

The Context of Peers in the Lives of African American and White Adolescents

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The Context of Peers in the Lives of African American and White Adolescents

Our central focus has been to develop research to examine how the context of peers influence the psychological adjustment of African American and White adolescents who are developing under different cultural contexts of ethnicity. Let us elaborate on what we mean by this statement. First of all, when we talk about peers, we are interested in looking at different groups of peers, which may include students in the school, adolescents' closest friends, or adolescents who are of the same ethnic group. Part of the context of peers also include individuals' characteristics and psychological qualities that may affect the influence of peers on adolescents' psychosocial functioning. For example, adolescents' susceptibility to conform in negative situations may affect the impact of negative peer pressure. Another example is adolescents' ethnicity, which may activate other youths of different ethnicities to act out their prejudices. Both susceptibility to conform and ethnicity are examples of how individual characteristics and psychological qualities are part of the dynamics of different peer contexts, which may subsequently affect adolescents' psychosocial functioning.

This brings us to the second part of our statement. When we look at psychological functioning, our focus includes both academic and socio-emotional indicators of adolescents' psychological adjustment. For example, we are interested in academic indicators such as adolescents' perception of the importance of school, perception of the usefulness of school for the future (or utility value), self-concept of ability (or self-efficacy), and school achievement (grades). Our socio-emotional indicators include depressive symptoms, anger, self-esteem, and problem behaviors. Because we are interested in the impact of the context of peers on the whole child, we felt that it was important to look at multiple domains of psychological functioning.

The third part of our statement that needs elaboration is "cultural context of ethnicity." Most of the time we think of ethnicity as a set of social address categories. An alternative perspective is to conceptualize ethnicity as a cultural context that includes a multitude of interactive psychological processes and situations. There are many situations that make ethnicity noticeable, relevant, and/or meaningful in a way that ethnicity becomes an integrated aspect of their lives and

in their settings. There are a multitude of actors that may activate this salience. For example, being of an ethnic minority in a community may activate the salience of ethnicity. Ethnic discrimination is another example of a situation that increases the salience of ethnicity. There are a multitude of other subtle and explicit factors that activate the salience or relevance of ethnicity to the individual, a community, families, ethnic groups, and peer groups. In other words, the salience of ethnicity is context-dependent. The White and African American adolescents in this study live in an ethnically integrated county in which there are a potpourri of events, relationships, and situations that potentially activate the salience of ethnicity.

What evidence do we have of that ethnicity is a salient aspect of these adolescents' lives? In a project that was done conjointly with this project, Tom Cook and his colleagues asked students the following questions: (1) In this school, how many students show equal respect for students regardless of race? (2) How often do racial or ethnic insults occur among students at your school? When adolescents were asked about the number of students in their schools who showed equal respect for students regardless of race, approximately 50% felt that all or most of the students were respectful, approximately 30% felt only about half of the students were respectful, and 20% of the students felt that few or no students were respectful (See Figure 1). This means that 50% of the adolescents felt that a considerable number of students were not respectful of their ethnicity. In response to the question of how often they felt racial/ethnic insults occurred among students at school, less than 10% felt that this never happened (Figure 2). Moreover, in this project, we asked students about whether they have experienced personal discrimination by other kids at their school. 39% of African Americans and 54% of Whites reported personal discrimination by their peers. We'll talk more about these data later. Overall, these descriptive data unveil that the context of ethnicity is a salient and potentially meaningful facet of the school's student climate and culture.

When ethnicity is salient, such as in our case, we need to account for these different cultural contexts of ethnicity in our research because when ethnicity is salient, ethnicity becomes an integrated facet of adolescents' lives; this means that the context of ethnicity affects and interfaces with multiple other contexts in their lives, such as families, schools, neighborhoods, and peers. In

regards to the context of peers, the cultural context of ethnicity potentially affects and shapes (1) the peer context, (2) adolescents' psychosocial adjustment, and (3) the impact of the peer context on adolescents' psychosocial adjustment. The focus of our research has been on trying to understand the ecological influences of peers on the psychosocial adjustment of adolescents who are living in under diverse conditions of ethnicity.

We will describe 3 studies from the larger project that illustrate how we have approached this. In study one, we examined the contextual influence of ethnicity, as defined by social address categories, on the relation between the influence of friends and academic adjustment. Study two looks at the effect of one facet of ethnicity (perceived discrimination by other students) on psychosocial functioning. In the third study, our focus was on investigating the contextual influence of ethnicity, as defined by perceived discrimination by peers, on the relation between susceptibility to conform and psychosocial adjustment.

Study One

We began by examining the influence of friends on adolescents' academic adjustment. Prior research indicated that friends have both positive and negative influence on White adolescents' academic values and behaviors and that these influences varied depending on the domain of influence and individuals' susceptibility to conform (e.g.s, Brown, Clasen, & Eicher, 1985; Berndt, 1979). In contrast, the research on African Americans has predominantly focused on the negative influence that their friends have had on delinquency and academic motivation and school performance (e.g., Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Because there have been few studies that have taken a multidimensional approach to studying the influence of friends on Whites' and African Americans' academic adjustment, we felt it was important to examine the impact of positive and negative qualities of adolescents' friends on academic motivation and school achievement as well as examine the influence of adolescents' susceptibility to conform to their friends in negative situations. Specifically, we looked at whether perception of friends' positive school characteristics, perception of friends' negative school characteristics, and susceptibility to conform in negative situations were related to academic motivation, as measured by perception of

importance of school and by perception of school's utility value (Eccles, 1983), and school achievement, as indicated by school grades. In addition, we were also interested in whether there were ethnic group differences in these relations.

Measures

Full descriptive information for all measures used in this study as well as in the other two studies are described in Appendix A.

Achievement motivation. Academic motivation was assessed by two different indicators at both Wave 1 and 2. Each is a measure of a different dimension of achievement motivation as defined by expectancy-value theory (Eccles, 1983). We created each scale by taking the mean of the unit weighted responses to each item. One dimension of achievement was assessed by a two-item measure that tapped adolescents' perceptions of the importance of school. Cronbach's analyses yielded adequate internal consistency for African Americans (Wave 1: $\alpha = .80$; Wave 2: $\alpha = .81$) and Whites (Wave 1: $\alpha = .61$; Wave 2: $\alpha = .70$). The second indicator measured adolescents' perceptions of school's future utility value which included 4 items that asked about the importance of school for kids like them, the usefulness of school compared to things they learn from parents and friends, the necessity of doing well in school for success later, and the utility of education for getting ahead for kids in their neighborhood. The internal consistency of this scale was poor at Wave 1 (African Americans: $\alpha = .54$; Whites: $\alpha = .58$) and adequate at Wave 2 (African Americans: $\alpha = .64$; Whites: $\alpha = .70$).

School achievement. Adolescents' seventh- and eighth-grade academic subjects (i.e., English, math, science, and health) grade point averages were obtained from school records. Their GPAs were measured on a five-point scale (1=F, 2=D, 3=C, 4=B, 5=A).

Perceptions of friends' positive and negative school characteristics. Perceptions of friends' positive and negative characteristics were measured with seven 5-point Likert items taken from Eccles' Michigan Study of Adolescent Life Transitions (Eccles, Midgley, Wigfield, Buchanan, Reuman, Flanagan, & Mac Iver, 1993). The two scales were created by averaging the unit

weighted responses for the items in each of the scales. Perceptions of friends' positive characteristics assessed adolescents' perceptions of the number of their closest friends who did well in school, planned to go to college, liked to discuss schoolwork with them, and thought it was important to work hard in school. Perceptions of friends' negative characteristics tapped adolescents' perceptions of the number of their closest friends who thought working hard to get good grades was a waste of time, skipped school, and cheated on school tests. Adequate Cronbach's alphas were obtained for perceptions of friends' positive characteristics at Wave 1 (African Americans: $\alpha = .70$; Whites: $\alpha = .67$) and at Wave 2 (African Americans: $\alpha = .67$; Whites: $\alpha = .74$). There was poor to adequate internal consistency for perceptions of friends' negative characteristics at Wave 1 (African Americans: $\alpha = .54$; Whites: $\alpha = .67$) and Wave 2 (African Americans: $\alpha = .57$; Whites: $\alpha = .70$).

Negative Peer Orientation. We used 4 items from Eccles' Michigan Study of Adolescent Life Transitions to tap adolescents' negative peer orientation (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). Two 4-point Likert items and two 7-point Likert items assessed the adolescents' propensity to engage in negative actions in order to be with their friends. All of the items were collected on youth's Wave 2 self-administered questionnaire. The scale was constructed by taking the mean of the unit weighted responses to each item; this scale was reliable for both the African American ($\alpha = .68$) and European American adolescents ($\alpha = .64$).

Results

For this study, we conducted hierarchical regression analyses to examine the association between the different dimensions of the peer context (friends) and change in academic adjustment. Change was examined by including the Wave 1 measure as a control variable (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). We also partialled out the effects due to gender, SES, elementary school academic competence, and disengagement from school. In these analyses, we used an instantaneous effect model instead of a lagged effect model: An instantaneous effect model is the examination of a predictor at time 2 on change in the outcome between time 1 and 2 whereas a lagged effect model is the analysis of the relation between a predictor at time 1 and change in the outcome between time 1

and 2 (Long, 1995). Because there may be changes in friendships as well as changes in the friends themselves between the beginning and the end of junior high school, we felt that adolescents' perceptions of their friends at the end of junior high school would be more reflective of their friends as well as being more indicative of the impact that friends had on the change in academic adjustment.

The results are summarized in Table 1. Susceptibility to conform (to peers in negative situations) and perception of friends' positive characteristics were both related to both indicators of achievement motivation (i.e., perceived importance of school and perceived utility value of school) for both African American and White adolescents. Perception of friends' negative characteristics was related to only perceived utility value of school for both ethnic groups. For African Americans, susceptibility to conform was only predictor associated to school achievement whereas for Whites, the only significant predictor was perception of friends' negative characteristics.

We conducted t-tests which determined that the relations between (1) susceptibility to conform and school achievement ($t = 2.00, p < .05$) and (2) perception of friends' negative characteristics and school achievement ($t = 2.07, p < .05$) were different between groups. These interactions are depicted in Figures 3 and 4.

Discussion for Study One

These results indicate that a multidimensional approach is necessary for understanding the influence of friends on academic adjustment for both African Americans and Whites. Both positive and negative qualities of adolescents' friends are related to achievement motivation and school performance. Our findings are consistent with previous research with White adolescents showing that on average, positive and negative dimensions of the peer group are all related to adolescents' positive school adjustment (Brown, Eicher, & Clasen, 1986). But more importantly, the results in the present study also substantiated these findings for African American adolescents. Previous research on African Americans implicate that their peers are responsible for encouraging negative orientation towards school, but the findings in our study present a different perspective---these

African Americans' friends had a positive influence on their academic adjustment (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986).

Furthermore, adolescents' susceptibility to conform is an important factor in looking at the relations between the peer context and academic motivation. In our study, adolescents' susceptibility to conform to their peers in negative situations was related to both indicators of academic motivation. These results suggest that the impact of the peer context on adolescents depend on their susceptibility to conform. Again, these findings were true for both the European American and African American adolescents. Most studies about African American peer groups have neglected to look at susceptibility to conform to their peer in negative situations; our study show that susceptibility to conform is an important ingredient in studying the influence of friends.

Thus, the data in the present study illustrate that peer influence is multidimensional in that peers have both positive and negative influences and peer influence depends on adolescents' own negative peer orientation. In addition, the present study's multidimensional perspective demonstrates that previous research on African American peers, which have focused primarily on negative peer influence, have shown an incomplete, and perhaps biased, picture of African American peer socialization (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Slaughter-Defoe, Nakagawa, Takanishi, & Johnson, 1990).

In addition, these findings showed that there may be ethnic group differences in how the context of peers affect adolescents' academic performance. The most important peer predictor for Whites was perception of friends' negative school characteristics and the most important peer variable for African Americans was susceptibility to conform, and there were significant between-group differences in these predictors' effects on achievement. These findings are consistent with previous evidence that there are ethnic differences in the relations among peer influence and achievement (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). However, while Steinberg et al. found that African American youths' achievement were more negatively influenced by their peers than were White adolescents', the results of our study indicate that for White adolescents, achievement was more strongly influenced by perception of friends' negative characteristics than for African

American adolescents. This may be because previous research on ethnic group differences in friends' influence have not simultaneously included susceptibility to conform and both positive and negative features of adolescents' friends.

Study Two

While these results are interesting, this approach to studying the impact of peers on the psychosocial functioning of adolescents, who are residing in a community in which ethnicity may be salient, is unsatisfactory. In this study, we operationalized the context of ethnicity by comparing across ethnic groups. In other words, the context of ethnicity was conceptualized merely as a social address label, and this conceptual approach does not foster a complete or meaningful understanding of how the context of ethnicity may be manifested in the everyday world of adolescents and their peer groups.

In the next study we will describe, we looked at one way that ethnicity is played out in the everyday world of peers and we examined its impact on adolescents' well-being. Specifically, we hypothesized that perception of discrimination by other students is a potential risk or threat to the psychological well-being of adolescents. Substantial research have shown that situations of ethnic discrimination and devaluation (or also known as ethnic stigma in the social psychology literature) pose potential threats to the psychological well-being of adults, college students, and high school students (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Ogbu, 1978; Mickelson, 1991; Taylor, Flickinger, Roberts, & Fulmore, 1994; Feagin, 1992). However, there is very little research on early adolescents' experiences of ethnic discrimination.

Measures

Perceived discrimination by peers. Perceived discrimination by peers was measured at Wave 2. The adolescents reported the frequency with which they experienced negative treatment at their eighth-grade school because of their race by their peers and by their teachers. The measure of perceived discrimination by peers included three items that asked about the frequency they felt they got into fights, were not associated with, and not picked for particular teams or activities because of their race. These items were created by Elaine Belansky based on the Wave 1 open-ended

responses. The scale was created by averaging the unit weighted responses for the items in each of the scales. Adequate Cronbach's alphas were obtained for perceived discrimination by peers ($\alpha = .88$) for both ethnic groups.

Academic Adjustment.

Three of the indicators of academic adjustment are part of the study's measure of achievement motivation, as defined by expectancy-value theory (Eccles, 1983). The fourth measure was school achievement as measured by adolescents' grade point average.

Achievement motivation. Motivation was assessed by three different indicators at both Wave 1 and 2. Each is a measure of a different dimension of achievement motivation as defined by expectancy-value theory (Eccles, 1983). A principal components factor analysis with oblique rotation yielded the three predicted dimensions of achievement value at both Wave 1 and 2. We created each scale by taking the mean of the unit weighted responses to each item.

One dimension of achievement was assessed by a two-item measure that tapped adolescents' perceptions of the importance of school. Cronbach's analyses yielded adequate internal consistency for African Americans (Wave 1: $\alpha = .80$; Wave 2: $\alpha = .81$) and Whites (Wave 1: $\alpha = .61$; Wave 2: $\alpha = .70$). The second indicator measured adolescents' perceptions of school's future utility value which included 4 items that asked about the importance of school for kids like them, the usefulness of school compared to things they learn from parents and friends, the necessity of doing well in school for success later, and the utility of education for getting ahead for kids in their neighborhood. The internal consistency of this scale was poor at Wave 1 (African Americans: $\alpha = .54$; Whites: $\alpha = .58$) and adequate at Wave 2 (African Americans: $\alpha = .64$; Whites: $\alpha = .70$). The third indicator, self-concept of academic ability, was a four-item measure that tapped adolescents' evaluation of their academic abilities compared to other kids their age. Cronbach's analyses revealed adequate internal consistency for both groups at both time points ($\alpha > .75$).

School achievement. Adolescents' seventh- and eighth-grade academic subjects (i.e., English, math, science, and health) grade point averages were obtained from school records. Their GPAs were measured on a five-point scale (1=F, 2=D, 3=C, 4=B, 5=A).

Socio-Emotional Adjustment.

Depressive symptoms. The depressive symptoms measure assessed the frequency of experience of such symptoms as hopelessness, loneliness, sadness, and suicidal thoughts. The wording of the questions were slightly different at each wave but the items looked at similar symptoms of depression. The depressive symptoms measure at Wave 1 was adapted from items on the Symptoms Checklist Revised (SCL-90-R; Derogatis, 1983; Derogatis, Rickels, & Rock, 1976) and the depressive symptoms measure at Wave 2 was assessed using Kovacs' (1992) Children's Depression Inventory (CDI). The wave 1 measure was internally consistent for both groups (African Americans: $\alpha = .72$; Whites: $\alpha = .75$), and similar results were obtained for the Wave 2 measure of depressive symptoms (African Americans: $\alpha = .68$; Whites: $\alpha = .73$).

The anger scale was from the SCL-90 (Derogatis, 1983; Derogatis et. al., 1976). The three items in the anger scale asked about how frequent they felt so angry that they wanted to break something, felt like they could not control their temper, and felt so upset that they wanted to hit or hurt someone. This scale was internally consistent at Wave 1 (African Americans: $\alpha = .72$; Whites: $\alpha = .75$) and Wave 2 (African Americans: $\alpha = .68$; Whites: $\alpha = .73$).

Self-esteem. The global self-esteem scale was created by taking the mean of the unit weighted responses to each item. The global self-esteem measure was based on Harter's (1982) global self-worth scale. Adolescents rated how frequently they wish they were different, wanted to change themselves, and felt sure about themselves. Adequate statistical internal consistency was obtained for this scale at Wave 1 (African Americans: $\alpha = .60$; Whites: $\alpha = .70$) and Wave 2 (African Americans: $\alpha = .66$; Whites: $\alpha = .80$).

Problem behaviors. The measure of adolescents' engagement in problem behaviors is based on the work of Elliott and his colleagues (Elliott, Huizinga, & Menard, 1989) These eleven

items asked about whether the adolescents have ever done the following: damaged property for fun, shoplifted, skipped classes, gotten involved in a gang fight, sent to the principal's office, lied to parents about whereabouts, did risky things for a kick, stole or tried to steal a car or motorcycle, hit someone because of what they said or did, brought alcohol or drugs to school, and cheated on exams. Each item was coded 0 for never having done it and 1 for having done it at least once. The scale was created by adding these 11 items.

Results

Partial Correlational Analyses. To look at whether perceived discrimination by peers is a risk, we conducted partial correlational analyses. These analyses examined the relations between perceived discrimination by peers and change in psychological adjustment between Wave 1 and 2. Change was examined by including the Wave 1 measure as a control variable (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). We partialled out the effects due to gender, SES, elementary school academic competence, perceived school discrimination at Wave 1, disengagement from school at Wave 1, and prior adjustment level at Wave 1 of the corresponding outcome variable at Wave 2.

The relations between perceived discrimination by peers and change in psychological adjustment were assessed by using an instantaneous effect model instead of a lagged effect model because an instantaneous effect model is more appropriate (Long, 1995). The Wave 1 data collection occurred during the early part of the adolescents' junior high school experience, and the second wave was collected around or soon after the time they completed junior high school. The measure of perceived discrimination at Wave 2 is a better measure than the Wave 1 indicator because an indicator of school discrimination at Wave 1 would be a premature and inadequate assessment of adolescents' overall discrimination experience at school. In addition, the instantaneous effect model (versus the lagged effects model) better captures the influence of perceived discrimination on change in psychological outcomes. It is more reasonable to expect the time lag of influence to be instantaneous or relatively short rather than over 1 1/2 to 2 years, as substantiated by the fact that most of the research on situations related to adults' experiences of

discrimination are based on examining these instantaneous effects (see Long, 1995 for discussion of lagged effects versus instantaneous effects models).

A summary of the results from the partial correlational analyses are presented in Table 2. For the African American adolescents, perceived discrimination by peers was significantly related to all indicators of academic adjustment but not school achievement (i.e., perceived importance of school, perceived utility value of school, and self-concept of ability). In addition, perceived discrimination was related to all indicators of socio-emotional adjustment (i.e., depressive symptoms, anger, self-esteem, and problem behaviors).

For White adolescents, perceived discrimination by peers was associated with two of the measures of academic adjustment (perceived importance of school and self-concept of ability) and two indicators of socio-emotional adjustment (depressive symptoms and problem behaviors).

LISREL VIII Analyses. In addition to conducting the partial correlational analyses, we also conducted structural equation modeling (SEM) using LISREL VIII (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1993). Because we conducted multivariate analyses on multiple dependent variables, there is an increased likelihood of making a Type I error (Licht, 1995). To address this concern, we verified these results by conducting structural equation modeling. Rather than estimating each equation separately, SEM assesses the set of equations as a single system and estimates the coefficients based on this system of equations. SEM takes into account and adjusts for the problem of an inflated alpha due to conducting multiple analyses.

In addition to assessing the relation between perceived discrimination by peers and psychological adjustment, these analyses looked at whether there were between-group differences in the relations between perceived discrimination and change in psychological adjustment. In this analyses, measures that tapped a similar theoretical construct were combined by using them as indicators of a latent construct. The latent construct of achievement motivation included the measures related to an expectancy-value model of achievement motivation (i.e., perception of the importance of school, perceived utility value of school, and self-concept of academic ability;

Eccles, 1983). The latent construct of positive mental health was measured by depressive symptoms, anger, and psychological resiliency. The scales for self-esteem, grade point average, and problem behaviors were included as single indicators of their respective latent constructs.

We found that the LISREL VIII¹ results were generally consistent with the partial correlation results (See Figure 5). Perceived discrimination by peers was negatively related to achievement motivation, school achievement, positive mental health, and self-esteem; and it was positively related to problem behaviors. The magnitude of the perceived discrimination by peers relations to school achievement and self-esteem was relatively small. In comparison, the magnitude of the relation of perceived discrimination by peers to achievement motivation and problem behaviors was larger, and the strongest association was between perceived discrimination by peers and positive mental health. In addition, the chi-square goodness-of-fit statistic indicated that the overall pattern of the relation between perceived discrimination and change in psychological adjustment was not different across ethnic groups.

Discussion for Study Two

Three implications are discussed. First, these results indicate that perceived discrimination by peers are potential developmental threats to the psychological well-being of early adolescents. Second, perceived discrimination by peers impact both academic adjustment and socio-emotional well-being. Third, perceived discrimination by peers is a potential risk factor for both African Americans and Whites.

Perceived discrimination by peers as developmental risks. These results suggest that perceived discrimination by peers pose as threats to early adolescents' development. Much of previous research has examined situations of ethnic devaluation with older adolescents, college students, and adults (e.g.s, Ogbu, 1978; Taylor et. al., 1994). The present study's findings signify that situations of ethnic stigma also may influence development during early adolescence. This is noteworthy because at this age youths are at an increased risk for declining motivation,

¹ These results are based on LISREL VIII analyses of a model that included more than the relations between perceived discrimination and psychological adjustment. The complete model is shown in Appendix B.

poorer self-perceptions, and greater susceptibility to conforming to peers' negative influence, and involvement in problem behaviors (e.g.s, Berndt, 1979; Eccles & Midgley, 1989). Further research is needed on whether situations of ethnic discrimination exacerbate early adolescents' vulnerabilities.

These results also support the global conclusion that ethnic devaluation, including those experiences by one's peers, is a potential developmental risk factor. Previous research with older adolescents (e.g.s, Ogbu, 1978; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Mickelson, 1990; Taylor et. al., 1994) and with college students and other adults (e.g.s, Steele & Aronson, 1995; Jackson et. al., 1994) have indicated that situations of ethnic discrimination are potential threats to individuals' psychological adjustment. However, most prior studies, particularly those with adolescents, have concentrated on distal situations of discrimination. For example, the research foci of Ogbu and his colleagues (e.g.s, Ogbu, 1978; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986), Mickelson (1990), and Taylor et. al. (1994) are on anticipated job ceilings. In contrast, our study looked at perceived discrimination that early adolescents faced at school, which is a proximal situation of discrimination. The findings of the present study augment previous research by showing that everyday experiences of ethnic discrimination by peers are also potential threats to the healthy development of adolescents.

Proximal situations of ethnic discrimination and socio-emotional adjustment. In addition to focusing on distal situations of discrimination, most of the prior research with adolescents has looked at the implications of discrimination on only achievement outcomes, such as academic motivation and school performance (e.g.s, Ogbu, 1978; Mickelson, 1990; Taylor et. al., 1994). The results of our analyses reveal that perceived discrimination by peers is also linked to indicators of socio-emotional adjustment, such as mental health, self-esteem, and problem behaviors. These findings parallel the previous research on daily hassles with adults that have shown that the frequency and intensity of everyday hassles are correlated with negative mental health (e.g.s, DeLongis et. al., 1982; Winberger, Hiner, & Tierney, 1987). Similarly, dealing with day-to-day situations of discrimination can have negative consequences on adults' psychological well-being (Salgado de Snyder, 1987; Armstead, Lawler, Gorden, Cross, & Gibbons, 1989; Essed, 1990;

Jackson et. al., 1994). Moreover, ethnic devaluation and discrimination by other students was related to adjustment difficulties at school for both college and high school students (Feagin, 1992; Phelan et. al., 1994). Similarly, we found that early adolescents' experiences of ethnic discrimination potentially threaten their socio-emotional well-being.

Moreover, this study illuminates that the relation between perceived discrimination to mental health and involvement in problem behavior appears as large if not larger than the relations of perceived discrimination to academic motivation and school performance. These results imply that the research on adolescents' experiences of discrimination need to focus on more than just achievement motivation and school performance. Experiences of discrimination by other students may have a more pervasive impact than only on those aspects of development that have to do with school. In fact, Roeser & Eccles (1996) suggest that school alienation includes both academic and socioemotional dimensions; adolescents who are alienated from school because of negative ethnic treatment may become negatively oriented towards school as well as feel substantial socio-emotional distress. Therefore, the diagnosis that minority students have motivational problems or deficits may really be only a single symptom of the overall psychological distress related to negative ethnic situations in their immediate environments.

Proximal contexts of ethnic stigma and African American and White adolescents. The present findings indicate that perceived discrimination by peers is a potential developmental threat to both African American and White adolescents. The LISREL VIII results provide support that the negative relations between perceived discrimination by peers and positive psychological functioning do not differ between ethnic groups. It is important to keep in mind that in the present study, many of the White adolescents are in schools where they are the "minorities."

These results suggest that ethnicity is also a salient context for some White adolescents. Except for studies about Whites as perpetrators of racial discrimination, there are few studies about other ways that the context of ethnicity manifest itself in the lives of White youths. Given that demographers' project that by 2050, approximately 50% of the U.S. population will be of a

"minority" group, it will become increasingly more important to study the influence of the context of ethnicity for White youths under these changing demographic conditions (Detroit Free Press, May 14, 1997). More and more White adolescents will attend schools in which they face situations of being the "minority."

The fact that everyday discrimination by peers is a potential developmental threat to even White youths indicate that the focus of research should be on the situation instead of social address categories. It is not ethnic group membership that threaten the healthy development of youths, but alienating environmental conditions are what places individuals of all ethnic groups at risk for psychological maladjustment.

Study Three

In study one, the focus was on dimensions of the context of peers that was not necessarily connected with ethnicity; and for the most part, these are the variables that have been the dominant foci for studies of White adolescents or in studies in which the context of ethnicity was not considered. In study two, we looked at how ethnicity in the peer context potentially impacts adolescents' psychological adjustment. However, facets of the peer context that are related to ethnicity² intersect with dimensions of the peer context that do not seem to be related to ethnicity³. In the third study, we examined how one "non-ethnic" issue associated with peer influence intersect with an ethnicity-related dimension of the peer context to shape psychological adjustment.

Previous research and the results of the first study indicate that susceptibility to conform to peers has a negative influence on adolescents' psychological adjustment (Berndt, 1979; Brown, Clasen & Eicher, 1985). Prior research has shown that susceptibility to conform and its associated psychological distress may be related to adolescents' alienation from their families or other settings (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). Because susceptibility to conform may be an expression of individuals' need to feel a sense of belonging to their environment, conditions in the environments that add to a

² Some have referred to issues as ethnic minority developmental issues, but as indicated in the previous results, these developmental issues also can impact the psychological functioning of some White adolescents, depending on the context of ethnicity.

³ Some have referred to these as "mainstream" developmental issues which have been and still are the foci of much of the research on White adolescents and their peers.

sense of alienation may exacerbate adolescents' psychological distress. For example, perceived discrimination by peers may have an additional negative effect on adolescents' psychological well-being, on top of the effect due to susceptibility to conform. In addition, perceived discrimination by peers may have greater impact on adolescents who are already vulnerable to the potential influence of their peers. Because adolescents who are more susceptible to conform may have stronger needs to feel a sense of belonging to their agemates, alienating conditions in the peer environment may increase psychological maladjustment.

Our third study looked at the influence of the interplay between these two peer context variables on adolescents' psychological adjustment. Two hypotheses were tested in this study: First, we hypothesized that perceived discrimination by peers will have an additional negative effect on adolescents' psychological functioning, on top of the effect associated with susceptibility to conform to peers in negative situations. Second, we hypothesized that the more adolescents are susceptible to conform, the more vulnerable to the threats of perceived discrimination by peers they will be.

Results

All measures in this study have been described in Study 1 and 2 as well as in Appendix A. In our hierarchical regression analyses, change in psychological adjustment was examined by including the Wave 1 measure as a control variable (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). In the first step, the control variables (gender, SES, elementary school academic competence in elementary school, prior perceived experiences of discrimination at Wave 1 and disengagement from school at Wave 1), and prior psychological adjustment were included. In step 2, susceptibility to conform to peers in negative situation was entered, and in step 3, perceived discrimination by peers was entered. In the last step, the interaction term of the product of susceptibility to conform by perceived discrimination by peers was added to the regression equation. All variables were centered and the interaction term was the cross-product term of the two centered variables (Cohen & Cohen, 1983; Jaccard, Turisi, & Wan, 1990).

The results for Steps 2 and 3 are presented in Tables 3 and 4. These results indicate that perceived discrimination by peers had an additional effect on three of the indicators of academic adjustment (i.e., perceived importance of school, perceived utility value of school, and self-concept of ability) and three of the indicators of socio-emotional adjustment (i.e., anger, depressive symptoms, and problem behaviors) for African Americans. For White adolescents, perceived discrimination by peers had an additional effect on three of the indicators of socioemotional adjustment (i.e., depressive symptoms, self-esteem, and problem behaviors). In addition, it was marginally related to perceived utility value of school, after controlling for susceptibility to conform.

The hierarchical analyses also revealed that for African Americans there was a significant interaction effect between perceived discrimination by peers and susceptibility to conform on three of the indicators of academic adjustment (i.e., perceived importance of school, perceived utility value of school, and self-concept of ability) and three of the indicators of socio-emotional adjustment (i.e., anger, depressive symptoms, and problem behaviors). These interactions are depicted in Figure 6a-6c and 7a-7c. There was no significant interactions for Whites.

Figures 6a to 6c show that for African Americans as susceptibility to conform decreases, there is an increase in the magnitude of the negative relation between perceived discrimination by peers and school adjustment (i.e., perceived importance of school, perceived utility value, and self-concept of ability). Moreover, Figures 7a to 7c reveal that for African Americans as susceptibility to conform decreases, the strength of the positive relation between perceived discrimination by peers by peers and socio-emotional adjustment (i.e., anger, depressive symptoms, and problem behaviors) increases.

Discussion for Third Study

The results of this study support our first hypothesis that perceived discrimination by peers had an effect on psychological adjustment in addition to the effect of susceptibility to conform. Contradictory to our second hypothesis, the impact of perceived discrimination by peers on psychological adjustment was not strong as susceptibility to conform increases. Instead we found

that for African Americans, as susceptibility to conform decreases, the influence of perceived discrimination by peers on psychological adjustment became stronger; that is, perceived discrimination by peers counteracts the potential positive influence of low susceptibility to conform. Even for adolescents who are psychologically healthy, perceived discrimination by other students increases the probability for negative psychosocial functioning.

The findings of this study illustrate that the relation between the peer context and adolescents' psychological adjustment is more complicated than looking at ethnic group differences. This study shows that the differences may lie in the different facets that are associated with the context of ethnicity. This level of complexity in thinking about ethnicity and adolescents' peer social system provides information about the role of ethnicity on the context of peers that cannot be ascertained by looking at ethnic group differences.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have summarized the results of three different studies that we have done with the larger project. In addition, we also have described three different ways to conceptualize the context of ethnicity within the peer context. In the first study, we examined the ecology of being of a different ethnic group and examined the impact of these social address categories on the relation between friends' influence and academic adjustment. Then in our second study we operationalized the context of ethnicity within the peer context by looking at perceived discrimination by peers and exploring its impact on school and socioemotional functioning. Like the first study, our third study also looked at the moderating influence of the context of ethnicity; however, instead of operationalizing the context of ethnicity as social address labels, we focused on a one situation that underlies the context of ethnicity.

Each of these different approaches gave different information about the link between peers and psychosocial adjustment in diverse contexts of ethnicity, and each approach is necessary for ascertaining a more complete understanding the world of adolescents and their different peer social systems. There has been substantial research that has looked at the world of peers of different ethnic groups by defining the context of ethnicity as social address categories. Much less research

have studied the cultural or contextual dimensions of ethnicity within different peer social systems, and there is also little research on how the peer context with different dimensions of the context of ethnicity impact the psychosocial functioning of all adolescents. Future research needs to examine the different dimensions of the cultural context of ethnicity within the different peer social systems that adolescents are part of.

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Table 1

Standardized and unstandardized coefficients from hierarchical regression analysis of susceptibility to conform in negative situations, perception of friends' positive characteristics, and perception of friends' negative characteristics on academic adjustment.

		African Americans				Whites			
		b	β	p-value	ΔR²	b	β	p-value	ΔR²
Perceived Importance of School									
Step 2	Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	-.27	-.15	**		-.40	-.21	**	
	Perception of friends' positive school characteristics	.30	.16	**		.31	.17	*	
	Perception of friends' negative school characteristics	-.08	-.05		.06***	-.07	-.04		.09***
Perceived Utility Value of School									
Step 2	Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	-.24	-.25	***		-.15	-.14	*	
	Perception of friends' positive school characteristics	.14	.14	**		.12	.12	*	
	Perception of friends' negative school characteristics	-.16	-.17	***	.16***	-.14	-.14	*	.07***
School Achievement									
Step 2	Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	-.12	-.10	**		.01	.01		
	Perception of friends' positive school characteristics	.01	.01			.04	.04		
	Perception of friends' negative school characteristics	.03	.03		.01*	-.12	-.11	*	.01*

Note: + = $p < .10$; * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$.

Table 2

Partial correlational results of the relations between perceived discrimination by peers and psychological adjustment for Whites and African Americans, controlling for sociodemographic, background, and previous psychological adjustment.

	African Americans	Whites
Perceived importance of school	-.16**	-.17*
Perceived utility value of school	-.27***	-.13
Self-concept of ability	-.15**	-.18*
School achievement (GPA)	-.03	-.14
Depressive symptoms	.36***	.26***
Anger	.26***	.11
Self-esteem	-.17***	-.04
Problem behaviors	.20***	.26***

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 3

Standardized and unstandardized coefficients from hierarchical regression analysis of susceptibility to conform in negative situations, perceived discrimination by peers, interaction on academic outcomes.

	African Americans				Whites			
	b	β	p-value	ΔR^2	b	β	p-value	ΔR^2
Perceived Importance of School								
Step 2 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	-0.35	-0.20	***	.04***	-0.49	-0.26	***	.06***
Step 3 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	-0.27	-0.15	**		-0.46	-0.24	***	
Perceived discrimination by peers	-0.16	-0.11	*	.01*	-0.06	-0.04		.00
Perceived Utility Value of School								
Step 2 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	-0.34	-0.36	***	.12***	-0.27	-0.26	***	.06***
Step 3 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	-0.25	-0.26	***		-0.23	-0.22	***	
Perceived discrimination by peers	-0.20	-0.23	***	.04***	-0.09	-0.11	+	.01+
Self-Concept of Ability								
Step 2 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	-0.21	-0.13	**	.02**	-0.26	-0.15	**	.02**
Step 3 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	-0.14	-0.09	+		-0.22	-0.13	*	
Perceived discrimination by peers	-0.13	-0.09	*		-0.08	-0.06		.00
School Achievement								
Step 2 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	-0.12	-0.11	**	.01**	-0.06	-0.05		.00
Step 3 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	-0.11	-0.09	*		-0.01	-0.01		
Perceived discrimination by peers	-0.03	-0.03		.00	-0.10	-0.11	*	.01*

Note: + = $p < .10$; * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$.

Table 4

Standardized and unstandardized coefficients from hierarchical regression analysis of susceptibility to conform in negative situations, perceived discrimination by peers. interaction on socio-emotional adjustment.

	African Americans				Whites			
	<u>b</u>	<u>β</u>	<u>p-value</u>	<u>ΔR²</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>β</u>	<u>p-value</u>	<u>ΔR²</u>
Anger								
Step 2 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	.35	.23	***	.05***	.46	.31	***	.08***
Step 3 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	.25	.16	***		.46	.31	***	
Perceived discrimination by peers	.20	.15	**	.02**	.00	.00		.00
Depressive Symptoms								
Step 2 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	.18	.30	***	.08***	.17	.28	***	.07***
Step 3 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	.10	.17	***		.13	.22	***	
Perceived discrimination by peers	.15	.29	***	.06***	.07	.14	*	.02*
Self-Esteem								
Step 2 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	-.28	-.23	***	.05***	-.20	-.14	**	.02**
Step 3 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	-.27	-.22	***		-.17	-.12	*	
Perceived discrimination by peers	-.02	-.02		.00	-.06	-.05		.00
Problem Behaviors								
Step 2 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	.74	.20	***	.03***	1.25	.32	***	.08***
Step 3 Susceptibility to conform in negative situations	.46	.13	*		1.06	.27	***	
Perceived discrimination by peers	.57	.17	**	.02**	.48	.14	*	.02*

Note: + = $p < .10$; * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$.

Figure 1
In this school, how many students show equal respect for students regardless of race?

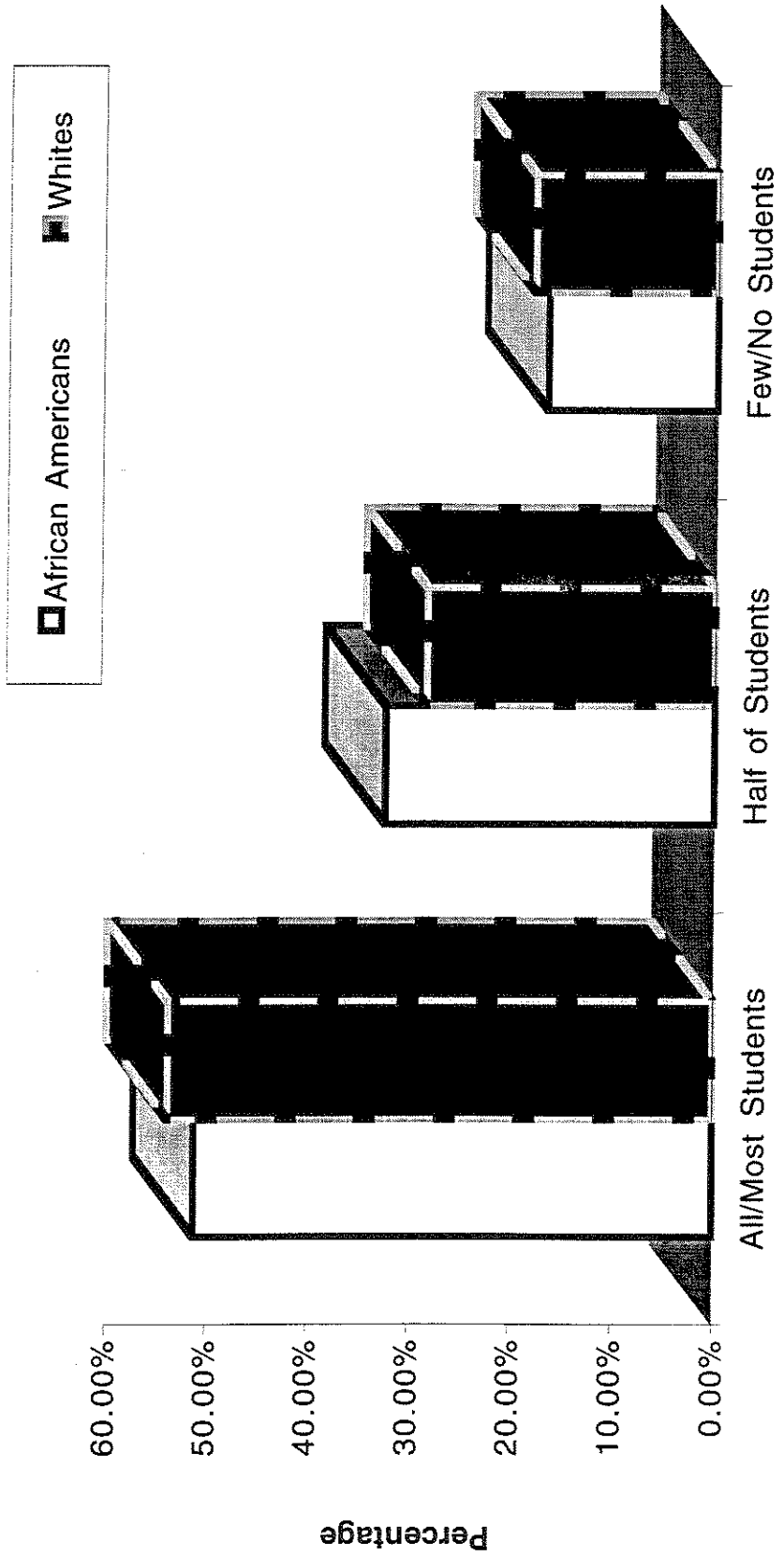


Figure 2.
How often do racial or ethnic insults occur among students at your school?

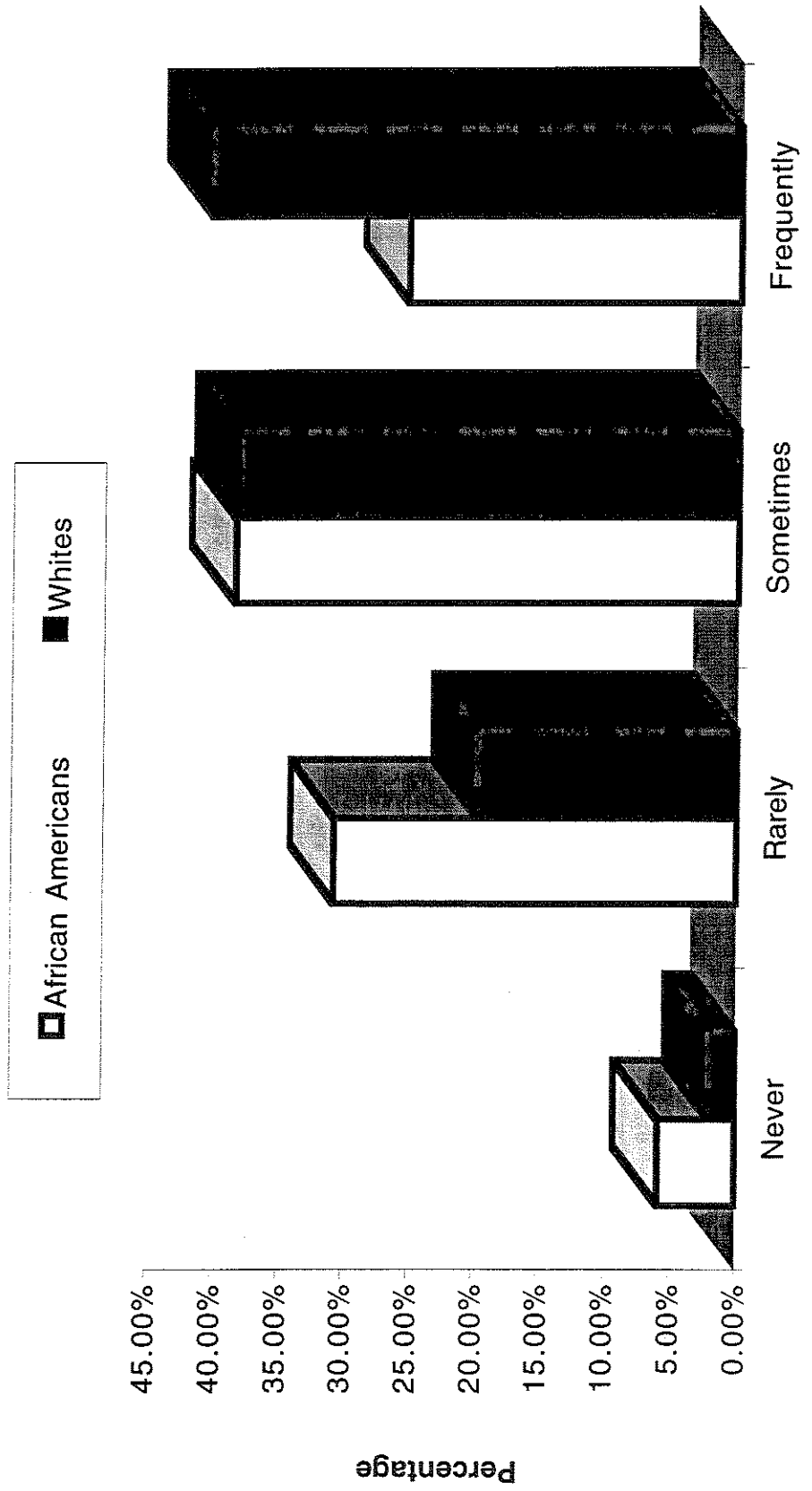


Figure 3.
The Interaction between Ethnicity and Perception of Friends' Negative
School Characteristics on School Achievement.

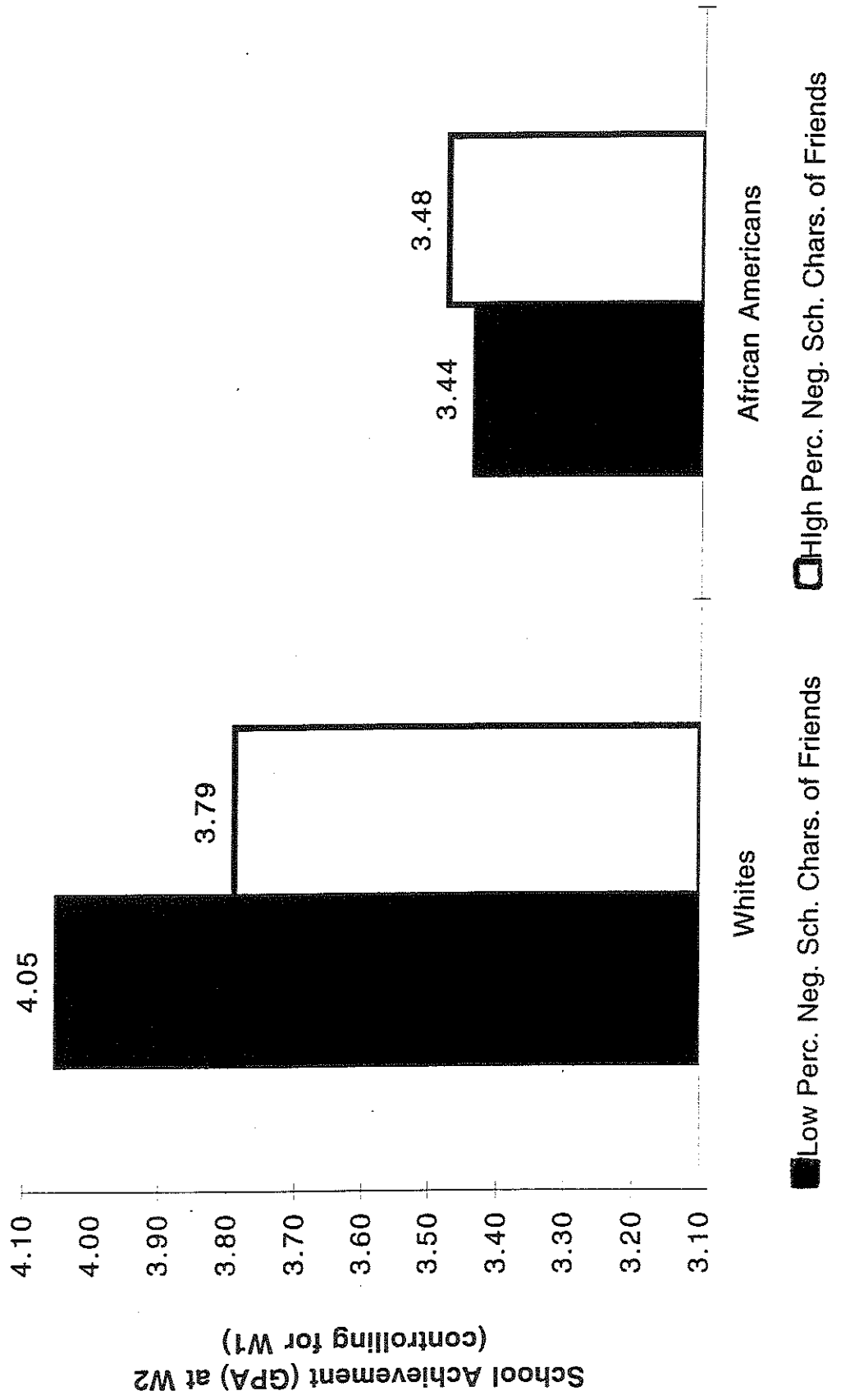


Figure 4.
The Interaction between Ethnicity and Susceptibility to Conform in
Negative Situation on School Achievement.

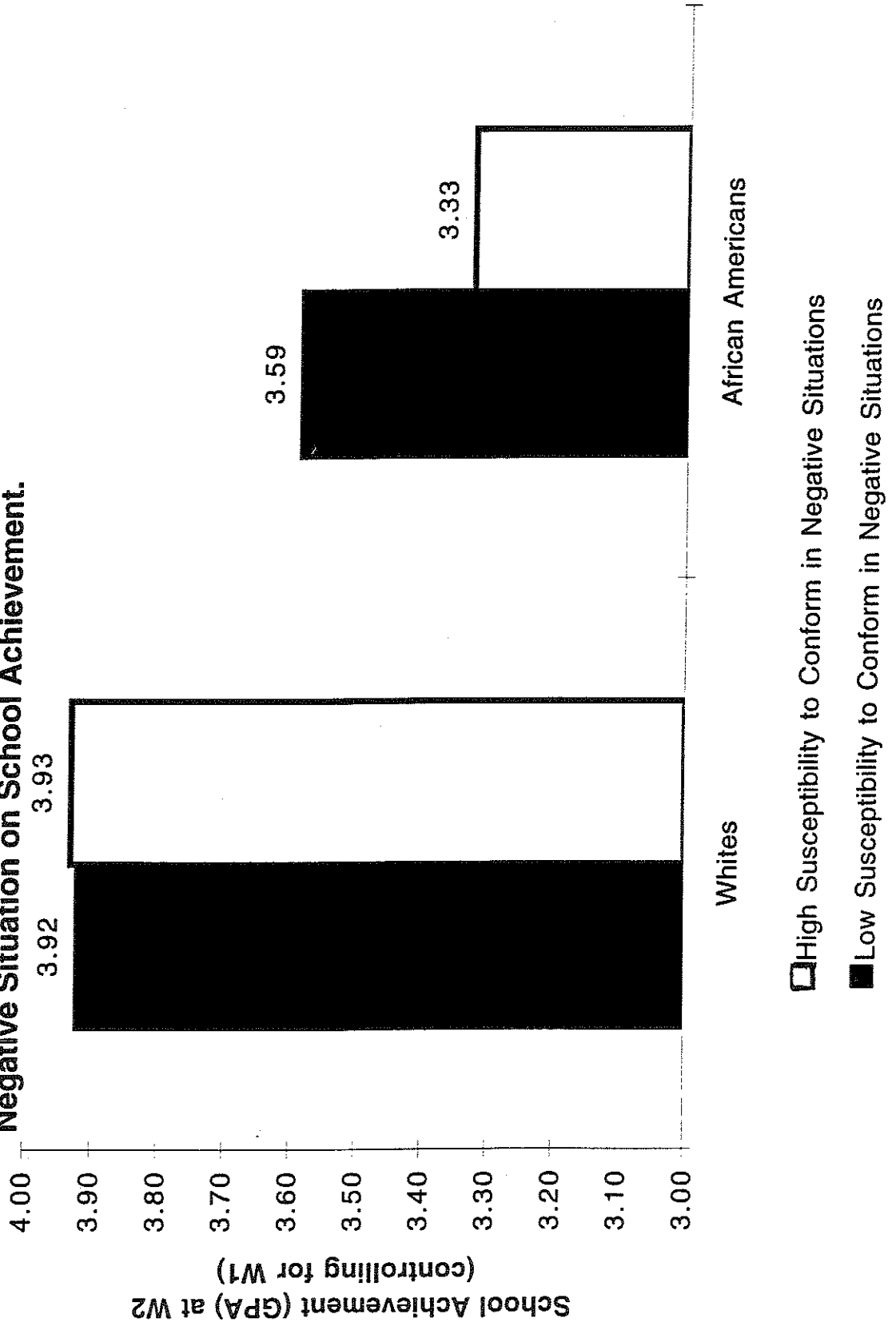


Figure 5
Standardized coefficients from the common metric solution of LISREL VIII for the structural relations between perceived discrimination by peers and multiple domains of psychological adjustment.

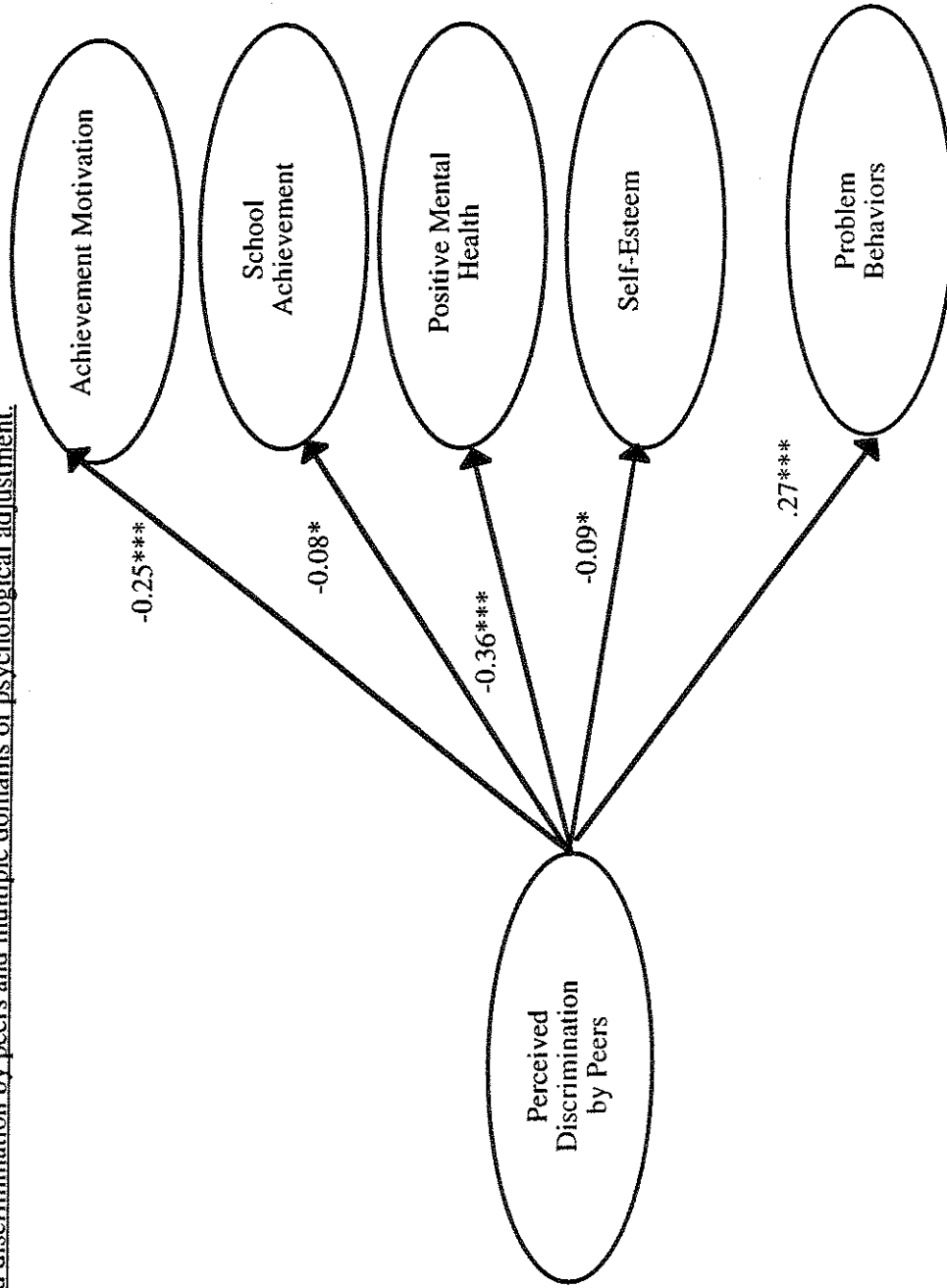


Figure 6a

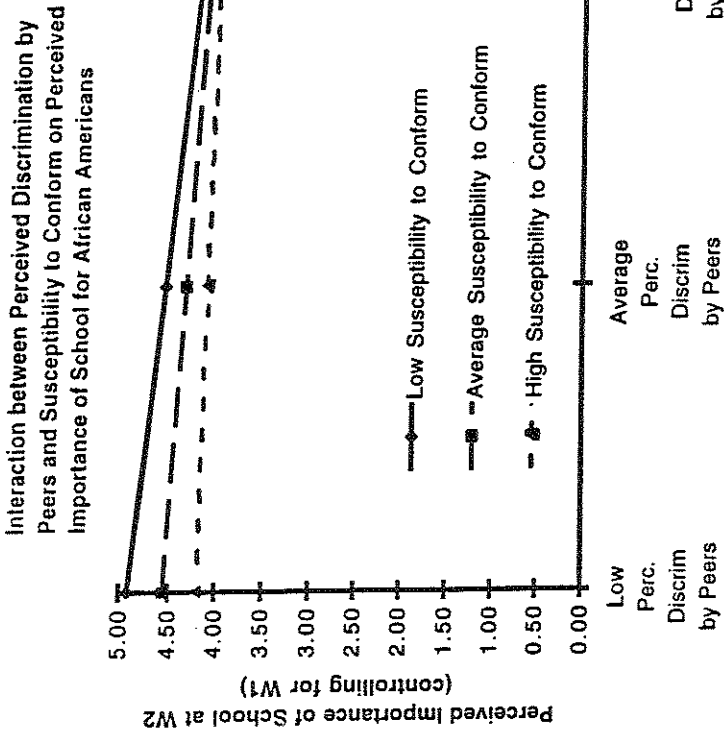


Figure 6b

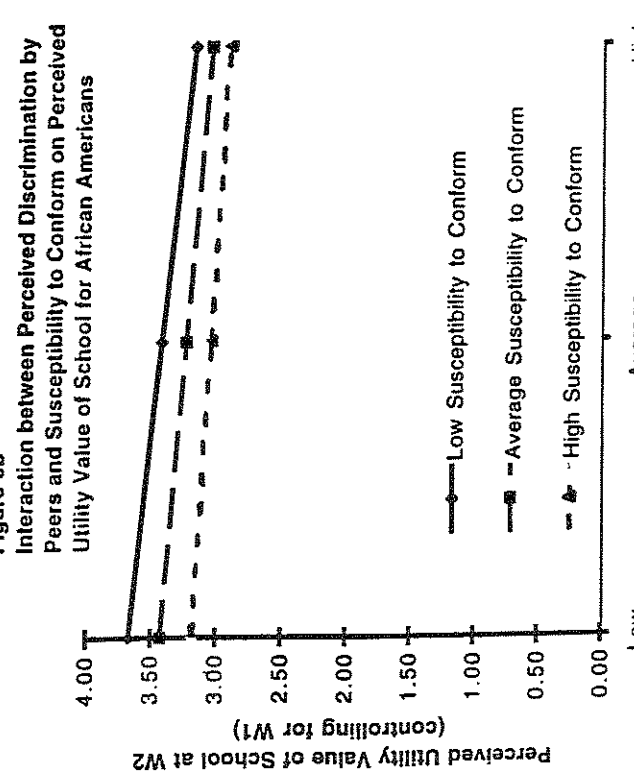


Figure 6c

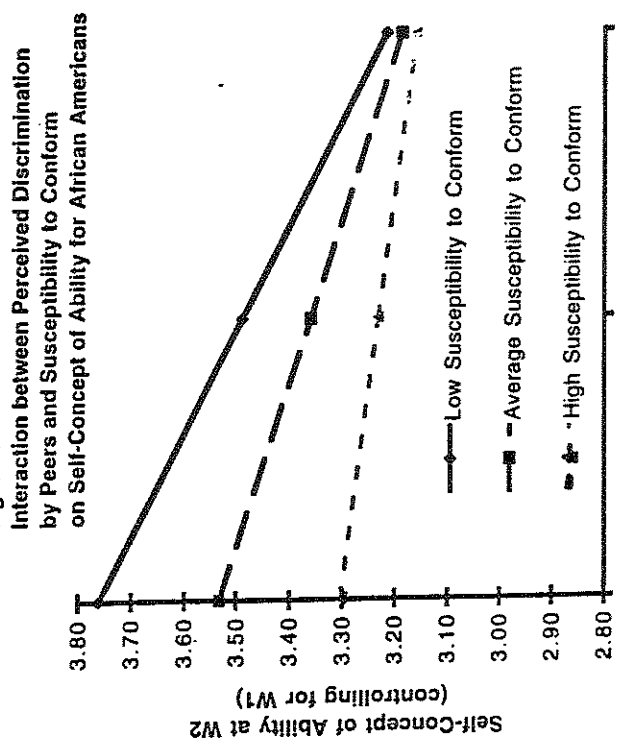


Figure 7a
Interaction between Perceived Discrimination
by Peers and Susceptibility to Conform
on Anger for African Americans

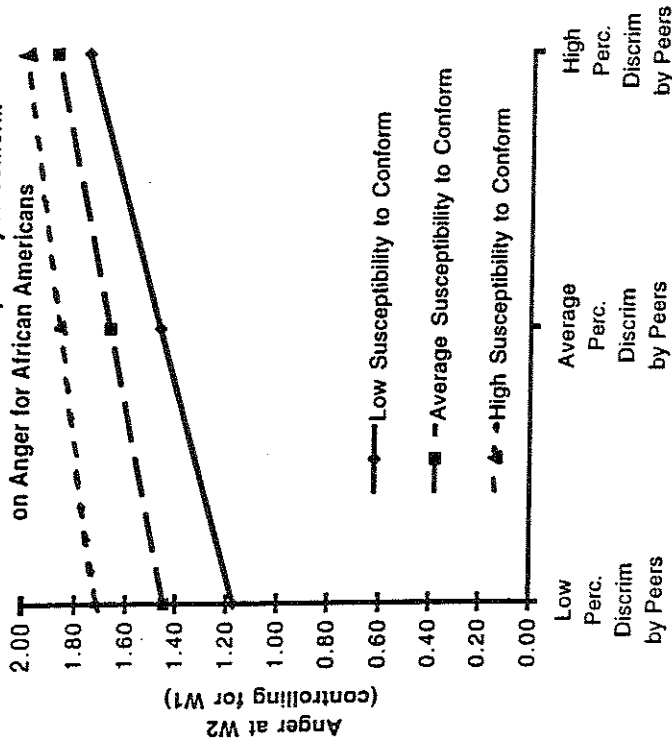


Figure 7b
Interaction between Perceived Discrimination
by Peers and Susceptibility to Conform on
Depressive Symptoms for African Americans

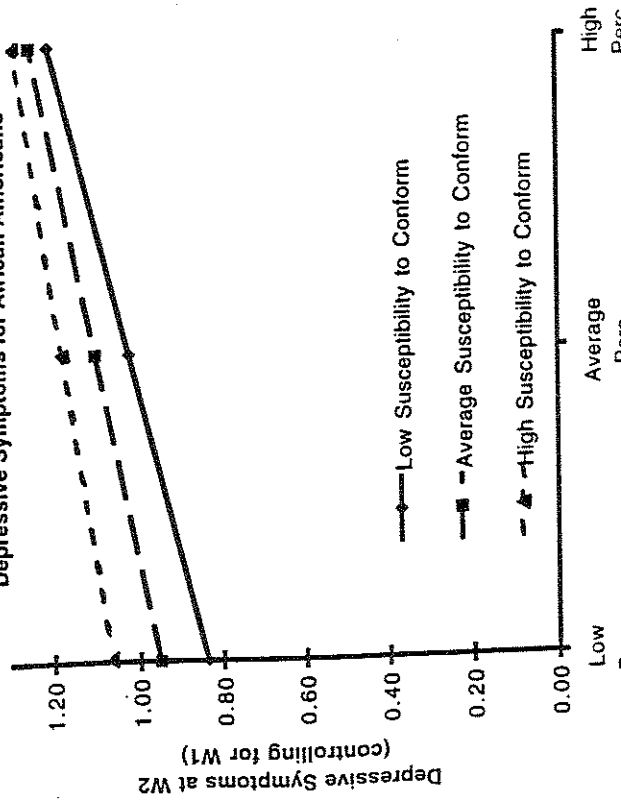
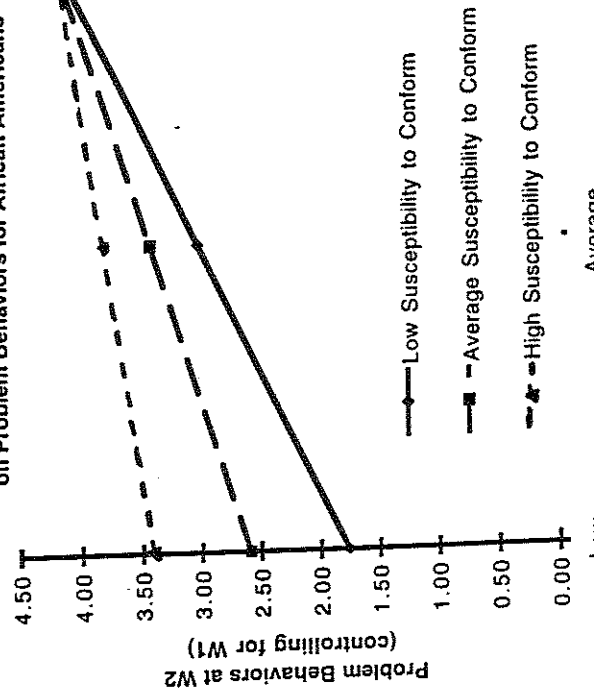


Figure 7c
Interaction between Perceived Discrimination
by Peers and Susceptibility to Conform
on Problem Behaviors for African Americans



APPENDIX A
Background and Sociodemographic Measures

Ability
Average of adolescents' standardized test scores from 3rd- and 5th-grade California Achievement Tests

Socioeconomic Status
Index which included family income, parents' education, and parent occupational status, using Nam & Powers (1983) approach.

Gender
Youth's self-report of gender

School Disengagement (Wave 1)

	Factor Loadings for Wave 1			Factor Loadings for Wave 2		
	All	African Americans	Whites	All	African Americans	Whites
Most of your classes or subjects are boring. (1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = neither agree nor disagree; 4 = disagree; 5 = strongly disagree) (Reverse-coded)	0.76	0.76	0.78	N/A	N/A	N/A
Homework is a waste of time. (1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = neither agree nor disagree; 4 = disagree; 5 = strongly disagree) (Reverse-coded)	0.75	0.75	0.76	N/A	N/A	N/A
Grades are very important to you. (1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = neither agree nor disagree; 4 = disagree; 5 = strongly disagree) (Reverse-coded)	0.69	0.66	0.74	N/A	N/A	N/A
At the school that I go to now most of my classes or subjects are boring. (1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = neither agree nor disagree; 4 = disagree; 5 = strongly disagree) (Reverse-coded)	0.67	0.66	0.72	N/A	N/A	N/A
At the school I go to now homework is a waste of time. (1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = neither agree nor disagree; 4 = disagree; 5 = strongly disagree) (Reverse-coded)	0.53	0.54	0.52	N/A	N/A	N/A
	$\alpha = .71$	$\alpha = .70$	$\alpha = .75$			

Peer Context Measures

Perception of Friends' Positive School Characteristics (Wave 2)

	Factor Loadings for Wave 2		
	All	African Americans	Whites
How many of the friends that you spend most of your time with do well in school? (1=none of them to 5=all of them)	0.72	0.69	0.72
How many of the friends that you spend most of your time with plan to go to college? (1=none of them to 5=all of them)	0.68	0.67	0.74
How many of the friends that you spend most of your time with like to discuss schoolwork or other things with you? (1=none of them to 5=all of them)	0.76	0.76	0.77
How many of the friends that you spend most of your time with think it is important to work hard on schoolwork? (1=none of them to 5=all of them)	0.64	0.65	0.64
	a = 0.68	a = 0.67	a = 0.74

Perception of Friends' Negative School Characteristics (Wave 2)

	Factor Loadings for Wave 2		
	All	African Americans	Whites
How many of the friends that you spend most of your time think working hard to get good grades is a waste of time? (1=none of them to 5=all of them)	0.74	0.73	0.77
How many of the friends that you spend most of your time with skip school without an excuse? (1=none of them to 5=all of them)	0.74	0.69	0.81
How many of the friends that you spend most of your time with cheat on school tests? (1=none of them to 5=all of them)	0.75	0.77	0.71
How many of the friends that you spend most of your time with cheat on school tests? (1=none of them to 5=all of them)	1.75	1.77	1.71

Susceptibility to Conform in Negative Situations (Wave 2)

	Factor Loadings for Wave 2		
	All	African Americans	Whites
Do you agree or disagree that you would act dumber or less talented than you really are in order to make someone like you? (1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree)	0.73	0.75	0.67
Do you agree or disagree that it is o.s. to let your schoolwork slip and get a lower grade in order to be popular with friends? (1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree)	0.78	0.8	0.74
How much does the amount of time you spend with your friends keep you away from doing things you ought to do? (1=not at all to 7=a lot)	0.65	0.61	0.67
How often it is ok to break some of your parents' rules in order to keep your friends? (1=not at all to 7=a lot)	0.75	0.74	0.77
	$\alpha = 0.65$	$\alpha = 0.68$	$\alpha = 0.64$

Perceived Discrimination Measures

Perceived School Discrimination (Wave 1)

Have you been treated at school differently because you are Black/African American (or White/Caucasian)? How?

This was an open-ended question in which 1 coded all of those who said that they were not treated differently or treated more positively as 0 and all those who said they were treated more negatively as 1.

Perceived Racial Discrimination by Peers (Wave 2)

	Factor Loadings for Wave 1			Factor Loadings for Wave 2		
	All	African Americans	Whites	All	African Americans	Whites
How often do you feel that you get in fights with some kids because of your race? (1 = never; 2 = a couple of times each year; 3 = a couple times each month; 4 = once or twice each week; 5 = every day)	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.86	0.86	0.86
How often do you feel that kids do not want to hang out with you because of your race? (1 = never; 2 = a couple of times each year; 3 = a couple times each month; 4 = once or twice each week; 5 = every day)	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.89	0.9	0.86

How often do you feel like you are not picked for certain teams or other school activities because of your race (1 = never; 2 = a couple of times each year; 3 = a couple times each month; 4 = once or twice each week; 5 = every day)

N/A	N/A	N/A	0.85	0.86	0.85
			$\alpha = 0.84$	$\alpha = 0.86$	$\alpha = 0.88$

Motivation Measures

Perception of Importance of School (Wave 1 and 2)

Factor Loadings for Wave 1			Factor Loadings for Wave 2		
All	African Americans	Whites	All	African Americans	Whites

Compared to other kids your age, how important are each of the following activities to you...math? (1 = much less important to me than to other kids to 7 = much more important to me than to other)

0.92	0.91	0.91	0.92	0.92	0.92
0.91	0.89	0.91	0.91	0.91	0.91
$\alpha = 0.81$	$\alpha = 0.8$	$\alpha = 0.84$	$\alpha = 0.81$	$\alpha = 0.81$	$\alpha = 0.82$

Compared to other kids your age, how important are each of the following activities to you...other school subjects? (1 = much less important to me than to other kids to 7 = much more important to me than to other)

Perceived Utility Value of School (Wave 1 and 2)

Factor Loadings for Wave 1			Factor Loadings for Wave 2		
All	African Americans	Whites	All	African Americans	Whites

Schooling is not so important for kids like me (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = neither disagree or agree; 4 = agree; 5 = strongly agree) (reverse-coded)

0.76	0.77	0.73	0.77	0.77	0.79
0.67	0.74	0.56	0.62	0.59	0.72
0.64	0.67	0.68	0.74	0.75	0.74

I learn more useful things from my friends and relatives than I learn in school. (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = neither disagree or agree; 4 = agree; 5 = strongly agree) (reverse-coded)

I have to do well in school if I want to be a success in life (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = neither disagree or agree; 4 = agree; 5 = strongly agree)

Getting a good education is the best way to get ahead in life for the kids in my neighborhood (1 = strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = neither disagree or agree; 4 = agree; 5 = strongly agree)

0.51	0.5	0.66	0.65	0.64	0.65
$\alpha = 0.54$	$\alpha = 0.54$	$\alpha = 0.58$	$\alpha = 0.65$	$\alpha = 0.64$	$\alpha = 0.7$

Self-Concept of Ability (Wave 1 and 2)

	Factor Loadings for Wave 1		Factor Loadings for Wave 2	
	All	African Americans	All	African Americans
good)	0.77	0.74	0.8	0.79
How good are you in other school subjects? (1 = not at all good to 7 = very good)	0.74	0.72	0.79	0.78
Compared to other kids your age, how well do you do in math? (1 = much worse than other kids to 7 = much better than other kids)	0.84	0.84	0.86	0.84
Compared to other kids your age, how well do you do in other school subjects? (1 = much worse than other kids to 7 = much better than other kids)	0.78	0.77	0.79	0.76
	$\alpha = 0.79$	$\alpha = 0.77$	$\alpha = 0.83$	$\alpha = 0.82$
				$\alpha = 0.85$

School Performance

Grades (Wave 1 and 2)

Academic grade point average from end of seventh- and eighth-grade

Mental Health Measures

Depressive Symptoms (Wave 1)

	Factor Loadings for Wave 1		Factor Loadings for Wave 2	
	All	African Americans	All	African Americans
During the last month how often have you felt hopeless? (1 = almost never; 2 = once in a while; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = almost always)	0.77	0.76	N/A	N/A
During the last month (including today), how often have you had thoughts of ending your life? (1 = almost never; 2 = once in a while; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = almost always)	0.67	0.67	N/A	N/A
During the last month how often have you felt lonely? (1 = almost never; 2 = once in a while; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = almost always)	0.73	0.73	N/A	N/A
During the last month, how often have you felt very sad? (1 = almost never; 2 = once in a while; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = almost always)	0.79	0.79	N/A	N/A
	$\alpha = 0.73$	$\alpha = 0.72$	$\alpha = 0.81$	$\alpha = 0.75$

Depressive Symptoms (Wave 2)

	Factor Loadings for Wave 1			Factor Loadings for Wave 2		
	All	African Americans	Whites	All	African Americans	Whites
I feel like (1 = nothing will ever work out for me; 2 = I am not sure if things will work out for me; 3 = things will work out for me O.K.) (reverse-coded)	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.73	0.74	0.69
During the last month (including today), how often have you had thoughts of ending your life? (1 = almost never; 2 = once in a while; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = almost always)	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.67	0.66	0.75
I feel alone (1 = almost never; 2 = many times; 3 = all the time).	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.74	0.69	0.8
I am sad (1 = once in a while; 2 = many times; 3 = all the time).	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.75	0.76	0.72

$\alpha = 0.69$ $\alpha = 0.68$

Anger (Wave 1 and 2)

	Factor Loadings for Wave 1			Factor Loadings for Wave 2		
	All	African Americans	Whites	All	African Americans	Whites
During the last month (including today), how often have you felt so angry you wanted to smash or break something? (1 = almost never; 2 = once in a while; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = almost always)	0.83	0.83	0.82	0.88	0.87	0.89
During the last month (including today), how often have you left you couldn't control your temper? (1 = almost never; 2 = once in a while; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = almost always)	0.76	0.74	0.79	0.88	0.88	0.9
During the last month (including today), how often have you felt so upset you wanted to hit or hurt someone? (1 = almost never; 2 = once in a while; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = almost always)	0.84	0.83	0.84	0.91	0.91	0.9

$\alpha = 0.73$ $\alpha = 0.72$ $\alpha = 0.78$ $\alpha = 0.87$ $\alpha = 0.86$ $\alpha = 0.88$

Self-Esteem (Wave 1 and 2)

How often do you wish you were different than you are? (1 = almost never; 2 = once in a while; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = almost always) (reverse-coded)

How often would you like to change lots of things about yourself
How often are you pretty sure about yourself? (1 = almost never; 2 = once in a while; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = almost always)

	Factor Loadings for Wave 1		Factor Loadings for Wave 2	
	All Americans	Whites	All Americans	Whites
	0.86	0.88	0.88	0.89
	0.84	0.87	0.87	0.88
	0.58	.a51	0.69	0.75
	$\alpha = 0.65$	$\alpha = 0.6$	$\alpha = 0.72$	$\alpha = 0.66$
			0.52	0.75
			$\alpha = 0.66$	$\alpha = 0.8$

Measure of Problem Behaviors

Problem Behaviors (Wave 1 and 2)

In the past year, how often have you damaged public or private property just for fun? (0 = never; 1 = have done it)

In the past year, how often have you taken something from a store without paying for it? (0 = never; 1 = have done it)

In the past year, how often have you skipped a class without a valid excuse? (0 = never; 1 = have done it)

In the past year, how often have you gotten involved in a gang fight? (0 = never; 1 = have done it)

In the past year, how often have you get sent to the principal's office because you had done something wrong? (0 = never; 1 = have done it)

In the past year, how often have you lied to your parents about where you have been or who you were with? (0 = never; 1 = have done it)

In the past year, how often have you done some pretty risky things because it was a real kick? (0 = never; 1 = have done it)

In the past year, how often have you stolen or tried to steal a motor vehicle such as a car or motorcycle? (0 = never; 1 = have done it)

In the past year, how often have you hit someone because you didn't like something they said or did? (0 = never; 1 = have done it)

In the past year, how often have you brought alcohol or drugs to school? (0 = never; 1 = have done it)

In the past year, how often have you cheated on tests or exams? (0 = never; 1 = have done it)

$\alpha = 0.76$ at Wave 1 and Wave 2 for all

Appendix B

Structural equation model of the relations between perceived discrimination by peers and multiple domains of psychological adjustment.

