PEER ETHNIC SOCIALIZATION: PREVALENCE, PREDICTORS, AND OUTCOMES
AMONG AFRICAN-AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS

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ABSTRACT

Title: Peer Ethnic Socialization: Prevalence, Predictors, and Outcomes among African-American Adolescents

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The current study used a sample of 75 African-American adolescents to examine the role of peers as agents of ethnic socialization. Results indicated that peer ethnic socialization messages were prevalent among African-American youth, and that adolescents reported more messages related to cultural mistrust and fewer messages related to cultural pride from peers than from parents. Additionally, adolescents reported their peers used indirect as opposed to direct methods of socialization more frequently. Results indicated that higher age and peer orientation predicted higher peer ethnic socialization. Additionally, higher peer ethnic socialization predicted lower self-esteem, lower depression, higher academic achievement, and higher ethnic identity. The findings of this study suggest that adolescent peers play an important role in the socialization of ethnicity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandparents, Choa Shun and Pi-Huai Ma Kang, and

Joseph and Margaret McGill, who have always been the epitome of love, kindness, gratitude,

dedication, and hard work.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

More than most other periods of the lifespan, adolescence is a phase when individuals undertake the task of developing their identity and sense of self. The years between childhood and adulthood are when most people begin to form understandings of who they are and the kind of person they would like to be in the future. For ethnic-minority youth, an aspect of identity that may develop during adolescence is ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is defined as a sense of self regarding ethnicity, culture, and race, and as the sense of belonging and psychological connection a person feels toward other members of his or her ethnic group (Sanders Thompson, 2001). The process of ethnic identity formation may be influenced by information from other people about the meaning of ethnicity, and how ethnicity affects behavior and social interaction. The messages used to convey this information are referred to as ethnic socialization (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006). The majority of research on ethnic socialization examines the role of parents as agents of socialization, but peers may also be sources of socialization. Because ethnic socialization contributes to the development of ethnic identity, which is a crucial task of adolescence, and because peers are important to adolescents, it is likely that peers will engage in ethnic socialization among ethnic-minority youth.

The current chapter introduces the topic of peer ethnic socialization and reviews the limited quantitative research on this topic. Additionally, qualitative studies of ethnic identity development and inter-ethnic peer relations, and research with immigrant and multi-ethnic youth supplement the sparse quantitative research on peer ethnic socialization. Also, research

suggesting that peers are likely to be involved in ethnic socialization because they socialize each other on other relevant behaviors and attitudes is examined. The end of this chapter will introduce the specific goals and research questions addressed in this study. The aim is to examine the nature of peer ethnic socialization, including the prevalence of these practices, the content of peer ethnic socialization messages, and the methods of socialization used by peers. Additionally, the investigation will examine two research questions: 1) What individual factors predict peer ethnic socialization?; and 2) Is peer ethnic socialization associated with positive outcomes for adolescents?

<div style="text-align:center">The Role of Ethnic Socialization in Ethnic Identity Development</div>

Numerous psychologists have proposed theories explaining the development of ethnic identity during adolescence (Cross, 1991, 1995; Cross, Parham & Helms, 1991; Root, 1998; Tatum, 1997). Unsurprisingly, there are differences between theories of ethnic identity formation, but most have some important common aspects. First, theories of ethnic identity development suggest that it is formed through a constructive process that requires the adolescent to explore different identities (Nurmi, 2004; Bosma & Gerrits, 1985; Grotevant, 1987; Phinney, 1991). This construction and exploration can be accomplished through conversations with other people, learning behavior from role models, and trying out different roles. The constructive process of ethnic identity development may be aided by ethnic socialization messages from others (Hughes et al. 2006). Most research on ethnic socialization examines intergenerational transmissions of ethnic values communicated by parents, but psychological research is beginning to explore the role of ethnic socialization from other sources besides parents (Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, & Sellers, 2005).

Second, theories of ethnic identity development emphasize the importance of various social contexts in the formation of ethnic identity (Root, 1998). Identity is affected by other individuals' views and ideas (Peshkin, 1991), and therefore the individuals present in the contexts of an adolescent's life are likely to be crucial to the development of ethnic identity. When individuals are children, their social contexts are largely determined by their parents, who may choose schools, neighborhoods, and even friendship groups in which they will interact (Root, 1998). As individuals get older, they are likely to have greater choice concerning the social contexts they occupy. While adolescents are not typically able to choose schools and neighborhoods, most take some responsibility for selecting their peer groups and friends. Because adolescents often navigate the peer context on their own with increasingly limited help from parents, peers may be especially influential during this period, especially regarding the construction of ethnic identity. For this reason, it is reasonable to assume that peers may engage in ethnic socialization during adolescence.

Peers play an important role in the lives of adolescents, especially as they attempt to navigate autonomy from their parents (Fuglini & Eccles, 1993). Contexts outside the home such as peer groups are important for reference and reinforcement of attitudes and behaviors (Peshkin, 1991). Youth may seek information from their peers regarding ideas, attitudes, and behaviors, and may use their peers as a social comparison group. Adolescents may depend on their friends to confirm and validate their ideas, identities, and behaviors. This may include values and identities related to ethnicity. Peers are likely to be an important source of ethnic socialization information during adolescence.

The Current State of Ethnic Socialization Research

The current research on ethnic socialization focuses almost exclusively on the influence of parents (Hughes et al., 2006). This literature has indicated that the majority of ethnic-minority parents engage in some form of ethnic socialization with their adolescent children. Estimates of the prevalence of parent ethnic socialization demonstrate that about 30% (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Marshall, 1995) to more than 80% of African-American parents speak to their children about ethnicity and race (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004; Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). The prevalence rates of ethnic socialization suggest that ethnic-minority parents believe teaching their children about the meaning of ethnicity is an important part of raising healthy children.

Research on parent ethnic socialization also indicates that these practices are often associated with both a better-developed ethnic identity, and with other forms of positive adjustment (Hughes et al., 2006; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Bowman & Howard, 1985; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Fischer & Shaw, 1999). However, research also indicates that parent ethnic socialization may be associated with poorer outcomes for adolescents (Hughes et al., 2006; Biafora, Warheit, Zimmerman, & Gil, 1993; Marshall, 1995). Researchers have suggested that the extent to which ethnic socialization is associated with positive or negative adjustment outcomes may depend on the content of ethnic socialization messages (Hughes et al., 2006). Some types of messages may be associated with positive outcomes while messages on other topics may be associated with negative outcomes. For example, messages emphasizing pride in one's ethnic group, which

are labeled *cultural socialization*, may be associated with higher self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Stevenson et al., 1997) and more developed ethnic identity (Demo & Hughes, 1990; O'Connor et al., 2000; Stevenson, 1995). Adolescents who are encouraged to learn about their heritage and to be proud of their group's history may have enhanced positive views of their ethnic group, and may be more comfortable and confident in identifying with their ethnic group.

Additionally, *preparation for bias* messages, which encompass efforts to teach youth to be aware of racial discrimination and to cope with negative experiences, are also often associated with positive outcomes, such as higher academic achievement (Bowman & Howard, 1985), and more effective strategies for coping with discrimination (Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Fischer & Shaw, 1999). On the other hand, some research indicates that messages about racism may be associated with poorer psychological outcomes (Hughes et al., 2006). These messages may lead youth to interpret discriminatory motives in other people and in situations where no real ethnic bias exists (Hughes et al., 2006), and such interpretations and expectations of discrimination may be associated with lower self-esteem (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Rumbaut, 2004).

Finally, *promotion of mistrust*, involves messages about keeping one's social distance from people of other ethnicities, especially European-Americans. This form of ethnic socialization is generally the least prevalent in ethnic-minority families (Hughes et al., 2006), but has been shown to be associated with more externalizing problems in adolescent boys (Biafora et al., 1993). Teaching youth not to trust adults and children of other ethnicities may lead adolescents to behave defensively or to act out as a form of rebellion.

Whether associated with positive or negative outcomes, research on parent ethnic socialization suggests these practices are associated with adjustment and identity development for ethnic-minority adolescents. At the same time, as children get older and transition into adolescence, they begin to seek autonomy from their parents, and their peer group and friends become increasingly important. Adolescents spend more time with their peers than do younger children (Larson & Richards, 1991), and often more time with peers than with parents (Goldstein, Davis-Kean, & Eccles, 2005; Crockett, Losoff, & Petersen, 1984; Brown, 2004). Research indicates that close friendships during adolescence are important for positive adjustment (Townsend, McCracken, & Wilton, 1988; Estell, Farmer, Cairns, & Cairns, 2002; Ellison, 1990; Demir & Urberg, 2004). Because peers are important, they may play a role in teaching adolescents about the meaning of ethnicity.

<div align="center">Peer Ethnic Socialization</div>

Very little research on the topic of peer ethnic socialization exists in the developmental psychological literature, and the research that does exist is mostly qualitative. To date, one quantitative study of peer ethnic socialization has been conducted (Lesane-Brown et al., 2005). The researchers examined the prevalence rates and the specific messages communicated to ethnic-minority young adults by parents, other adult relatives, peers, and other members of the community such as teachers and church leaders. Lesane-Brown and colleagues (2005) were most interested in college students, but also used a small sample of adolescents ($n = 18$) to validate their measure, which was designed to assess ethnic socialization from multiple sources in an individual's life. While it is difficult and problematic to draw conclusions from a sample this small, the results suggest that people

besides parents may be important agents of ethnic socialization for adolescents and young adults. Results showed that 12 of the 18 adolescents reported receiving ethnic socialization messages from their friends at least some of the time, and almost 75% of college students reported the same pattern of responses (Lesane-Brown et al., 2005). Additionally, four of the 18 adolescents reported receiving more ethnic socialization messages from their peers than from any other source, including their parents (Lesane-Brown et al., 2005). This examination of the role of peers as agents of ethnic socialization is an important beginning step, but leaves a number of questions unanswered, especially because general conclusions may be difficult to draw from such a small sample. Qualitative studies on the development of ethnic identity help to add to the body of literature on peer ethnic socialization.

Qualitative Research on Ethnic Identity Development and Inter-Ethnic Peer Interactions

Theories of ethnic identity formation argue that exploration is a crucial part of this developmental process. Exploration involves both discussing ethnicity and race, and testing different identity roles. Qualitative research on ethnic identity suggests that peers often play an important part in the development of ethnic identity by providing the opportunity for exploration of roles and identities, as well as validation for ethnic identity choices (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Gonzalez, 2009; Qin, 2009; Datnow & Cooper, 1998; Guiffrida, 2003; Brown, Herman, Hamm, & Heck, 2008; Way, Santos, Niwa, & Kim-Gervey, 2008; Peshkin, 1991; Tatum, 1997; Taylor, 1989; Phinney & Tarver, 1988). For example, Datnow and Cooper (1998) found that African-American student organizations both facilitated the formation of peer networks and allowed the opportunity for youth to express and affirm their identities (see also Guiffrida, 2003; Yip & Cross, 2004; Blash & Unger, 1995; Ellison &

London, 1992). These student organizations permitted African-American participants to discuss issues related to ethnicity and to explore their ethnic identity in a safe and secure environment in which they were unlikely to be judged or challenged. Just as with formal student organizations, informal peer networks also support the development of ethnic identity for African-American youth by affirming individuals' identity choices (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Peshkin, 1991; Datnow & Cooper, 1998; Brown et al., 2008; Way et al., 2008). This validation of identity for ethnic-minority youth suggests that peers act as agents of ethnic socialization. By supporting the identity development of their peers, adolescents are communicating messages about the importance of ethnicity in one's sense of self and one's social interactions with others. Additionally, support from peers for exploration of roles and discussion of issues related to ethnicity may influence the development of adolescent ethnic identity.

Additionally, sociologists, anthropologists, and developmental psychologists alike have strived to understand the manner in which adolescents from different ethnic groups interact with each other in school and community settings. Research on the interaction of youth in diverse groups supports the contention that peers engage in ethnic socialization by demonstrating that youth discuss issues related to ethnicity with their peers (Gonzalez, 2009; Way et al., 2008; Datnow & Cooper, 1998; Peshkin, 1991; Way et al., 2008; Shi & Babrow, 2007; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Research has indicated there are both positive and negative aspects of adolescent inter-ethnic peer relations. On the positive end, research shows that positive ethnic experiences usually involve validation for identity and the breakdown of negative stereotypes within the peer network (Gonzalez, 2009; Way et al., 2008). For

example, Gonzalez (2009) found that in a sample of Latino youth, experiences that did not require them to suppress their ethnic identity, and allowed them to break down stereotypes about Latinos, were named as positive racial/ethnic experiences with their peers. One student spoke about his most positive peer ethnic experience as involving the school-wide recognition of his ethnic group's academic ability and success (Gonzalez, 2009). These positive ethnic experiences with peers show that adolescent peers communicate with each other regarding race. Interactions with peers that allow youth to express pride in their ethnic group may be seen as a form of ethnic socialization as it teaches youth about the meaning of ethnicity and the extent to which ethnicity influences interactions between people. Validation for ethnic identity from peers is also a form of positive ethnic socialization.

It is important to note that inter-ethnic peer relations may also have negative features that can still be considered peer ethnic socialization as these areas also communicate ethnic ideas and values. In qualitative research, some youth discuss negative ethnic experiences and interactions involving their peers (Datnow & Cooper, 1998; Peshkin, 1991; Way et al., 2008; Shi & Babrow, 2007; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). For example, Way and colleagues found that for Dominican students in a high school in which they were low in the peer social hierarchy, negative ethnic experiences, even with close friends, were an everyday occurrence. The youth reported being teased for being Dominican by their friends of other ethnicities. These experiences with discrimination communicate clear ideas from peers about the relative value of different ethnic groups. Negative experiences teach youth about the meaning of ethnicity and the role that ethnicity plays in social interactions. For example, the Dominican youth in Way and colleagues' (2008) sample may learn that Dominicans are

viewed negatively in the wider social context at school and among peers. Additionally, in terms of behavior, the Dominican students may learn to behave differently with their other-ethnic peers than with Dominican peers. Because of negative experiences, Dominican students may choose to associate mainly with other Dominican peers as opposed to students of other ethnicities. Additionally, their affiliation with Dominican students may enhance their identification by providing them with role models for attitudes and behavior, and with the opportunity to discuss and learn about issues related to ethnicity. Therefore, these experiences may be considered a form of peer ethnic socialization because they communicate ideas about the meaning and importance of ethnicity.

Research with African-American youth indicates that they feel a constant pressure to break down negative racial stereotypes both from peers and from adults (Peshkin, 1991; Way et al., 2008; Datnow & Cooper, 1998; Guiffrida, 2003). Peshkin (1991) found that adolescents reported extensive pressure from their African-American peers to be "Black enough" and to express their ethnic identity through styles of dress and manners of walking and speaking. These students reported that they often received more negative social stereotypes from their African-American peers than from their other-ethnic peers (Peshkin, 1991). Likewise, African-American students reported being wary of others who only associate with European-American students and exclude African-American students from their social circles (Datnow & Cooper, 1998). These students were often ostracized and faced discrimination from other African-American youth. Phinney & Devich-Navarro (1997) found that some African-American youth reported that other students pressured them into choosing between fitting into mainstream European-American culture or African-American culture,

but not both. These qualitative results show that peers engage in ethnic socialization by directly or indirectly influencing attitudes and behaviors.

The research on negative peer experiences provides evidence that peers engage in ethnic socialization during adolescence. Pressure from peers regarding their behavior communicates values regarding the meaning of ethnicity and may contribute to the formation of ethnic identity. The qualitative research on ethnic identity development and inter-ethnic peer social relationships during adolescence suggests strongly that adolescents receive messages regarding ethnicity from their own-race and other-race peers. These messages may be positive in the form of supporting ethnic pride and identity development, or negative in the form of stereotypes and efforts to make others conform to ethnic standards of behavior. Both positive and negative experiences of these kinds serve as ethnic socialization as they teach youth about the meaning of ethnicity and how it may affect behavior and social interactions. The evidence from these qualitative studies of inter-ethnic peer relationships and ethnic identity development shows that adolescent peers are likely to engage in ethnic socialization. Further evidence to support peer ethnic socialization may be found in research on the adjustment and identity development of immigrant and multi-ethnic youth.

Research on Immigrant Youth

Immigrant adolescents, and children of immigrants, may be faced with identity issues similar to those faced by ethnic-minority American children. Ethnic-minority youth and immigrant youth may both need to learn to function in their cultural context and the mainstream context. Immigrants may need to learn about the culture of their country of origin, which is represented in the home, and simultaneously about the culture of the larger

society, which may be necessary for adjustment and functioning outside of their families. Because immigrant parents may not necessarily be knowledgeable about mainstream American culture since they were raised in a different country, adolescents may need to look to individuals outside of the home for socialization, and peers are likely to play an important role in this process (Merali, 2005; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Acculturation encompasses changes in values, attitudes, and behaviors as a result of contact between two or more cultures (Berry, 2003; Phinney, 2003; Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986; Phinney, 1990). Research with immigrant adolescents regarding the process of acculturation may be comparable to research regarding ethnic identity development and ethnic socialization with non-immigrant ethnic-minority youth. Acculturation is different from ethnic socialization in that it emphasizes learning about and adapting to a new, unknown culture, whereas ethnic socialization emphasizes learning about one's own culture. Despite this difference, both processes involve the transmission of cultural information to an individual (Berry, 2003; Phinney, 2003). Research on the acculturation of immigrant adolescents supports the idea of peers as agents of ethnic socialization because it emphasizes the role of peers as providers of information and as teachers of adaptive, ethnically-appropriate behaviors.

For most adolescents, the major influence in their acculturation may be their peers. Research shows that immigrant adolescents who are oriented exclusively toward their own ethnic group have poorer social functioning with American peers than do adolescents who are oriented exclusively toward American culture, and adolescents who are equally oriented toward both their own ethnic group and American society (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder,

2006a; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006b). This demonstrates the important association between peer relationships and acculturation, which suggests that peers play a pivotal role in this form of socialization. There may be two reasons for this association between acculturation and social adjustment in the peer group. First, it may be that acculturation to American society influences the social relationships of an immigrant adolescent. Adapting to American culture may enhance individuals' peer relationships with American friends. However, it could also be that having strong relationships with American peers influences one's level of acculturation. Children who are well-accepted and have good friendships with American, or Americanized, peers may have more opportunity to learn about the culture of their new country, and may be more likely to internalize socialization messages from these peers. It is also possible that both processes happen simultaneously, or one before the other. In other words, acculturation may enhance relations with American peers, and better social relationships may further enhance acculturation. The possibility that social relationships with peers influence and enhance acculturation supports the idea of peer ethnic socialization.

Qualitative research on immigrant adolescents and children of immigrants indicates that peers act as agents of ethnic socialization by exerting pressure on adolescents and teaching them to adapt to American culture (Shi & Babrow, 2007; Qin, 2009; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). For example, in a sample of Chinese immigrants, Qin (2009) found that peers played an important role in the socialization of American customs and values. Chinese girls felt pressure from their friends to be fashionable and social, to not be too frugal, and to not do too well in school. The Chinese girls at the school were stereotyped as being quiet, shy, cheap, and nerdy, so these pressures from peers were

directly related to their ethnicity. Boys were socialized by American peers to show interest in girls, video games, and sports, and to not be a "nerd" by acting too smart. Again, these specific messages were responses to stereotypes of Chinese boys as not being masculine or overtly heterosexual (Qin, 2009). These pressures from peers are a form of ethnic socialization because they represent efforts by peers to influence the behavior of immigrant adolescents in ethnically relevant ways. The messages were specific to Chinese youth, and encouraged the abandoning of stereotypical Chinese behaviors and values, and the adoption of American behaviors and values. Messages emphasizing specific values also serve to teach youth about ethnicity and culture.

Parents may play some role in teaching their children the customs of a new culture and how to adapt to a new society, but research suggests that peers often play an even more important part in this process (Shi & Babrow, 2007; Qin, 2009; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Peers may provide age-specific or generation-specific information, and can act as models for typical behavior. Much of the information about mainstream American culture must be gained from peers, and this serves as a form of ethnic socialization because it communicates ethnic values and contributes to the formation of identity.

Research on Multi-Ethnic Youth

In addition to the information provided by research on immigrant adolescents, literature on the development of multi-ethnic identity and the peer interactions of multi-ethnic youth may also demonstrate the importance of peers as agents of ethnic socialization. Research suggests that multi-ethnic youth often feel pressured by their peers to choose a mono-ethnic identity, especially one that corresponds to physical appearance (Coleman &

Carter, 2007). Multi-ethnic youth are faced with a unique issue related to phenotype in that

the way they define themselves ethnically may be different from how the public defines them

(Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002). For this reason, adolescents'

ethnic identities may be challenged by peers and the community, and they may be forced to

justify or defend their identity choices (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Identity challenges from

peers may make multi-ethnic adolescents more likely to identify according to pressure from

peers. On the other hand, challenges may make an adolescent defensive and adhere more

strongly to their identity of choice. Either way, multi-ethnic adolescents may be forced to

explain and justify their identity choices. Again, peers may play an important role in the way

that an adolescent comes to identify him or herself. Peers may communicate messages about

the meaning of ethnicity, especially as they validate or challenge one's identity choices.

Research indicates that many parents in multi-ethnic families deemphasize the

importance of ethnicity or communicate egalitarian messages, emphasizing the

meaninglessness of ethnicity (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). This may be contradictory to messages

that youth receive from peers and other individuals outside the home. Even if parents

emphasize that race is not important in social interactions, experiences within peer groups

and at school are likely to teach adolescents that ethnicity is a factor in social relationships in

diverse groups and society (Peshkin, 1991; Way et al., 2008). The emphasis on the

importance of ethnicity is a form of peer ethnic socialization.

The research on the development of multi-ethnic identity serves as both a specific

example of how peer ethnic socialization takes form, and as evidence of the fact that peers

actually do engage in ethnic socialization. While the messages communicated to or

internalized by multi-ethnic adolescents may be somewhat unique, they are still ethnic socialization messages in that they provide information and teach values associated with ethnicity. Evidence to suggest that immigrant youth and multi-ethnic youth receive information about culture and ethnic identity supports the idea that ethnic-minority adolescents are likely to receive ethnic socialization messages from their peers. Consideration of these special populations demonstrates that ethnic-minority youth are socialized in part by their peers when it comes to culture and race.

Peer Socialization on Topics besides Ethnicity

While there is little quantitative research on the topic of peer ethnic socialization, other psychological research on peer relationships during adolescence suggests that peers often act as major sources of socialization on other topics besides ethnicity during adolescence. A plethora of research indicates that peers socialize each other regarding a variety of both behaviors and attitudes. In terms of behavior, research shows that adolescent peers influence rates of deviance (Reitz, Dekovic, Meijer, & Engels, 2006; Goldstein et al., 2005; Werner & Crick, 2004), substance use (Urberg, 1992; Duncan, Tildesley, Duncan, & Hops, 1995; Drapela, 2006), and sexual behavior (Rodgers & Rowe, 1988; Billy & Udry, 1985). For example, Goldstein and colleagues (2005) found that associating with deviant peers in eighth grade predicts problem behavior in eleventh grade, suggesting that deviant peers socialize others to become more deviant over time. Additionally, Duncan, Tildesley, Duncan, & Hops (1995) found that peer substance use predicts later adolescent substance use, also suggesting a socialization effect. Additionally, peer encouragement influences the trajectory of cigarette and marijuana use. Adolescents whose friends value and support

substance use are more likely to use substances at an accelerated rate over time. This finding again shows that adolescent peers influence the behavior of others. Lastly, evidence from research with African-American youth indicates that peers serve as socializing agents of adolescents' sexual behaviors (Harper, Gannon, Watson, Catania, & Dolcini, 2004). Youth whose friends have an early sexual debut also have a younger age at first intercourse. This may be partly due to a selection process such that youth choose friends with similar attitudes about sex, but is likely also a result of peer socialization of norms regarding sexual behavior.

This research on the socialization of behaviors during adolescence supports the position that peers will socialize other behaviors besides those mentioned above. Because adolescent peers encourage conformity regarding behaviors such as deviance or sexual intercourse, they may be likely to encourage conformity to ethnicity-related norms of behavior as well. For instance, youth may pressure their peers to dress or speak in certain ways. Qualitative research suggests that ethnic-minority youth strive to influence the behavior of their peers (Datnow & Cooper, 1998; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Peshkin, 1991).

In addition to behaviors, there is evidence to suggest that peers are also influential in terms of adolescents' attitudes, such as regarding body dissatisfaction (Jones, 2004; Presnell, Bearman, & Stice, 2004; McCabe & Ricciardelli, 2005), and academic attitudes (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992; Chen, Chang, He, & Liu, 2005; Gest, Domitrovich, & Welsh, 2005; Ryan, 2001). Studies have shown that peers affect body dissatisfaction both directly through teasing or encouragement (Gravener, Haedt, Heatherton, & Keel, 2008; Jones, 2004; Presnell, Bearman, & Stice, 2004; Paxton, Eisenberg, & Neumark-Sztainer, 2006), and

indirectly through the modeling of their own dieting behavior or attitudes about body image (Paxton et al., 2006; McCabe & Ricciardelli, 2005; Nollen, Kaur, Pulvers, Choi, Fitzgibbon, Li, Nazir, & Ahluwalia, 2006; Jones, 2004). Youth may tease their friends for being overweight, or encourage positive body image by complimenting their friends' appearance. Also, adolescents may depend on their peers to learn standards of beauty or typical dieting habits, as a form of social comparison (Larson, Neumark-Sztainer, Story, Wall, Harnack, & Eisenberg, 2008; Gravener, et al., 2008; Jones & Crawford, 2006; Eisenberg, Neumark-Sztainer, Story, & Perry, 2005).

Additionally, studies have found that youth and their friends are highly homogenous in terms of perceptions of competence and academic standards (Kindermann, 1993; Altermatt & Pomerantz, 2003). Kindermann (1993) found that there is evidence for children choosing friends with similar academic motivation and also for the socialization of motivation over time between friends. Youth may socialize their peers to believe in the importance of doing well and working hard in school. Ogbu (1981) suggested that African-American peers engage in ethnic socialization that specifically focuses on discouraging academic motivation. He proposes that because African-Americans have faced extensive racial discrimination in the United States, they are likely to develop an oppositional identity (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Within the peer group, adolescents may develop and encourage attitudes that disavow academic achievement, labeling school achievement as "acting White". Some evidence suggests this may not be the case (Datnow & Cooper, 1998; Harper, 2006), but Ogbu's theory posits the role of peers as agents of socialization of attitudes about both ethnicity and academic achievement.

Body image and academic attitudes may be important aspects of self-concept. For example, being dissatisfied with one's appearance has been shown to be associated with lower self-esteem (Paxton, Eisenberg, & Neumark-Sztainer, 2006; Shroff & Thompson, 2006). Also, perceptions and attitudes about one's academic abilities and the value of education may also be an important aspect of one's self-concept. Ethnic identity is an aspect of the self-concept, and evidence to suggest that peers socialize each other on body dissatisfaction and academic attitudes may support the notion that peers will have an influence on other aspects of the self-concept, such as identity. Evidence concerning the peer socialization of adolescent attitudes and behaviors suggests that peers will also engage in ethnic socialization; research showing the peer socialization of adolescent attitudes and behaviors related to self-concept is especially convincing.

The socialization of attitudes among adolescent peer groups has important implications for ethnic socialization. While one purpose of ethnic socialization is to influence behavior, another purpose is to communicate values concerning the meaning of ethnicity in a diverse society. Therefore, it seems likely that if youth communicate messages about attitudes in general, and succeed at influencing the attitudes of their friends, they may also communicate messages and influence attitudes about ethnicity.

Adolescent peers may both encourage and discourage ethnic identification, values, or behaviors such as styles of dress and speech. Peers may socialize each other to dress in ethnically-typical ways, as well as pressure each other to not dress in ethnically-atypical ways (Peshkin, 1991). Additionally, while some youth may encourage ethnic identification, other youth may discourage positive attitudes toward one's ethnic group. For example, Way

and colleagues (2008) found that as a result of negative ethnic experiences with peers, many Chinese adolescents spoke to their friends about a desire to not be Chinese. Qualitative data suggest that ethnic-minority youth may influence the attitudes of their peers by validating ideas about ethnicity and ethnic identity (Datnow & Cooper, 1998; Guiffrida, 2003; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Peshkin, 1991; Way et al., 2008). If peers socialize each other regarding so many different attitudes and behaviors, it is likely that adolescents will socialize each other regarding ethnicity.

<div align="center">Summary</div>

On the whole, quantitative research on peer ethnic socialization is limited, but qualitative research with ethnic-minority adolescents suggests strongly that direct and indirect messages about ethnicity are commonplace among peers. Additionally, research on immigrant and multi-ethnic youth further suggest both the occurrence of peer conversations about ethnicity, and the importance of such socialization for the development of identity. The existing literature supports the notion that the peer group provides an important social context for the construction and exploration of ethnic identity during adolescence. Despite recent work on this topic, there is still a lack of quantitative research on peer ethnic socialization.

<div align="center">The Current Study</div>

The goal of the current study is to examine the nature of peer ethnic socialization, as well as the predictors and outcomes associated with ethnic socialization practices. Also, the aim is to understand the way parent and peer ethnic socialization may interact. The study adds to two bodies of psychological literature: ethnic socialization and adolescent peer

relationships. First, because so little quantitative research on peer ethnic socialization exists, and qualitative research on the topic is also relatively scarce, it is important to study the role of peers in the development of ethnic identity. Because peers are important in the lives of adolescents, and are often influential on a variety of topics, it is reasonable to assume that peers socialize each other on issues of ethnicity. Most research has addressed parent ethnic socialization, but other social contexts are likely to be influential for adolescents. This is an important addition to the literature on ethnic socialization and ethnic identity development as this topic is understudied in psychology.

Second, the role of peers as socializing agents may add an important dimension to the understanding of positive adolescent peer relationships. The study of adolescent peer networks and friendship dyads has recently received increased attention in developmental psychology, and the role of peers in ethnic identity and socialization is an important area in need or research. The majority of the research on adolescent social relationships has been focused on the negative impact of peers and social relationships, and the negative development of adolescents in general, but recent shifts in focus have increased interest in examining positive youth development (Benson, Mannes, Pittman, & Ferber, 2004; Brown, 2004; Damon, Menon, & Bronk, 2003; King et al., 2005; Lerner & Lerner, 2006). The current study may add to the asset-based approach to adolescence by suggesting peers may have a positive impact on each other's identity development.

It is important to note that the current study examines the role of peers as agents of ethnic socialization only among African-American adolescents, even though it is likely that adolescent peers of all ethnic groups will engage in such practices. There are two reasons for

focusing on African-American adolescents. First, ethnic and racial socialization has been frequently studied with African-American adolescents and families, and clear theories and conceptualizations of ethnic socialization and ethnic identity development for African-Americans exist (Hughes et al., 2006; Cross, 1991, 1995; Cross, Parham & Helms, 1991; Root, 1998; Tatum, 1997; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998; Stevenson, 1995). These conceptualizations of African-American parent ethnic socialization have been used as a framework for studying peer ethnic socialization in the current study. Second, while it is important to examine the ethnic socialization and identity development of ethnic-minority adolescents other than African-Americans, studying other ethnic-minority populations may present additional challenges. For instance, examining peer ethnic socialization in Latino and Asian-American populations may require consideration of immigration status and language fluency. When studying ethnic socialization in Latino and Asian-American youth, it may be important to consider generation while designing the study, such as by limiting the sample to only include youth who are at least second-generation born in the United States. This might help to ensure that participants are familiar with American culture and are fluent in English. Participants who are not fluent in English may require that measures be reworded or translated.

Additionally, since ethnic socialization communicates culture-specific values, the conceptualization of ethnic socialization message content may differ between ethnic groups. African-American, Latino, and Asian-American youth may receive different messages from peers based on their own culture and on their group's unique history in the United States. For example, while Asian-Americans have been exposed to discrimination, today they are often

considered to be "model minorities" as they are often high on academic achievement and are successful according to mainstream American standards (Matute-Bianchi, 1986). For this reason, they may receive fewer messages preparing them for bias or instructing them not to trust European-Americans. Also, since stereotypes about African-Americans and Asian-Americans differ, any messages aimed at helping youth combat stereotypes may have a different focus for these two groups. While ethnic-minority adolescents other than African-Americans are still likely to engage in ethnic socialization with their peers, the messages may be qualitatively different and so the same measures may not be applicable. For these reasons, the current study investigates ethnic socialization from peers exclusively among African-American adolescents.

<div style="text-align:center">The Nature of Peer Ethnic Socialization</div>

Prevalence

The first goal of the current study is to examine the nature of peer ethnic socialization, specifically the prevalence of such practices, the types of messages communicated, and the methods of influence used by youth. Lesane-Brown and colleagues (2005) examined the prevalence of peer ethnic socialization and found that prevalence was high; close to 65% of adolescents reported receiving ethnic socialization messages from peers at least some of the time. However, this was a small convenience sample of 18 adolescents, and may not be generalizable to the majority of African-American adolescents. Therefore, it is important to examine prevalence in a larger sample of African-American adolescents. It is expected that most adolescents will report receiving ethnic socialization messages from their peers.

Message Topics

Next, it is important to understand the types of messages about ethnicity that peers may send, and the extent to which these messages correspond in content to those communicated by parents. Previous research has shown that adolescents report more preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust messages from parents, and that both peers and parents may be likely to communicate cultural socialization messages (Lesane-Brown et al., 2005). Parents may engage in ethnic socialization for the purposes of teaching their children how to be functioning adults in a diverse society, and helping their children learn to cope with negative social interactions. Alternatively, peers may engage in ethnic socialization as a way of attempting to control the social perceptions of their ethnic group, or as social validation for their own ethnic identity exploration. They may also be less concerned with making sure that adolescents become well-adjusted adults. Because of the different goals that may underlie parent and peer ethnic socialization, it is likely that parents and peers will communicate messages with different content. Peers may engage less frequently in ethnic socialization regarding preparing each other to face racial discrimination, and may instead focus on discussing issues that are more important to youth, such as media choices, dating relationships, and friendships.

Qualitative research on adolescents from multiethnic high schools indicates that there are often clear distinctions between ethnic groups based on style of dress or music preferences, and that these distinctions are also often associated with popularity and social status within the peer group (Qin, 2009; Guiffrida, 2003; Matute-Bianchi, 1996; Deyhle, 1986; Peshkin, 1991; Datnow & Cooper, 1998). Youth may feel pressure from their peers to

dress and behave in ways consistent with other members of their ethnic group. It may be that the way youth communicate their values and ideas about ethnicity is through messages regarding media choices, clothing choices, and friendship/dating choices. The way these messages are communicated may be direct, such as through instructing peers on the kind of music to listen to, or indirect, such as through exposing peers to certain musical artists.

Methods of Socialization

The way that ethnic socialization messages are communicated to youth may influence the degree to which such messages are internalized by youth, and therefore the degree to which they are associated with adjustment outcomes. Research on parent ethnic socialization indicates that parents communicate both direct and indirect messages (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents both overtly address issues related to ethnicity, and attempt to expose their children to certain cultural customs and traditions. Additionally, overhearing parents' conversations with others about ethnicity may be considered an indirect method of ethnic socialization. Both direct and indirect forms of socialization may be used by peers.

There has been limited research on the methods of ethnic socialization used by African-American peers, but there has been much research on methods of peer influence regarding other topics. This research suggests that there may be four main methods adolescents use to socialize each other. First, *peer pressure* is a direct form of influence that involves adolescents instructing each other on what to do or what not to do. Extensive research has been conducted on adolescent peer pressure (Brown, 2004). Ethnic socialization messages using peer pressure may be focused mostly on behavioral domains. For example, friends may tell each other to listen to music by African-American artists or may tell their

friends not to dress "preppy" like European-Americans (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Peshkin, 1991). Peer pressure may sometimes communicate negative messages about race, or messages that may be at odds with what is deemed appropriate by adults. For example, some evidence has shown that African-American adolescents in gangs may pressure each other to use violence as a way of establishing respect from community members (Kubrin, 2005).

A second form or peer influence is *norm regulation* whereby adolescents attempt to socialize each other by reinforcing the expectations of the group (Brown, 2004; Webster et al., 1994; Haynie & Osgood, 2005). Norm regulation is still a direct form of influence in that a peer is purposefully sending messages in an attempt to change behavior or attitudes but is often more subtle than peer pressure. Norm regulation is achieved through gossip and teasing (Paxton, Schutz, Wertheim, & Muir, 1999). Ethnic socialization may include norm regulation more commonly than peer pressure because it is still direct, but may seem less controlling. For instance, telling a friend outright that he/she should only date people of the same ethnicity may be less effective than teasing a person for dating someone of another ethnicity, especially for adolescents who may have concerns regarding autonomy. Adolescents who are striving to be independent may resist following overt instructions, even from peers. Norm regulation is likely to influence both behaviors and attitudes. For example, encouraging a peer to have only same-ethnicity friends may change behavior, and also may communicate a belief about the importance of ethnicity when choosing friends in the future (Datnow & Cooper, 1998).

Modeling is a third method of peer influence (Alsaker, 1995; Hundleby & Mercier, 1987; Kandel & Andrews, 1987). This is an indirect form of peer socialization that does not

require that the model consciously attempt to change behavior (Brown, 2004). Evidence from psychological research indicates that modeling is a common form of peer socialization (Costanzo & Shaw, 1966; Eckert, 1989; Webster et al., 1994) and specifically for socialization regarding ethnicity (de Anda, 1984; Taylor, 1989; Way et al., 2008). Ethnic-minority adolescents may depend on their same-ethnicity peers for information on appropriate ways to act or dress. It is also possible that ethnic-minority adolescents may depend on peers of other ethnic backgrounds to learn how not to act (Matute-Bianchi, 1996; Eckert, 1989; Brown, 2004). For instance, an African-American adolescent who is concerned about being accused of "acting White" may pay attention to European-American classmates in order to act much differently. Theories of cultural socialization argue that modeling is extremely important for helping youth to understand the meaning of ethnicity and to learn to fit into both minority and majority cultures. Furthermore, evidence has shown that young, urban African-Americans strive to be good role models for other African-American youth (Way et al., 2008), thus confirming the importance of this method of peer ethnic socialization.

The last form of peer socialization is *opportunity*, which is the way in which friends influence the attitudes and behaviors of others by creating contexts and occasions for certain activities (Brown, 2004). For example, if an adolescent's friends have unsupervised parties when their parents are out of town, an opportunity is created for various problem behaviors, perhaps including alcohol consumption or drug use. Like modeling, opportunity is an indirect method of peer socialization. Research has supported the idea that peer groups provide adolescents with opportunities for particular behaviors (Cleveland & Wiebe, 2003; Keisner et

al., 2004). In terms of ethnic socialization, opportunity as a method may include adolescents exposing each other to specific kinds of music or movies. If an adolescent's peers always want to watch movies with African-American actors, and if the adolescent wants to spend time with his/her friends, he or she will also watch those movies. If adolescents have friends who spend a lot of time discussing ethnicity or experiences of discrimination, adolescents are then exposed to such conversations and may internalize the values discussed.

Summary

The first goal of the study is to examine the nature of peer ethnic socialization. This includes an understanding of the prevalence of peer ethnic socialization, the types of messages communicated by peers, especially as they compare to parents' messages, and the methods peers use to communicate messages. In addition to the descriptive research, the study aims to investigate two main research questions, which will both be discussed in depth.

Research Question 1: What Individual Factors Predict Peer Ethnic Socialization?

Age

Previous research on parent ethnic socialization has shown that various adolescent characteristics may be correlated with the prevalence of ethnic socialization messages (Hughes et al., 2006). For example, research indicates that parents engage in more ethnic socialization as their children get older and become adolescents. This may be attributable to parents' understanding of the developmental needs of their child. Parents may recognize that their adolescent is old enough to understand the relevance and importance of ethnicity, and may decide that it is appropriate to have conversations regarding ethnicity and race. Additionally, adolescents may be more likely to initiate conversations or to ask questions

regarding ethnicity than children. The cognitive development of adolescents is likely to allow them to understand issues related to ethnicity in new ways. Similarly, research shows that youth report increased experiences of racial discrimination as they get older (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006). This may be partially due to changes in the behavior of others, but may also be due to the adolescent's increased cognitive ability. This cognitive development might allow adolescents to more accurately interpret experiences of racism. Regardless of its cause, increases in experiences of bias may lead youth to initiate more conversations about ethnicity as they get older.

Because at least some of the increase in parent ethnic socialization messages with age is likely due to changes in cognitive ability and adolescents' increased desire to discuss issues of ethnicity, there may also be increases in peer ethnic socialization with age. Additionally, research shows adolescents choose more same-ethnicity friends as they get older (Datnow & Cooper, 1998), and discussions about ethnicity may become more common in ethnically-homogenous peer groups (Kiang & Fuligni, 2009). As adolescents get older, they may be more interested in discussing issues of ethnicity or their own experiences of discrimination, and so they may report more peer ethnic socialization.

Hypothesis 1.1: Adolescents will report more peer ethnic socialization with increased age.

Centrality

For some adolescents, ethnicity is a more important aspect of identity than for others. This concept is termed *centrality* (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). Centrality differs from salience in that it is a trait as opposed to a state. This means that while

the salience of one's ethnicity may differ across varying situations, centrality is the extent to which one normatively defines him or herself according to ethnicity (Sellers et al., 1997). Centrality may be associated with peer ethnic socialization for a number of reasons. First, adolescents for whom ethnicity is an important part of self may be more likely to engage their peers in conversations on this topic. Second, these adolescents may also be more likely to interpret ambiguous messages from peers as being related to ethnicity. For example, while a message regarding the value of certain types of music may be interpreted by some as mere messages about music, adolescents who are high in centrality may be more likely to read issues of ethnicity into such comments. Research has shown that adolescents high in centrality are more likely to interpret ethnically-ambiguous events as having ethnic components (Shelton & Sellers, 2000), supporting the idea that centrality may be related to interpretation of events and messages. Third, youth high in centrality may also be more receptive to messages from peers regarding ethnicity. They may be more willing to listen to conversations about race and ethnicity, and may be more likely to internalize communications about these topics.

Since youth for whom ethnicity is a more central part of identity may be more receptive to conversations about ethnicity, and more likely to initiate conversations themselves, it is expected that these youth will report more ethnic socialization from their peers. Adolescents who do not normatively define themselves according to ethnicity may report lower rates of peer ethnic socialization. Even if these adolescents have friends who are attempting to communicate messages about ethnicity, they may be less likely to interpret them as such.

Hypothesis 1.2. Adolescents who more normatively define themselves according to ethnicity will report higher peer ethnic socialization.

Peer Orientation

Research on peer group identification suggests that adolescents who are more strongly oriented to the peer group are the most easily socialized by other members of the group (Ungar, 2000; Ritchey & Fishbein, 2001). Youth who are more strongly oriented toward their peer group, and who care more about the opinions of their friends, may be more likely to be influenced by their peers' ideas and opinions. Furthermore, peer orientation is often associated with efforts to separate from parents (Fuglini & Eccles, 1993), and with spending more time with peers (Goldstein et al., 2005). Youth who care about maintaining their social status and are proud of their peer group membership may be more likely to spend time with their friends and to discuss a larger variety of important topics with their friends. For these reasons, adolescents who are most strongly oriented toward their peers are predicted to report more peer ethnic socialization messages.

Peer orientation may be separated into both positive and negative forms. Positive peer orientation may include turning to peers for advice regarding major decisions in life such as problems with friends or educational choices (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). Seeking advice from friends may indicate an adolescent's positive relationship with peers. Peer advice seeking is likely to be associated with peer ethnic socialization because youth who seek advice from their peers about school and their futures may also seek advice from their peers about the meaning of ethnicity. Additionally, adolescents who seek advice from their peers may also be more trusting of their peers' opinions and information regarding issues related to ethnicity,

and may therefore be more receptive to ethnic socialization messages from these peers.

In comparison, adolescents who spend time with their friends at the expense of other aspects of their lives, such as achieving good grades or following parents' rules, may be said to be negatively oriented toward their peers (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). These adolescents may purposefully perform poorly in school to gain popularity with their peers. This negative form of peer orientation may also be associated with higher reported peer ethnic socialization. Youth who sacrifice other important aspects of their lives for their peers may over-value the opinions of their friends, and so may be more likely to listen to friends' messages about ethnicity. For example, an adolescent who is concerned with being popular among his/her peers may be especially susceptible to pressures from peers to behave in ethnically-appropriate ways.

Hypothesis 1.3. Adolescents who are more oriented to their peer group will be more likely to report higher levels of peer ethnic socialization.

Research Question 2: Is Peer Ethnic Socialization Associated with Positive Outcomes for Adolescents?

For the most part, parent ethnic socialization is linked to positive outcomes for ethnic-minority youth, although these results may differ depending on message content. In general, ethnic socialization from parents has been shown to be associated with higher self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Davis & Stevenson, 2006), lower depression (Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Frabutt, Walker, & McKinnon-Lewis, 2002), and more developed ethnic identity (McHale et al., 2006; Sanders-Thompson, 1994, 1999; Demo & Hughes, 1990). It may be that ethnic socialization serves to boost psychological health because it teaches

cultural pride and methods for coping with experiences of discrimination. Further, parent ethnic socialization may be associated with positive adjustment because it communicates family values regarding the importance of ethnicity, as well as indicating to children that their parents care about their well-being.

To date, there is no research on the association between peer ethnic socialization and adjustment for ethnic minority youth. However, since most messages regarding ethnicity are linked to positive outcomes, it may be that such messages from peers instead of parents have the same associations. Adolescents who have peers who emphasize cultural pride and belongingness may report higher self-esteem and lower depression, as pride in one's cultural heritage may be associated with more positive self-perceptions (Constantine & Blackmon, 2009; Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Hughes et al., 2006). Additionally, adolescents who receive ethnic socialization messages from peers emphasizing effective coping strategies may be lower in depression and higher in self-esteem because they have learned better ways to handle experiences of discrimination. Ethnic pride may be associated with a more positive sense of self, and more effective strategies for coping with discrimination may buffer the negative effects of such experiences.

Such practices may also be linked to better academic achievement because messages about pride and the prevalence of discrimination may encourage youth to work especially hard to accomplish academic goals. Messages about discrimination may include messages regarding achievement as the best way to combat ethnic bias (Eccles, Wong, & Peck, 2006; Branch & Newcombe, 1986). Also, positive feelings about one's ethnic group membership may lead youth to be proud of other aspects of their lives, such a school performance. Being

confident in one's identity and believing that African-Americans can contribute meaningfully to society may influence youth to be more motivated and devoted to performing well in school and individually contributing to society. Adolescents' devotion to their school work may have a positive influence on achievement.

Additionally, since peer support and acceptance may be especially important during adolescence, conversations about ethnicity may help youth in the formation of their ethnic identity in ways that parents' lessons may not. Therefore, peer ethnic socialization may be associated with adolescents' ethnic identity development. An adolescent's positive feelings toward his/her own ethnic group, which is an aspect of ethnic identity, may be predicted by peer ethnic socialization. Youth who receive messages from their peers emphasizing ethnic pride may feel more positively about the contributions their own ethnic group has made toward society which may facilitate ethnic identity formation. Similarly, learning strategies from peers for coping with discrimination may involve discussing the value of one's ethnic group, which may in turn lead to more positive attitudes toward one's group and enhance the development of ethnic identity.

Hypothesis 2. Higher rates of peer ethnic socialization will predict positive adolescent adjustment

Summary

The current study aims to examine the nature of peer ethnic socialization. This includes the prevalence of peer ethnic socialization, the content of messages, and the methods peers use to communicate such messages. Additionally, the current study proposes that individual characteristics of the adolescent will be associated with peer ethnic

socialization. Namely, it is expected that peer ethnic socialization will be positively related to age, ethnic centrality, and peer orientation. Another aim is to investigate the association between peer ethnic socialization and adolescent outcomes, and predicts that such practices will be associated with positive adjustment, including decreased depression, and increased self-esteem, academic achievement, and ethnic identity.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

Participants

Seventy-five adolescents between the ages of 14 and 18 years (M = 15.61, SD = 1.37), and a parent or guardian (Mean age = 44.89 years, SD = 10.67) for each adolescent were recruited for this study. Forty of the adolescents were female, and 61 of the parent/guardians were female. Adolescents were recruited from two charter and two Catholic high schools in a large, urban area, and through various public and private programs designed for African-American adolescents, such as tutoring and mentoring services.

Measures

Both adolescents and parent/guardians were administered questionnaires. The parent questionnaire provided information only on demographic variables, and the adolescent questionnaire provided information on the remaining variables used in the investigation. The adolescent questionnaire in its entirety can be found in Appendix A, and the parent questionnaire in Appendix B. Some measures on the questionnaires were not included in any of the present analyses.

Demographics

Adolescent questionnaires contained items regarding demographic characteristics including sex, age, perceptions of diversity of interpersonal relationships, family structure, and Ethnic Media and Interpersonal Preferences. Parent questionnaires contained questions regarding sex, parent education, perceptions of diversity, and birth date, which was used to calculate parent age.

Perceived Diversity of Interpersonal Relationships

Adolescents and parents were both asked eight questions assessing the diversity of the social environments to which adolescents were exposed (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002). Questions asked the degree to which the adolescent's elementary school, closest friends in elementary school, high school, closest friends in high school, teachers in high school, neighborhood, closest friends in the neighborhood, and religious community were diverse (α = .88). Questions were answered on a 4-point Likert-type scale with the following answer options: "all Black people", "mostly Black people and very few people of other races", "some Black people and some non-Black people", and " many people of many different races; very racially mixed". The means of the adolescent-reported diversity items and the parent-reported diversity items were significantly correlated, $r = .62, p < .01$. The mean of the diversity items for adolescents and for parents served as the final Perceived Diversity of Interpersonal Relationships variable. Higher values on this measure represented more diverse social relationships.

Parent Education

Parents were asked to indicate their highest level of education. Answer choices were: "Grade school", "Some high school", "High school diploma or GED", "Some college", "Associate's degree", "University or college degree", and "Graduate degree."

Family Structure

Adolescents were asked to indicate the people with whom they lived by checking options on a list. The list of 15 people included biological mother and father, step- mother and father, adoptive mother and father, foster mother and father, mother's and father's

boyfriend/girlfriend, grandmother and grandfather, brothers and sisters. An "other" option was also provided for participants, and they were asked to write in a response for this option. A final Family Structure variable was created as a count of the number of adults/potential caregivers in the household. The count included all categories except brothers, sisters, and other.

Ethnic Media and Interpersonal Preferences

Adolescents were asked to name their three favorite musical artists, television shows, and movies. Each of these open-ended questions was later coded as being an African-American artist or not, or starring primarily African-American actors or not. Adolescents also answered four true or false statements indicating whether they mostly listened to music by African-American artists, watched television shows with mostly African-American actors, watched movies with mostly African-American actors, and mostly wore clothes typical of African-American culture. Two questions asked adolescents the ethnicity of the person they would most like to be friends with or to date, all other things being equal. Answer choices included "African-American/Black", "Caucasian/White", "Hispanic/Latino", "Asian", "American Indian", and "I don't care." These questions were combined by counting the number of preferences for African-American music, TV shows, movies, friends, and romantic partners, and by counting all the "true" answers to the true-false questions. Higher numbers on this variable indicated a greater preference for African-American media/social relationships.

Ethnic Socialization

Peer Ethnic Socialization

Adolescents reported on peer ethnic socialization. Three measures of peer ethnic socialization were used. The first measure was the Comprehensive Racial Socialization Inventory (CRSI; Lesane-Brown et al., 2005; 11 items). This measure began with a question asking adolescents to report how often they received messages regarding what it means to be Black and how to deal with people outside their race from their peers. Each question was answered on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from "Never" to "Very often". The next part of the measure asked participants ten yes/no questions regarding the types of messages they received from their peers ($\alpha = .64$). The items began with the statement "My friends have told me:" and then followed with the ten statements. Examples of items included "Race doesn't matter", "You should be proud to be Black", and "You will experience discrimination".

A second measure of peer ethnic socialization was adapted from a measure developed by Hughes and Johnson (2001). This measure was originally designed for use by parents regarding their own ethnic socialization practices with their children, but the wording was changed to ask adolescents about ethnic socialization from their peers. This 15-item measure asked participants to report how strongly they agreed with statements regarding whether or not their peers had engaged in various types of ethnic socialization. There were three subscales for this measure. The first was Cultural Socialization (6 items; $\alpha = .87$) and asked participants whether or not their peers encouraged them to learn about their cultural group's heritage. An example item was "My friends have talked to me about important people or

events in my own racial group's history". The second subscale of the measure was

Preparation for Bias (7 items; $\alpha = .83$), and asked participants to report the degree to which

their peers had made statements regarding the potential for them to encounter racial

discrimination. An example item was "My friends have talked to me about how others may

try to limit me because of my race". The last subscale was Promotion of Mistrust (2 items; α

$= .96$), which addressed the degree to which participants' peers had made statements

encouraging them to keep their distance from people of other ethnicities. An example item

was "My friends have done or said things to me in order to keep me from trusting kids who

are of a different race than me". All questions were answered on a 4-point Likert-type scale

ranging from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree".

A third measure of peer ethnic socialization was the Peer Ethnic Socialization

Inventory (PESI), and was created for the study. This 20-item scale was developed from a

series of focus groups conducted with 18-20 year old college undergraduates. Focus group

members were asked to discuss the conversations they had with their friends regarding race

and ethnicity while in high school. The PESI was created so that all 20 items could be

distributed and redistributed into two different sets of subscales.

The first possible set of subscales on the PESI concerned different peer ethnic

socialization message topics. The first subscale in this set was Media (8 items; $\alpha = .75$). This

subscale assessed the extent to which adolescents' friends communicated ethnic socialization

messages concerning TV shows, movies, and music. An example item was "My friends

mostly watch Black TV shows and movies." The second subscale of this set was Social (8

items; $\alpha = .74$) and measured the degree to which adolescents agreed with statements

regarding their friends' ethnic socialization messages on social choices such as friendships and romantic relationships. A sample item from this subscale was "My friends would tease me if I told them I wanted to date a person who wasn't Black." The last subscale was Appearance (4 items; $\alpha = .79$) and asked participants to indicate whether or not their friends communicated ethnic socialization messages regarding clothing styles. An item from this subscale was "My friends tell me I should wear clothes and style my hair in a certain way because I am Black." Questions were answered on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree".

The second possible set of subscales assessed the methods of influence used by peers when communicating messages about ethnicity. The first subscale was Peer Pressure (5 items; $\alpha = .89$) and measured the degree to which adolescents reported that their friends instructed them on how to behave regarding their ethnicity. An example item was "My friends tell me I should listen to Black music because I am Black." The second subscale was Norm Regulation (5 items; $\alpha = .91$) and asked adolescents to report how much their friends would tease them for specific behaviors. A sample item was "My friends would make fun of me if I listened to music that isn't Black." The third subscale was Modeling (5 items; $\alpha = .61$), which measured the degree to which adolescents' friends had provided a model on which adolescents based their behavior. An example item was "My friends mostly listen to Black music." The last subscale was Opportunity (5 items; $\alpha = .82$), and measured the degree to which adolescents' friends afforded them the opportunity for behaviors that may be linked to ethnicity. An item from this subscale was "When my friends and I hang out, we usually

listen to Black music together." All questions were answered on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree".

It is important to note that the same questions were used for both the topic and method subscales. Each of the message topic subscales contained questions from each of the method subscales. For example, the Media subscale contained peer pressure, norm regulation, modeling, and opportunity questions. The topic subscale means did not distinguish between methods within that particular topic. Likewise, each method subscale contained questions from each of the message content subscales. As an example, the peer pressure subscale reflected influence regarding media (TV shows/movies and music), social relationships (friendships and dating relationships), and clothing styles.

Because the PESI was a new measure, a factor analysis was conducted in order to explore and confirm the conceptual rationale for the subscales. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted first. Using all components with eigenvalues over 1.00 produced five factors that accounted cumulatively for 77.95% of the variance in the items. Observation of the first two factors suggested that they represented direct and indirect methods of peer socialization, respectively. The peer pressure and norm regulation items from all the topic subscales loaded on the first factor, and the modeling and opportunity items from most of the topic subscales loaded on the second factor. The third, fourth, and fifth factors were not easily interpretable.

Because the first two factors from the exploratory factor analysis suggested the factors were based on methods of peer socialization, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted in which the number of components was limited to two. This analysis confirmed the conceptualization that the first factor represented direct methods of socialization, and the

second factor represented indirect methods of socialization. These two factors accounted for 39.55% and 19.39% of the variance in items, respectively. The items of the PESI and the factor loadings for each item are presented in Table 1. The television-opportunity, clothing-modeling, and clothing-opportunity questions loaded on both factors, but all three were conceptually related to the Indirect Socialization factor, so these items were included in this factor and not in the Direct Socialization factor. One item, the television-modeling question, did not load significantly on either factor, so this question was omitted from further analyses. The final two factors were Direct Socialization (10 items; $\alpha = .95$), which included the Peer Pressure and Norm Regulation items, and Indirect Socialization (9 items; $\alpha = .83$), which included the Modeling and Opportunity items. The correlation between Direct Socialization and Indirect Socialization was not significant ($r = .19$, $p = .10$), indicating that a two-factor solution is appropriate for this scale (Gorsuch, 1997). From this point forward, these factors from the PESI will be used in all analyses.

Parent Ethnic Socialization.

Two measures of adolescent-reported parent ethnic socialization were used for the current study. The first measure was the CRSI (Lesane-Brown et al., 2005), which had the same items as the peer ethnic socialization measure. This measure began with a statement asking participants to indicate how frequently they had received messages from parents regarding what it means to be Black and how to interact with people outside their race/ethnicity. Next, participants were given ten yes-no questions beginning with the statement "My parents have told me:", and asking whether or not they had received ethnic

Table 1

Peer Ethnic Socialization Inventory Items and Factor Loadings

Item	Factor 1: Direct Socialization	Factor 2: Indirect Socialization
My friends mostly listen to Black music.	-.14	*.49*
My friends tell me I should listen to Black music because I am Black.	*.67*	-.04
My friends would make fun of me if I listened to music that isn't Black	*.82*	-.04
When my friends and I hang out, we usually listen to Black music together.	.20	*.82*
My friends mostly date Black boys/girls.	-.07	*.65*
My friends tell me I should date Black boys/girls because I am Black.	*.82*	-.06
My friends would tease me if I told them I wanted to date a person who wasn't Black.	*.84*	-.09
When my friends and I hang out, we usually spend our time with Black boys/girls who we are interested in dating.	.37	*.65*
My friends mostly have friends who are Black.	-.02	*.69*
My friends tell me I should only be friends with Black people because I am Black.	*.74*	-.29
My friends would make fun of me for being friends with people who are not Black.	*.88*	-.21
When my friends and I hang out, we usually hang out with other Black people.	.25	*.79*
My friends mostly watch Black TV shows and movies.	.35	.36
My friends tell me I should watch TV shows and movies about Black people because I am Black.	*.92*	-.19
My friends tease me if I say I want to see a TV show or movie that isn't Black.	*.84*	-.30
When my friends and I hang out, we usually watch Black TV shows or movies.	.49	*.47*

Table 1 (cont.)

Item	Factor 1: Direct Socialization	Factor 2: Indirect Socialization
My friends mostly wear clothes and style their hair like other Black people.	.46	*.43*
My friends tell me I should wear clothes and style my hair a certain way because I am Black	*.89*	-.17
My friends would tease me if I dressed or wore my hair in a way that isn't like other Black people.	*.84*	-.12
When my friends and I hang out, we usually shop at stores where they sell Black clothing.	.51	*.41*

Note. Italicized factor loadings represent the component in which the item was included.

socialization messages from their parents (α = .62). The items were the same as for the peer

CRSI.

The second measure for parent ethnic socialization was the Hughes and Johnson

(2001) measure. The questions were the same as for peers, but asked instead about parents.

The same three subscales were used: Cultural Socialization (6 items; α = .88), Preparation for

Bias (7 items; α = .86), and Promotion of Mistrust (2 items; α = .87).

Individual Adolescent Characteristics

Centrality

The extent to which adolescents normatively defined themselves according to race

was measured using the Centrality subscale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black

Identity (MIBI; Sellers, et al., 1998). This measure consisted of eight questions (α = .52)

asking participants to indicate how much they agreed with statements regarding ethnicity as a

central part of self. Sample questions included "In general, being Black is an important part

of my self-image" and "Being Black is an important reflection of who I am." Questions were answered on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from "Strongly disagree" to "Strongly agree."

Peer Orientation

To measure the importance of peers for adolescents, a measure of peer orientation was used (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). This 7-item measure included two subscales. The first subscale was Peer Advice Seeking (3 items; $\alpha = .76$) and assessed the degree to which adolescents sought emotional and instrumental support and advice from peers. A sample question was "When I want to talk about my future job plans or educational plans, I talk _____". This subscale was measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale. The answer choices were: "mostly to my parents", "more to my parents than to my friends", "to my parents and to my friends about the same", "more to my friends than to my parents", "mostly to my friends". Higher values on this subscale indicate a greater likelihood of seeking advice from peers relative to parents. The second subscale was Extreme Peer Orientation (4 items; $\alpha = .77$), which measured the extent to which participants would sacrifice other aspects of their lives for their friends. Sample questions from this subscale were "I would act dumber or less talented than I really am in order to make someone like me" and "It's okay to break some of your parents' rules in order to keep your friends." These questions were answered on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from "Strongly disagree" to "Strongly agree". This measure was selected because it assessed both positive (Peer Advice Seeking) and negative (Extreme Peer Orientation) forms of peer orientation. The peer orientation measure was originally developed with middle-income Caucasian American youth, but the scale has been used with

youth from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds (Barnes & Farrell, 1992; Goldstein et al., 2005; Claes, Lacourse, Ercolani, Pierro, Leone, & Presaghi, 2005), including African-Americans (Brody, Kim, Murry, & Brown, 2005).

Adolescent Adjustment Outcomes

Academic Achievement

The self-reported school performance of adolescents was measured using five questions. The first question asked adolescents to report their grade point average on a scale of 1-100. The other four questions asked adolescents to report their most recent grades in each of four subjects in school: math, science, English, and social studies. Answer choices to these subject questions included "A", "B", "C", "D", "F", and "Don't know." A composite of these five questions was used as the final academic achievement variable.

Self-Esteem

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965) was used to assess participants' positive self-concept. This ten-item measure asked participants to report how strongly they agreed with statements regarding themselves ($\alpha = .93$). A sample question was "I feel that I have a number of good qualities." Questions were answered on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from "Strongly disagree" to "Strongly agree." Some researchers have argued that the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale is not appropriate for use with African-Americans, especially women (Hatcher, 2007), because African-Americans often score moderate to high on the scale, even those that are incarcerated (Brewer & Baldwin, 2000) or HIV positive (Belgrave, 1991). On the other hand, the scale has been used extensively with individuals from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds (Gray-Little, & Hafdahl, 2000; Schmitt &

Allik, 2005; Twenge & Crocer, 2002). Research also indicates the scale demonstrates

reasonable construct validity among African-Americans because it is often associated with

lower depression and lower stress (Taylor et al., 1997; Napholz, 1991; de Groot, Auslander,

Williams, Sherraden, & Haire-Joshu, 2003).

Depressive Symptomatology

Depressive symptomatology was measured using the Center for Epidemiological

Studies Depression inventory (CES-D; Radloff, 1977; Schludermann & Schludermann,

1970). This 20-item measure asked participants to indicate how frequently they had certain

feelings in the past week ($\alpha = .89$). This measure assessed both affective states and

behavioral tendencies. Sample items from this measure were "I did not feel like eating; my

appetite was poor", "I felt hopeful about the future" (reverse coded), and "I felt lonely".

Answer choices were: "Rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day)", "Some or a little of the

time (1-2 days)", "Occasionally or a moderate amount of the time (3-4 days)", and "Most or

all of the time (5-7 days)". Research on the full-scale scores and individual items of the

CES-D has indicated that it is appropriate for use with diverse populations, including

African-Americans (Nguyen, Kitnet-Triolo, Evans, & Zonderman, 2004; Williams et al.,

2006).

Ethnic Identity: Private Regard

The degree to which adolescents had positive feelings toward African-Americans and

whether they felt good about being African-American was assessed with the Private Regard

subscale of the MIBI (Sellers et al., 1998; 6 items; $\alpha = .69$). Sample questions were "I feel

that the Black community has made valuable contributions to this society" and "I often regret

that I am Black" (reverse coded). Questions were answered on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from "Strongly disagree" to "Strongly agree."

Procedure

Principals at each of the schools were contacted in order to gain permission to invite the students to participate in the study. Of the four schools, one allowed researchers to administer the adolescent questionnaires during school hours. For this school, each student's parents were mailed consent forms and the parent questionnaire. Each envelope contained a self-addressed, stamped envelope, and those adolescents whose parents returned the consent forms were administered questionnaires during school hours. These adolescents were assembled by the administrative staff at the school and given the questionnaires in groups supervised by a number of research assistants. This took about 35 to 40 minutes. The other three schools could not use class time to administer the questionnaires to adolescents, so these were sent directly to the students' homes along with the parent questionnaires and consent forms. Materials were returned in self-addressed stamped envelopes.

As incentives, the classroom at each school which returned the highest percentage of their materials was given a pizza party. Additionally, all participants were entered into a raffle to win one of eight $25 gift cards to a local mall.

The return rate for this study was very low. About 1,600 questionnaires were distributed to produce a sample of 75 adolescent/parent dyads, which is a return rate of 4.69%. Questionnaires were returned by an additional 15 parents for whom no adolescent data was collected, so this data was not used in the study.

Plan for Analysis

Descriptive Analyses

The major goal of the study is to examine the prevalence and correlates of peer ethnic socialization, and its association with adolescent adjustment outcomes. The first step toward achieving this goal is to examine the nature of peer ethnic socialization. Frequencies from the peer CRSI questions, the peer Hughes and Johnson (2001) questions, and the PESI will be examined in order to determine the prevalence of peer ethnic socialization messages among African-American adolescents. A count of participants who respond "Strongly Disagree" and "Disagree" to the peer ethnic socialization questions will be conducted in order to determine the number of adolescents that report never receiving messages about ethnicity from their peers.

Next, analyses will determine the content of messages communicated by peers. Descriptive analyses for each of the subscales of the peer Hughes and Johnson (2001) measure and the topic subscales of the PESI will be conducted. These analyses will indicate how likely peers are to communicate different types of messages regarding ethnicity. Next, the degree to which peers and parents communicate different messages regarding ethnicity will be examined. First, the frequencies of the peer CRSI questions will be compared one-to-one with the parent CRSI questions. Chi-square analyses of the frequencies will indicate if there are significant differences in the likelihood of parents and peers communicating particular messages. Next, repeated measures t-tests will be used to compare the peer subscales of the Hughes and Johnson (2001) measure to the corresponding parent Hughes

and Johnson (2001) subscales. This will again indicate whether peers communicate different types of ethnic socialization messages than parents.

Primary Analyses

Demographics

To determine if any demographic variables will need to be controlled for in future analyses, bivariate correlations between the demographic variables of adolescent age, parent age, parent education, family structure, and perceptions of diversity and all of the variables of interest will be carried out. Specifically, these variables of interest include peer ethnic socialization, parent ethnic socialization, predictors (Age, Centrality, Peer Advice Seeking, and Extreme Peer Orientation), adolescent adjustment outcomes (Depression, Self-Esteem, Academic Achievement, and Private Regard), and Friendship Quality. Additionally, t-tests will compare adolescent males and females, mothers and fathers, and participants from charter and Catholic schools on all of the variables of interest. Any demographic variables that are significantly associated with any of the variables of interest will be controlled for in all further analyses.

Research Question 1: What Individual Factors Predict Peer Ethnic Socialization?

Hypothesis 1.1: Adolescents will report more peer ethnic socialization with increased age. In order to test this hypothesis, separate Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regressions will be used to predict peer CRSI, peer Cultural Socialization, peer Preparation for Bias, peer Promotion of Mistrust, Direct Socialization, and Indirect Socialization. Age will serve as the predictor variable. These equations will also control for all of the appropriate demographic variables. Since this analysis will use adolescent age as a predictor,

it will not be used as a control variable. Age will also not be used as a control variable for the remainder of the Research Question 1 analyses.

Hypothesis 1.2. Adolescents who more normatively define themselves according to ethnicity will report higher peer ethnic socialization. To test this hypothesis, each of the measures of peer ethnic socialization (peer CRSI, peer Cultural Socialization, peer Preparation for Bias, peer Promotion of Mistrust, Direct Socialization, and Indirect Socialization) will be regressed separately on Centrality. These analyses will control for all of the appropriate demographic variables.

Hypothesis 1.3. Adolescents who are more oriented to their peer group will be more likely to report higher levels of peer ethnic socialization. Both the positive Peer Advice Seeking and the negative Extreme Peer Orientation subscales will be used as predictors in order to test this hypothesis. First, each peer ethnic socialization measure will be regressed separately on Peer Advice Seeking. Next, each peer ethnic socialization measure will be regressed separately on Extreme Peer Orientation. Lastly, both Peer Advice Seeking and Extreme Peer Orientation will be centered and entered into a regression equation together in order to identify which is a better predictor of peer ethnic socialization. This will be done for peer CRSI, peer Cultural Socialization, peer Preparation for Bias, peer Promotion of Mistrust, Direct Socialization, and Indirect Socialization. Each analysis will control for the appropriate adolescent and parent demographic variables.

As a last step related to Research Question 1, adolescent Age, Centrality, Peer Advice Seeking, and Extreme Peer Orientation will each be centered and entered into regression

equations to predict each measure of peer ethnic socialization. These equations will also control for all appropriate demographic variables.

Research Question 2: Is Peer Ethnic Socialization Associated with Positive Outcomes for Adolescents?

Hypothesis 2. Higher rates of peer ethnic socialization will predict positive adolescent adjustment. Four adolescent adjustment variables will be used to test this hypothesis: Depression, Self-Esteem, Academic Achievement, and Private Regard. Each of the four adjustment variables will be regressed separately on each measure of peer ethnic socialization. These analyses will control for the appropriate demographic variables. Lastly, peer CRSI, peer Cultural Socialization, peer Preparation for Bias, peer Promotion of Mistrust, Direct Socialization, and Indirect Socialization will each be centered and entered together into four separate regression equations, one for each adolescent adjustment variable. These four equations will also include all of the appropriate control variables. This analysis will indicate which measure of peer ethnic socialization is the best predictor of each outcome.

Posthoc Analyses

Additional questions about the prediction of adolescent adjustment will be examined, but these are not associated with any hypotheses and are exploratory in nature. Because both parents and peers are likely to be important for the development of adolescents, the association between peer ethnic socialization and adjustment will be examined within the context of parent ethnic socialization. The parent CRSI, Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, and Promotion of Mistrust subscales, and the peer CRSI, Cultural Socialization,

Preparation for Bias, and Promotion of Mistrust subscales will be centered and entered in matched pairs into separate regression equations for each of the four adjustment variables. For example, peer CRSI and parent CRSI will be entered together into an equation to predict Depression. Peer Cultural Socialization and parent Cultural Socialization will be entered together into an equation to predict Depression, and so on. These analyses will control for all the appropriate demographic characteristics, and will indicate whether parent or peer ethnic socialization is a better predictor of adjustment outcomes. Additionally, these regression equations will include an interaction variable between peer ethnic socialization and parent ethnic socialization. Any significant interactions will be probed by regressing adjustment at low and high levels of parent ethnic socialization. Low levels will be one standard deviation below the mean and high levels will be one standard deviation above the mean. This analysis will allow for the examination of peer ethnic socialization within the context of parent ethnic socialization.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Characteristics of the sample are presented in Table 2. Slightly more than half of the

participants came from single-female-headed households. These were mostly mothers but

included grandmothers or other female guardians. The remainder of the participants came

from two-adult homes, either with both biological parents or a biological mother and a step-

father. Almost two-thirds of parents (66.1%) had completed some college or higher, and 14%

had a college degree or higher. Forty-five of the 75 students attended charter schools, and 25

attended Catholic schools; the remainder of the students attended other public schools or did

not provide the name of their school on the questionnaire.

Descriptive Analyses

Prevalence

The first goal of the current study was to examine the nature of peer ethnic

socialization. In terms of prevalence, when asked to indicate how frequently they received

messages from friends regarding the meaning of ethnicity, 57.33% ($n = 43$) of adolescents

said they never or rarely received such messages from peers. In contrast, only 34.67% ($n =$

26) said the same about messages from their parents. However, when the items from the

individual scales of peer ethnic socialization were examined, there were no adolescents who

indicated that they never received any messages about ethnicity from their peers. There were

no adolescents who did not answer "Yes", "Agree" or "Strongly agree" to at least one

question on one of the measures. Additionally, 60 adolescents (80.00%) responded

Table 2

Counts and Percentages for Demographic Variables

Variable	*n* (%)
Adolescent Sex	
Male	29 (39.7)
Female	44 (60.3)
Parent Sex	
Male	10 (14.1)
Female	61 (85.9)
Family Structure	
1 Adult: mother- or female-headed	38 (52.1)
2 Adults: biological mother, and biological father or step-father	35 (47.9)
Parent Education	
High School Diploma/GED or less	24 (33.8)
Some College/Associate's Degree	37 (52.1)
University/College Degree or Higher	10 (14.1)
Type of School	
Charter School	45 (64.3)
Catholic School	25 (35.7)

"Yes", "Agree", or "Strongly agree" to at least a quarter of the peer ethnic socialization

questions, and 17 (22.67%) responded this way to at least half of the items.

Table 3 presents the means, standard deviations, and ranges for the measures of peer

ethnic socialization. The mean of the CRSI scores was on a scale of zero to one, and was near

the middle of this range. The means for Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, and

Promotion of Mistrust were on a scale of one to four, and these means were toward the center

of the possible scores, with Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias closer to the

"Agree" end of the range, and Promotion of Mistrust closer to the "Disagree" end. Direct and

Indirect Socialization were measured on a scale of one to five, where three corresponded to

"Neither disagree nor agree"; Direct Socialization was toward the "disagree" end of the scale,

and Indirect Socialization was near neutral.

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges for Measures of Peer Ethnic Socialization

Measure	*M (SD)*	*Range*
Comprehensive Racial Socialization Inventory	.52 (.17)	.00 – 1.00
Cultural Socialization	2.57 (.60)	1.00 – 4.00
Preparation for Bias	2.54 (.60)	1.00 – 4.00
Promotion of Mistrust	1.63 (.64)	1.00 – 4.00
Direct Socialization	1.70 (.68)	1.00 – 4.70
Indirect Socialization	2.94 (.66)	1.33 – 4.67

Overall, the prevalence for peer ethnic socialization appeared to be reasonable, even though the means scores of the subscales for the PESI were quite low. For the other subscales, adolescents reported receiving a fair amount of messages from their peers. The mean for the peer CRSI scale was toward the middle of the range of scores, which indicated that on average, adolescents agreed with about half of the statements concerning messages from peers. The Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias subscales were closer to the "Agree" end of the subscale. The Promotion of Mistrust subscale was low, just below "Disagree". Additionally, the majority of participants indicated that they had received messages regarding ethnicity from their peers on at least a quarter of the peer ethnic socialization items.

Message Topics

The second goal in examining the nature of peer ethnic socialization was to understand the message topics of peers' communications, especially as they compared to the topics of parents' messages. These analyses examined the proposed content subscales of the PESI as opposed to the subscales derived from the factor analysis because they provide information regarding message content that the factor analysis scales do not. Means, standard deviations, and ranges for the proposed topic subscales of the PESI are presented in Table 4. Again, all of these means were relatively low.

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges for Topic Subscales of the Peer Ethnic Socialization Inventory

Scale	*M (SD)*	*Range*
Media	2.33 (.56)	1.38 – 4.00
Social	2.40 (.55)	1.00 – 3.75
Clothing	2.14 (.73)	1.00 – 5.00

Pairwise comparisons between the Media, Social, and Clothing subscales indicated that the mean for the Clothing subscale was significantly lower than for both Media, $t(74) = 3.67$, $p < .01$, and Social, $t(74) = 11.33$, $p < .01$. The means for Media and Social were not significantly different from each other. These subscale means are presented in Figure 1.
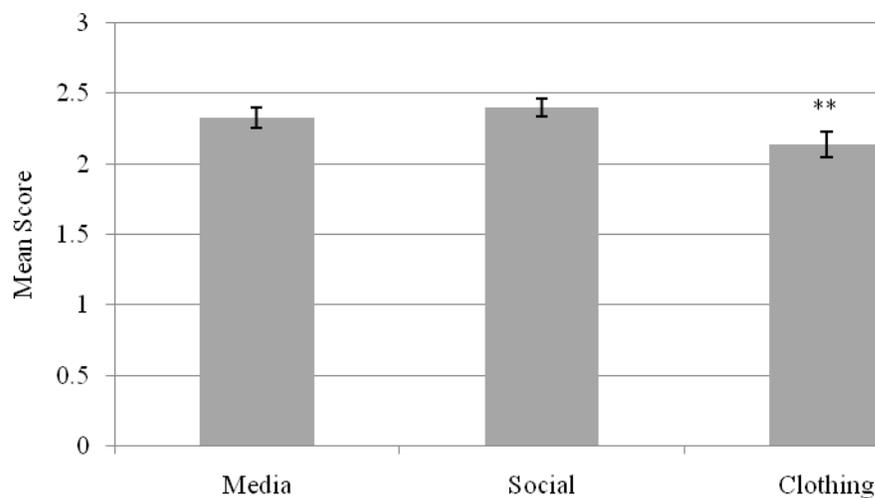
Figure 1. Means for Content Subscales of the Peer Ethnic Socialization Inventory

Note. Error bars represent +/- one standard error of the mean

While scores on the proposed content subscales were low, they revealed differences between peers and parents on message content. Correlations between Ethnic Media and Interpersonal Preferences and the measures of peer and parent ethnic socialization were examined. This indicated whether Ethnic Media and Interpersonal Preferences was correlated with peer ethnic socialization rather than parent ethnic socialization, which in turn indicated whether peer ethnic socialization covered topics more relevant to youth, such as choices of music, movies, and friends. The correlation coefficients for Ethnic Media and Interpersonal Preferences with both peer and parent ethnic socialization are presented in Table 5. Results revealed that peer Indirect Socialization was correlated with Ethnic Media and Interpersonal Preferences, and peer CRSI was marginally correlated with Ethnic Media and Interpersonal Preferences. There were no significant correlations between Ethnic Media and Interpersonal Preferences and parent ethnic socialization, which suggested that these preferences may be more influenced by peers than by parents.

In terms of comparisons between peer and parent message content, three repeated-measures t-tests were used to compare adolescent-reported peer ethnic socialization and adolescent-reported parent ethnic socialization on Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, and Promotion of Mistrust. Results showed that parent Cultural Socialization was significantly higher than peer Cultural Socialization, $t(74) = 4.99$, $p < .01$. Also, peers were significantly higher than parents on Promotion of Mistrust, $t(74) = -3.74$, $p < .01$. Figure 2 depicts these comparisons.

Table 5

Correlations between Ethnic Media and Interpersonal Preferences and Peer and Parent Ethnic Socialization

Scale	Correlation coefficient (r)
Peer Ethnic Socialization:	
Direct Socialization	-.06
Indirect Socialization	.35**
Cultural Socialization	.07
Preparation for Bias	.09
Promotion of Mistrust	.02
Comprehensive Racial Socialization Inventory	.22†
Parent Ethnic Socialization:	
Cultural Socialization	-.06
Preparation for Bias	-.03
Promotion of Mistrust	-.08
Comprehensive Racial Socialization Inventory	.05

* $p < .01$

† $p < .10$
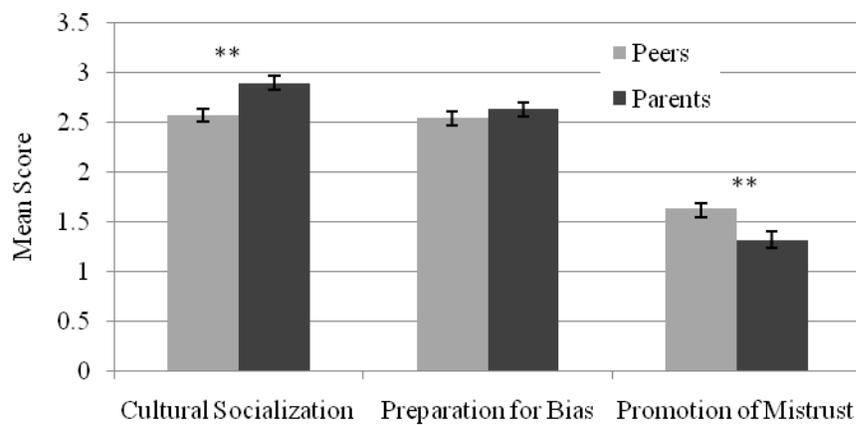
Figure 2. Mean Peer and Parent Ethnic Socialization Scores

Note. Error bars represent +/- one standard error of the mean

Additionally, analyses were conducted on each of the ten CRSI yes-no specific message questions to see if there were differences in the frequency of "yes" answers for peers relative to parents. Chi-square analyses were conducted on the parent CRSI items, using the frequency of "yes" and "no" answers from the peer questions to calculate expected values. These analyses revealed the degree to which the frequency of "yes" answers differed between peers and parents.[1] Significant differences in frequencies are presented in Figure 3.

There were significant differences for six of the ten items. The items and the chi-square statistics for each of the significant comparisons are presented in Table 6. Adolescents responded "yes" significantly more regarding peers on the items "You should "keep it real"", "You should not trust White people", "Whites think they're better than Blacks", and "Sometimes you have to act White to get ahead". Adolescents answered "yes" more frequently regarding parents on the items "With hard work, you can achieve anything,
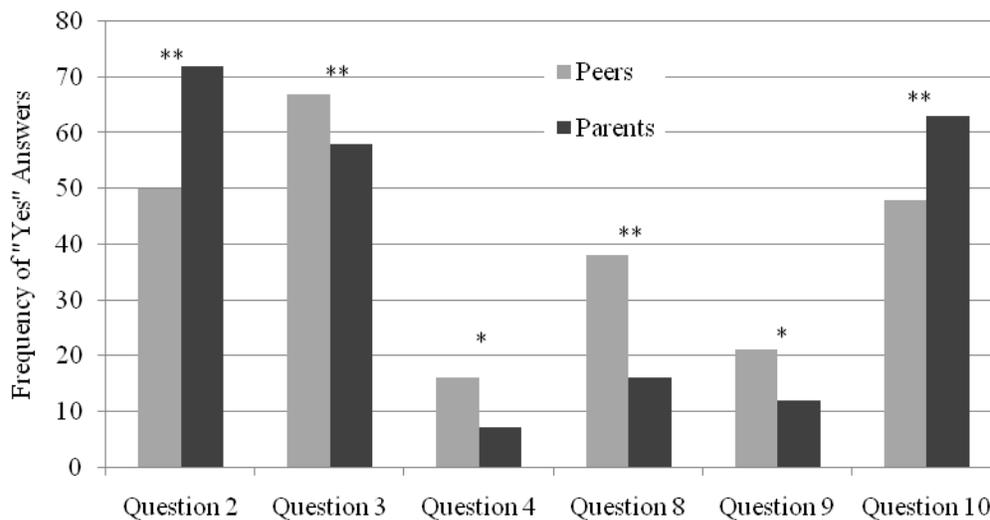
Figure 3. Frequency of "Yes" Answers for Peer and Parent Comprehensive Racial Socialization Inventory

$*p < .05.$

$**p < .01$

regardless of race", and "You will experience discrimination." The messages that adolescents reported were more frequent from peers and from parents suggested that peers were more likely to send ethnic socialization messages regarding behavior and not trusting people of other races. Adolescents reported more messages from parents regarding the potential to experience discrimination, and that anyone can accomplish anything with hard work. These patterns were similar to the peer-parent differences on Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, and Promotion of Mistrust. It is important to note that the frequency of "yes" answers regarding both peers and parents were relatively low for the items "You should not trust White people" and "Sometimes you have to act White to get ahead." Additionally, "yes" responses regarding parents on "Whites think they are better than Blacks" were also relatively low.

Table 6

Frequencies of "Yes" Answers for Peers and Parents for Comprehensive Racial Socialization Inventory Items

| | Frequencies | | |
Item	Peer	Parent	χ^2
2. With hard work, you can achieve anything, regardless of your race.	50	72	21.79**
3. You should "keep it real".	67	58	8.10**
4. You should not trust White people.	16	7	4.58*
8. Whites think they are better than Blacks.	38	16	17.47**
9. Sometimes you have to act White to get ahead.	21	12	4.31*
10. You will experience discrimination.	48	63	8.29**

*$p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Overall, it appeared that peers sent messages with slightly different content than parents. First, correlations with Ethnic Media and Interpersonal Preferences indicated that peer ethnic socialization was associated with these choices, while parent ethnic socialization was not, which may have been due to a difference in the topics which peers and parents discussed. Second, analyses revealed that parents were more likely to make statements emphasizing cultural pride, and perhaps slightly more likely to communicate messages regarding coping with discrimination. Peers, on the other hand, made more statements emphasizing keeping social distance.

Methods of Socialization

The last examination of the nature of peer ethnic socialization investigated the methods of socialization used by adolescent peers. The means and standard deviations for

Direct Socialization and Indirect Socialization are presented in Table 3. A repeated-measures

t-test revealed that the mean for Indirect Socialization was significantly higher than the mean

for Direct Socialization, $t(74) = 12.37$, $p < .01$. Indirect Socialization, which included

modeling and opportunity items, was significantly more common than Direct Socialization,

which included peer pressure and norm regulation.[2]

Demographic Analyses

In order to determine which of the demographic variables should be used as control

variables, a number of analyses were conducted. Correlations were performed between

adolescent age, parent age, parent education, perceptions of diversity, and family structure,

and each of the variables of interest, including measures of peer ethnic socialization, parent

ethnic socialization, predictors (Age, Centrality, Peer Advice Seeking, and Extreme Peer

Orientation), and outcomes (Depression, Self-Esteem, Academic Achievement, and Private

Regard). First, adolescent age was found to be significantly correlated with Direct

Socialization, $r = .29$, $p = .01$, Peer Advice Seeking, $r = -.25$, $p = .04$, and Private Regard, $r =$

.28, $p = .02$. Second, parent age was significantly correlated with Direct Socialization, $r =$

.24, $p = .04$, and Peer Advice Seeking, $r = -.24$, $p = .05$. Third, parent education was

correlated with Indirect Socialization, $r = -.26$, $p = .09$, although this was just a trend. Also,

parent education was significantly correlated with Self-Esteem, $r = -.24$, $p = .04$. Fourth,

perceived diversity of interpersonal relationships was found to be significantly correlated

with Indirect Socialization, $r = -.32$, $p = .01$. Family structure was not found to be

significantly correlated with any of the variables of interest. All further analyses controlled

for parent age, parent education, and perceived diversity. Analyses for Research Questions 2

and 3 controlled for adolescent age, but analyses for Research Question 1 did not, as this question used adolescent age as a predictor variable.

Next, a series of independent samples t-tests were conducted to identify any differences between adolescent males and females, mothers and fathers, and charter and Catholic schools on each of the variables of interest. Results revealed a significant difference between mothers and fathers on peer Cultural Socialization, $t(69) = 2.23$, $p = .05$. Specifically, adolescents whose mothers participated in the study ($M = 2.62$, $SD = .58$) reported higher peer Cultural Socialization than adolescents whose fathers participated ($M = 2.17$, $SD = .61$). Also, there was a significant difference between mothers and fathers on peer Preparation for Bias, $t(69) = -2.13$, $p = .04$. Again, adolescents whose mothers participated ($M = 2.61$, $SD = .61$) were significantly higher on peer Preparation for Bias than adolescents whose fathers participated ($M = 2.18$, $SD = .51$). Additionally, there was a significant difference between mothers and fathers on Academic Achievement, $t(69) = 2.67$, $p = .01$. Adolescents whose mothers participated were significantly higher on Achievement ($M = 3.14$, $SD = .39$) than were adolescents whose fathers participated in the study ($M = 2.78$, $SD = .45$). All analyses for the Research Questions controlled for parent sex.

Independent samples t-tests revealed significant differences between charter and Catholic schools on Indirect Socialization, $t(68) = 3.16$, $p < .01$, and peer CRSI, $t(68) = 2.50$, $p = .02$. Adolescents attending charter schools were significantly higher on Indirect Socialization ($M = 3.11$, $SD = .65$) than adolescents attending Catholic schools ($M = 2.61$, $SD = .60$). Also, adolescents attending charter schools were significantly higher on peer CRSI ($M = .54$, $SD = .14$) than adolescents attending Catholic schools ($M = .44$, $SD = .19$). All

analyses for the Research Questions controlled for school type. Adolescent sex was not found to be associated with any of the variables of interest.

Primary Analyses

Means, standard deviations, and ranges for the peer ethnic socialization measures are presented in Table 7. This table also shows the correlations between the different measures of peer ethnic socialization.

Table 7

Means and Standard Deviations for and Correlations between Measures of Peer Ethnic Socialization

	M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. CRSI	.52 (.17)	-					
2. Cultural Socialization	2.57 (.60)	.31**	-				
3. Preparation for Bias	2.54 (.60)	.28*	.73**	-			
4. Promotion of Mistrust	1.63 (.64)	.16	.26*	.44**	-		
5. Direct Socialization	1.70 (.68)	.10	-.10	-.12	.22	-	
6. Indirect Socialization	2.94 (.66)	.28*	-.19	-.07	-.14	.19	-

* *p* < .05

** *p* < .01

Research Question 1: What Individual Factors Predict Peer Ethnic Socialization?

Means, standard deviations, and ranges for each of the predictor variables used in Research Question 1 are shown in Table 8. The means for Centrality, Peer Advice Seeking,

and Extreme Peer Orientation were relatively low. Centrality was measured on a scale of one

to seven and five corresponded to "Neither agree nor disagree". Peer Advice Seeking and

Extreme Peer Orientation were measured on a scale of one to five, so these scores were also

somewhat low.

Hypothesis 1.1: Adolescents Will Report More Peer Ethnic Socialization with Increased Age

To test this hypothesis, separate regression equations were used to regress each of the

measures of peer ethnic socialization on adolescent Age. These regression equations included

Table 8

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges for Predictors

Scale	*M* (*SD*)	*Range*
Age	15.64 (1.25)	14.00 – 18.00
Centrality	4.23 (.76)	1.13 – 6.00
Peer Advice Seeking	2.61 (.90)	1.00 – 5.00
Extreme Peer Orientation	1.76 (.59)	1.00 – 3.75

parent age, parent education, parent sex, perceptions of diversity, and school type as control

variables. Results revealed that adolescent Age predicted Direct Socialization, $\beta = .27$, $p =$

.05. Adolescents reported more Direct Socialization as they got older. Adolescent Age did

not predict any other peer ethnic socialization measures.

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Hypothesis 1.2: Adolescents Who More Normatively Define Themselves According to Ethnicity Will Report Higher Peer Ethnic Socialization

In order to test this hypothesis, each measure of peer ethnic socialization was regressed separately on Centrality. These regression equations included parent age, parent education, parent sex, perceptions of diversity, and school type as control variables. Centrality was not found to significantly predict any of the measures of peer ethnic socialization.

Hypothesis 1.3: Adolescents Who are More Oriented to Their Peer Group Will Be More Likely to Report Higher Levels of Peer Ethnic Socialization

Testing this hypothesis involved two sets of analyses. First, each measure of peer ethnic socialization was regressed separately on Peer Advice Seeking. Second, each measure of peer ethnic socialization was regressed separately on Extreme Peer Orientation. Again, these regression equations included parent age, parent education, parent sex, diversity, and school type as control variables. Peer Advice Seeking was found to significantly predict Indirect Socialization, $\beta = .25$, $p = .05$. Higher Peer Advice Seeking predicted higher Indirect Socialization. Extreme Peer Orientation predicted Direct Socialization, $\beta = .45$, $p < .01$, and peer Cultural Socialization, $\beta = -.21$, $p = .09$, although this second result was just a trend. Higher Extreme Peer Orientation was associated higher Direct Socialization and marginally lower peer Cultural Socialization.

Lastly, Peer Advice Seeking and Extreme Peer Orientation were centered and entered together into regression equations in order to determine which was a better predictor of each measure of peer ethnic socialization. Results revealed that Extreme Peer Orientation was a

significant predictor of peer Cultural Socialization, β = -.28, *p* = .04, and Direct

Socialization, β = .46, *p* < .01. Higher Extreme Peer Orientation was associated with lower

peer Cultural Socialization and higher Direct Socialization. Additionally, Peer Advice

Seeking marginally predicted Indirect Socialization, β = .22, *p* < .09. Higher Peer Advice

Seeking was associated with marginally higher Indirect Socialization.

Summary

As a last step in analyzing Research Question 1, all of the adolescent characteristics

(Age, Centrality, Peer Advice Seeking, and Extreme Peer Orientation) were centered and

entered together into regression equations to predict each measure of peer ethnic

socialization. This was done in order to determine which characteristic was the best predictor

for each measure of peer ethnic socialization. In terms of Direct Socialization, both

adolescent Age, β = .27, *p* .03, and Extreme Peer Orientation were significant predictors, β

=.41, *p* = < .01. Older adolescents, and adolescents with higher Extreme Peer Orientation

reported higher Direct Socialization. Indirect Socialization was marginally predicted by

Centrality, β = .25, *p* = .06, and Peer Advice Seeking, β = .27, *p* = .06. Higher Centrality and

Peer Advice Seeking were associated with higher Indirect Socialization. Peer Cultural

Socialization was significantly predicted by Extreme Peer Orientation, β = -.28, *p* = .05.

Higher rates of Extreme Peer Orientation were associated with lower rates of peer Cultural

Socialization.

Overall, adolescents reported more Direct Socialization as they got older, but showed

no changes in reporting other forms of peer ethnic socialization as they aged. Centrality was

marginally associated with Indirect Socialization; higher rates of Centrality were associated

with marginally higher Indirect Socialization. Lastly, the positive form of peer orientation, Peer Advice Seeking, was associated with higher Indirect Socialization, while the negative form of peer orientation, Extreme Peer Orientation, predicted higher levels of Direct Socialization and lower levels of peer Cultural Socialization.

Research Question 2: Is Peer Ethnic Socialization Associated with Positive Outcomes for Adolescents?

Table 9 presents the means and standard deviations for each of the adolescent adjustment outcomes used in the present study. Self-Esteem was relatively high, and Depression relatively low. The mean of Academic Achievement corresponded to approximately a grade of B, and Private Regard was relatively high on a scale of one to seven.

Hypothesis 2: Higher Rates of Peer Ethnic Socialization will predict Positive Adolescent Adjustment

To test this hypothesis, each of the four adjustment variables was regressed separately on each of the measures of peer ethnic socialization. These analyses controlled for parent

Table 9

Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges for Adjustment Variables

Scale	*M (SD)*	*Range*
Self-Esteem	3.31 (.56)	1.00 – 4.00
Depression	.77 (.42)	.00 – 2.45
Academic Achievement	3.09 (.41)	1.75 – 3.97
Private Regard	5.87 (.73)	2.50 – 7.00

age, parent education, parent sex, perceptions of diversity, and school type. Results revealed that Self-Esteem was significantly predicted by Direct Socialization, $\beta = -.37$, $p = .01$, and peer Promotion of Mistrust, $\beta = -.28$, $p = .03$. Higher scores on Direct Socialization and on peer Promotion of Mistrust were associated with lower Self-Esteem scores. This finding was counter to the hypothesis that peer ethnic socialization would be associated with better adjustment.

Peer Cultural Socialization was a significant predictor of Depression, $\beta = -.30$, $p = 03$. Higher peer Cultural Socialization was associated with lower Depression scores. This was consistent with the hypothesis. Additionally, Academic Achievement was predicted by peer Cultural Socialization, $\beta = .39$, $p = .03$, and marginally predicted by peer Preparation for Bias, $\beta = .21$, $p = .09$. Both of these results indicated that higher peer ethnic socialization was associated with better Achievement. Lastly, in terms of Private Regard, peer CRSI emerged as a marginally significant predictor, $\beta = .26$, $p = .06$. This was consistent with the hypothesis.

Lastly, the measures of peer ethnic socialization were centered and entered into a regression equation together to predict each of the adjustment variables separately. This was done to identify which measure of peer ethnic socialization was the best predictor of each adjustment variable. Results revealed that Direct Socialization significantly predicted Self-Esteem, $\beta = -.36$, $p = .02$. Higher Direct Socialization predicted lower Self- Esteem. In terms of Academic Achievement, Indirect Socialization, $\beta = .41$, $p = .01$, and peer CRSI, $\beta = -.46$, $p < .01$, were both significant predictors. Higher Indirect Socialization and lower peer CRSI

predicted higher Academic Achievement. For Private Regard, peer CRSI emerged as a significant predictor, $\beta = .31$, $p = .04$. Higher peer CRSI predicted higher Private Regard.

Summary

Overall, the results for Research Question 2 were mixed. Some aspects of peer ethnic socialization were associated with better adjustment, but others were not. Higher peer Cultural Socialization predicted lower Depression. Higher Direct Socialization and peer Promotion of Mistrust were associated with lower Self-Esteem. Higher Indirect Socialization was associated with higher Achievement. Higher peer CRSI was associated with lower Achievement and higher Private Regard.

Posthoc Analyses

In order to further examine questions regarding the prediction of adolescent adjustment, some additional analyses were conducted. These analyses examined the association between peer ethnic socialization and adjustment within the context of parent ethnic socialization.First, the separate parent and peer ethnic socialization variables were centered and entered in matched pairs into regression equations for each adjustment outcome to assess which was a better predictor of adjustment, peer or parent ethnic socialization. Additionally, the interaction between peer and parent ethnic socialization was entered into the equation to examine whether the association between ethnic socialization and adjustment varied depending on the level of parent ethnic socialization. This helped to explain the role of peer ethnic socialization within the context of parent ethnic socialization. There was a significant interaction between peer and parent Promotion of Mistrust to predict Private Regard, $\beta = -.27$, $p = .04$. Probing this interaction revealed that peer Promotion of Mistrust as

associated with lower Private Regard at low levels of parent Promotion of Mistrust, $\beta = -.42$, $p = .02$, but not at high levels of parent Promotion of Mistrust, $\beta = .01$, $p = .93$.

For the equations in which the interaction was not significant, an examination of the main effects of peer ethnic socialization and parent ethnic socialization revealed a number of significant results. Peer Promotion of Mistrust was a marginally significant predictor for Self-Esteem, $\beta = -.24$, $p = .08$. Higher rates of peer Promotion of Mistrust was associated with lower Self-Esteem. Additionally, Peer Cultural Socialization was a marginally significant predictor of Private Regard, $\beta = -.29$, $p = .08$. These results indicated that peer ethnic socialization may be associated with poorer adolescent adjustment when controlling for parent ethnic socialization and the interaction of peer and parent ethnic socialization. Parent Cultural Socialization emerged as a predictor of Depression, $\beta = -.43$, $p = .01$. Higher rates of parent Cultural Socialization were associated with lower Depression. Parent Cultural Socialization also predicted Academic Achievement, $\beta = .38$, $p = .02$. Higher parent Cultural Socialization was associated with higher Academic Achievement. In terms of Private Regard, parent Cultural Socialization was a significant predictor, $\beta = .44$, $p = .01$, as was Preparation for Bias, $\beta = .39$, $p = .04$. Higher parent ethnic socialization regarding cultural pride and preparation for discrimination was associated with higher Private Regard.

<div align="center">Summary</div>

Results of the posthoc analyses suggest that parent ethnic socialization was associated with more adolescent adjustment outcomes than peer ethnic socialization. Additionally, parent ethnic socialization was associated with positive adjustment, while in the few cases

when peer ethnic socialization was associated with adjustment, it predicted negative

adjustment.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The current study examined the role of peers as agents of ethnic socialization among African-American adolescents. This topic has been largely understudied in the developmental psychological literature. Results indicate that adolescent peers engage in ethnic socialization, and that these practices are associated with characteristics of the adolescent, such as age and orientation toward peers. Results also show that peer ethnic socialization is associated with adolescent adjustment outcomes, including self-esteem, depression, achievement, and ethnic identity, but that the associations with these variables are mixed. The results also indicate that some forms of peer ethnic socialization may be less beneficial to adolescents, specifically direct forms of socialization and messages that emphasize the need to keep social distance from people of other ethnicities. Finally, the findings suggest that parent ethnic socialization is more important for positive adolescent adjustment than is peer ethnic socialization. This study adds to the research on ethnic identity development by confirming the existence of an additional source of information about ethnicity besides parents.

The Nature of Peer Ethnic Socialization

The first goal of the study was to examine the nature of peer ethnic socialization among African-American adolescents. First, the prevalence of peer ethnic socialization was addressed. When asked how frequently they receive messages from their peers regarding ethnicity, the majority of adolescents report that they rarely or never receive such messages. This is in contrast to the frequency with which they report receiving messages from parents.

Additionally, on the new measure of ethnic socialization created for this project (Peer Ethnic Socialization Inventory; PESI), means of all the subscales are around the "neutral" response choice, and very few adolescents endorsed the statements for these items which assess ethnic socialization messages from peers. However, when frequencies for all items from all three measures of peer ethnic socialization are combined and examined, no participants indicate that they never receive messages about ethnicity from their peers. Additionally, 80% of adolescents endorsed at least a quarter of the peer ethnic socialization items, indicating they have received messages regarding ethnicity from peers.

The contradiction in these different measures of prevalence may be partially explained by research on parent ethnic socialization that suggests that parents and adolescents sometimes do not report ethnic socialization when asked directly, but that such practices are apparent in qualitative research (Hughes et al., 2006). Direct questions may not be an appropriate way to assess ethnic socialization. This may be because ethnic socialization practices are entrenched in the daily lives of African-American families, and it may be difficult for participants to identify less-overt communications as being related to ethnicity. It is possible that even though adolescents do not report much ethnic socialization from their peers that such practices are still present. In fact, examining the correlation between peer ethnic socialization scores and media and social preferences indicates that the more peer ethnic socialization an adolescent reports, the more they prefer media created or practiced by African-Americans, and social relationships involving other African-Americans. This may suggest that peer ethnic socialization influences media and social choices of adolescents, indicating that ethnic socialization is occurring, even if reported rates are low.

On the other hand, because the peer ethnic socialization findings were not particularly robust, the possibility that peers do not often engage in ethnic socialization must be considered. There are at two possible explanations for the relative weakness of this finding. First, it may be that youth in this age group do not engage in peer ethnic socialization. Some evidence suggests that the exploration of ethnic identity tends to increase during early adolescence and then drops off in mid-adolescence (Pahl & Way, 2006; French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006; Phinney, 1992). Ethnic identity exploration is the process through which youth obtain information regarding the meaning of ethnicity and learn about the role that ethnicity plays in social interactions. By the time adolescents reach around 10th grade, they may have already developed a stable ethnic identity and may not refer to their peers for additional information on ethnicity. Likewise, adolescents may pay less attention to ethnic socialization messages from their peers as they may not need to further explore their identity.

Second, most of the youth used in the study attend schools and live in neighborhoods that are predominantly African-American, and a lack of diversity may mean there is less need for adolescent peers to socialize each other regarding ethnicity. Cultural pride may already be inherent in everyday interactions and activities because adolescents are surrounded by people of their own ethnic group. Additionally, messages about bias and mistrust may also be scarce because there is less need to learn about inter-ethnic social interactions in a less diverse environment. Youth who interact solely with people of their own ethnic group may not be exposed to discrimination and may not have to learn to cope with such experiences. For these reasons, less diverse school and community environments may be associated with lower rates of peer ethnic socialization, which may explain the inconsistency of the prevalence findings.

The schools used in the current study varied in diversity, but African-American youth were in the majority at each school. This may indicate that youth at these schools were less likely to discuss issues of ethnicity because there is less need among youth to establish their identity. Charter school students indicated higher rates of peer ethnic socialization, and while these schools had a higher proportion of African-American students, both were the sole schools located in business/financial areas of the city. Principals at these schools indicated that even though the students lived in predominantly African-American communities, and attended a predominantly African-American school, because they were allowed to exit the school during breaks and lunchtime, they often encountered discrimination related to both age and ethnicity in the community surrounding their school. The discrimination experiences of the charter school students may explain their higher rates of peer ethnic socialization than the Catholic school students, which may in turn indicate that higher prevalence rates may have been found in more diverse environments.

The second goal of the study was to examine the types of messages that peers communicate regarding ethnicity. The new measure of peer ethnic socialization contained questions regarding media, social relationships, and clothing styles. The means for all three subscales were relatively low, but the clothing subscale was significantly lower than the other two, indicating that peers communicate fewer messages about clothing styles than they do about media and social preferences such as friendships and dating relationships. One possible reason for this difference may be that the majority of the participants wear uniforms to school or have to conform to a strict dress code. For instance, at one charter school, the students are allowed to choose any black shoes, and any black skirts or pants, but are required to wear a

white polo shirt with the school's logo on it. One of the Catholic schools has a dress code that consists of sweaters, skirts, socks, pants, ties, and shoes all in the school colors. Even though adolescents may see their peers in the evenings and on weekends while out of uniform, school clothing regulations may be part of the reason the mean for the clothing subscale was lower than the means for the media and social subscales. Youth spend the majority of their time in school, and with dress codes and uniforms, peers may have less opportunity to socialize each other on clothing since they have few choices about how to dress on a daily basis.

Additionally, analyses show that parents and peers communicate slightly different types of ethnic socialization messages. Ethnic preferences regarding media and interpersonal relationships are not related to parent ethnic socialization, which supports the idea that peers communicate messages regarding more youthful topics, such as what movies to watch and how to dress. Examinations also reveal that peers are significantly more likely to communicate messages about mistrusting people of other races than are parents. Some research has suggested that adolescents report increased experiences with discrimination in comparison to when they were children (Greene et al., 2006), and youth who are newly exposed to discrimination may believe that it is best to keep social distance from people of other ethnicities. Similarly, the cognitive development of adolescents may cause them to better understand societal racism and bias than when they were children (Brown, 2006; Bennett & Sani, 2003), and these new experiences and perceptions may also be associated with a tendency to distrust people of other ethnicities. Additionally, some theories of ethnic identity development suggest that during mid-adolescence, youth enter a stage characterized

by strong identification with one's ethnic group, in conjunction with rejection of people from other ethnic groups (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 1996; Spencer, 1982). Adolescents during this stage may be especially likely to distrust people of other ethnicities and to communicate such ideas to each other. This may partially explain the higher adolescent-reported peer messages about mistrust relative to adolescent-reported parent messages about mistrust.

Additionally, parents are more likely than peers to communicate messages emphasizing cultural pride and interest in heritage. There may be two reasons for this difference between peers and parents. First, it may be especially important to parents to teach their children to be proud of their cultural heritage. Such topics may be important to peers, but may not be as essential as they are to parents, as peers may be less concerned with the mental health and general well-being of adolescents. Peers and parents may communicate different types of ethnic socialization messages because they may have different motives for engaging in ethnic socialization. Parents may do so in order to protect the well-being of their children and to prepare them for adulthood, while peers may engage in ethnic socialization in order to control the behavior of their peers and the image of their ethnic group within their community. Therefore, peers may engage in cultural socialization less frequently, but encourage conformity and maintenance of certain ethnic group images by engaging in ethnic socialization related to behaviors and ethnic distrust.

Second, research indicates that parents often engage in ethnic socialization regarding cultural pride even when their children are young (Hughes et al., 2006). While the questions asked in this research did not focus on parent ethnic socialization throughout childhood, it is possible that adolescents may have reported on the messages and behaviors of their parents

during their entire lifetime instead of just during the present. For example, youth whose parents read cultural books to them, made them ethnic food, or took them to cultural museums and events throughout childhood may have accumulated many parent ethnic socialization experiences over time. The accumulation of experiences from childhood may influence adolescents to more strongly agree with statements about their parents' ethnic socialization messages because they have many memories of cultural and ethnic activities. On the other hand, adolescents may be just beginning to accumulate ethnic and cultural experiences with peers. Cultural experiences with peers may be a relatively new phenomenon for adolescents, and having fewer memories to access when thinking about peer ethnic socialization may influence adolescents to agree less strongly with statements about peer socialization messages.

The third goal of the study was to examine the methods that peers may use to communicate messages about ethnicity. Results indicate that indirect forms of ethnic socialization are more common than direct methods. This includes both modeling of behavior, and the opportunity for discussion and exposure to various behaviors and experiences. This is consistent with research that suggests that learning about ethnicity and culture is often accomplished through imitating appropriate role models, who may be parents, peers, or other members of one's ethnic group (de Anda, 1984). Modeling not only provides youth with information about ways to behave and interact with others, but also communicates values associated with ethnicity (Alsaker, 1995). For example, adolescents who observe all of their friends only dating people of the same ethnicity may also only date people of the

same ethnicity, and may come to internalize values regarding the potential for people of other ethnicities to be appropriate romantic partners.

Individual Adolescent Characteristics as Predictors of Peer Ethnic Socialization

The investigation also examined characteristics of adolescents that may predict peer ethnic socialization. Findings for adolescent age are consistent with the hypothesis, which predicted that older adolescents would report higher peer ethnic socialization. Results indicate that direct peer ethnic socialization is positively associated with age; as adolescents get older, their friends' messages about race become more blatant and straightforward. This may be explained by stage theories of ethnic identity which propose that during mid-adolescence, youth are more likely to make overt, verbal ethnic identifications (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 1996; Tatum, 1997; Helms, 1995). These overt identifications and over-concern with both their own and others' ethnicity may be linked to more direct ethnic socialization. The other forms of peer ethnic socialization were not associated with age. The lack of association with other forms of socialization may be due to the small variation in the age of the participants. A wider age range may have revealed significant relationships.

Peer orientation shows mixed associations with peer ethnic socialization, which may depend on both the type of peer orientation and the type of ethnic socialization. The positive form of peer orientation is associated with higher levels of indirect forms of socialization, while the negative form of peer orientation is associated with higher levels of direct forms of socialization. Youth who report a tendency to seek advice from their peers are more likely to report that their friends serve as indirect agents of ethnic socialization, by acting as models or providing opportunities for experiences and behaviors. Youth who seek their peers' advice

and trust their peers' opinions on important matters may be more likely to also depend on their peers as models of behavior, and may strive to imitate such behavior (Urberg et al., 2003).

Alternatively, adolescents who are negatively oriented toward peers, and who are more willing to forego appropriate developmental activities in order to be popular or spend time with their peers report more direct socialization, either through peer pressure or being teased for ethnically-atypical behaviors. There may be two reasons for this association. First, youth who are extremely oriented toward their peers may be more likely to seek out certain kinds of peers, and these peers may be more likely to engage in direct socialization. Research indicates that the association between extreme peer orientation and negative outcomes is mediated by association with deviant peers, suggesting that negative peer orientation may be related to befriending youth who are a negative influence (Fuligni, Eccles, Barber & Clemens, 2001). Adolescents who are high in extreme peer orientation may befriend deviant peers, and these deviant peers may engage in direct forms of socialization such as peer pressure. Second, youth who are exposed to overt, direct socialization messages regarding ethnicity may become more extremely oriented toward their peers. If adolescents believe that they need to behave in a particular way in order to gain acceptance from their peers, they may be more willing to sacrifice other aspects of life in order to be accepted. Direct forms of peer ethnic socialization may emphasize the need to behave in specific, ethnically-linked ways.

It was hypothesized that the extent to which an adolescent normatively defines him or herself according to ethnicity may be associated with higher levels of peer ethnic

socialization, but results did not confirm this hypothesis. Centrality marginally predicts indirect ethnic socialization from peers. This partially supports the idea that those who define themselves according to ethnicity may be more likely to attend to or internalize their peers' messages about ethnicity, but since this was only marginally significant, the result must be interpreted with caution. Low reliability for this subscale may be part of the reason for the lack of association between centrality and peer ethnic socialization. Other research using this measure of centrality with adolescents showed somewhat better reliability (Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith, 1998; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003). However, Sellers and colleagues (2003) dropped one item from the centrality scale and still did not achieve acceptable reliability (α = .66 to .67). Therefore, the measure of centrality may not be the most appropriate for use with adolescents, and a teen version of the measure was created too late to be included in the current study (Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity – Teen; Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyen, 2008). The adolescent version of the centrality subscale is both shorter than the original subscale, and has been shown to be reliable for use with adolescents (Scottham et al., 2008). A more reliable measure of centrality may have yielded significant associations with peer ethnic socialization.

The Association of Peer Ethnic Socialization with Adolescent Adjustment Outcomes

Results indicate that the associations between peer ethnic socialization and adolescent adjustment are mixed. With the exception of self-esteem, higher rates of peer ethnic socialization are associated with better adolescent adjustment, including lower depression, higher academic achievement, and more positive attitudes toward one's own ethnic group. These results are consistent with the hypothesis that peer ethnic socialization would be

associated with more positive development. Messages from peers regarding ethnicity, especially those emphasizing cultural pride, may enhance adolescents' positive regard and perceptions of their ethnic group. Peer ethnic socialization may be interpreted by adolescents as a sign of support, and adolescents who believe their peers accept them may be lower in depression. Learning the traditions and customs of one's ethnic group, and learning to be proud of such traditions, may lead youth to have a better developed ethnic identity. Additionally, results indicate that peer ethnic socialization is associated with better academic achievement. Adolescents who receive messages about ethnicity from their peers regarding preparation for discrimination or that emphasize cultural pride may be more motivated to work hard in school. Research indicates that ethnic socialization messages from African-American parents often include messages about using academic achievement as a way to counter discrimination (Eccles et al., 2006; Branch & Newcombe, 1986). It is possible that peers also encourage youth to do well in school as a way to combat racism. Additionally, peers who speak to each other about being proud of their heritage may also encourage pride in other domains of life, including achievement.

The results for self-esteem are contrary to the hypothesis as they indicate that both direct forms of ethnic socialization and messages emphasizing the need to mistrust people of other ethnicities are associated with less positive feelings about oneself. These specific forms of peer ethnic socialization may be harmful to the self-concept of youth, while other forms may not be. These types of ethnic socialization may be associated with poorer outcomes because direct and negative socialization may cause youth to feel less positively about themselves. Some research on the socialization of sexuality and gender roles during early

adolescence indicates that felt pressure from peers to conform to gender-typical behavior is associated with poorer adjustment outcomes (Egan & Perry, 2001; Yunger, Carver, & Perry, 2004). Youth who experience strong pressure to conform to standards of behavior based on gender may believe the support of their peers is conditional upon their conformity, which may in turn be associated with poorer adjustment, especially low self-esteem and high depression (Harter, Waters, Whitesell, & Kastelic, 1998; Egan & Perry, 2001). It is reasonable to presume that if felt pressure to conform to gender norms is associated with poor outcomes, felt pressure to conform to ethnic norms may also be associated with poor outcomes. Again, this may be due to the belief that support from friends is conditional; if adolescents believe that they will not be accepted by their peers if they do not follow norms of behavior for their ethnic group, they may in turn feel less positively about themselves.

Additionally, the negative association between peer ethnic socialization and self-esteem may be mediated by other factors of the adolescent or the peer, such as social skills. For instance, adolescents who do not have well-developed social skills may not be able to attune to subtle ethnic socialization messages from peers. Their peers may therefore need to engage in direct forms of ethnic socialization in order to control their behavior and encourage conformity. Again, youth may engage in ethnic socialization in order to control behavior and the image of their ethnic group. Peers who feel that others are not conforming may feel the need to engage in more direct forms of ethnic socialization. Additionally, poor social skills among adolescents may be associated with low self-esteem (Margolin, 2007; Renouf, Kovacs, & Mukerji, 1997; Gendron, Royer, Bertrand, & Potvin, 2004; Bijstra & Jackson, 1998).

Peer Ethnic Socialization in the Context of Parent Ethnic Socialization

Additional analyses were conducted in order to further predict adolescent adjustment by examining the interaction between peer and parent ethnic socialization. There was one significant interaction between peer and parent ethnic socialization regarding distrusting individuals of other ethnicities. This form of ethnic socialization from peers is only associated with less positive attitudes about one's own ethnic group when parents are low on this form of ethnic socialization. This suggests that negative ethnic socialization messages from peers may only be associated with negative outcomes if adolescents do not hear the same messages from parents. For example, messages regarding distrusting individuals of other ethnic backgrounds are not associated with negative outcomes for youth who only receive these messages from peers, but are associated with negative outcomes for youth who receive these messages both from peers and parents. It may be that a discrepancy in the emphasis on distrusting other individuals provides contradictory information to the adolescent, which may mean the adolescent is unable to balance the messages from multiple sources. Being unsure of how to behave around other-ethnic individuals or difficulty with balancing contradictory ethnic expectations from peers and parents may in turn be associated with a less well-developed ethnic identity.

Additionally, these analyses reveal that parent ethnic socialization is a better predictor of adolescent adjustment than is peer ethnic socialization. Parent ethnic socialization predicts positive adjustment even when controlling for peer ethnic socialization. The two results which showed that peer ethnic socialization predicted adjustment better than parent ethnic socialization indicated that such practices are associated with poorer adolescent adjustment,

specifically lower self-esteem, and lower private regard. These results suggest that while peers are important for the functioning of adolescents, parents may be more important. Additionally, as previously discussed, the associations between peer ethnic socialization and adjustment are mixed, whereas the associations between parent ethnic socialization and adjustment are all positive. This indicates that the same messages from different sources may have different associations with adolescent adjustment. Youths' achievement, positive feelings about themselves, and positive feelings about their ethnic group may be more strongly influenced by the support and information provided by their parents than by their peers.

The results of these additional analyses on the interaction of peer and parent ethnic socialization suggest the importance of studying peer and parent ethnic socialization together. Overall, peer ethnic socialization may be the most beneficial for youth in the context of high levels of parent ethnic socialization. When combined with high parent ethnic socialization, low levels of peer ethnic socialization are not associated with poorer outcomes. However, high peer ethnic socialization cannot compensate for a shortage of messages about ethnicity communicated by parents.

<div align="center">Limitations</div>

A number of limitations exist in the present research. First, the sample of adolescents was small and it is possible that there are associations between variables used in this study that were not detected because of a lack of power. With a larger sample size, significant associations between peer-parent ethnic socialization discrepancies and numerous other variables may have been revealed.

A second limitation of the investigation is that the results may not be generalizable to adolescents who are dissimilar from those in the current study. It is possible that adolescents of other ethnicities may report different prevalence rates, message types, or methods of socialization. For instance, Asian-American adolescents may report fewer messages preparing them for ethnic and racial bias, as some research suggests these youth are highly regarded by adults in their communities (Matute-Bianchi, 1986), and may therefore experience less discrimination. Also, the adolescents used in the current study were recruited mainly from charter and Catholic high schools in a large urban area. It is possible that these students differ from other public-school students on peer ethnic socialization because of different experiences in their school environments. In fact, preliminary analyses on demographics revealed that the adolescents who attended charter schools reported higher rates of peer ethnic socialization than those who attended Catholic schools, and there may be additional differences between the participants of this study and those who attend other public schools.

Additionally, the results of the study may not be generalizable to other African-Americans. The parents in the investigation were more educated than the general population of African-Americans, which likely indicates these families were of a relatively higher socioeconomic status. There may be differences in the pattern and importance of ethnic socialization across socioecomonic status groups. Research has shown that mothers who possess higher levels of education are especially likely to engage in ethnic socialization (Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen 1990). Therefore, the youth in the study may be exposed to high levels of parent ethnic socialization. It is possible that adolescents whose

parents do not engage in as much ethnic socialization may show comparatively higher levels of peer ethnic socialization as they may depend on their peers for ethnically relevant information not provided by parents.

Additionally, while this research employed both parent/guardian and adolescent questionnaires, only the adolescent questionnaire was used to provide the main variables of interest; all of the constructs were self-reported by the adolescents. It is possible that the results are explained by shared method variance. Using only self-report data creates non-random variability that is the result of the same person providing the information for the measurement of more than one construct, termed shared method variance. In other words, whatever bias may exist in self-report data will exist in all self-reported measures, therefore creating an inflated association between variables (Chan, 2009). It is possible that different results may have been found if other sources of information had been used. For instance, speaking to an adolescent's peers about the kinds of messages about ethnicity they communicate might provide a more valid measure of peer ethnic socialization.

On the other hand, some psychologists have suggested that self-report data may not be as invalid as it is presumed (see Chan, 2009 for a review). Most criticisms of self-report data focus on two main issues: shared method variance and social desirability. Research suggests that shared method variance is a much smaller problem than most psychologists believe (Spector, 2006; Chan, 2009; Crampton & Wagner, 1994). Spector (2006) points out that if shared method variance was a true problem with self-report data, then all self-reported measures would show a baseline correlation with each other, even constructs that may be theoretically unrelated. Therefore, correlational studies with large enough samples would

should significant correlations between all self-reported measures, but this is not the case (see Boswell, Boudreau, & Dunford). Furthermore, shared method variance would indicate that monomethod (e.g. all self-report) studies would show larger correlations than multimethod studies, but this is not always the case (Spector, 2006).

Second, some psychologists have argued that self-report data may be invalid or inaccurate because of social desirability, which may lead respondents to answer questions based on social appeal, instead of actual beliefs or opinions (Chan, 2009). Research on social desirability has indicated that just because respondents can be dishonest on self-report measures does not mean that they often are (Chan, 2001; Ones, Viswesvaran, & Reiss, 1996; Chan, 2009). There are two aspects of the current investigation that may indicate social desirability was not a problem. First, the adolescents were all informed that the information collected for the study was both confidential and anonymous, and that no information would be shared with teachers, parents, or peers. Anonymity may make participants less likely be concerned with social desirability when providing self-reported answers (Chan, 2009). Second, the stakes for the participants were very low. The adolescents were informed that their answers to the questions would not affect their grades, their relationship with their school or the research institution, or their compensation for participating. Participants who have little concern about answering "correctly" may feel less motivation to deceive on self-report measures and may be less likely to succumb to social desirability (Chan, 2009).

Overall, while the use of self-report data is largely and almost-universally criticized in psychological research, there is evidence to suggest that this kind of data may not be problematic. For many of the constructs assessed in this study, such as self-esteem,

depression, and centrality, it may be difficult to acquire such information from anyone other than the adolescents themselves. Additionally, while reports from peers or parents on their own ethnic socialization practices may add another dimension to the research, it may be the perception of socialization that matters most for adolescent adjustment. Even if peers believe they are communicating messages about ethnicity, these messages may only have an association with adolescent outcomes if the adolescent receiving the message actually perceives the message as being related to ethnicity. Additionally, research has indicated that adolescent-reported parent ethnic socialization and parent-reported parent ethnic socialization are often uncorrelated (Budescu, McGill, & Taylor, 2009; Hughes, Rivas, Foust, Hagelskamp, Gerskick, & Way, 2008), suggesting that perceptions vary between reporters, or that reports from different people may represent different aspects of a multidimensional construct. Therefore, ethnic socialization reports from people besides the adolescents receiving the messages may not help to validate self-report.

Another limitation of the current study is that it uses cross-sectional data and so it is impossible to examine causation. The association between peer orientation and peer ethnic socialization indicates that either adolescents who are high in peer orientation may seek more advice regarding ethnicity from their friends, or that youth whose peers provide a lot of information about ethnicity may become more dependent on their peers for information. It is also possible that a third variable is responsible for this association. For example, having a poor relationship with one's parents may cause both higher peer orientation and higher reported peer ethnic socialization, as adolescents may turn to friends for support and information not provided by parents. It is impossible to know the causal link between peer

ethnic socialization and peer orientation in this investigation. Cross-sectional data provide important information on associations between variables, but not causal information. Longitudinal research is needed to investigate these issues.

The last limitation pertains to the measure of peer ethnic socialization developed for this study. While this measure shows important significant associations with adolescent characteristics and outcomes, the very low levels of endorsement of the items by the participants may indicate that this measure has low construct validity. Given that the scores on the other two measures of ethnic socialization used for peers had means of a reasonable level, it may be that this new measure of peer ethnic socialization is not assessing the appropriate conceptualization of peer ethnic socialization. In other words, it is apparent that adolescents do engage in peer ethnic socialization with each other, but the questions on the PESI may not be assessing the true construct. A better measure of peer ethnic socialization would contain questions that more accurately reflect the method being used, especially with the modeling items. Instead of statements such as "My friends mostly listen to Black music", an improved measure may use statements such as "I listen to Black music because my friends do" or "I listen to Black music like most of my friends." Additionally, a better measure of ethnic socialization would cover more topics such as participation in sports and school organizations, food, and speech/language, including vocabulary and diction. Questions would ideally cover indirect methods of ethnic socialization since these methods are shown to be more common.

Future Directions

The current study adds to the research on ethnic socialization among African-American adolescents by demonstrating that peers play an important role as socializing agents. However, despite the important findings of this study, there are still a number of questions regarding peer ethnic socialization that have remained unanswered. First, based on the limitations of the current study, it would be useful for future research to employ longitudinal data in order to understand the causal relationship between adolescent characteristics and peer ethnic socialization, and peer ethnic socialization and adolescent adjustment outcomes. Also, longitudinal data would allow for researchers to examine the contribution of peer ethnic socialization to ethnic identity development over time. It would also be interesting to longitudinally examine whether or not peers and parents differentially influence ethnic identity formation.

Next, future research may benefit from constructing new and better measures for assessing peer ethnic socialization among African-American youth. The results of the current study support the notion that peers discuss different topics than parents, including media and social preferences, but again, the measure designed for this study may be low in construct validity since the scores on the subscales are low. It may be useful to use qualitative or mixed methods approaches to understanding the nature of peer ethnic socialization in more depth. Qualitative data specifically designed to assess ethnic socialization from peers may inform the design of new quantitative measures to assess this practice.

Additionally, future research should examine different predictors and outcomes associated with peer ethnic socialization. For example, other characteristics of the adolescent

or of peers may be associated with peer ethnic socialization, such as phenotype or popularity. African-American adolescents with darker skin tone may be socialized differently than African-American youth with lighter skin tone. Additionally, more popular peers may be more influential when it comes to information about ethnicity. Future research should also examine the associations between peer ethnic socialization and other forms of adolescent adjustment, especially other aspects of ethnic identity. For instance, peer ethnic socialization may be associated with variations in ethnic/racial ideology, or with beliefs about how positively others view one's ethnic group.

Lastly, future research should continue to examine the interaction of parent and peer ethnic socialization. The current study shows that discrepancies in the amount of peer and parent ethnic socialization may be associated with adjustment, and discrepancies in the content of messages may also be associated with adolescent outcomes. Further, the current study examined how peer-parent ethnic socialization discrepancies may be associated with one relationship outcome, friendship quality, but other relationship outcomes might also be differentially associated with peer-parent ethnic socialization discrepancies. For instance, adolescents who report more parent than peer ethnic socialization, or who report more positive messages concerning ethnicity from parents than from peers, may report better relationships with their parents than those who report more frequent and positive ethnic socialization messages from their peers. The interaction effects of peer and parent ethnic socialization may be especially important to understand since both peers and parents are important in the lives of adolescents.

NOTES

1. Concern has been expressed in the psychological literature regarding the reliability of single-item self-report measures. While this study shows interesting results using the individual CRSI items, the findings must be interpreted with caution.

2. In addition to comparing Direct Socialization and Indirect Socialization, the originally proposed method subscales of the PESI were used to determine whether or not there were differences within Direct and Indirect Socialization. Direct methods of influence included peer pressure and norm regulation, and indirect methods included modeling and opportunity. Repeated measures t-tests revealed that the mean for Modeling was significantly higher than the means for Peer Pressure, $t(74) = 13.97$, $p < .01$, Norm Regulation, $t(74) = 14.51$, $p < .01$, and Opportunity, $t(74) = 9.73$, $p < .01$. Also, the mean for Opportunity was significantly higher than for Norm Regulation, $t(74) = 10.24$, $p < .01$, and significantly lower than for Modeling, $t(74) = -7.48$, $p < .01$. The means for the direct methods of socialization were not significantly different from each other, but both were significantly lower than both the indirect methods. Additionally, within indirect methods, the mean for Modeling was significantly higher than the mean for Opportunity.

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APPENDIX A

ADOLESCENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Thank you for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire. We are interested in finding out more about teenagers, their families, and their friends. There are many questions; please answer honestly, and try your best to answer all of them. No one will see your answers except for us, so your responses will be kept confidential.

1. Please circle one: Male   Female

2. I am in _____ grade.
_____ 9th (Freshman)
_____ 10th (Sophomore)
_____ 11th (Junior)
_____ 12th (Senior)

3. My age is _____

4. My grade point average, on a scale of 1-100 is _____

5. My average grades in the following subjects are: (please circle one letter grade for each subject)

Math	A	B	C	D	F	Don't know
Science	A	B	C	D	F	Don't know
Social studies	A	B	C	D	F	Don't know
English	A	B	C	D	F	Don't know

6. Please check all that apply. I live with my _____
_____ Biological mother
_____ Biological father
_____ Step-mother
_____ Step-father
_____ Adoptive mother
_____ Adoptive father
_____ Foster mother
_____ Foster father
_____ Mother's boyfriend/girlfriend
_____ Father's girlfriend/boyfriend
_____ Grandmother

_____ Grandfather
_____ Older brothers
_____ Younger brothers
_____ Older sisters
_____ Younger sisters
_____ Other _____

7. The zip code of my home is: _____

The name of my high school is:

_____

8. My mother's (or the person who acts as my mother on a daily basis) highest level of education is
____Grade School
____High school diploma or GED
____Some college
____Junior college degree (associate's degree)
____University or college degree (bachelor's degree)
____Graduate degree (master's, doctorate, medical degree, etc.)

9. My father's (or the person who acts as my father on a daily basis) highest level of education is
____Grade School
____High school diploma or GED
____Some college
____Junior college degree (associate's degree)
____University or college degree (bachelor's degree)
____Graduate degree (master's, doctorate, medical degree, etc.)

10. How often do you go to church, mosque, or other organized religious services or meetings?
_____ Never
_____ A few times a year
_____ About once a month
_____ A few times a month
_____ Once a week
_____ More than once a week

11. Here are some questions about the kinds of things that you like, such as movies and music. Please write as neatly as you can.

a. My three favorite musical artists are:

     1. _____

     2. _____

     3._____

b. Most of the music I listen to is by Black musicians/bands (Please circle one):

     True   False

c. My three favorite movies are:

     1. _____

     2. _____

     3. _____

d. Most of the movies I like have stars who are Black (Please circle one):

     True   False

e. My three favorite TV shows are:

     1. _____

     2. _____

     3._____

f. Most of the TV shows I watch have Black actors or actresses (Please circle one):

     True   False

g. All other things being equal, I would most like to be friends with someone who is (Please check only one):

     _____ African-American/Black

     _____ Caucasian/White

     _____ Hispanic/Latino

     _____ Asian

     _____ American Indian

     _____ I don't care

h. All other things being equal, I would most like to date someone who is (Please check only one):

     _____ African-American/Black

     _____ Caucasian/White

     _____ Hispanic/Latino

     _____ Asian

     _____ American Indian

     _____ I don't care

i. I mostly like to wear clothes or hairstyles that are similar to those Black people usually wear (Please circle one):

     True   False

12. For the following questions, please answer by circling the number that best describes the people around you.

0 = all Black people
1 = mostly Black people and very few people of other races
2 = some Black people and some non-Black people
3 = many people of many different races; very racially mixed

a. My grammar and elementary school was:
      0   1   2   3
b. My closest friends in elementary school were:
      0   1   2   3
c. My high school is:
      0   1   2   3
d. My closest friends in high school are:
      0   1   2   3
e. My teachers in high school are:
      0   1   2   3
f. My neighborhood is:
      0   1   2   3
g. My closest friends in my neighborhood are:
0   1   2   3
h. My church, mosque, or other religious community is:
      0   1   2   3

13. The next few questions are about messages you might have received to help you know what it means to be Black and know how to deal with people outside your race. Please choose the number that indicates how often the following people talked with you about these issues when you were growing up.

1 = Never
2 = Rarely
3 = Sometimes
4 = Fairly often
5 = Very often

a. How often do your parents or the people who raise you talk with you about what it means to be Black and how to deal with people outside your race?
1   2   3   4   5
b. Not including your parents or the people who raise you, how often do other close relatives such as your brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, and grandparents talk with you about what it means to be Black and how to deal with people outside your race?
1   2   3   4   5

c. How about your friends?

1   2   3   4   5

d. How about other adults such as members of your place of worship, your teachers, or neighbors?

1   2   3   4   5

14. Think about the messages you have received to help you know what it means to be Black and know how to deal with people outside your race. Do you remember being told any of the following things?

<u>MY PARENTS/GUARDIANS HAVE TOLD ME:</u>

a. Race doesn't matter.

    Yes   No

b. With hard work you can achieve anything, regardless of your race.

    Yes   No

c. You should "keep it real".

    Yes   No

d. You should not trust White people.

    Yes   No

e. You should be proud to be Black.

    Yes   No

f. You should not trust Asian people.

    Yes   No

g. Hispanics and Blacks have a lot in common.

    Yes   No

h. Whites think they are better than Blacks.

    Yes   No

i. Sometimes you have to act White to get ahead.

    Yes   No

j. You will experience discrimination.

    Yes   No

<u>MY FRIENDS HAVE TOLD ME:</u>

a. Race doesn't matter.

    Yes   No

b. With hard work you can achieve anything, regardless of your race.

    Yes   No

c. You should "keep it real".

    Yes   No

d. You should not trust White people.

    Yes   No

e. You should be proud to be Black.
        Yes   No

f. You should not trust Asian people.
        Yes   No

g. Hispanics and Blacks have a lot in common.
        Yes   No

h. Whites think they are better than Blacks.
        Yes   No

i. Sometimes you have to act White to get ahead.
        Yes   No

j. You will experience discrimination.
        Yes   No

15. Parents often teach their children about the specific issue of race. We would like to know more about this. Please read each of the following statements and choose the number of the answer that best describes how true each statement is for you. <u>Please answer the questions about your parents or the people who act as your parents on a daily basis.</u>

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly Agree

a. My parents have talked to me about important people or events in history of different ethnic groups other than my own.
      1   2   3   4

b. My parents have encouraged me to read books about other ethnic groups.
      1   2   3   4

c. My parents have talked to me about important people or events in my own racial group's history.
      1   2   3   4

d. My parents have talked to me about discrimination against people of different races other than my own.
      1   2   3   4

e. My parents have explained something on television that showed discrimination against my racial group.
      1   2   3   4

f. My parents have talked to me about discrimination against people of my race.
      1   2   3   4

g. My parents have encouraged me to read books about people of my own race.
      1   2   3   4

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly Agree

h. My parents have done or said things to show that all people are equal regardless of race.
    1   2   3   4

i. My parents have talked to me about how others may try to limit me because of my race.
    1   2   3   4

j. My parents tell me that I must be better than others in order to get the same rewards because of my race.
    1   2   3   4

k. My parents have told me that ethnicity is an important part of self.
    1   2   3   4

l. I have overheard my parents talk about discrimination with someone else.
    1   2   3   4

m. My parents have talked to me about unfair treatment due to race.
    1   2   3   4

n. My parents have done or said things to me in order to keep me from trusting kids who are of a different race than me.
    1   2   3   4

o. My parents have done or said things to encourage me to keep my distance from people who are of a different race.
    1   2   3   4

16. A lot of times teenagers talk to each other about the issue of race. Please circle the number that says how much you agree with the following statements.

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly Agree

a. My friends and I have talked to each other about important people or events in history of different ethnic groups other than my own.
    1   2   3   4

b. My friends have encouraged me to read books about other ethnic groups.
    1   2   3   4

c. My friends and I have talked to each other about important people or events in my racial group's history.
    1   2   3   4

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly Agree

d. My friends and I have talked about discrimination against people of different races other than my own.
     1   2   3   4

e. My friends have explained something on television that showed discrimination against my racial group.
     1   2   3   4

f. My friends and I have talked to each other about discrimination against people of my race.
     1   2   3   4

g. My friends have encouraged me to read books about people of my own race.
     1   2   3   4

h. My friends have done or said things to show that all people are equal regardless of race.
     1   2   3   4

i. My friends and I have talked to each other about how others may try to limit me because of my race.
     1   2   3   4

j. My friends tell me that I must be better than others in order to get the same rewards because of my race.
     1   2   3   4

k. My friends have told me that ethnicity is an important part of self.
     1   2   3   4

l. I have overheard my friends talk about discrimination with someone else.
     1   2   3   4

m. My friends and I have talked to each other about unfair treatment due to race.
     1   2   3   4

n. My friends have done or said things to me in order to keep me from trusting kids who are of a different race than me.
     1   2   3   4

o. My friends have done or said things to encourage me to keep my distance from people who are of a different race.
     1   2   3   4

17. The statements below refer to feelings and experiences which occur to most people at one time or another in their relationships with friends.

a. My friends give me the moral support I need.
     Yes   No   Don't know

b. Most other people are closer to their friends than I am.
        Yes   No   Don't know
c. My friends enjoy hearing about what I think.
        Yes   No   Don't know
d. Certain friends come to me when they have problems or need advice.
        Yes   No   Don't know
e. I rely on my friends for emotional support.
        Yes   No   Don't know
f. If I felt that one or more of my friends were upset with me, I'd just keep it to myself.
        Yes   No   Don't know
g. I feel that I'm on the fringe in my circle of friends.
        Yes   No   Don't know
h. There is a friend I could go to if I were just feeling down, without feeling funny about it later.
        Yes   No   Don't know
i. My friends and I are very open about what we think about things.
        Yes   No   Don't know
j. My friends are sensitive to my personal needs.
        Yes   No   Don't know
k. My friends come to me for emotional support.
        Yes   No   Don't know
l. My friends are good at helping me solve problems.
        Yes   No   Don't know
m. I have a deep sharing relationship with a number of friends.
        Yes   No   Don't know
n. My friends get good ideas about how to do things or make things from me.
        Yes   No   Don't know
o. When I confide in friends, it makes me feel uncomfortable.
        Yes   No   Don't know
p. My friends seek me out for companionship.
        Yes   No   Don't know
q. I think that my friends feel that I'm good at helping them solve problems.
        Yes   No   Don't know
r. I don't have a relationship with a friend that is as close as other people's relationships with friends.
        Yes   No   Don't know
s. I've recently gotten a good idea about how to do something from a friend.
        Yes   No   Don't know
t. I wish my friends were much different.
        Yes   No   Don't know

18. Below are some more statements about your friends. Please select the number to indicate how much you agree with each item.

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neither disagree nor agree
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly agree

a. My friends mostly listen to Black music.
      1   2   3   4   5
b. My friends tell me I should listen to Black music because I am Black.
      1   2   3   4   5
c. My friends would make fun of me if I listened to music that isn't Black.
      1   2   3   4   5
d. When my friends and I hang out, we usually listen to Black music together.
      1   2   3   4   5
e. My friends mostly date Black boys/girls.
      1   2   3   4   5
f. My friends tell me I should date Black boys/girls because I am Black.
      1   2   3   4   5
g. My friends would tease me if I told them I wanted to date a person who wasn't Black.
      1   2   3   4   5
h. When my friends and I hang out, we usually spend our time with Black boys/girls who we are interested in dating.
      1   2   3   4   5
i. My friends mostly have friends who are Black.
      1   2   3   4   5
j. My friends tell me I should only be friends with Black people because I am Black.
      1   2   3   4   5
k. My friends would make fun of me for being friends with people who are not Black.
      1   2   3   4   5
l. When my friends and I hang out, we usually hang out with other Black people.
      1   2   3   4   5
m. My friends mostly watch Black TV shows and movies.
      1   2   3   4   5
n. My friends tell me I should watch TV shows and movies about Black people because I am Black.
      1   2   3   4   5
o. My friends tease me if I say I want to see a TV show or movie that isn't Black.
      1   2   3   4   5
p. When my friends and I hang out, we usually watch Black TV shows or movies.
      1   2   3   4   5

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neither disagree nor agree
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly agree

q. My friends mostly wear clothes and style their hair like other Black people.
     1   2   3   4   5
r. My friends tell me I should wear clothes and style my hair a certain way because I am Black.
     1   2   3   4   5
s. My friends would tease me if I dressed or wore my hair in a way that isn't like other Black people.
     1   2   3   4   5
t. When my friends and I hang out, we usually shop at stores where they sell Black clothing.
     1   2   3   4   5

19. Parents have different ways of trying to raise their children. For each statement, please circle the answer comes closest to describing the way your parents or the people who raise you act towards you.

- If you think that the statement describes a person NOT LIKE your parents, answer Not Like.
- If you think that the statement describes a person SOMEWHAT LIKE your parents, answer
Somewhat Like.
- If you think that the statement describes a person A LOT LIKE your parents, answer A Lot Like.

NL = NOT LIKE   *SL = SOMEWHAT LIKE*   *L = A LOT LIKE*

<u>a.</u> MY MOTHER IS A PERSON WHO… *(If you do not have a mother or a person who acts as your mother on a daily basis, please skip to 19b.*

1. …is not very patient with me.	NL	SL	L
2. …wants to know exactly where I am and what I am doing.	NL	SL	L
3. …will not talk with me when I displease her.	NL	SL	L
4. …feels hurt when I do not follow her advice.	NL	SL	L
5. …is always telling me how I should behave.	NL	SL	L

NL = NOT LIKE   *SL = SOMEWHAT LIKE*   *L = A LOT LIKE*

6. …spends very little time with me.	NL	SL	L
7. …believes in having a lot of rules and sticking with them.	NL	SL	L
8. …punishes me for doing something one day, but ignores it the next.	NL	SL	L
9. …forgets to help me when I need it.	NL	SL	L
10. …sticks to a rule instead of allowing a lot of exceptions.	NL	SL	L
11. …does not pay much attention to my misbehavior.	NL	SL	L
12. …does not tell me what time to be at home when I go out.	NL	SL	L
13. …wants me to tell her about it if I do not like the way she treats me.	NL	SL	L
14. …keeps a careful check on me to make sure that I have the right kind of friends.	NL	SL	L
15. …becomes very involved in my life.	NL	SL	L
16. …almost always complains about what I do.	NL	SL	L
17. …always listens to my ideas and opinions.	NL	SL	L
18. …does not check up to see whether I have done what she told me.	NL	SL	L
19. …thinks and talks about my misbehavior long after it is over.	NL	SL	L
20. …does not share many activities with me.	NL	SL	L
21. …lets me go any place I please without asking.	NL	SL	L
22. …enjoys doing things with me.	NL	SL	L
23. …says that if I love her, I would do what she wants me to do.	NL	SL	L
24. …insists that I must do exactly as I am told.	NL	SL	L
25. …does not insist I obey, if I complain and protest.	NL	SL	L
26. …makes her whole life center around her children.	NL	SL	L
27. …if I have hurt her feelings, stops talking to me until I please her again.	NL	SL	L
28. …can be talked into things easily.	NL	SL	L
29. …has more rules than I can remember.	NL	SL	L
30. …will talk to me again and again about anything bad I do.	NL	SL	L

NL = NOT LIKE   *SL = SOMEWHAT LIKE*   *L = A LOT LIKE*

b. **MY FATHER IS A PERSON WHO…** (*If you do not have a father or a person who acts as your father on a daily basis, please skip to 20.*

1. …is not very patient with me.	NL	SL	L
2. …wants to know exactly where I am and what I am doing.	NL	SL	L
3. …will not talk with me when I displease him.	NL	SL	L
4. …feels hurt when I do not follow his advice.	NL	SL	L
5. …is always telling me how I should behave.	NL	SL	L
6. …spends very little time with me.	NL	SL	L
7. …believes in having a lot of rules and sticking with them.	NL	SL	L
8. …punishes me for doing something one day, but ignores it the next.	NL	SL	L
9. …forgets to help me when I need it.	NL	SL	L
10. …sticks to a rule instead of allowing a lot of exceptions.	NL	SL	L
11. …does not pay much attention to my misbehavior.	NL	SL	L
12. …does not tell me what time to be at home when I go out.	NL	SL	L
13. …wants me to tell him about it if I do not like the way he treats me.	NL	SL	L
14. …keeps a careful check on me to make sure that I have the right kind of friends.	NL	SL	L
15. …becomes very involved in my life.	NL	SL	L
16. …almost always complains about what I do.	NL	SL	L
17. …always listens to my ideas and opinions.	NL	SL	L
18. …does not check up to see whether I have done what he told me.	NL	SL	L
19. …thinks and talks about my misbehavior long after it is over.	NL	SL	L
20. …does not share many activities with me.	NL	SL	L
21. …lets me go any place I please without asking.	NL	SL	L
22. …enjoys doing things with me.	NL	SL	L
23. …says that if I love him, I would do what he wants me to do.	NL	SL	L
24. …insists that I must do exactly as I am told.	NL	SL	L
25. …does not insist I obey, if I complain and protest.	NL	SL	L
26. …makes his whole life center around his children.	NL	SL	L
27. …if I have hurt his feelings, stops talking to me until I please him again.	NL	SL	L

28. …can be talked into things easily.	NL	SL	L
29. …has more rules than I can remember.	NL	SL	L
30. …will talk to me again and again about anything bad I do.	NL	SL	L

20. Below are some statements about your parents and what they think of your friends. Please answer these questions about your parents or the people who act as your parents on a daily basis.

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly agree

a. My parents talk to me about the pros and cons of hanging around with certain people.
     1   2   3   4

b. My parents tell me that who I have for friends will affect my future.
     1   2   3   4

c. My parents do not concern themselves with my friendships.
     1   2   3   4

d. My parents think that who I have for friends is my own business.
     1   2   3   4

e. My parents want me to be friends with kids who don't drink alcohol or do drugs.
     1   2   3   4

f. I'm only friends with kids who are good students because my parents want me to be.
     1   2   3   4

g. I'm only friends with kids who don't drink or do drugs because my parents want me to be.
     1   2   3   4

h. If my friends do things that my parents don't approve of I stop being friends with them.
     1   2   3   4

i. My parents influence my selection of friends.
     1   2   3   4

j. My parents try to be in charge of my friendships.
     1   2   3   4

k. My parents tell me that who I have as friends is my personal choice.
     1   2   3   4

l. My parents don't interfere with my friendships.
     1   2   3   4

m. My parents let me know who they want to be my friends.
     1   2   3   4

n. My parents don't talk to me about my friends.
     1   2   3   4

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly agree

o. My parents tall me if they don't want me to hang around with certain kids.
      1   2   3   4
p. My parents tell me that they don't approve of the things my friends do.
      1   2   3   4
q. My parents want me to be friends with kids who are good students.
      1   2   3   4
r. My parents think that if my friends are doing bad things, I must be doing them too.
      1   2   3   4
s. My parents only want me hanging around with kids who are like our family.
      1   2   3   4
t. My parents encourage me to invite kids they like over to my house.
      1   2   3   4
u. My parents encourage me to do activities with kids they like.
      1   2   3   4
v. My parents help me think of ways to meet new kids.
      1   2   3   4
w. My parents want me in certain activities at school because of the kinds of kids I'll meet in them.
      1   2   3   4
x. My parents support me in my activities because they like the friends I meet in them.
      1   2   3   4
y. My parents tell me that they don't like my friends.
      1   2   3   4

21. Below are some questions about how you think about your parents and your friends. Please select the number that indicates your answer. <u>Please answer these questions about your parents or the people who act as your parents on a daily basis.</u>

1 = mostly to my parents
2 = more to my parents than to my friends
3 = to my parents and to my friends about the same
4 = more to my friends than to my parents
5 = mostly to my friends

a. When I want to talk about my future job plans, or educational plans, I talk _____.
      1   2   3   4   5
b. When I want to talk about which school courses to take, I talk _____.
      1   2   3   4   5

1 = mostly to my parents
2 = more to my parents than to my friends
3 = to my parents and to my friends about the same
4 = more to my friends than to my parents
5 = mostly to my friends

c. When I want to talk about a personal problem, I talk _____.
        1   2   3   4   5

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neither disagree nor agree
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly agree

d. The amount of time I spend with my friends keeps me away from doing things I ought to do.
        1   2   3   4   5

e. I would act dumber or less talented than I really am in order to make someone like me.
        1   2   3   4   5

f. It's okay to let your schoolwork slip or to get a lower grade in order to be popular with your friends.
        1   2   3   4   5

g. It's okay to break some of your parents' rules in order to keep your friends.
        1   2   3   4   5

22. Below is a list of the ways you might have felt during the past week. Please say how often you felt or behaved this way.

0 = Rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day)
1 = Some or a little of the time (1-2 days)
2 = Occasionally or a moderate amount of time (3-4 days)
3 = Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

During the past week:

a. Things that usually don't bother me bothered me.
        0   1   2   3

b. I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.
        0   1   2   3

c. I felt that I could not shake off sad feelings even with help from my family or friends.
        0   1   2   3

d. I felt that I was just as good as other people.
        0   1   2   3

0 = Rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day)
1 = Some or a little of the time (1-2 days)
2 = Occasionally or a moderate amount of time (3-4 days)
3 = Most or all of the time (5-7 days)

e. I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.
      0   1   2   3

f. I felt depressed.
      0   1   2   3

g. I felt that everything I did was an effort.
      0   1   2   3

h. I felt hopeful about the future.
      0   1   2   3

i. I thought my life had been a failure.
      0   1   2   3

j. I felt fearful.
      0   1   2   3

k. My sleep was restless.
      0   1   2   3

l. I was happy.
      0   1   2   3

m. I talked less than usual.
      0   1   2   3

n. I felt lonely.
      0   1   2   3

o. People were unfriendly.
      0   1   2   3

p. I enjoyed life.
      0   1   2   3

q. I had crying spells.
      0   1   2   3

r. I felt sad.
      0   1   2   3

s. I felt that people disliked me.
      0   1   2   3

t. I could not get "going."
      0   1   2   3

23. Below are some questions about how you see yourself. Please say if you agree or not.

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly agree

a. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.
     4   3   2   1
b. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
     4   3   2   1
c. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
     4   3   2   1
d. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
     4   3   2   1
e. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
     4   3   2   1
f. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
     4   3   2   1
g. At times I think I am no good at all.
     4   3   2   1
h. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
     4   3   2   1
i. I certainly feel useless at times.
     4   3   2   1
j. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
     4   3   2   1

24. Below are some questions about Black people. Please indicate whether you agree.

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Slightly disagree
3 = Disagree
4 = Neutral
5 = Agree
6 = Slightly agree
7 = Strongly agree

a. Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7
b. In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7
c. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Slightly disagree
3 = Disagree
4 = Neutral
5 = Agree
6 = Slightly agree
7 = Strongly agree

d. I feel good about Black people.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

e. I am happy that I am Black.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

f. Overall, Blacks are considered good by others.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

g. I feel that Blacks have made major accomplishments and advancements.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

h. In general, others respect Black people.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

i. Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

j. I often regret that I am Black.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

k. I have a strong sense of attachment to other Black people.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

l. Most people consider Blacks, on average, to be more ineffective than other racial groups.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

m. Blacks are not respected by the broader society.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

n. In general, other groups view Blacks in a positive manner.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

o. I am proud to be Black.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

p. Society views Black people as an asset.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

q. Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

r. I feel that the Black community has made valuable contributions to this society.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

s. I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

t. Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.
     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

APPENDIX B

PARENT/GUARDIAN QUESTIONNAIRE

Thank you for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire. We are interested in learning about how teenagers interact with their parents and their friends. Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability, and try not to leave any questions blank. When you're finished, please return this questionnaire and your signed consent form.

1. Please circle one: Male   Female

2. What is your date of birth? _____ / _____ / _____

3. What is your current marital status? (Please circle one)

Married	Common law marriage	Separated
Divorced	Never married / single	Widowed

4. How far in school did you go?

_____ Grade School
_____ Some High School
_____ High school diploma or GED
_____ Some college
_____ Associate's degree
_____ University or college degree (B.A., B.S.)
_____ Graduate degree (Master's, doctorate, medical degree, etc.)

5. For the following questions, please answer by circling the number that best describes the people around your child.

0 = all Black people
1 = mostly Black people and very few people of other races
2 = some Black people and some non-Black people
3 = many people of many different races; very racially mixed

a. My child's grammar and elementary school was:
       0   1   2   3
b. My child's closest friends in elementary school were:
       0   1   2   3
c. My child's high school is:
       0   1   2   3
d. My child's closest friends in high school are:
       0   1   2   3
e. My child's teachers in high school are:
       0   1   2   3

0 = all Black people
1 = mostly Black people and very few people of other races
2 = some Black people and some non-Black people
3 = many people of many different races; very racially mixed

f. My neighborhood is:
      0   1   2   3
g. My child's closest friends in my neighborhood are:
      0   1   2   3
h. My church, mosque, or other religious community is:
      0   1   2   3

6. Please indicate how many times in the past MONTH you have engaged in the following behaviors by circling the appropriate number.

1 = Never
2 = Once or twice
3 = Three or four times
4 = Pretty often
5 = Almost every day

a. Told your child that you like a particular friend of his/hers.
      1   2   3   4   5
b. Talked to your child about characteristics you prefer in his/her friends.
      1   2   3   4   5
c. Talked to your child about his/her friends' behavior, attitudes, or characteristics.
      1   2   3   4   5
d. Encouraged your child to spend less time with certain friends.
      1   2   3   4   5
e. Told your child that he/she could not spend time with a specific friend.
      1   2   3   4   5
f. Said no to an activity with certain friends, because you thought it would be bad for your child.
      1   2   3   4   5
g. Said yes to an activity with certain friends, because you thought it would be good for your child.
      1   2   3   4   5
h. Provided a place for your children and his/her friends to interact (e.g., party, afternoon study session, etc.)
      1   2   3   4   5
i. Suggested to your child a particular activity (e.g., a movie, game, sleepover, etc.) with certain friends.
      1   2   3   4   5

1 = Never
2 = Once or twice
3 = Three or four times
4 = Pretty often
5 = Almost every day

j. Supported your child's involvement in an activities in which your child would be with peers you prefer.
          1   2   3   4   5
k. Asked your child for more information about his/her friends.
          1   2   3   4   5
l. Asked other parents about your child's friends.
          1   2   3   4   5
m. Checked up with other parents to ensure your child wasn't getting into trouble with friends.
          1   2   3   4   5

7. Below are some statements about how you feel about your child's friends. Please circle the number that corresponds to how strongly you agree or disagree.

1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neither agree nor disagree
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly agree

a. I think my child's friends have a positive influence on him/her.
          1   2   3   4   5
b. I approve of my child's friends.
          1   2   3   4   5
c. I worry that my child will do things with his/her friends of which I would disapprove.
          1   2   3   4   5
d. I am satisfied with my child's circle of friends.
          1   2   3   4   5
e. I am worried about the kinds of friends my child has.
          1   2   3   4   5
f. I sometimes worry that I don't know where my child is or who he/she is with.
          1   2   3   4   5

8. Parents have different ways of trying to raise their children. We would like you to describe some of the things you do in trying to raise your child. For each statement you, please tell us which answer comes closest to describing the way you act toward your child.

- If you think that the statement describes a person NOT LIKE you, answer Not Like.
- If you think that the statement describes a person SOMEWHAT LIKE you, answer Somewhat Like.
- If you think that the statement describes a person A LOT LIKE you, answer A Lot like.

NL = NOT LIKE   *SL = SOMEWHAT LIKE*   *L = A LOT LIKE*

I AM A PERSON WHO...

a. ...is not very patient with my children.	NL	SL	L
b. ...wants to know exactly where my children are and what they are doing.	NL	SL	L
c. ...will not talk with my children when they displease me	NL	SL	L
d. ...feels hurt when they do not follow my advice.	NL	SL	L
e. ...is always telling my children how to behave.	NL	SL	L
f. ...spends very little time with my children.	NL	SL	L
g. ...believes in having a lot of rules and sticking with them.	NL	SL	L
h. ...punishes my children for doing something one day, but ignores it the next.	NL	SL	L
i. ...forgets to help my children when they need it.	NL	SL	L
j. ...sticks to a rule instead of allowing a lot of exceptions.	NL	SL	L
k. ...does not pay much attention to my children's misbehavior.	NL	SL	L
l. ...does not tell them what time to be at home when they go out.	NL	SL	L
m. ...wants my them to tell me about it if they do not like the way I treat them.	NL	SL	L
n. ...keeps a careful check on my children to make sure that they have the right kind of friends.	NL	SL	L
o. ...becomes very involved in my children's life.	NL	SL	L
p. ...almost always complains about what they do.	NL	SL	L
q. ...always listens to their ideas and opinions.	NL	SL	L
r. ...does not check up to see whether they has done what I told them.	NL	SL	L
s. ...thinks and talks about their misbehavior long after it is over.	NL	SL	L
t. ...does not share many activities with my children.	NL	SL	L
u. ...lets my children go any place they please without asking.	NL	SL	L
v. ...enjoys doing things with my children.	NL	SL	L
w. ...says that if my children love me, they would do what I want them to do.	NL	SL	L
x. ...insists that my children must do exactly as they are told.	NL	SL	L
y. ...does not insist they obey, if they complain and protest.	NL	SL	L

NL = NOT LIKE   *SL = SOMEWHAT LIKE*   *L = A LOT LIKE*

z. ...makes my whole life center around my children.	NL	SL	L
A. ...if they have hurt my feelings, stops talking until they please me again.	NL	SL	L
B. ...can be talked into things easily.	NL	SL	L
C. ...has more rules than my children can remember.	NL	SL	L
D. ...will talk to my children again and again about anything bad they have done.	NL	SL	L

9. Here are some questions about how you interact with your child. Please tell me how much you agree with each statement by circling the number that matches your answer.

4 = Strongly agree
3 = Agree
2 = Disagree
1 = Strongly disagree

a. I have talked to my child about important people or events in the history of different ethnic groups other than our own.
      4   3   2   1

b. I have encouraged my child to read books about other ethnic groups.
      4   3   2   1

c. I have talked to my child about important people or events in our own racial group's history.
      4   3   2   1

d. I have talked to my child about discrimination against people of different races other than our own.
      4   3   2   1

e. I have explained something on television that showed discrimination against our racial group.
      4   3   2   1

f. I have talked to my child about discrimination against people of our race.
      4   3   2   1

g. I have done or said things to show that all people are equal regardless of race.
      4   3   2   1

h. I have talked to my child about how others may try to limit us because of our race.
      4   3   2   1

i. I tell my child that he or she must be better than other people to get the same rewards because of our race.
      4   3   2   1

j. I have told my child that ethnicity is an important part of self.
      4   3   2   1

4 = Strongly agree
3 = Agree
2 = Disagree
1 = Strongly disagree

k. My child has overheard me talk about discrimination with someone else.
        4   3   2   1
l. I have talked to my child about unfair treatment due to race.
        4   3   2   1
m. I have done or said things to my child in order to keep him or her from trusting kids who are of a different race than he or she.
        4   3   2   1
n. I have done or said things to encourage my child to keep his/her distance from people who are of a different race.
        4   3   2   1