, specifically in describing situations where a concept is discussed. For example, participants could describe a scenario where they experienced heterosexism, and discuss the personal impact of this event. As a result, the qualitative interview allowed for youth to not only describe their experiences through an inductive process, but also they could provide context to their responses which could not be captured in a quantitative survey.

Though qualitative methodologies provide researchers with a wide variety of data, there are several weaknesses to its application in this study. First, one limitation of the qualitative interview was it's semi-structured nature. It was because of the flexibility of the interviewer that each individual interview varied across participants and interviewers. As a result, the use of the qualitative interview lacked reliability across interviewers in the information obtained through each interview. Further, interviewers varied with regard to gender, ethnicity, age, and sexual orientation, and these may have elicited different data from each participant. Another limitation was the time spent on each individual interview. Compared to the quantitative survey, the amount of information obtained for the time spent was smaller. Further, because of the participant's time restrictions, for some participants all areas which could have been probed further were not covered because time had been spent exploring other areas in the interview protocol.

Man Drawing

As a novel data collection tool, particularly for adolescents, the Man Drawing provided youth with another means of expressing their unique experiences, and as a result this provided a great deal of information toward the analysis. During the administration of the Man Drawing, anecdotal responses from the researchers indicated that participants responded well to the Man Drawing, which was completed at the last stage of the qualitative interview. Participants enjoyed the change of data collection, from dialogue in the interview to a creative process of drawing. This was especially poignant in participants who could not readily provide examples to concepts discussed during the interview or who found the entire interview challenging. For these participants, the Man Drawing provided a tangible way of expressing their complicated process of identity integration and presentation.

During analysis, the drawings provided rich data in the quality of both their identity integration, and the settings in which they presented their identities. Analysis of the drawings individually without supplemental information did not reveal any significant findings, however more information was gleaned when they were analyzed in tandem with the accompanying interview text in which the participants described their drawing. The Man Drawings in which youth drew settings where their identity presentation differed from their typical presentation also offered real-life examples of concepts such as oppression which were described earlier in the qualitative interview. The information in the Man Drawing suggested that there were settings in which their identities were presented alternatively which impacted the youth's self-concept. This included presenting their ethnic identity when in the presence of other ethnic individuals, or minimizing their sexuality while interacting with family members at home. Though such

information was queried in the qualitative interview, such rich responses were not obtained in the interview compared to those provided from the Man Drawing.

With regard to limitations to using the Man Drawings as a data collection method, the primary weakness was that the measure itself has not been validated through empirical research. Further, the results of the study indicated that the drawings could not be interpreted using standard methods of qualitative analysis of drawings. As a result, observations were made of the drawings itself, and relevant themes based on solely the drawings were difficult to interpret. The drawings only provided relevant data only after analyzing them along with the accompanying interview text in which the participant explained the drawings.

Cross-Case Analysis

During cross-case analysis, all of the data sources were examined across individual participants. This enabled the researcher to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the participant from varying sources of information, which provided significantly greater information than the individual data sources alone. Though the process of cross-case analysis was time-consuming, the results of the analysis revealed larger themes across individual participants which were extended to other youth. Additionally, the process enabled singular themes visible through one stage of analysis to be validated through the other data sources. For example, it is assumed that a participant who indicates family opposition to their homosexuality in their quantitative survey and their qualitative interview would also express this theme in their Man Drawing. By examining a Man Drawing with the knowledge that that family opposition is a theme in other areas, the researcher could identify an otherwise ambiguous pattern in the Man Drawing as perhaps being indicative of family opposition. Consequently, the process of cross-

case analysis not only informed the creation but also the validation of themes which emerged in other individual data sources.

Implications

The current study sheds light on the ways in which sexual minority youth of color integrate their identities into a cohesive whole, and how they present their identities across multiple contexts. First, it is clear that identity integration and presentation are daunting tasks, which require much cognitive effort by the youth. As a result, mental health providers should be apprised to the complex intersections that GBQ youth of color must navigate to determine a cohesive sense of self. This echoes the suggestions by Deaux and Stewart (2001) who state that researchers should examine sexual orientation identity in the context of other identities, and to examine how they intersect and interact. This study emphasizes the importance of that struggle as youth integrated three primary identities, among others, into one larger self-concept. Mental health providers should also validate the experiences of youth in the difficulty in examining the multiple and conflicting messages concerning their identities. Disseminated findings of this study could be used as a reference to youth to show them how others have integrated their multiple identities, and to serve as validation to the challenges experienced in this process. Similarly, given the complexity of multiple identity integration, discussion of this topic may be useful to youth in group psychotherapy, where youth could learn how others have integrated their identities. During individual psychotherapy, providers should also assist adolescents in processing their feelings and cognitions during this difficult process of identity integration.

Concerning community-based organizations and interventionists operating in communities, the results of the study emphasize the need for culturally-grounded programming and intervention. As the results indicated, individuals who are both sexual and ethnic minorities

must not only integrate these identities into their larger sense of self, but they must also interact

with individuals from both groups. Consequently, their experiences of oppression both within

their sexual and ethnic minority group make their perspectives within their respective

communities unique. Programming which targets the group must also acknowledge those who

are on the fringe of that particular community. For example, a prevention intervention in an

ethnic community should not enforce heterosexism, such as an intervention which involved

heterosexual couples participating in a dance during which some educational programming

occurs.

Additionally, community-based organizations should specifically target those who face

oppression within their own communities in the hopes of meeting their unique needs. For

example, youth of color should be given the opportunity to meet in the gay community, and

sexual and ethnic minority youth should have resources to connect with other youth within their

ethnic community. Each youth's paths of integrating their multiple identities varied across the

participants, and though there were general patterns of resource utilization in the process, often

youth utilized those resources which were most readily available. As a result, communities

should provide a wide breadth of resources to youth as they integrate their multiple identities.

Such resources should also be available across multiple formats, such as through groups,

readings, and virtual spaces to congregate and connect on the internet. Participants in our study

reported challenges in venturing into environments where they may be victimized for their

identities; therefore resources should be easily accessible to youth without fear of negative

repercussions. For physical resources, such as group meeting spaces or libraries, individuals

should feel a sense of comfort in the anonymity in accessing these resources. These resources

should thus be located in a geographically isolated area but one that is readily accessible through

multiple means of transportation. Non-physical or virtual resources should be easily accessed through effective connections to other websites, such that hyperlinks to these sources should be made available on not only the community agency's site, but also school websites as well as the websites of other health and mental health providers.

Since youth in the study utilized resources throughout their community in the processes of identity integration, interventionists and community agency staff should also educate those who may interact with youth to the unique needs of these adolescents who are integrating conflicting identities into their self-concept. Also, because previous research implicated the schools as primary arenas where sexual minority or gender atypical youth are ostracized (Carlson, 1985; Mac an Ghahill, 1994), school staff and administrators should be apprised of the vulnerability of such youth for violence and ostracism. Additionally, staff should be educated in the challenges experienced in the multiple identity integration process for adolescent males.

To facilitate the presentation of identities for these multiple-minority youth, community organization staff can work to make the environments more accepting of GBQ individuals. Media and educational campaigns can challenge the heterosexism present in communities, particularly in the religious nature of the condemnatory discourse concerning sexual minorities. By changing the environment of ethnic communities, perhaps youth will not have to experience such difficulties in navigating their communities. Similarly, organizations and interventionists can target the gay community as well to increase the acceptance of diversity within the community. Eventually, the hope is that acceptance of multiple minority individuals will increase to the extent that youth will not be required to make shifts in their presentation in order to fit into their communities.

As a result of the success of the Man Drawings as a data collection tool, accompanied by explanatory text by the participants, community-based organizations as well as mental health practitioners may consider its utilization in individual and group-based interventions. The youth in the study responded positively to the Man Drawings, and appreciated the opportunity to discuss a unique aspect of themselves which may not have been discussed earlier in the qualitative interview. Mental health practitioners may utilize the Man Drawings as a means of assessing identity among their clients, or to determine how their client may have been feeling or acting in a particular setting. The Man Drawing may be particularly useful when helping clients integrate experiences of trauma with their identities as people rather than merely as victims. As indicated earlier, use of drawings in psychotherapy may be useful particularly for clients who have difficulty in expressing themselves verbally (Klepsch and Logie, 1982), and consequently the use of the Man Drawing can be used to initiate discussions of identity for those clients who are reticent to discuss issues concerning themselves. Practitioners may also have several colors at the disposal of their clients so that each color may have representative meaning, which can be discussed in the individual therapy session. Interventionists can use the Man Drawing as a means of self-expression in a group-level intervention, during which they explain who they are as individuals to other participants. Drawings created by interventions or youth-generated artwork expressing their struggles may also be beneficial when targeting and educating the larger community. For example, youth in an HIV-prevention intervention could create a flyer which expresses their unique perspectives, which can be used to educate the entire community.

These findings also indicate that the processes for identity integration and presentation differ in many ways across youth. Youth must integrate their sexual identity, which may include GBQ or another alternative identity label, along with their ethnic identity. This informs

interventions and treatment modalities in that the identity development process is very personal and involves reflection and integration of many messages and concepts. Consequently, a personal reflective component is recommended for individuals in such interventions, which is particularly important for multiple-identified individuals such as GBQ male ethnic minority adolescents.

<u>Strengths and Limitations</u>

A significant strength of the current study were was the sampling frame of participants, who were recruited from two sites of varying demographics and city cultures, Chicago and Miami. As a result, Latino and African American youth included in the analysis originated from various areas, such as Mexico, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Paraguay, and different areas within the United States, such as the Midwest and the South. Remarkably, though youth originated from varying regions and were recruited in two different sites, overall their results were similar across themes in relation to multiple identity integration and presentation.

Continuing with methodology, another strength was the study's departure from previous literature through the qualitative nature of the study, which permitted the data to adequately capture the many different developmental trajectories for multiple identity integration and presentation among GBQ youth. Through the qualitative phenomenological focus, this study investigated identity integration and presentation as it occurred for participants, not limited by concepts dictated by previous research. By doing so, participants gave insight into how youth integrate and present their multiple identities, which as indicated from the results are various. The rigor of the qualitative methods was also a strength of the current study. The interview guide was developed over the course of several months, and involved multiple iterations. Further, this interview guide was altered and adapted after validation interviews with youth

which occurred after interviewing half of the participants. This ensured that the interview would successfully elicit responses which spoke to the participants' experiences.

The selection process of the interview participants was intensive, as participants were selected to vary across sexual orientations, age groups, and ethnicities, but also included factors such as socio-economic status, level of identification and involvement with the GBQ community, education level, and generation status. This purposive sampling technique allowed for a limited selection of youth to participate in the interviews who represented the diversity of the sample across a variety of aspects, which consequently enriched the quality of the responses provided during the interviews.

The amount of data collected in this study was another strength, as it provided rich information concerning multiple aspects of the youth's lives. Further, for participants who may not have given much information relating to one aspect of the survey, such as the quantitative survey, their qualitative interview and Man Drawing could capture their unique experiences. Further, the multiple data sources were useful in the comparison across data sources, which often provided context into one specific data source. For example, youths who did not identify with a GBQ label would have a inhibited "gay identity" as represented in the quantitative survey. By examining the quantitative data, it becomes apparent that the youth are identifying in ways alternative to gay, bisexual, or questioning.

The multiple levels of analysis utilized in this study also enabled the researcher to illuminate various themes relating to multiple identity integration and presentation as it occurs for GBQ youth of color, and to compare these individual findings as they occurred across participants and data sources. Additionally, by not limiting the analysis to solely a cross-case

analysis, though examining the collected data through the multiple data sources separately, insight was obtained into how varying research methods can impact the quality of data collected.

Finally, another strength of the current study was that it provided a venue for participants to give voice to their experiences and stories, stories which have been marginalized and silenced by heterosexism and racism (Harper, Jamil, & Wilson, 2007). Many of the participants later reflected that the experience was positive, and that through the study they felt validated.

The current study's primary limitation is the sampling pool of participants, with individuals primarily being recruited through community agencies which serve LGBT youth. This indicates that at the time of data collection, youth have already had access to supports which may have facilitated the integration of multiple identities. This is corroborated in the qualitative data analysis, in which participants indeed referenced community-based organizations as supports in the integration of their multiple identities. Due to the limited types of venues where these youth were recruited, the study consequently did not investigate individuals who have not accessed these systems, whose experiences in the integration and presentation of their multiple identities may differ compared to those youth who are already connected with LGBT-oriented community-based organizations.

Several of the multiple data sources utilized were also a weakness of the study. Both the qualitative interview and the Man Drawings have not been validated empirically. As a result, it is unknown to what information regarding identity integration and presentation was omitted due to the format of the interview or the Man Drawings. Further, as indicated earlier, the interviewers varied in demographic factors, which may have had an impact on the participant's responses. The interviewer's often revealed aspects of themselves to develop rapport during the

interview with the participants, consequently it may have had varying effects on the data that the youth provided.

Another limitation of the current study was that when asked how the youth were integrating their multiple identities, several youth indicated that they were still in the process of developing one or several of their identities. The goal of the study was to examine how the multiple identities interacted with one another in relation to the participant's larger self-concept, however as defined in the research on stage theories of sexual and ethnic identity development, the final stage of such theories involves the process of integration of that particular identity along with their other identities. Youth with underdeveloped senses of either gender, ethnic, or sexual orientation identity, have undetermined and unstable senses of their identities which when integrated into the larger self-concept are not firm nor is it fully integrated together. As a result, as youth develop their related identities, for example by changing their identities as "questioning" to gay or bisexual, this will have further impact on their subsequent identities, such as their sense of masculinity or their perceptions of how they will display their ethnic culture. Consequently, the current study may have benefitted from examining older adolescents, such as youth who were within their mid-twenties, to assess how their firmer or fully established identities are integrated and how they are presented to others.

Finally, another limitation of the current study was in the multi-stage process of data collection. For example, the quantitative and qualitative data were obtained during two discrete periods, and the average time which participants completed the quantitative survey was approximately one hour. On the other hand, the qualitative data was also obtained in one meeting, however the time span for completion ranged from two hours to three hours. The Man drawings were administered at the last stage of the interview, and as indicated in the quality of

the coloring and in the number of responses, it is apparent that youth were fatigued by the

process. Nonetheless, the youth provided rich data to the researchers, but the study's limitation

is that the researchers could have obtained more nuanced data with participants who could put

forth full effort. Though the financial and time constraints of the participants and the researchers

prevented a third meeting, this should be considered for future studies utilizing such a mixed-

methods design.

<u>Directions for Future Research</u>

The current study provides a rudimentary framework for how youth integrate and present

their multiple identities through an array of data collection methods. Future research may benefit

from a more rigorous exploration of identity presentation, including both interviews and greater

use of projective drawings. In the interview protocol of the current study prior to the

administration of the Man Drawing, the participants were not asked specifically to discuss how

their identities may change depending on context, and was only discussed in the end of the

administration of the Man Drawings. It may be beneficial to devote a portion of the interview to

a discussion of how these identities may change in multiple environments, and further how these

identities may conflict with one another. However, with the increased cognitive complexity of

the proposed additional questions, participants selected should be older, and consequently should

be able to answer such abstract questions. This may take the form of a more exhaustive

interview, possibly occurring across multiple sessions. The sampling size may be increased to

examine individuals from a variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds and from different

geographic locations. Additionally, future research may examine youth from varying age

groups, which would be a natural consequence of an increased sample size. For instance,

participants could range from early adolescence to early adulthood, through which analysis can

occur examining how youth from varying age groups integrate and present their multiple identities.

Future research may also investigate identity integration and presentation through individuals recruited from a variety of venues, such as through the internet, phone lines, GBQ-oriented clubs, or through peer networks. By doing this, future research may investigate how multiple minority youth integrate and present their identities for youth who are not specifically linked to community agencies or resources. Inquiry could also focus on whether these findings are applicable to adults who may have a more firm sense of identity, and who may alter their presentation of multiple identities differently than younger males. However, research investigating the experiences of older adults may resemble retrospective research typical of previous identity development theories (Cass, 1979; Troiden, 1989).

Concerning the use of the Man Drawing, future research can investigate methods to code and analyze projective drawings so that it can be a reliable tool for data collection. Future research can also systematically examine how drawings may differ or further explain data from individual interviews. Finally, research may also investigate variations of the Man Drawing as a tool to assess identity integration and areas of discomfort in various settings in which the youth present their identities.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

The ability for adolescents to engage in hypothetical thinking, a byproduct of the cognitive changes in adolescence (Casey, Tottenham, Liston, & Durston, 2005; Myers, 2007), enables them to develop a sense of self, or identity, throughout adolescence. Erikson (1980) stated that during adolescence, the most important challenge for youth is to develop a cogent sense of identity, which involves the integration of the disparate aspects of oneself into a cohesive sense of self. For adolescents who belong to multiple minority groups, such as those who are ethnic and sexual minorities, they must develop both their ethnic and sexual identities as they develop their overall identity (Chung & Katayama, 1998).   Identity integration is crucial for adolescents, as ethnic and sexual minority youth whose identities which are not integrated are at risk for depression (Berlin, 1987) and are more likely to engage in sexual risk behaviors (Waldo, McFarland, Katz, MacKellar & Valleroy, 2000).

Despite these risks, there is a paucity of research examining the specific processes that youth engage to integrate their multiple identities. Further, research indicates that individuals who are both sexual and ethnic minorities manage the external presentation of their identity through behaviors (Franke and Learly, 1991; Griffin, 1991; Wilson and Miller, 2002; Zea, 1999), and it is unknown to what extent these behaviors apply to adolescents who may be in the process of developing their multiple identities. The goal of this study was to examine the ways in which ethnic and sexual minority male adolescents integrate their multiple identities, and to examine how their presentation of their identities changes depending on context. Because the study is to examine identity integration and presentation among ethnic and sexual minority males, identities under examination will be ethnic identity, sexual orientation identity, and gender identity.

The data for this project originated from a multi-site study, called the MOSAIC study, which was funded the by Adolescent Trails Network for HIV/AIDS interventions. For the purposes of this study, the data for the ethnic minority youth, which included African American and Latino youth, were included in the analysis. Participants in the MOSAIC study were administered a quantitative measure examining levels of ethnic and sexual orientation identity development, and were interviewed using an in-depth qualitative interview. At the conclusion of the interview, participants were asked to color a drawing of a man, called the Man Drawing, to physically represent their identity integration. The participants also created other drawings to represent how their identity integration varied across settings. After excluding 15 of the available 38 participant's data sets for a variety of reasons, the data from 23 participants were used in the analysis of this project.

To examine the complexity of the processes of identity integration and presentation, qualitative methods were utilized for analysis. Additionally, because of the various types of data collected for each participant, a case study analysis (Yin, 1981) was employed to determine the themes and differences across participants and within each participant. The data that composed each individual participant's case included the quantitative survey, the qualitative interview, and the Man Drawings. The quantitative surveys were examined qualitatively, with the author examining each participant's responses and identifying notable patterns. The qualitative interview was transcribed and the text was examined for notable themes. The Man Drawings were first examined using a methodology developed by Koppitz (1984), and was also examined holistically for notable themes. Consistent with case study analysis, the aggregated data for each data source was also examined to develop patterns in identity integration and presentation.

Through the process of analysis, it became evident that the data collection methodology impacted the quality of responses provided by the participants. The youth were able to provide rich and detailed responses during the qualitative interview. The Man Drawings provided an opportunity for youth who were not as verbally inclined to describe their processes of identity integration and presentation, and also illustrated how identity integration and presentation varied across settings for participants.

The results indicated that the youth in the study were able to integrate their multiple identities into their larger self-concept in spite of the various barriers to identity integration in all the communities in which they interacted. However, this was not completed without significant effort, as the participants indicated that they were developing their sense of ethnic, sexual, and gender identities at the time of data collection. Consequently, the youth must not only balance their larger self-concept with identities which are undergoing varying levels of development, but also must negotiate the conflicts between their multiple identities at the same time.

Another factor which impacted the integration of multiple identities was the presence of negative messages and pressures which impacted the youth across a variety of settings. Participants reported experiencing direct and indirect forms of intolerance toward all of their identities of membership as they traversed their multiple communities. This included heterosexism expressed in their ethnic minority community, racism within the gay community, and accusations of not being authentic males by those who know or assume that they are sexually attracted to other males. In addition, the youth experienced such intolerance from individuals in White heterosexual community. The participants also reported that cultural pressures originating from their ethnic and sexual communities presented as conflicts to their multiple identities, and prevented full identity integration.

The presence and impact of positive messages also facilitated the process of integrating the youths' multiple identities into their larger self-concept. The participants in the study were able to garner supportive resources creatively while at the same time negotiating the negative and condemnatory elements within their multiple communities of membership. Concerning their masculinity, many youths reported that the relationships with their fathers were strained due to their fathers' lack of understanding concerning their sexuality. As a result, they learned about masculinity by observing others in their lives, including other male relatives, male peers, and they also learned from their mothers and images in the media. In seeking this knowledge about masculinity, and in reacting to the inherent conflict between hegemonic masculinity and homosexuality, several of the youth were able to engage in a critical analysis of the notion of masculinity, and develop an advanced and nuanced understanding of their own gender identity. Concerning their ethnicity, the youth reported that though they often could not be open with their sexuality in their ethnic community, they could be supported in their ethnicity by interacting with other ethnic minority individuals in community-based organizations, school groups, or gentrified ethnic minority neighborhoods. Further, though their relationships with their parents were sometimes tenuous due to their sexuality, youth felt connected and supported with their ethnic identity through practicing cultural customs and traditions with family members, which often occurred when the participants were living on their own. The participants were also supported with their sexual orientation identity in a variety of arenas, via physical locations such as community-based organizations, school-based organizations, neighborhoods which were accepting of sexual minorities, gay bars or clubs, or social gatherings consisting of primarily LGBT individuals. Through these venues, they interacted with other LGBT individuals and not only learned about their identity, but also were supported by their peers. As a result of these

positive interactions, youth developed a positive sense of identity which could be integrated into their larger sense of self. The participants were also supported by essential individuals in their lives, which primarily included select family members, but also involved heterosexually-identified peers and other adults. Additionally, virtual (or non-physical) means of support were also beneficial to these youth while they integrated their sexual orientation identity into their larger sense of identity. These venues included online spaces to connect with other youth, such as through chat rooms or message boards catering to GBQ individuals, including specific websites oriented to GBQ individuals belonging to their ethnic group. They also consulted LGBT-oriented magazines, books, or other types of media to learn about the "gay community" and to normalize an identity which was condemned by other individuals who were not sexual minorities.

Taken together, the youth were able to develop a complex sense of self despite the presence of both positive and negative messages maintained by elements of all the communities of their membership. This process was further complicated because these identities were still under development during the integration process. Despite these challenges, the youth were able to integrate the many parts of themselves into one larger cohesive self-concept.

Concerning the presentation of these multiple identities, the youth also engaged in a creative process to avoid the negative elements within their multiple communities by managing the expression of particular identities while participating in various aspects of their communities. The youth were adept in understanding the level of acceptance concerning their identities, and managed their behaviors to either minimize or enhance the visibility of particular aspects of themselves. Other participants did not engage in such a process of managing their behaviors, rather they limited where they ventured to avoid harassment and to access venues which

supported their identities. Similar to the process of identity integration, the ways in which youth

presented their identities was unique to the individual and their circumstances.

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MOSAIC QUESTIONNAIRE

The following questions are about your thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. People differ in the ways they think, feel, and act in different situations, so there are no right or wrong answers to these questions. We are simply interested in learning more about your thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. Do not spend too much time on any statement. Just answer quickly and honestly. If you have any trouble understanding the meaning of something, tell us. Remember, **there are no right or wrong answers and everything you write will be kept confidential**. Your name will not appear on this questionnaire.

For the following questions, either check the appropriate box or fill in your answer in the spaces provided. Remember, your responses are completely confidential.

1.   What is your age? |___|___| years old

2.   Where were you born?

    ☐ Inside the USA (including Puerto Rico)

    ☐ Outside the USA ⟶ How old were you when you first moved to the United States? If you were less than one year old when you moved to the United States, enter 1 as your response. |___|___| years old

3.   Were both of your parents born inside the United States? ☐ No ☐ Yes   ☐ Don't know

4.   Check the generation that best applies to you. *(Check only one)*

    ☐ You were born in a country outside the USA (1st generation).

    ☐ You were born in the USA and at least one parent was born in a country outside the USA (2nd generation).

    ☐ You and both of your parents were born in the USA and all grandparents were born in a country outside the USA (3rd generation).

    ☐ You, your parents and at least one grandparent were born in the USA, and at least one grandparent was born in a country outside the USA (4th generation).

☐ You, your parents and all grandparents were born in the USA (5th generation).

5.   How do you describe your race or ethnic background? *(Check ALL that apply)*

☐ Mexican/Mexican American

☐ Black/African American (not Latino)
☐ Puerto Rican
☐ Asian/Pacific Islander
☐ Central American
☐ Native American/Alaskan Native
☐ South American
☐ Multi-Racial/Bi-Racial
☐ Cuban/Cuban-American
☐ White/Caucasian
☐ Dominican
☐ Other_____

6.   In general, what language(s) do you speak? *(Check only one)*

☐ Only English   ☐ English better than Spanish
                         ☐ Spanish better than English
☐ Only Spanish   ☐ Both English and Spanish equally
☐ Other language (please specify): _____

7.   Currently, are you either in a long-term relationship with the same person that has lasted more than a year?

☐ No   ☐ Yes

8.   Are you in school these days? And "school" could mean a school or program where you are working toward a high school diploma, GED, or college/technical degree. *(Check only one)*

☐ No   ☐ Yes
☐ No, I have graduated.
☐ Yes, but I am on summer/winter/spring break now

9.   What is the highest grade you have completed? *(Check only one)*

☐ Less than eighth grade
☐ More than eighth grade but did not complete High School
☐ GED
☐ High School Diploma
☐ Some College/Tech School
☐ Tech School Graduate
☐ College Graduate
☐ Graduate School/not yet completed degree
☐ Master's Degree

10.   In your lifetime, have you received any of the following? *(Check ALL that apply)*

☐ Health care through a medical card

☐ Food stamps
☐ A public aid check
☐ AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children)
☐ SSI/Social Security
☐ Free or reduced priced school lunches

11.   What is the zip code of your current home or place where you sleep?
|___|___|___|___|___|

12.   Have you ever been "kicked out" or asked to leave the place where you were living by a parent or legal guardian either because you were sexually attracted to other males or because you were having sex with other males?

☐ No   ☐ Yes

13.   Have you ever spent one night or more in an emergency shelter, transitional housing facility, welfare hotel, or a public or private place not designed for sleeping (e.g., car, park, etc.) because you were without a regular place to stay?

☐ No   ☐ Yes ⟶   Approximately how many
total nights have you not

had a regular place to stay
during your lifetime?
|___|___| nights

14.   Where are you currently living/staying most of the time? *(Check only one)*

☐ Your own house or apartment
☐ At your parent(s) house or apartment
☐ At another family member(s) house or apartment
☐ At someone else's house or apartment
☐ Foster home or group home
☐ In a rooming, boarding, halfway house, or a shelter/welfare hotel
☐ On the street(s) (vacant lot, abandoned building, park, etc.)
☐ Some other place not mentioned
     (please specify): _____

15.   Currently, who do you live with most of the time?   *(Check ALL that apply)*

     ☐ Alone
     ☐ Biological or adoptive parents
     ☐ Foster parents
     ☐ Friends
     ☐ Other relatives
     ☐ Partner, lover, or spouse
     ☐ Your children
     ☐ Other people not mentioned
           (please specify):_____

16.   Who have you lived with for most of your life?   *(Check ALL that apply)*

     ☐ Biological or adoptive parents
     ☐ Friends
     ☐ Foster parents
     ☐ Other relatives
     ☐ Other people not mentioned
           (please specify): _____

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

---

17.   Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be_____

For the following items, please circle the number between 1 and 4 that stands for how much you agree or disagree with each statement. Circling a "4" means that you strongly agree with the statement and circling "1" means that you strongly disagree with the statement. You can also use the numbers between 1 and 4. For example, if you agree, but not real strongly, you should answer "3," and if you disagree, but not real strongly, then answer "2."

Remember, if this way of answering the questions is confusing for you, please ask the staff to help you.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
18.	I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	4	3	2	1
19.	I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.	4	3	2	1
20.	I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.	4	3	2	1
21.	I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.	4	3	2	1
22.	I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.	4	3	2	1
23.	I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.	4	3	2	1
24.	I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.	4	3	2	1

25.	I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life.	4	3	2	1
26.	I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.	4	3	2	1
27.	I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group.	4	3	2	1
28.	I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	4	3	2	1
29.	I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.	4	3	2	1
30.	In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.	4	3	2	1
31.	I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.	4	3	2	1
32.	I don't try to become friends with people from other ethnic groups.	4	3	2	1
33.	I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.	4	3	2	1
34.	I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups.	4	3	2	1
35.	I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.	4	3	2	1
36.	I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.	4	3	2	1
37.	I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.	4	3	2	1

38.   My ethnicity is: *(Check only one)*

☐ American Indian/Native American
☐ Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others
☐ Black or African American
☐ Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
☐ Mixed; Parents are from two different groups
☐ White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
☐ Other (please specify):

39.   My father's ethnicity is: *(Check only one)*

☐ American Indian/Native American
☐ Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others
☐ Black or African American
☐ Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
☐ Mixed; Parents are from two different groups
☐ White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
☐ Other (please specify):

40.   My mother's ethnicity is: *(Check only one)*

☐ American Indian/Native American
☐ Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others
☐ Black or African American
☐ Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
☐ Mixed; Parents are from two different groups
☐ White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
☐ Other (please specify):

_____

> The following questions ask about your sexual identity and sex life. Some of this will be very personal but remember everything you answer is confidential. There are no right or wrong answers.

41.   Who are you most attracted to? *(Check only one)*

☐ Males   ☐ Females   ☐ Both Males and Females

42.   Which of the following would you use to describe yourself *(Check only one):*

☐ Gay   ☐ Bisexual   ☐
Questioning/Undecided   ☐ Straight

> Directions: Please read each of the following statements carefully and then circle whether you feel the statements are true (T) or false (F) for you at this point in time. If the entire statement is true, circle T. If <u>any</u> part of the statement is false, circle F.

43.   I probably am sexually attracted equally to men and women.T   F

44.   I live a gay lifestyle at home, while at work/school I do   T F
       not want others to know about my lifestyle.

45.   My sexuality is a valid private identity that I do not want made public.   T F

46.   I have feelings I would label as gay.   T F

47.	I have little desire to be around most heterosexuals.	T F
48.	I doubt that I am gay, but still am confused about who I am sexually.	T F
49.	I do not want most heterosexuals to know that I am definitely gay.	T F
50.	I am very proud to be gay and make it known to everyone around me.	T F
51.	I don't have much contact with heterosexuals and can't say that I miss it.	T F
52.	I generally feel comfortable being the only gay person in a group of heterosexuals.	T F
53.	I'm probably gay, even though I maintain a heterosexual image in both my personal and public life.	T F
54.	I have disclosed to 1 or 2 (very few) people that I have gay feelings, although I'm not sure I'm gay.	T F
55.	I am not as angry about society's treatment of gays because even though I've told everyone about my gayness, they have responded well.	T F
56.	I am definitely gay, but I do not want to share that knowledge with most people.	T F
57.	I don't mind if gays know that I have gay thoughts and feelings, but I don't want others to know.	T F
58.	More than likely I'm gay, although I'm not positive about it yet.	T F
59.	I don't act like most gays do, so I doubt that I'm gay.	T F
60.	I'm probably gay but I'm not sure yet.	T F
61.	I am openly gay and fully integrated into heterosexual society.	T F
62.	I don't think that I'm gay.	T F

63.   I don't feel I'm heterosexual or gay.   T F

64.   I have thoughts I would label as gay.   T F

65.	I don't want people to know that I may be gay, although I'm not sure if I am gay or not.	T F
66.	I may be gay and I am upset at the thought of it.	T F
67.	The topic of gays does not relate to me personally.	T F
68.	I frequently confront people about their irrational, homophobic (fear of gay men and lesbians) feelings.	T F
69.	Getting in touch with gays is something I feel I need to do, even though I'm not sure I want to.	T F
70.	I have gay thoughts and feelings but I doubt that I'm gay.	T F
71.	I dread having to deal with the fact that I may be gay.	T F
72.	I am proud and open with everyone about being gay, but it isn't the major focus of my life.	T F
73.	I probably am heterosexual or non-sexual.	T F
74.	I am experimenting with my same sex, because I don't know what my sexual preference is.	T F
75.	I feel accepted by gay friends and acquaintances even though I'm not sure I'm gay.	T F
76.	I frequently express to others anger over heterosexuals' oppression of me and other gays.	T F
77.	I have not told most of the people at work that I am definitely gay.	T F
78.	I accept, but would not say I am proud of, the fact that I am definitely gay.	T F
79.	I cannot imagine sharing my gay feelings with anyone.	T F
80.	Most heterosexuals are not credible sources of help for me.	T F
81.	I am openly gay around gays and heterosexuals.	T F

82.	I engage in sexual behavior I would label as gay.	T F
83.	I am not about to stay hidden as gay for anyone.	T F
84.	I tolerate rather than accept my gay thoughts and feelings.	T F
85.	My heterosexual friends, family, and associates think of me as a person who happens to be gay, rather than as a gay person.	T F
86.	Even though I am definitely gay, I have not told my family.	T F
87.	I am openly gay with everyone, but it doesn't make me feel all that different from heterosexuals.	T F

> Directions: The next set of questions concerns some of your general attitudes and experiences. For each question, circle the response that is most accurate for you personally. Answer the questions quickly, giving your first "gut reaction."

Strongly agree — Do not agree at all

88.	It is very important to me that at least some of my friends are bisexual or gay.	1	2	3	4	5
89.	Being gay makes me feel part of a community.	1	2	3	4	5
90.	Being attracted to men is important to my sense of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5
91.	I feel very distant from the gay community.	1	2	3	4	5

> For the next four questions, please think in terms of the last six months or so.

92. How often do you read a gay or lesbian oriented paper or magazine, such as the *Advocate* or other local gay/bisexual papers?

☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐
Never   Once a   Several times   About once a   Several times
           month   a month   week   a week or
           or less   daily

93.   How often do you attend any <u>gay or lesbian organizational activities</u>, such
       as meetings, fund-raisers, political activities, etc.?

       ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐
       Never   Once a   Several   About once   Several
                  month   times a   a week   times a
                  or less   month   week or
                                                             daily

94.   How often do you go to a <u>gay bar</u>?

       ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐
       Never   Once a   Several   About once   Several
                  month   times a   a week   times a
                  or less   month   week or
                                                             daily

95.   About how many <u>gay men</u> would you call personal friends (as opposed to
       casual acquaintances)?

       ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐
       None   1 gay   2 gay   3 or 4 gay   5 or more
                  friend   friends   friends   gay friends

The following questions are about times that you had different types of sex
with **males** <u>because you wanted to</u>, not because you were forced or pressured
to have sex. Please answer the following questions and remember to only
think about the times you had the different types of sex with **males** because
you wanted to. Remember that your answers are confidential.

---

96.   **Oral Sex with a Male:**   How old were you the first time you
       performed oral sex on a male (when a male puts his penis into your
       mouth) because you wanted to?

       |___|___| years old   or   ☐ I've never willingly **performed oral sex
on a male**

                                          └──➤ Please go to **Question
97. Insertive**

                                                    **Anal sex with a
                                          Male**.

a.   How many **male** partners have you **performed oral sex on** in your life? |___|___|___|

b.   How many **male** partners have you **performed oral sex on** in the past 90 days (3 months)? |___|___|___|

c.   Overall, of the times you **performed oral sex on a male** in the past 90 days, how often did your partner use a condom? *(Check only one)*

☐ I haven't performed oral sex on a male in the past 90 days	☐ Always	☐ More than half of the time	☐ About half of the time	☐ Less than half the time	☐ Rarely	☐ Never

d.   In the past 90 days how often have you **performed oral sex on a male** while being high or buzzed on alcohol or other drugs? *(Check only one)*

☐ I haven't performed oral sex on a male in the past 90 days	☐ Always	☐ More than half of the time	☐ About half of the time	☐ Less than half the time	☐ Rarely	☐ Never

e.   Around what age were the last three **males** that you **performed oral sex on**?

Partner 1 |___|___| years old Partner 2 |___|___| years old Partner 3 |___|___| years old

f.   How old were you when you **performed oral sex on** each of the three above **males**?

Partner 1 |___|___| years old Partner 2 |___|___| years old Partner 3 |___|___| years old

---

97.   **Insertive anal sex with a Male:**   How old were you the first time you had **insertive anal sex with a male** (which is when you put your penis into the anus or butt of your partner) because you wanted to?

|___|___| years old   or   ☐ I've never willingly had **insertive anal sex with a male** |

→ Please go to **Question 98.**

Receptive anal

sex with a Male.

a.   How many **male** partners have you had **insertive anal sex** with in your life? |___|___|___|

b.   How many **male** partners have you had **insertive anal sex** with in the <u>past 90 days</u> (3 months)? |___|___|___|

c.   Overall, of the times you had **insertive anal sex with a male** in the <u>past 90 days</u>, how often did you use a condom? *(Check only one)*

| ☐ I haven't had insertive anal sex with a male in the past 90 days | ☐ Always | ☐ More than half of the time | ☐ About half of the time | ☐ Less than half the time | ☐ Rarely | ☐ Never |

d.   In the <u>past 90 days</u> how often have you had **insertive anal sex with a male** while being high or buzzed on alcohol or other drugs? *(Check only one)*

| ☐ I haven't had insertive anal sex with a male in the past 90 days | ☐ Always | ☐ More than half of the time | ☐ About half of the time | ☐ Less than half the time | ☐ Rarely | ☐ Never |

e.   Around what age were the last three **males** that you had **insertive anal sex** with?
Partner 1 |___|___| years old Partner 2 |___|___| years old Partner 3 |___|___| years old

f.   How old were you when you had **insertive anal sex** with each of the three above **males**?

Partner 1 |___|___| years old Partner 2 |___|___| years old Partner 3 |___|___| years old

---

98.   **Receptive anal sex with a Male:** How old were you the first time you had **receptive anal sex with a male** (when a male puts his penis into your anus or butt) because you wanted to?

|___|___| years old   or   ☐ I've never willingly had **receptive anal sex with a male**

> ┗━▶ Please go to **Question 99. Vaginal sex.**

a.   How many **male** partners have you had **receptive anal sex** with in your life? |___|___|___|

b.   How many **male** partners have you had **receptive anal sex** with in the <u>past 90 days</u>? |___|___|___|

c.   Overall, of the times you had **receptive anal sex** in the <u>past 90 days</u>, how often did your partner use a condom? (***Check only one***)

☐ I haven't had receptive anal sex with a male in the past 90 days	☐ Always	☐ More than half of the time	☐ About half of the time	☐ Less than half the time	☐ Rarely	☐ Never

d.   In the <u>past 90 days</u> how often have you had **receptive anal sex** while being high or buzzed on alcohol or other drugs? (***Check only one***)

☐ I haven't had receptive anal sex with a male in the past 90 days   ☐ Always   ☐ More than half of the time   ☐ About half of the time   ☐ Less than half the time   ☐ Rarely   ☐ Never

e.   Around what age were the last three **males** that you had **receptive anal sex** with?
Partner 1 |___|___| years old   Partner 2 |___|___| years old   Partner 3 |___|___| years old

f.   How old were you when you had **receptive anal sex** with each of the three above **males**?
Partner 1 |___|___| years old   Partner 2 |___|___| years old   Partner 3 |___|___| years old

---

The following questions are about times that you had different types of sex with **females** <u>because you wanted to</u>, not because you were forced or pressured to have sex. Please answer the following questions and remember to only think about the times you had the different types of sex with **females** because you wanted to. Remember that your answers are confidential.

---

99.   **Vaginal sex:** How old were you the first time you had **vaginal sex** (when you put your penis into a female's vagina) because you wanted to?

|___|___| years old   or   ☐ I've never willingly had **vaginal sex.**
                 └──➤ Please go to **Question**

100. Oral sex with a Female.

a.   How many partners have you had **vaginal sex** with in your life?
|___|___|___|

b.   How many partners have you had **vaginal sex** with in the <u>past 90 days (3 months)</u>? |___|___|___|

c. Overall, of the times you had **vaginal sex** in the past 90 days, how often did you
use a condom? *(Check only one)*

| ☐ I haven't had vaginal sex in the past 90 days | ☐ Always | ☐ More than half of the time | ☐ About half of the time | ☐ Less than half the time | ☐ Rarely | ☐ Never |

d. In the past 90 days how often have you had **vaginal sex** while being high or buzzed on alcohol or other drugs? *(Check only one)*

| ☐ I haven't had vaginal sex in the past 90 days | ☐ Always | ☐ More than half of the time | ☐ About half of the time | ☐ Less than half the time | ☐ Rarely | ☐ Never |

e. Around what age were the last three partners that you had **vaginal sex** with?
Partner 1 |___|___| years old Partner 2 |___|___| years old Partner 3 |___|___| years old

f. How old were you when you had **vaginal sex** with each of the three above partners?
Partner 1 |___|___| years old Partner 2 |___|___| years old Partner 3 |___|___| years old

---

100. **Oral Sex with a Female:** How old were you the first time you **performed oral sex on a female** (that is, you licked or sucked her genitals or vagina) because you wanted to?

|___|___| years old   or   ☐ I've never willingly **performed oral sex on a female**
↳ Please go to **Question 101. Insertive anal sex with a Female**.

a. How many **female** partners have you **performed oral sex on** in your life? |___|___|___|

b. How many **female** partners have you **performed oral sex on** in the past 90 days (3 months)? |___|___|___|

c. Overall, of the times you **performed oral sex on a female** in the past 90 days, how often did you or your partner use some type of barrier? *(Check only one)*

☐ I haven't performed oral sex on a female in the past 90 days

☐ Always

☐ More than half of the time

☐ About half of the time

☐ Less than half the time

☐ Rarely

☐ Never

d. In the past 90 days how often have you **performed oral sex on a female** while being high or buzzed on alcohol or other drugs? *(Check only one)*

☐ I haven't performed oral sex on a female in the past 90 days

☐ Always

☐ More than half of the time

☐ About half of the time

☐ Less than half the time

☐ Rarely

☐ Never

e. Around what ages were the last three **females** that you **performed oral sex on**?
Partner 1 |___|___| years old Partner 2 |___|___| years old Partner 3 |___|___| years old

f. How old were you when you **performed oral sex** on each of the three above **females**?
Partner 1 |___|___| years old Partner 2 |___|___| years old Partner 3 |___|___| years old

---

101. **Insertive anal sex with a Female:** How old were you the first time you had **insertive anal sex** (which is when you put your penis into the anus or butt of your partner) **with a female** because you wanted to?

|___|___| years old   or   ☐ I've never willingly had **insertive anal sex with a female**
    └─➤ Please go to **Question 102. Alcohol.**

a. How many **female** partners have you had **insertive anal sex** with in your life? |___|___|___|

b.   How many **female** partners have you had **insertive anal sex** with in the past 90 days (3 months)?

|____|____|____|

c.   Overall, of the times you had **insertive anal sex with a female** in the past 90 days, how often did you use a condom? *(Check only one)*

☐ I haven't had insertive anal sex with a female in the past 90 days   ☐ Always   ☐ More than half of the time   ☐ About half of the time   ☐ Less than half the time   ☐ Rarely   ☐ Never

d.   In the past 90 days how often have you had **insertive anal sex with a female** while being high or buzzed on alcohol or other drugs? *(Check only one)*

☐ I haven't had insertive anal sex with a female in the past 90 days   ☐ Always   ☐ More than half of the time   ☐ About half of the time   ☐ Less than half the time   ☐ Rarely   ☐ Never

e.   Around what age were the last three **females** that you had **insertive anal sex** with?

Partner 1 |____|____| years old Partner 2 |____|____| years old Partner 3 |____|____| years old

f.   How old were you when you had **insertive anal sex** with each of the three above **females**?

Partner 1 |____|____| years old Partner 2 |____|____| years old Partner 3 |____|____| years old

The next set of questions is about your use of alcohol and other drugs. When answering each question, please think about your own use of alcohol and drugs. Remember that your answers are confidential.

102.   **Alcohol:** When we ask you questions about **alcohol**, this includes drinks such as beer, wine or wine coolers, mixed drinks and liquor such as rum, gin, vodka, or whiskey. If you have a few sips of wine at church, do not include this as "drinking alcohol."   Remember that your answers are confidential.

a.   Have you ever had more than just a few sips of **alcohol**?

☐ Yes   ☐ No⟶ Please go to Question **103, Marijuana**.

b.   How old were you when you had your first drink of **alcohol** other than a few sips? |___|___| years old

c.   During the <u>past 90 days</u>, how often did you have at least one drink of **alcohol**? *(Check only one)*

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
0 times (**Please go to "f"**)	Once a month or less	More than once a month but less than once a week	One or more times a week, but not every day	Every day

d.   During the <u>past 90 days</u>, how often did you have 5 or more drinks of **alcohol** in one day (including the evening)? *(Check only one)*

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Never	Less than monthly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily or almost daily

e.   In the <u>past 90 days</u>, how many mornings have you felt "hung-over" from drinking **alcohol** the night before?

|___|___| Mornings

f.   How many drinks containing **alcohol** do you have on a <u>typical day</u> when you are drinking? *(Check only one)*

☐ 　 ☐ 　 ☐ 　 ☐ 　 ☐

1 or 2 drinks 　 3 or 4 drinks 　 5 or 6 drinks 　 7 to 9 drinks 　 10 or more drinks

g. How often <u>during the last year</u> have you failed to do your regular activities or take care of your responsibilities because of drinking **alcohol**? Activities and responsibilities may include things such as taking medication, completing school work, going to work, taking care of children. *(Check only one)*

☐ 　 ☐ 　 ☐ 　 ☐ 　 ☐

Never 　 Less than monthly 　 Monthly 　 Weekly 　 Daily or almost daily

h. How often <u>during the last year</u> have you been unable to remember what happened the night before because you had been drinking **alcohol**? *(Check only one)*

☐ 　 ☐ 　 ☐ 　 ☐ 　 ☐

Never 　 Less than monthly 　 Monthly 　 Weekly 　 Daily or almost daily

i. After drinking **alcohol** have you <u>ever</u> done something sexually that you had not intended to do (for example: had unplanned sex or not used a condom)?

☐ No 　 ☐ Yes ⟶ How often has this happened in the <u>past 90 days</u>? |___|___| times

j. Have you <u>ever</u> used **alcohol** only because a date or sexual partner whom you were with was using it?

☐ No 　 ☐ Yes ⟶ How many times in the <u>past 90 days</u> did you drink **alcohol** only because a date or sexual partner who you were with was using it?

|___|___| times

The following questions are about **marijuana**. Remember that your answers are confidential.

103. **Marijuana:** Have you ever smoked **marijuana** (weed, herb, blunts, pot, joints, etc.), other than just trying a few puffs?

☐ Yes   ☐ No ⟶ Please go to **Question 104, Street Drugs.**

→ a. How old were you when you first smoked **marijuana**?
|___|___| years old

→ b. During the <u>past 90 days</u>, how often did you smoke **marijuana**?

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
0 times	Once a month or less	More than once a month but less than once a week	One or more times a week, but not every day	Every day

104. **Street Drugs:** Have you ever used any kind of **street drug?** This would include drugs such as cocaine, crack cocaine, methamphetamine, Ecstasy, Rohypnol, GHB, hallucinogens, etc.

☐ Yes   ☐ No ⟶ Please go to Question **105, Over the Counter Medications**
→ How old were you when you first used any of these drugs? |___|___| years old

a.   Have you used **cocaine** (coke, blow, snow), not including crack cocaine, anytime in the <u>past 90 days</u>?
☐ Yes   ☐ No

b.   Have you used **methamphetamine** (speed, meth, chalk, ice, crystal, glass) anytime in the <u>past 90 days</u>?
☐ Yes   ☐ No

c.   Have you used **Ecstasy** (MDMA, Adam, XTC, clarity, Eve, X, hug, beans, love drug, E, Rolls) anytime in the <u>past 90 days</u>?
☐ Yes   ☐ No

d.   Have you used **crack cocaine** anytime in the <u>past 90 days</u>?
☐ Yes   ☐ No

e.   Have you used **Rohypnol** (rophies, roofies, roach, rope, forget-me pill,) anytime in the <u>past 90 days</u>?   ☐ Yes
☐ No

f.   Have you used **GHB** (G, Georgia home boy, grievous bodily harm, liquid ecstasy) anytime in the <u>past 90 days</u>?
☐ Yes   ☐ No

g.   Have you used **hallucinogens** like PCP, LSD, or peyote, not including Ecstasy or GHB, anytime in the <u>past 90 days</u>?
☐ Yes   ☐ No

h.   Have you ever used <u>any other </u>kind of **drug that needs a prescription to get but was <u>not</u> prescribed** for you by a doctor or other health care provider in the <u>past 90 days </u>(anything other than the ones we have already listed)?
☐ Yes   ☐ No

---

105.   **<u>Over the Counter Medications:</u>** Have you used any **over the counter medications** (available in stores without prescription) for non-medical purposes (to get high, relax, get a rush, etc.) anytime in the <u>past 90 days</u>? This would include medications like Advil, Robitussin, NyQuil, etc.

☐ Yes   ☐ No

106.   Have you used any **medications prescribed** for you by your doctor or health care provider in order to get high, relax, get a rush, etc. anytime in the <u>past 90 days</u>? This would include medications like OxyContin, Valium, Ritalin, Codeine, etc.
☐ Yes   ☐ No

107.   During the <u>last year</u>, how often have you failed to do your regular activities or take care of your responsibilities (for example, taking medication, completing school work, going to work, taking care of children, etc.) because of using drugs (other than alcohol)? ***(Check only one)***

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Never	Less than monthly	Monthly	Weekly	Daily or almost daily

108.   How often during the <u>last year</u> have you been unable to remember what happened the night before because you had been using drugs (other than alcohol)? ***(Check only one)***

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Never	Less than	Monthly	Weekly	Daily or

monthly   almost daily

109.   Have you <u>ever</u> **shot drugs** into your skin, into a blood vessel, or into a muscle – not including drugs that are prescribed for you by a doctor or health care provider?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

a. How old were you when you first **shot drugs** into your skin, into a blood vessel, or into a muscle– not including drugs that are prescribed for you by a doctor or health care provider?

|___|___| years old

b.   During the <u>past 90 days</u>, how often did you **shoot drugs** into your skin, into a blood vessel, or into a muscle – not including drugs that are prescribed for you by a doctor or health care provider?

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
0 times	Once a month or less	More than once a month but less than once a week	One or more times a week, but not every day	Every day

110.   After using any of the drugs (other than alcohol) discussed in the previous questions (marijuana, drugs not prescribed by a physician, over-the-counter medications, medications prescribed by a physician, or injected drugs), have you <u>ever</u> done something sexually that you had not intended to do (for example: had unplanned sex or not used a condom)?

☐ I have never   ☐ No   ☐ Yes→ How often has this happened in the <u>past 90 days</u>?

used the substances mentioned above

|___|___| times

111.   Have you <u>ever</u> used any of the drugs (other than alcohol) discussed in the questions above (marijuana, drugs not prescribed by a physician, over-the-counter medications, medications prescribed by a physician, or injected drugs) only because a date or sexual partner whom you were with was using it?

☐ I have never   ☐ No   ☐ Yes→ How many times in the <u>past 90 days</u> did you use any of the drugs (other than alcohol) discussed in the questions mentioned above only

used the substances mentioned

|___|___| times

112.   Finally, what services would you like to see available in your community that would be **specifically designed for gay/bisexual/questioning male youth**? *(Check ALL that apply)*

☐ Support Groups
☐ Coming Out Groups
☐ Family Related Groups
☐ Relationship Groups
☐ Socio-Political Groups
☐ HIV/STD Testing & Counseling
☐ Health/Medical Care
☐ Mental Health Services
☐ Substance Use/Abuse Treatment Services
☐ Vocational/Job Training Services
☐ Social Events
☐ Cultural Events
☐ Educational Events
☐ Other (please fill in): _____
☐ Other (please fill in): _____
☐ Other (please fill in): _____

Thanks for your time and for the important information
you shared with us.

MOSAIC STUDY IN-DEPTH QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW GUIDE

<u>Interview Font key</u>

<u>Element</u>   <u>Font</u>

Main Script and Questions   **these are things we always say**

Alternative Scripts or questions   [these are things we use to paraphrase the main script] or probe:

Interviewer notes, skips, & instructions   *Note: things that aren't necessarily said out loud, but ought to be covered or considered*

If: text that guides to skip certain questions or to read certain questions, depending upon participant answers

Interview Concept Notes

Descriptions of the goals and intent of sections and items

INTRODUCTION
I would like to tell you a little bit more about why we are conducting this interview with you today. In general, we are interested in learning more about how we can help to promote good health and wellness among gay, bisexual, and questioning adolescent males like you, especially around issues related to sexuality. In order to do this, we want to learn more how you view yourself, not just as a gay/bisexual/questioning male, but also how you view yourself in other aspects and in different settings. Since you are a young person who is part of various different communities, we're hoping that you can help us to better understand how trying to achieve balance between the various communities may impact you and other young people.

As I ask you to describe your opinions and experiences, please keep in mind that there are no right or wrong answers to these questions, since people have a lot of different views on these topics. I'm simply interested in what you think about these different issues. I don't know exactly what it's like to "be in your shoes" or to deal with the pressures and influences that young people like yourself are confronted with every day related to tough issues, so I am looking forward to learning more about these experiences from you. Thank you for giving me your time.

This interview should take around 2 hours to complete. Any questions? If at any time you have questions or something I say is not clear, please let me know and I'll try to clarify. Are you ready to get started?

WARM-UP/BUILDING RAPPORT
Before we start talking in detail about the different factors that influence young people's behavior, I would like to first know a little about you. Pretend that you are your best friend talking to someone that has never met you before, and then describe to that person who you are. Start off with simple characteristics like age and year in school, and then talk more about who you are as a person. Give as much or as little detail as you feel comfortable telling me—this is just a way for me to get to know you better so that I will know how to best ask you the other questions in the interview.

Probes:
What would you like me to call you during the interview?
        Please note name:_____

How old are you? Please note age:_____

How do you identify yourself in terms of your ethnic/racial identity? [EI]

> We are aiming to identify one term that best captures how they see themselves. The participant can name himself in terms of race, broad ethnicity (e.g., Latino), or specific ethnicity (e.g. Italian).

        Please note participant's [EI]:_____

How do you identify yourself in terms of your sexual orientation/identity? [SI]

> We are aiming to identify one term that best captures how they see themselves. The participant can name himself in terms any sexual identity or non-identity (e.g., "no labels")

Please note participant's [SI]:_____

Are you in school?
(*if "yes"*) **What year are you in?**
(*if "no"*) **Are you on break, have finished school, or intend on going back?**
Other possible questions:
   a. What are some of the activities that you participate in? For example, extracurricular activities, sports, church involvement, youth groups.
   b. What do you do for fun?
   c. Describe your friends.
   d. Describe your family.

What have you been up to lately?
   Probe:
   a. Is there anything exciting happening in your life right now?

GENERAL IDENTITY NARRATIVE
This section is designed to:
- ♠ Get a general sense of how participant's multiple identities (as shared above) contribute to his unique experience

Thanks for sharing a little bit about what's going in your life right now. Now, I'd like for us to begin talking about the different aspects of yourself that make you unique.

1. **In general, what is it like being a [participant age], [ethnic identity], [sexual orientation] male? →[***from hereon referred to as IDENTITY COMBINATION in interviewer notes***]**
   For example, What is it like to be a 15 year old, African-American bisexual male?

   Probes:
   1. What are the benefits or positive things about being you?
   2. What are the hardships or negative things about being you?

> MASCULINE IDENTITY
> This section is designed to:
> ♠ define masculinity from the participant's perspective
> ♠ explore the relationship between participant's conceptualization of masculinity and how it relates to sex and condoms

Now we are going to talk about how you think and feel about what it means to be a man. Growing up we often get different messages about what boys and men should and should not do, and each person will accept some of those ideas and reject others. When I ask you the following questions I want you to think about your own thoughts and feelings about being a man.

Meaning
1. **What messages do you get about being a man or what it takes to be a man?**
    Probe:
    - How should a man act?
    - What should men do?
    - How should a man walk?
    - How should a man talk?

2. **What do you think about these messages about being a man?**
    Probe:
    a. What things do you agree with?
    b. What things do you disagree with?

3. **You have just told me about messages you get about what it means to be a man and how men are supposed to act. How do you fit into this? What is that like for you?**
    Probe: [How do you see yourself compared to the things you told me?]

4. *If they mention ways that they "fit", then ask:* **In what ways don't you fit into what we have just talked about?** What is that like for you?

5. **We're going to switch topics now and talk about sex. How do you think men are supposed to think or feel about sex?**

Probe:

    a. What messages do you get from other people about how men are expected to think, feel, or act around sex?
    b. What do people say about being a man and sex?
    c. Who is saying these things?
    d. What do you think about these messages?

6. How about condoms? How do you think men are supposed to think and feel about condoms?

    a. What messages do you get from other people about how men are expected to think or feel about condoms?
    b. What do people say about being a man and using condoms?
    c. Who is saying these things?
    d. What do you think about these messages?

ETHNIC/RACIAL IDENTITY
This section aims to:
- ♠ understand how the participant conceptualizes their ethnic/racial identity
- ♠ explore the process of developing that identity- not just as someone who was born into a group, but as someone who came to see themselves as part of that group
- ♠ identify resources that have supported the process of developing an ethnic

Now we are going to talk a bit about your ethnic/racial identity. Some people may feel they belong to a particular ethnic/racial group but they may vary in terms of how they connect to that group. Remember, your answers will remain confidential. Let's begin.

Meaning

7. **Earlier you mentioned that you identify as [EI] in terms of your racial/ethnic identity. What messages do you get about being [EI]?**

8. **Tell me some of the negative things about being a/n [EI].**

9. **Tell me some of the positive things about being a/n [EI].**

10. **What are the specific roles and responsibilities of a/n [EI]?**

Probe:
   a. How should or does a/n [EI] act?
   b. What should or does a/n [EI] do?
   c. How should or does a/n [EI] talk?

Self-Identification

11. **You have just told me a little bit about what it means to be [EI]. How do you fit into this? What is that like for you?**

Probe: How do you see yourself compared to the things you told me?

12. *If they mention ways that they "fit", then ask:* **In what ways don't you fit into what we have just talked about? What is that like for you?**
Probe: How are you different than the things you told me about being [EI]?

13. **For some people, there is a time when they first realize that they are identified with a certain ethnic/racial community. Describe for me when you first realized that you were a [EI]?** That is, when was the first time that you felt different because of your ethnicity?
    Probe:
    a.   What were the circumstances around this?

Community
14. **We've been focusing on you and how you think about and define your [EI]ness. For the next couple of questions I would like for you to think about other people who may identify as [EI]. First, do you feel that there is a/n [EI] community** [a group that shares some things in common]**?**

If "yes": **Describe this community to me. How do you fit in to this?**
If "no": **Why?** (*then*, *skip questions 14 and 15*)

15. **In what ways are you connected with a [EI] community?**
          a.   What's that like for you?

16. **How did you develop this connection? Describe from as early as you can remember.**

17. **Are there other ethnic/racial communities that you feel a part of or connected to?** *[If so,]* **Tell me about them**.

Facilitators/Supports
18. **Now we are going to talk about the various things which have helped you see yourself as a/n [EI]. People use resources, organizations, and other people all the time to help them in hard times or to help "learn the ropes" in terms of seeing**

themselves as a/n [EI]. What has helped you in the process of seeing yourself as a/n [EI]?

Probe:
   a. Which people have helped you? [*Clarify the relationships of these people to the participant*]
   b. What events have helped you?
   c. Which institutions have helped you?
   d. What resources have helped you?

19. We're going to switch topics now and talk about sex. How do you think [EI] are supposed to think or feel about sex?
Probe:
   e. What messages do you get from other people about how [EI] are expected to think, feel, or act around sex? What do people say about being [EI] and sex?
   f. Who is saying these things?
   g. What do you think about these messages?

20. How about condoms? How do you think [EI] are supposed to think and feel about condoms?
   e. What messages do you get from other people about how [EI] are expected to think or feel about condoms? What do people say about being [EI] and condom use?
   f. Who is saying these things?
   g. What do you think about these messages?

SEXUAL IDENTITY
This section aims to:
♠ understand how the participant conceptualizes their sexual identity
♠ explore the process of developing that identity
♠ identify resources that have supported the process of developing a sexual
identity

Now we are going to talk a bit about your sexual identity. Many of these questions may sound familiar, but I will be asking them with regard to your sexuality rather than to being a man or a/n [EI]. Remember, your answers will remain confidential. Let's begin.

Meaning

21. Earlier you told me that you identify as [SI]. What messages do you get about being [SI[?

22. Tell me some of the negative things about being a/n [SI].

23. Tell me some of the positive things about being a/n [SI].

24. What are the specific roles and responsibilities of being [SI]?

       Probe:
      a.   Are there certain things you have to do be [SI]?
      b.   When do they happen or when do you have to do these things?
      c.   How do they happen?
      a.   How should [SI] act?
      b.   What should [SI] do?
      c.   How should [SI] walk?
      d.   How should [SI] talk?

<u>Self-Identification</u>

25. You have just told me a little bit about what it means to be [SI]. How do you fit into this? What is that like for you?
Probe: How do you see yourself compared to the things you told me?

26. *If they mention ways that they "fit", then ask:* **In what ways don't you fit into what we have just talked about? What is that like for you?**
Probe: How are you different than the things you told me?

27. For some people, there is a time when they first realize that they are [SI]. Describe for me when you first realized that you were [SI].
      Probe:
            a.   What were the circumstances around this?

<u>Community</u>

28. We've been focusing on how you think about and define your [SI]ness. For the next couple of questions I would like for you to think about other people who may identify as [SI]. First, do you feel that there is a/n [SI] community

If "yes": **Describe this community to me. How do you fit in to this? Are there any other [SI] communities, such as an internet [SI] community?**

If "no": **Why not?**

If they say there is no community because there is no [SI] neighborhood or area, then say: **A community can be any group that shares some things in common, even if they do not live close to each other, such as an internet community. Do you think there are some of these other kinds of [SI] communities?**

If they do not feel there is any kind of [SI] community, skip questions 29 and 30)]?

29. In what ways are you connected with a [SI] community?
        a.   What's that like for you?

30. How did you develop this connection? Describe your how you came to develop this connection, starting as early as you can remember.

31. Are there other sexual communities that you feel a part of or connected to? *[If so,]* **Tell me about them.**

<u>Facilitators/Supporters/Mentors: People</u>

32. Now we are going to talk about the various people, places, and things which have helped you see yourself as [SI]. People use other people, resources, organizations, and other things to help them in hard times or to help "learn the ropes" in terms of seeing themselves as [SI].

> *You will be asking the following questions in order to <u>all participants before proceeding to the probes</u>.*

    a. **When you first started to identify as [SI], who was helpful and supportive in this process?**

    b. **Other than your parent, has there been an important person in your life, who is older and more experienced than you and has provided you with guidance and support as a [SI] individual?**

> **Question b is the mentoring questions**

> - *If the participant identifies someone in a, proceed to Probes I (No Mentor)*
> - *If the participant identifies someone in b, proceed to Probes II (Mentor). Probes II (Mentor) are* **Probes I (No Mentor)**

1. **Describe this person to me** (*e.g., age, ethnicity, and sexuality*)**.**
2. **Describe this relationship to me.**
    a. **How was this person supportive and/or helpful?**
    b. **What did they do for you?**

Probes II (Mentor)

1. **Describe this person to me.** (*If the   following is not provided spontaneously, then query*)
    a. Do your trust them?
    b. Is this someone who cares about you?
    c. Is this someone you look up to?
    d. How old are they? What is their ethnicity? What is their sexuality?
    e. How do you know him/her?

    > **You want to find out what participant's relationship is to this person (e.g., sibling, friend,**

    f. What do you call him/her?

    > **You want to know what term participant used to describe this**

2. **Describe your relationship with him/her.** (*If the following is not provided spontaneously, then query*)

    a. How long have you known him/her?
    b. How often do you see or talk to him/her?
    c. How has this person been there for you?

    > **You want to know the kind of support that has been provide (e.g., emotional, instructional, informational)**

    d. What types of things did this person do for you?
    e. Why has this person been so important to you?

    Facilitators/Supporters: Other

32. **We've just talked about people who have been helpful to you as you came to see yourself as [SI], now I'd like to talk to you about those places and activities that may have also been helpful.** That is, are there places, like a town, or events, that have played a positive role as you started to identify as [SI]?
    a.   What events have helped you?
    b.   Which institutions have helped you?
    c.   What resources have helped you?

33. We're going to switch topics again and talk about sex. How do you think [SI] are supposed to think or feel about sex?

Probes:

a. What messages do you get from other people about how [SI] are expected to think, feel, or act around sex? What do people say about being [SI] and sex?

b. Who is saying these things?

c. What do you think about these messages?

34. How about condoms? How do you think [SI] are supposed to think and feel about condoms?

Probes:

a. What messages do you get from other people about how [SI] are expected to think and feel about condoms? What do people say about being [SI] and using condoms?

b. Who is saying these things?

c. What do you think about these messages?

(Offer the lads a ~10 minute break)

NARRATIVE OF SEXUAL SITUATIONS
This section is designed to:
♠ Get detailed descriptions of 2 separate sexual situations in which participant
   o engaged in a sexual situation participant considered risky
   o engaged in a sexual activity where condoms were used
♠ provide description of participant's concept of sexual risk
♠ provide contexts of risk and condom-use
♠ explore what role drugs/alcohol use played in each sexual episode

Up until now we've talked about the experiences you have being [identity combination]. We're going to keep thinking about those different aspects of your identity, but now we're going to begin thinking about how they relate to sex.
I realize that it's not always easy to talk about something so private, but remember that everything you tell me is totally confidential. Keep in mind that this is a safe place to discuss private things without feeling judged in any way. Let's begin.

35. As a [identity combination], what is sex like for you?
Probe:
   a.   Who do you typically have sex with?
   b.   What kinds of sex do you have?
   c.   Why do you have sex?
   d.   Where do you typically have sex?

RISKY SITUATION
36. Tell me about a time when you did something sexual that put you at risk for getting a disease? [*If participant does not have an example, ask about their last sexual experience. Explore condom use*.]
   Probes:
      a**.** What was happening before the situation? How were you doing, feeling that day? [antecedent]

      b. Who were you with? Where were you? When was this? Why were you there? [context of situation]

      c. Tell me about what happened in this situation? [event description]

      d.   What did you do during the situation? How did you feel during it all? [management strategies]

      e. What happened afterwards? What were you thinking about? How were you feeling? [consequential motives/feelings]

      f.   What role, if any, did drugs or alcohol play in this situation?

37. What about this situation made it risky?
[Note: Be sure to get the participant to discuss health risk involved with the situation.]

> If unprotected anal intercourse was not mentioned in the previous sexual risk narrative, please ask the appropriate questions below before proceeding to the SAFER SITUATION.

Unprotected Anal Intercourse
39.   Tell me about a time when you had unprotected anal sex.

> What was happening before the situation? How were you doing, feeling that day? [antecedent]
>
> b. Who were you with? Where were you? When was this? Why were you there? [context of situation]
>
> c. Tell me about what happened in this situation? Did you ever talk about using condoms during this situation? [event description]
>
> d.   What did you do during the situation? How did you feel during it all? [management strategies]
>
> e. What happened afterwards? What were you thinking about? How were you feeling? [consequential motives/feelings]
>
> f.   What role, if any, did drugs or alcohol play in this situation?

Thank you for sharing that experience with me. I would to stay on the topic of sex, but now I would like to ask you some questions about a time you did something sexual where condoms were involved at all times during the encounter. Let's begin.

SAFER SITUATION
40. Tell me about a time when you did something sexual using a condom? [*If participant does not have an example, proceed to IDENTITY INTEGRATION ACTIVITY.*]

> a. What was happening before the situation? How were you doing, feeling that day? [antecedent]

b. Who were you with? Where were you? When was this? Why were you there? [context of situation]

c. Tell me about what happened in this situation? How were condoms introduced into the situation? [event description]

d. What did you do during the situation? How did you feel during it all? [management strategies]

e. What happened afterwards? What were you thinking about? How were you feeling? [consequential motives/feelings]

41.   **What about these two situations was different?**

42.   **Thank you for talking to me about some of your sexual experiences. I'd like to ask you about a different topic that we are interested in understanding. Some guys do sexual things or hustle for money and other things of value. If you have done this before, what was that like?**

Probe:
a. Was it with a man or woman?
b. Where did you meet them?
c. How did you feel about the sexual experience?
d. What did you use the money for?

IDENTITY INTEGRATION ACTIVITY

We've been talking about your sexual experiences, as well as how you feel about being a man, a/n [EI], and [SI]. Now I'd like for you to show me how these identities come together-we're going to do this last part of the interview a little differently. Here's an outline of a man and here are six pencils. I want you to look at this drawing and use it to show me how you see yourself and your identities coming together. To do this, we will be using these pencils to represent your various identities or parts of yourself. First I'd like for you to select a color to represent your identity as a man, a second for your identity as an [EI], and the third as your identity as [SI].

Now using these pencils and this figure, I'd like for you to show me how these identities come together, filling the inside space of the figure with the different colors that represent the important parts of yourself.

Because these three identities may not be your only identities, I have three other colors that you may use to show other identities that you may have. You don't have

to use these colors, only use them if you feel that they would help describe who you are, and if they are an important part of who you are. Do you think you may want to use one or more of these other colors?

If "yes": Make sure they assign each color to each identity and fill in the color code ke sheet.

Do you have any questions before we get started? [*After answering all questions, if applicable, say*,] **Then go ahead and start coloring the figure. You'll have about five minutes to complete this drawing.**

[*Have them first draw the picture*]

Now tell me about your picture.

[*Have them explain the picture*]

[*Once picture is explained in detail, say,*] **Some people think that they have to combine or integrate all the parts of themselves differently around different people or in different situations. Do you feel that your multiple identities come together differently in various situations?**

[*If yes,*] **Please tell me about each of these places or situations.**
        Who's in them? Where are the places located?

With the picture that you just drew, what setting would that fit into?
[*Indicate name of setting on color code key and number drawing to correspond to code sheet. Do this for each drawing. There should be as many color code sheets as there are drawings.*]

Okay, now, considering the other settings that you mentioned (list settings previously given), draw a figure for each of these settings that shows how you express your identities in each of them.

[*Have them color in the settings, labeling each one with its appropriate setting(s)*]

So, now tell me why you drew each of these in this way.
        Other probes regarding integration
                a. For example, why is this picture colored in this way in [specific setting], and why is this one colored in this way for this other situation?
                b. What do you do or say to express or represent yourself differently in each situation?
                c. How do you feel about expressing yourself differently in each of these situations?
                d. What is it like?

Well, that's all of my questions. Do you have any questions? [*Address questions and continue on to Debriefing Interview. Following the Debriefing Interview, interviewers will reflect and comment on the interview process in a tape-recorded "interviewer narrative." Participants should not be privy to this activity. Interviewer and participant should be identified at the beginning of the "narrative" in the following manner:*

"This is Sebastian, and I have just interviewed a 16-year-old, African American, gay male)

The "narrative" is intended to capture the following:

- *Reflections*
- *Notable themes*
- *Visual Material not "tape-recordable" (e.g., body language)*
- *Interview context and descriptors*

However, interviewers are free to capture anything they consider worthwhile about the interview process. For example, this is an opportune time to reflect on what is was like to interview someone for your "community."]

DEBRIEFING INTERVIEW
"Several questions in the interview asked you about personal and sensitive information. Some of the questions in the interview may have caused you to think about situations or feelings that we would like to check in with you about. I want to check in with you to make sure that when you leave here today you are feeling okay and that you are safe."

IF THE PARTICIPANT DISCUSSED SUICIDAL
THOUGHT/IDEATION/ATTEMPTS, ASK:
> "At one point in the interview, you mentioned thoughts or feelings of wanting to end your life. I want to ask you now how you are feeling, and if you are having thoughts of hurting yourself."

If answer indicates suicidal thoughts, feelings, or plan, the interviewer should say, "It's my responsibility to make sure you are safe. I need you to meet with a counselor to make sure you are safe. I will stay with you until s/he arrives." Interviewer should follow clinic/agency procedures for acute mental health referrals. Interviewer should contact supervisor immediately and stay with the participant until supervisor or mental health professional arrives.

IF THE PARTICIPANT DISCUSSED EXPERIENCING SOME FORM OF ABUSE, ASK THE FOLLOWING—IF THE ABUSE IS PERPETRATED BY A CUSTODIAL PARENT OR GUARDIAN, THEN FOLLOW PROCEDURES FOR CHILD ABUSE REPORTING

> "At one point in the interview, you mentioned someone in your life hurting you or abusing you. I would like to ask you about those experiences, to make sure you are safe and to see if you would like to talk to anyone further about what has happened. Is there anything you would like to say about anyone hurting or abusing you?"

If yes, interviewer should say, "I'm sorry that happened to you. It's my responsibility to make sure you are safe. I would like you to meet with a counselor to make sure you are safe. I will stay with you until s/he arrives." Interviewer should follow clinic procedures for mental health and/or potential abuse referrals. Interviewer should contact supervisor immediately and stay with participant until supervisor or mental health professional arrives. In addition to mental health services/referrals, the supervisor or mental health professional will provide appropriate information regarding legal protections and services related to the abuse.

IF THE PARTICIPANT DISCUSSED HIV RISK BEHAVIORS AND EXHIBITED A LACK OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HIV PREVENTION:
> "At one point in the interview, you mentioned doing some things that might be putting you at risk for STDs and HIV. Do you mind if I give you some information about HIV and condom use?" If they agree, proceed with giving them needed information and resources.

ASK THIS QUESTION OF ALL PARTICIPANTS, REGARDLESS OF THEIR REPORTING OF ABUSE AND/OR SUICIDAL THOUGHTS:
> "Is there any (other) part of the interview you would like to discuss further?"

If response indicates the participant is in urgent need of mental health assistance, the interviewer should follow clinic/agency procedures for acute mental health referrals. Interviewer should contact the supervisor immediately and stay with the participant until supervisor or mental health professional arrives.   Otherwise, interviewer should say, "If you decide that you would like to speak with a counselor, here is a list of agencies in the community that provide this service."

Color Key

Situation: _____

Date: _____

Identity: _____ [ ]

Identity: _____ [ ]

Identity: _____ [ ]

Identity: _____ [ ]

Identity: _____ [ ]

Identity: _____ [ ]