The Last Word:

The Scholar Whose Expectancy-Value Theory Transformed the Understanding of Adolescence, Gender Differences, and Achievement: An Interview With Jacquelynne S. Eccles

Héfer Bembenutty
Queens College of the City University of New York

Initial Steps in Psychology and Education

JAA: What motivated you to pursue a career in psychology?

Eccles: When I was an undergraduate at Berkeley, I took my first psychology course and I fell in love with psychology, so I majored in psychology as an undergraduate. I did not know very much about becoming an academic or a researcher, so I went into the Peace Corps for a few years in Africa. After I came back, I was trying to figure out what I wanted to do with the rest of my life, and someone said, "Go back to graduate school." After I enrolled in graduate school at UCLA, I learned more about what it meant to be an academic researcher, and it has been a perfect career for me.

JAA: Who have been your role models or mentors?

Eccles: I worked with Bernie Weiner as a graduate student at UCLA. He stimulated my interest in motivational psychology. I still study many of these questions: namely, people's thinking about what happens to them and how that affects the choices they make. Bill McKeachie was a major mentoring role model for me here at the University of Michigan. I admired his work, and I admired him as a man. I also was mentored quite closely by Richard Jester at the University of Colorado, who really fostered my interest in adolescent well-being. Another important mentor is Abigail Stuart, in women's studies and lifespan development. Early on, she became interested in my longitudinal work. Then, she came here to the University of Michigan, and she has been a real inspiration to me. It is delightful to work with her.

JAA: You also moved to education. What motivated you to expand your work from psychology to educational psychology?

Eccles: I was always interested in education, but UCLA did not have a program in educational psychology within the psychology department. My dissertation involved the motivation of kids in school. I was always really interested in what people are interested in trying to achieve and in schooling in particular. I was also interested in schools as a social context influencing people's lives. Thus, my work has always centered on issues related to educational choices, educational experiences, and social experiences in school settings. I am not that interested in learning *per se*, I am more interested in schools and social context and the motivational contexts in which people either thrive or do not thrive.

Expectancy-Value Model

JAA: You have developed a very comprehensive expectancy-value model of motivation. Could you please describe this model?

Eccles: I am interested in how people make choices. The expectancy-value model of behavioral choice is a classic model in psychology. You can even look at some of the work by William James. In essence, people are most likely to do things at which they think they can succeed and that have high value for them. I first became interested in the question of gender and why women were less likely to go into math and science than men. It seemed to me that the classic expectancy-value model was the best way to approach that question, to think about how people decided what they were good at, what they liked, and what they would enjoy doing.

My colleagues and I at that time articulated my expectancy-value model, which differs from the more classic model in that we really tried to put it into a more socio-cultural framework, so we did not stop with the cognitive beliefs. We tried to understand where the individual differences in those beliefs come from and how they were grounded in the experiences of individuals. How were they influenced by the kinds of attributions and explanation systems that individuals developed? How were they influenced by what happened to them in schools and in their families? In particular, what would shape how girls and boys develop different views of their academic abilities, despite the fact that they perform quite comparably at the population level in school?

I believe firmly that these expectations for one's performance and the value that one attaches to doing well in different areas are heavily socialized within the cultural setting as individuals grow up. These beliefs are socialized in ways that are unique to each person. Individuals draw from their own experiences of what they find enjoyable. They are also grounded in what people tell them about what is appropriate for people like them to do. Gender is one of the organizing social categories. However, I think race, ethnicity, and religion are a variety of social categories that also inform individuals' views of who they are and what they should be as they are growing up. We tried to integrate this more socio-cultural perspective into the expectancy-value theoretical framework. These socio-cultural scripts get internalized as part of the self-system and as part of the identity system. This includes estimates of what you think you are good at and what

you think you are not good at, as well as components of what you think is important to do with your life.

My model also differs from classic expectancy-value theory in that when John Atkinson developed his achievement motivational model, he defined values as being one minus the probability of success, so that values were essentially totally driven by expectations for success. I did not believe that this was true. His model was not very good at explaining gender or cultural differences. Thus, people like David Winter and I and others who were interested in these sorts of socio-cultural phenomena were having trouble using the model. I felt the essence of this difficulty reflected the fact that value is determined by many things in addition to perceived difficulty. Yes, harder things are more valuable because they are harder to obtain, but that is not the primary source of value. Within the way I have operationalized value, it is influenced by many more aspects of a person's life and this is the piece of the expectancy-value model that we have tried to articulate in a much more socio-cultural manner than was being done in the sort of classic achievement theories and classic business theories of expectancy-values.

JAA: How is your model similar to or different from Bandura's self-efficacy model?

Eccles: I would view his model as part of the expectancy piece, to the extent that he makes a distinction between different kinds of expectancy. The work that we are doing is closest to what he calls performance expectations. In other words, do you think you will be able to implement the actions necessary to produce success? On that particular dimension, I think our work is quite similar. He has not focused very much on values; therefore, much of the work that is derived from his self-efficacy theory has left values out. When we put values into our predicted models, expectations for success are much less important. Thus, I think value is an important component that is missing from his self-efficacy theory, although he has other theoretical frames that do consider values.

Current Research Projects

Michigan Study of Adolescent and Adult Life Transitions

JAA: Your expectancy-value model has driven you to undertake your current projects. Currently, you have multiple research projects. Let us talk a little bit about them. You have been the leading force in the Michigan Study of Adolescent and Adult Life Transitions (MSAALT). Could you please describe this project, its purpose, participants, and major findings?

Eccles: The Michigan Study of Adolescent and Adult Life Transitions began in the early 1980s. It is a longitudinal project that has continued for quite a long time. It was actually based on some earlier work where we had found that girls did not go on in math and the physical sciences. Therefore, we had examined adolescents' attitudes towards mathematics and towards English to try to understand the gender differences. In the process, we had discovered that both boys and girls were really turning off to math and English in a rather dramatic way as they moved into the junior high school years. Carol Midgley and I became very interested in these developmental changes. We decided to shift focus and really try to look at what was going on when young people were making the transition from elementary school into secondary school. Of course, we wanted to maintain our interest in math and English, and we wanted to expand it into some other domains because we wanted to see whether this turning off to these school subjects was characteristic of all aspects of achievement or whether it was quite particular to school subjects. Thus, we included athletics as part of one of the other areas that we wanted to study.

We got funding to focus quite closely on the experiences of the family and schools as young people made the transition into junior high school in southeastern Michigan. We attempted to determine whether it was something about adolescents or whether it was something about the schools. Based on these interests, we generated a model that we call Stage Environment

Misfit or Stage Environment Fit. We said, "Look, if the environments do not fit the changing developmental needs of the young people, then the adolescents will withdraw in a variety of ways. If they can get up and walk away and leave, they will. If they cannot, they will withdraw psychologically, and their motivation will decline." It is really a variation of person-environment fit theory that suggested that people work hardest and are most motivated in settings where there is a good fit between what their needs are, and the opportunities that are provided for them. So that was the origin of the MSAALT project, and we were able to demonstrate with the first four waves that, in fact, the declines in motivation that occurred for mathematics were very much based on what happened in the math classrooms.

We also found that young people, when they moved from sixth-grade mathematics in elementary school into seventh-grade mathematics in junior high schools, were very likely to experience a decline in their teachers' expectations for them, a decline in the quality of the social relationships that they had with their teachers, an increase in feelings of not belonging, not being supported or trusted, and an increase in feeling like one was not going to be capable of performing the material. This happened primarily because some seventh-grade teachers were more likely than sixth-grade teachers to have low confidence in many of their students. Thus, many students experienced a drop in their teachers' confidence in their math ability. However, some seventh-grade teachers did trust their students; some seventh-grade teachers continued to foster good social relationships with their students and did have confidence in their ability to teach all of their students. Their students did not experience this decline because these students did not experience the normative patterns of change in math classroom experiences as they moved from sixth to seventh grade. So the declines in motivation were directly related to normative shifts in experiences in seventh-grade classrooms rather than anything that had to do with puberty or changes that had to do with adolescence.

We have followed these kids; they are now in their 30s. We have continued to gather data on them to answer many questions

about why adolescents make the kinds of decisions they make, gender issues, school issues, and long-term choices. We show that the expectancy-value model works. We have been amazed at how effective and predictive this model is. We can predict long-term educational choices and occupational choices from these students' sixth-grade expectancies in math, sports, language arts, reading, and English, as well as in social domains, and from how important they say it is to them to do well in these areas, and then from how they answer questions about how they expect to do in various careers and the values that they attach to the kinds of jobs that they think they are going to get when they are in their late teens.

We have been able to explain the gender differences in both college majors and occupational choices. One of the main reasons that women do not go on into engineering and physical sciences as much as their male colleagues has to do with their perceptions of the jobs. Advanced courses in math and physical science do not fit very well with the types of jobs they would like to have. We have found that having a job that allows one to help other people and to work in teams on concrete problems that affect other people's well-being is an important career characteristic for young women who have the capacity to pursue engineering and science careers. These women decide to go on into the biological and medical sciences instead of the physical sciences and engineering. Men who hold this value are also more likely to pick the medical and biological sciences than engineering and physics; however, women are more likely to endorse this career value than men.

Women, Minorities, and the U.S. Congress

JAA: You have been a passionate advocate for women and minorities in education and in the work force. What does your gender and achievement research program tell you about why women are underrepresented in the labor force and educational settings? What does your research tell you about minorities?

Eccles: I have already talked a bit about women. I want to reiterate the fact that the data now suggest that in the United States at least, the issue looks like it is primarily engineering and physical science rather than in science in general. Among noncollege graduates, women are also underrepresented in jobs related to technology of all types.

JAA: So do women feel confident?

Eccles: Confidence is important. There is a slight gender difference. Females are slightly less confident than males about their skills and potential in technological occupations, but this difference does not seem to be what is driving gender differences in career choices. Women are now as likely as men to go into medicine and law. It takes confidence to go into medicine and law. So, it looks like they are now going into the sciences, but it is really a matter of which sciences as opposed to sciences at all. It also involves perceptions of the fit of the career to broader life goals that the young women and men have for their lives. Many women want to be involved in their families in a much more hands-on way on a daily basis. In some cases, they see these jobs as incompatible with that goal.

Recently, I was in Washington, DC, presenting at a congressional briefing on the issue of why women were not going onto the physical sciences and engineering. There were 200 people in the audience, including four members of the House of Representatives.

JAA: What did you tell them?

Eccles: Gender differences in decisions about seeking careers in math and engineering are related to perceptions of the field—it is not so much a matter of confidence as it is of perceived task value. Unfortunately, many programs focus on raising women's confidence. Such programs are unlikely to increase women's entry into engineering and the physical sciences unless they also provide information that makes these careers seem more com-

patible with women's career values. Instead, confidence-building programs seem to be increasing women's choice of careers in medicine and the biological sciences instead of careers in engineering and physical science. I told them that we need to do a much better job of letting people know that there are careers in engineering, computer science, and technology that help people. Young women do not have a good idea of what people do in these jobs, so they are rejecting these jobs because of a stereotype when, in fact, they might actually really enjoy them.

JAA: Are women not well-informed?

Eccles: They are not well-informed at all. We as a country—and I think this is true of many countries as well—do an extremely poor job in terms of career guidance, especially in terms of letting adolescents know what the job market looks like and what different jobs actually entail. We expect them to make wise decisions regarding education and occupations, and we are surprised when they do not. However, we do not give them the information they need to make a wise decision. Therefore, I said that the schools of engineering need to do a lot more outreach. They need to develop Internet materials. Young people like to use the Web, so schools of engineering need to make information about careers in engineering easily accessible. Also, schools need to make it easy to talk to people who work in these fields so that young people can explore those options. We also need to get high schools to make this part of their curriculum. If we are talking about preparing young people for the future society, we have to equip them with the tools to explore that society and to make wise choices for themselves. We ask them to make those choices, and we tell them, "Look, you are going to have to have five careers in your lifetime. That is common now. Do not plan on doing one thing; you are going to have to be flexible." Things are changing quickly, but then we do not tell them what to do about this fact, and we do not give them information about how they should find out what jobs are available. We just say, "Prepare yourself," and then expect them to do it. Of course, they do not

know how to do it; they are just kids. So I stressed these points because people wanted to believe that the problem is with the girls as opposed to that the problem is with the society.

JAA: How did they receive your message?

Eccles: It was quite favorable. I think that people really liked it. I think it gave them a different way to think about interventions. The people from the schools of engineering who were there came up afterwards and thanked me and said that my comments had helped them to think about things in a somewhat different way. They started to think about why people go to college and how they might attract a different kind of student. If they want to get more people into their fields, they really need to think about how to solve this problem, and they cannot expect the kids to solve the problem.

I have done less work with minorities. I am very concerned with inequity in education that impacts minorities because of differentials in social class, and the confound between poverty status and minority status. This is particularly true for African Americans and Hispanics. The school systems are just failing kids who are growing up in families in inner-city, poor environments; these kids tend to be Hispanic, Native American, and African American. They are being poorly served across all dimensions. It is not just science. They are being poorly educated to go on to college; they are also being exposed to other discriminatory processes that have to do with inaccurate stereotypes the culture has about the fundamental aspects of ability to achieve in school.

In one of our more recent studies, we have been examining African Americans' experiences of racial discrimination in school. In the Michigan Study of Adolescent and Adult Life Transitions, we became more broadly interested in problems that adolescents were having more generally. We did have some African Americans in that sample, but not many. So we became interested in ethnic identities and experiences around ethnicity in addition to experiences related to gender. We began a project in a county outside Washington, DC, that had a very high proportion

of middle-class African American adolescents so that we could study African Americans independent of poverty. In this way, we could have a distribution of African American families that was as broad as the distribution of European American families. So we went to this county and began with kids in the seventh grade. We studied their school experiences and their experiences of racial discrimination. We also interviewed their parents. These youth are now in their late 20s, and we have followed them and their families since they were in the seventh grade.

We found that to the extent to which African American young people believe that they are being discriminated against by peers and teachers in school because of their race, all aspects of their development declines. Perceptions of racial discrimination undermine their mental health, their academic achievement, and their motivation and engagement in school. These perceptions also predict increases in their problem behavior and increases in their affiliation with peers who are also involved in a variety of problem behaviors (drinking, delinquency, etc.), which further undermines their school achievement.

However, they do not experience these declines in well-being if they have a strong identity as African Americans and if they believe they are part of a rich community and have strong cultural, social connections as a result of being African American. Thus, a strong and positive African American social identity appears to buffer the negative impact of racial discrimination, at least in the junior high school years. We have been following these young people, but we have not yet been able to look at how this plays out as they move from high school into college. That is something we want to do in the future. My colleagues and I have become very interested in racial discrimination and more broadly, in experiences of feeling like you are not accepted or you are discriminated against because of something over which you had no control. Therefore, we are looking at race, but of course, gender fits that category as well, and I think it is probably going to hold true for other ethnicities as well. It may also hold for people who feel like they are not physically attractive or who are obese, and for kids who are being bullied at school.

Currently, I am interested in how individuals respond in a setting where they think people in that setting do not respect them and do not value them for things that they have no control over, for example, things that are based on the way they look, genetic endowments, disabilities, and ethnicities that they did not pick. School is a place where a lot of this type of discrimination happens. I have now become convinced that such experiences undermine students' mental health and, certainly, their willingness and ability to engage in the learning because they withdraw their motivation in order to protect their psychological well being. Therefore, that is work we will undertake in the future.

Maryland Adolescent Development in Context Study

JAA: You have been involved in the Maryland Adolescent Development in Context Study. What is the main purpose of this longitudinal study? So far, what do the data show?

Eccles: The Maryland Adolescent Development Study in Context actually grew out of my involvement in another MacArthur Foundation Network, a Network of Successful Pathways Through Adolescence. It built on the work I had done in the MSAALT study, trying to look more generally at adolescent development and what constitutes successful pathways through adolescence. The study was done in conjunction with a major school intervention that was being conducted in Prince George's County, MD, that was based on James Comer's work trying to change the junior high schools to create more motivation, more support for young people, and more opportunities to be engaged. It also was a chance to look very closely at issues of ethnic identity.

We began with seventh graders, we studied them and their families in the 7th grade, in the summer between their 7th and 8th grade and the summer after the 8th grade, the 11th grade, and we now have followed them into adulthood, examining several aspects of healthy development. We found many things; the work that I just talked about on racial discrimination is prob-

ably some of the most interesting. There have been many different people using the data. We have also been able to document the importance of positive out-of-school activities in kids' lives. We have been able to show the importance of the expectancy-value model again because we measure those expectancy-values around academic, mathematical, and sports contexts. Once again, these beliefs are quite predictive of educational and occupational options. We have gone back and interviewed people in their 20s about their engagement in Information Technology (IT) jobs. We found that these job choices are driven by the young adults' expectancies and values related to IT. Changes in occupations are largely driven by changes in the value system that the person holds, such as feelings that this is not the right place for me, that I have to do something else with my life.

Family and Child Well-Being Research Network

JAA: You are also involved in the Family and Child Well-Being Research Network. Within this network, you are particularly involved in the Transition to Adulthood project. Could you please explain what that network is? Could you also describe the major findings of this project?

Eccles: In each of our studies, I do longitudinal work—it turns out that I like to follow people. The participants in the three projects that we began in the 1980s and early 1990s began to move into adulthood. Thus, in collaboration initially with Bonnie Barber, who is now at Murdoch University in Australia, we wanted to follow the MSAALT sample. We were interested in what leads to occupational outcomes. Given that I was interested in educational outcomes, it was an obvious extension to start looking at occupational outcomes because that is where education often leads. The Family and Child Well-Being Research Network has looked more generally at this period of transition. It actually was quite striking that there were very few studies that followed people across this transition. Developmental psychologists tended to stop their studies at age 18. The longitudinal adult studies

tended to begin in the late 20s and did not focus on this particular period. The time when you move from adolescence into adulthood is critical. During the 1990s, there started to be a lot of emphasis on this transition. Jeff Arnett has actually called this period "emerging adulthood" in a couple of articles in the *American Psychologist*, but other people, the sociologists, the psychologists around the world, also became interested in what has become known as an extended period of adolescence. We were well-situated to do such work because all of our samples were moving right into that age group, so we were able to get funding to follow them across this period.

What have been our major findings? Well, a lot of our research is related to the expectancy-value model, showing that the model actually does predict occupational choices. Some other findings focused on what William Thomas Grant called "The Forgotten Half"—those young people who do not go to college. There were actually a lot of studies on college students because social and personality psychologists tend to study college students; but these studies did not use a developmental frame. Nevertheless, if you looked at that work, we knew a lot about kids who were in college, but we did not know very much about kids who did not go to college. The William Thomas Grant Foundation was pushing people to look at a broader array of kids between 18 and 25, and we did. We documented essentially what they were suggesting, that is, that there are many kids who flounder through this period of life, particularly if they do not go to college.

We happened to have a very good sample to study because during this period the auto industry in Michigan started downsizing. The MSAALT generation bore the brunt of the downsizing. In prior generations, if you were in a family that had good connections with the union, you could finish high school and go on to work in the factories and have a very good job because the unions had negotiated very good contracts. You could get a living wage and start a family. That all fell apart in the late 1980s, so the MSAALT generation was a perfect generation to study because they were not going to be able to do what their parents

had thought they were going to be able to do. We were able to follow these kids who really floundered.

On the positive side, by age 25, it looked like most of them had bounced back. So they had a hard time between 18 and 23 or 24. Many of them went back to school because they needed to do that to find a job with a living wage. Some of them stayed at home and lived at home for quite an extended period, but eventually they found jobs that over time would allow them to make a successful transition into adulthood.

Childhood and Beyond

JAA: You are the principal investigator of the Childhood and Beyond project, which is a longitudinal, field-based study. What is the mission of the project? What are some of its major findings?

Eccles: The Childhood and Beyond project actually grew out of our earlier work on math, gender, and our work on the MSAALT project. We discovered quite a few sex differences in the kids' views of their ability in math, sports, and English. We wanted to go back and see how early these differences emerged. We looked more closely at the role the parents play in shaping kids' emerging self-concepts and values as well as the activities in which kids engaged and developed skills. Erikson talked about middle childhood being the period in which children develop skills and confidence in their ability to learn. He called this period the period of industry versus inferiority. This is the period when skills really begin to be developed. School is one, but not the only, place in which this happens. It is the time when children start participating in organized sports and start playing musical instruments. It is a period when there is a lot of exploration, opportunities to try things in your culture, and to begin to develop some expertise.

Preschool is really about learning to walk and talk and acquire social skills, but when you get to be 6 or 7, it is really a time when society begins to provide instruction in the fundamental skills that are valued and needed to become an adult in

that society. It was a good period for us to start looking at what role middle-class families in the United States play today in trying to shape their kids' interests and competencies. We already knew a lot about math and reading, and we wanted to expand, so we looked at math, reading, and science. We also wanted to look at out-of-school skill-based areas, so we included sports and instrumental music. We followed three cohorts of children who were in the first grade, second grade, or fourth grade. We had 4 years of funding to follow them and their families annually to really examine how these ideas about the self begin, how early gender becomes a factor in them, and what roles families and schools play.

The findings have been fascinating. We have been able to show that gender differences emerge extremely early. By the first grade, girls think they are not as good in math as they are in reading, and they think they are not as good in math as boys think they are, when in fact there is no evidence to support that conclusion. Our data suggest that the gender differences actually get smaller over time rather than larger. Children enter that period at 6 or 7 already very socialized around gender and have incorporated gender stereotypes into their self-concepts. To some extent, girls unlearn some of these stereotypes as they get more experience and learn that they really are as good as, or better than, the opposite sex in areas like math and science. Boys learn that the girls really are as good as they are.

We also learned that 6- and 7-year-old children are quite optimistic about their abilities, with girls being a little bit less optimistic than boys. Most children at this age also report that they love math, reading, sports, and music. Over the elementary school years, two things happen. On average, everyone drops in their confidence and in their values, and they become more differentiated across subject and activity areas. In the first grade, kids already have different views of their abilities, even though they are optimistic about everything. They already have some sense that they are better at this or that, but they are all on the high end of the scale. They all think they are above average on everything, but they are better at some things than others. As

you go through the elementary school years and into secondary school, those notions of the self become more differentiated and they become less optimistic across the board, so even the most able kids start rating themselves lower over time. Surprisingly, the gender differences actually decreased in this particular sample over the elementary school and junior high school years.

We found that parents play a really big role in reinforcing gender stereotypes, and they do this subconsciously. It is not the parents' goal to convince their girls that they are not as good in math as the boys are, or that they are not as good in sports. They try to help their kids discover who they are. However, the parents already have subconscious gender stereotypic notions of what that might be. These ideas are passed on to their children in very subtle ways. Parents believe they are responding to cues from their kids. But in fact, their parents are shaping them.

New Directions and Legacy

Educational Psychology

JAA: Now let us talk a little bit about the future. What do you think will be the next direction in educational psychology?

Eccles: I wish I knew. I think work on identity is going to be very important, so I think moving in a more socio-cultural direction is going to be very important. I think also moving in a direction looking more at work on neuroscience, so I think we are going to become both more micro and more macro. I think we need to move from just thinking about individual motivation to try to put it in this larger context, so I think there is going to be a lot of work growing out of identities and the self, but I think that is going to be more socio-cultural in its framing. I hope we will come to better understand the actual link between motivation and learning at the level of the brain and at the level of what is really going on. How do emotion and motivation actually change the way a person engages learning tasks to influence

fundamentally what they get out of engaging and learning? I hope that there will be a tighter connection between what we know in psychology and training of teachers. One of the big issues for education right now is how we can do a better job of helping teachers do their job. We know a lot more about what to do to get kids to pay attention than we do about how to make better teachers. I am hoping that educational psychology will be able to have more to say about that.

Future Work

JAA: What new line of research would you like to pursue within the next 5 to 10 years?

Eccles: I think I will keep writing. I have a lot of data now. What I need to do in the next 5 years is not necessarily to take on new projects, but to pull together old, existing projects. I think it is probably time for me now to take a step back and really think about how to bring it all together, and that is probably going to work better in books than journal articles. I have never written a book. I have edited books, but I have never written a book, so I am trying to figure out how to do that and how to spend the next 5 or so years trying to pull things together. I imagine I will put together all the things like gender and identities and how they affect people's experiences and how they end-up affecting their lives. I think I want to do some more with what we talked about earlier, this notion of—to use a word the kids use—being "dissed," essentially what it means to be disrespected and feel like one is not valued in educational settings and other settings. I would like to understand the mental health consequences of less-than-positive experiences in school settings.

I would like to study how we make school settings more humane, given that we require kids to stay in schools for so long. How can we make schools into settings where everyone feels good? I am doing some work with Ed Deci and Jim Connell on Jim Connell's intervention at the secondary school level. I would like to do more evaluation-type work and try to understand how

we go about doing whole-school reform. I am somewhat interested in health-related issues. I think some of the things that we have been discovering on the protective role of ethnic identity in school settings and achievement may also be applicable to the disparities that exist in physical health as well. I am thinking about retiring. I am also thinking about becoming more engaged at the University of Colorado because my family is there. If I do that, given that I am always interested in what is going on around me, I may go in directions that I have not even thought about, depending on what is exciting there.

Legacy

JAA: How would you like the fields of psychology and educational psychology to remember you? What do you feel is your legacy?

Eccles: I would like them to remember me for being an excellent mentor. I would also like them to remember me for having gotten us to think about schools as social environments that affect all of human development.

JAA: Would you like to say anything else?

Eccles: I would like to thank all the people who have helped my career. I could not have done it without so many wonderful students, colleagues, and mentors.

Author's Note

Professor Jacquelynne Eccles is the Wilbert J. McKeachie Collegiate Professor of Psychology, Women's Studies, and Education at the University of Michigan, where she is also a senior Research Scientist at the Institute for Research on Women and Gender and at the Research Center for Group Dynamics. She has conducted research on a wide variety of topics including gender-role socialization, teacher expectancies, classroom

influences on student motivation, and social development in the family and school contexts for more than 30 years. Professor Eccles has served on numerous committees, including a past chair of the Advisory Committee for the Social, Behavioral, and Economic Directorate at the National Science Foundation; she was also a member of the MacArthur Foundation Network on Successful Adolescent Development and Chair of the MacArthur Foundation on Successful Pathways through Middle Childhood. She is coauthor or coeditor of several books including *Women and Sex-Roles* and *Managing to Succeed*. She received her Ph.D. in developmental psychology from the University of California, Los Angeles.