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Attitudes, social relationships and behaviors of black and biracial adolescents

Indria Michelle Jenkins
Iowa State University

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Attitudes, social relationships and behaviors

of black and biracial adolescents

by

Indria Michelle Jenkins

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Carolyn Cutrona, Co-major Professor
David Vogel, Co-major Professor
Lori Patton

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ABSTRACT

Using data from the Family and Community Health Study , the present study analyzed the social relationships, attitudes, and behaviors of 766 Black and Biracial adolescents residing in Georgia and Iowa to note any significant differences as a function of racial identification. One factor involving social relationships showed a significant difference between the Black and Biracial girls: Biracial girls reported less ability to make and keep friends. Results indicate that attitudes regarding Black Pride and the perceptions of others who may engage in specific behaviors associated with masculine stereotypes were not statistically different between Black and Biracial adolescents. The behaviors included smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol, doing drugs, having sex, and legitimizing violence. While all adolescents evaluated the behaviors similarly, the Biracial boys engaged in the substance-related behaviors at a higher rate than Black boys.

CHAPTER 1.   OVERVIEW

In the 2000 US Census (the first year that people could identify themselves as multiracial) 6.8 million people (2.4 %) reported more than one race and 1.5 million people (.5%) reported being Black and at least one other race. Within this group, the most common racial combination was Black and White, making up 51 percent of the pairings. The period of adolescence is a time of rapid personal and social growth. The establishment of an identity and establishing one's place among peers are challenges for all youth, but may be especially challenging for Biracial youth. As 42% of the multiracial population (2.9 million) is under 18, this is the time to gain further knowledge about these challenges. The proposed study examines the racial identity, psychological adjustment, and social relationships of Black-White Biracial youth. The experiences of youth who identify as Biracial will be compared to those of youth who identify as monoracial (i.e., African American or Black). I will begin by discussing some general concepts of identity and social development, and I will provide a brief historical and contemporary conception of race and color in America, both within the Black community and in the majority American culture. Colorism, a form of discrimination characterized by differential status and treatment based on skin color, is a particularly important phenomenon that may impact Biracial youth and the implications of colorism for Biracial youth will be discussed. I will summarize research on the development of racial identity among Biracial youth, the racial composition of Biracial youths' social networks, the differential status that is accorded to youth on the basis of skin color, gender differences in the friendship and courtship experiences of Biracial versus Black youth as well as ways in which Biracial

boys may strive to gain a sense of belonging by adhering to stereotypic ideals of Black masculinity. Finally I will discuss how the experiences of multiracial individuals, and specifically Black-White adolescents, may intersect with these concepts.

CHAPTER 2.   REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1   Ethnicity and Race

2.1.1   Ethnic and Racial Identity

Ethnicity refers to shared identification resulting from a combination of distinct cultural factors and is expressed in ways such as language, music, values, art, etc. Race is generally a biological construct and classifications are generally made based upon genetically-inherited traits or characteristics as well as blood line. While race is often viewed as a sub-component of ethnicity, two people of a different race could be members of the same ethnic group. Ethnic identity (i.e., degree of identification with and pride experienced with respect to one's racial or ethnic group) is an important component of the self and having a positive ethnic identity has been shown to be related to higher self-esteem, prosocial attitudes, academic self-efficacy (Buckley & Carter, 2005) and purpose in life (Pegg & Plybon, 2005) in adolescents. For most American individuals their racial category and by extension, ethnic identification (i.e., ethnic or racial "label") is a given, however for a growing number of American adolescents ethnic identity is not so clearly defined. Historically, most mixed race individuals had little to no choice in racial or ethnic identification. It was something that was determined for them by the society at large through the rule of hypodescent and the 'one-drop' rule. The rule of hypodescent stated that a mixed-race individual is placed in the racial category of lower status and the one-drop rule essentially stated that a person is Black if they have at least one Black

ancestor; the one-drop rule is said to be an extreme form of hypodescent. In recent years however, both of these 'rules' have given way to not only a new multiracial category but also a more fluid definition of race and ethnicity. Some researchers have found that many people of mixed heritage actually switch racial identities based on context or situation and that exposure to the different cultures of their heritage and group acceptance play a role in ethnic identification (Herman, 2004; Hitlin, Brown, & Elder, 2006; Iijima Hall, 1992; Johnson, 1992; Stephan, 1992). Early research with Biracial adolescents looked at identity development as a function of race and ethnicity (which were not distinguished from each other) to note any significant differences between them and their monoracial peers. It has been found that the pathway of racial and ethnic identity development is similar and the outcome for both groups is on average positive and not significantly different (Spencer, Icard, Harachi, Catalano, & Oxford,, 2000). Attention next was directed toward understanding the impact having a multiracial background has on psychological well-being and adjustment. Some predicted areas of conflict for those with a mixed heritage included dual-ethnic heritage and social marginality. The thinking was that inconsistent socialization about heritages, rejection by both extended family and the society at large, and simply having options for identity may breed ambivalence and confusion for adolescents. Most empirical research, however, has not been able to substantiate these predictions (Cauce, Hiraga, Mason, Aguilar, Ordonez, & Gonzales, 1992; Gibbs & Hines, 1992). In fact, most research has concluded that in terms of ethnic identity, Biracial people are more like the monoracial minority (Black) than the majority (White) and in terms of psychosocial adjustment there are no significant differences between mixed-race individuals and monoracial individuals of either majority or minority race or ethnicity (Gibbs & Hines, 1992).

2.1.2 Historical Perspective on Colorism

Biracial youth may stand out from their peers with respect to skin color. Within the American Black community, the issue of color or skin tone has long been a divisor. At all stages of American history, from slavery to the present day, status has been related to skin color. During slavery, it was the lighter-skinned slaves who had the more coveted house jobs and more opportunities for manumission, which is, being freed from slavery. This systematic privileging led to a free Black population in 1850 made up of 37% mulattos or mixed bloods, who were able to acquire skills and become business people. This, in turn, led to a light-skinned elite class who, after the Civil War, formed affluent organized clubs called 'blue vein' societies. Membership in these societies, determined by tests of skin tone being lighter than a paper bag or light enough for the veins to show through, provided both a social and professional network which then provided social capital, or resources to be exchanged, for its members (Hunter, 2002; Thompson & Keith, 2001). As stated earlier, however, this privileging has not only been within the Black community; rather at each point in history, the Blacks regarded as prominent by Whites also had lighter skin (Harvey, LaBeach, Pridgen, & Gocial, 2005). The implications of colorisim for Biracial youth are pervasive and will be discussed in subsequent sections.

2.2 Friendships

2.2.1 Social Development and the Function of Friendships

The period of adolescence has long been thought of as a time for developing and forming relationships of increasing intimacy and importance (Hartup, 1996; Collins & Laursen, 1999; Collins & Sroufe, 1999) and of learning social skills (Goswick & Jones, 1982). There have been several studies looking at the effects of intimacy level and number of intimate relationships on specific outcome measures. For instance, Giordano (2003)

found that the level of intimacy or attachment in adolescent relationships had a positive association with the level of intimacy or attachment of adult friendships. La Greca & Harrison (2005) found that having best friendships with more positive qualities was linked with less social anxiety and further that negative qualities of these best friendships were associated with both depression and social anxiety. Friends are able to provide companionship, stimulation, a sense of belonging, and emotional support (Heaven, 2001). In terms of emotional health, research indicates that a strong relationship exists between having a good friend and psychological health. Further, friends help to validate social identity. Thus, it is important that Biracial youth are able to form intimate relationships during adolescence, because these relationships provide needed emotional resources and also form the basis for success in adult relationships. Friendships tend to follow a typical pattern with relation to social network composition and as the adolescent becomes more involved in community activities there is more opportunity for expansion in the pattern of social relationships. These topics will be discussed below.

2.2.2 Patterns of Social Networks

When adolescents first choose a best friend, that person is usually similar on a number of variables including, but not limited to, socioeconomic status (SES), race/ethnicity, school, age, and neighborhood (Rice & Dolgin, 2005). This tendency to choose friends similar to ourselves is explained by the authors in that we choose friends that make us feel good about ourselves, by affirming our own beliefs and the choices we make. Homophily is the term used to describe the tendency for the makeup of the friend group to be similar to oneself (e.g. mostly soccer friends or dance team members). Being able to share common interests and knowledge also leads to help with interpersonal problems (Hortacsu, 1989; Pombeni, Kirchler, & Palmonari, 1990; Werebe, 1987). Smilansky (1991) states that adolescents have an 'egocentric view' and they choose friends based on their current needs at the moment, getting rid of friends who have no more to offer.

One social need among adolescents is mutual support. Support during this period, which is characterized by volatility of self-image and separation from parental influence, is very important. As well as helping create a sense of authority, an 'ourselves against the world' mentality is conferred by establishing the group's own jargon or dress code (Smilansky, 1991). One challenge for Biracial youth may be finding others who are sufficiently similar to themselves, despite their own unique blend of cultural and ethnic backgrounds. As adolescents participate in more activities and develop new interests they have more opportunities to expand their friendship network. This expansion may include friends of a different race/ethnicity or background. For instance, Kao (2000) found that, when rank ordering friends, students identified their closest (best) friend as being of the same race as themselves. Students were asked to list up to five friends in rank order of closeness for this study and this preference for homophily was disproportionate given the racial makeup of their school. In other words, even when the proportion of Asian students, for instance, was small, the Asian students still listed other Asian students as their closest (best) friend. More importantly still, homophily lessened as they got to the higher order, or more distant, friends. For instance, for White students about 92% of the listed best friends were other White students whereas for fifth-listed friends only about 88% were White. Kao has also looked at the patterns of multiracial adolescents and how this pattern may be the same or different from monoracial adolescents. This work will be discussed in the following section.

2.2.3   Multiracial Adolescents

We now add two additional principles to homophily that can be used to identify patterns in the composition of social networks: amalgamation and blending. I will discuss these patterns as they relate to friendship choice amongst multiracial adolescents. Keep in mind, however, that while it is easiest to think of these patterns in terms of race, the terms fit for other personal identifiers as well. Simply imagine someone

that is interested in sports as well as photography who may have friends from both 'groups.' Amalgamation is the tendency for the racial makeup of the friend group to be mostly homogeneous with one racial group represented (i.e. Black-White multiracials having mostly Black, or mostly White, friends). Blending is the tendency for the racial makeup of the friend group to be in between both monoracial counterparts (i.e. Black-White multiracial adolescents would be more likely than Black adolescents but less likely than White adolescents to have White friends). Doyle & Kao (2007) found that almost all multiracial students conformed to the paradigm of amalgamation in that their friendship choices closely mimicked those of monoracial (White or non-White) adolescents. More specifically, White multiracial adolescents had mostly White friends and non-White multiracials had mostly non-White friends. However, in the case of Black-White adolescents, friendship choice was predominantly Black. In fact, for all of the part-Black adolescents, the social network of friends was predominantly Black. While friendship choice for this group was still mostly Black, there were signs of blending as well. In fact, Black-White adolescents were 85% less likely than Whites to choose a White best friend while Black adolescents were about 96% less likely. This seems to suggest that these multiracial adolescents are 'bridging' the two races. The idea of multiracial children connecting the two races in this context has long been a topic of speculation (Hirschman, Alba, & Farley, 2000); however, when taking a closer look at friendships, specifically the number of activities shared and the time spent together, the 'bridge' may in fact be much narrower than suggested.

2.2.4   Gender Differences

The friendships of male and female adolescents differ in several respects. Closeness in friendships with peers differs in importance for male and female adolescents and in this section I will outline some of these gender differences. Claes (1992) and Berndt & Perry (1990) found a gender difference in that girls expected more from their friendships

than did boys and accordingly, their level of intimacy and attachment was higher. Girls tended to have a focus on affective areas such as sharing of secrets and processing feelings, while boys, on the other hand, tended to focus on shared activities such as sports. This difference in focus also affects the size and nature of male and female adolescents' friendship networks. Benenson (1990) reported that boys strived harder for status or other attributes which would lead to acceptance by a larger peer group, whereas girls were more interested in connections to a relatively small group of girls. For girls, these small groups of 2-3 close friends were focused on affective areas, and tended to give rise to greater disappointment with failing friendship. Members also felt more threatened with ending friendships due to the intimate nature of their friendships. Girls' interpersonal relations during high school often center on social issues such as marriage and spousal choice (Coleman, 1980; Douvan & Adelson, 1966). Boys, on the other hand, are focused on sharing activities and they typically change the composition of their social networks as their interests change. Their friendships during high school are used as support in discussing and dealing with future goals such as college, military, career, etc.

Cliques, with larger group membership, are another kind of adolescent peer group. I use the term "peer group" instead of friendship group due to the large degree of power inequality within these groups. Cliques, especially female cliques, have a very definite status hierarchy (Adler & Adler, 1995). The high-status members often ridicule outsiders as well as low-status members to keep them in line. The high-status members also determine who is permitted to join the clique. Cliques are the epitome of both popularity and exclusion for girls during adolescence.

2.2.5 Popularity

Girls typically gain prestige through physical attractiveness, sociability, grades and intelligence, popularity with boys, clothes, participation in school activities, and cheer-

leading (Suitor & Reavis, 1995). Boys gain prestige through sports, grades and intelligence, access to cars, sociability, popularity with girls, physical appearance, and participation in school activities (Suitor & Reavis, 1995). Miller (1990) states that those most popular with same gender are typically also most popular with the other gender. These gender differences in the basis of popularity, affective versus action-based, also play a role in racially-based experiences, particularly with regards to the effects of colorism. This will be explored more in the section on colorism.

2.2.6 Exclusion

Males and females may manifest competition and aggression in different manners, physically versus verbally, and particularly through differing use of exclusion. Exclusion may be categorized as a form of aggression. Aggression is generally defined as the use of an intentionally harmful act, usually as an offensive tactic. There have been many attempts at categorizing subtypes of aggression, particularly nonphysical aggression (Underwood, 2003). I have chosen to use the term 'relational aggression' to refer to nonphysical aggression. The core elements of relational aggression are behaviors that manipulate relationships, spread rumors, or socially exclude another person, either directly or indirectly, verbally or nonverbally (Stauffacher & Dehart, 2006). Relational aggression has been evidenced in children beginning as early as preschool (e.g. excluding others from play) and continuing into adulthood (e.g. withholding of cooperation). During adolescence, even electronic methods of relational aggression (e.g. text messaging rumors or gossip) have recently come to light. Studies have found that up to 25% of students reported being harassed via an electronic method (Raskauskas & Stoltz, 2007). Rejection can have serious consequences. Social rejection is correlated with a number of negative outcomes, including early school withdrawal, delinquency, and psychopathological symptoms in adulthood (Sunwolf & Leets, 2003).

2.2.7 Tension with Black Female Peers

There is evidence that Biracial girls sometimes experience rejection by Black girls. In a qualitative study, Biracial women stated that they experienced friction with Black women, which typically centered on physical appearance (Rockquemore, 2002). There is a prevailing image of the "angry Black woman" which often centers around interracial dating/marriage, which has been shown in both qualitative and quantitative studies (as cited in Chito Childs, 2005), as well as themes in popular culture, such as movies and literature[1,2]. There is a stereotype of what Black men desire in a partner, which may pit the "angry Black woman" against the "desirable Biracial woman". This idea will be discussed in more detail later in the paper.

2.2.8 Male Aggression

In a critique entitled, Blackness/Mixedness: Contestations over Crossing Signs, Pabst (2003) relays a story about a mixed race individual who looked like a White American, yet wanted to "prove how bad he was in the eyes of other Black men" by exemplifying the 'hustler' in the street life stereotype. This need to fit in or prove one's Blackness may also play out in the lives of Biracial male adolescents, as they try to develop and understand their own place and find answers to the question, "What does it mean to be Black?" Anderson (1999) discusses a code of the street whereas, for instance, being or acting tough serves as social capital; it buys both respect and protection. Stewart, Schreck, & Simons (2006) found that these displays of toughness also magnify the potential for danger, in that one aggressive act demands a more aggressive response. Thus individuals who engage in these tough behaviors must be on constant alert. If Biracial boys feel that they need to adopt this 'code' in order to fit in and prove their Blackness, then they may believe they fulfill this prototype of a masculine Black male by behaving in aggressive manners, such as fighting, or by engaging in activities such as drug and alcohol use or

sexual precocity. Such behaviors by Biracial youth, especially aggression, may lead to rejection by their peers. Biracial males may idealize other males who embody the "code of the street" masculine image. Thus, they may have especially positive views of other youth who display aggressive behavior, smoke, engage in sexual activities, and/or use drugs. They may also accept the legitimacy of using violence to attain one's goals.

2.3 Contemporary Colorism

2.3.1 Standards of Beauty

Hunter (1998) discusses a racial ideology that has been perpetuated since its introduction as a justification of slavery:

> These ideologies defined the races in opposition to one another, where Black people and Blackness were defined as barbaric, savage, heathen, and ugly. Simultaneously and in opposition to this, White people and Whiteness were defined as civilized, modern, Christian, and beautiful (Fanon, 1967; Ernst, 1980; Lakoff & Scherr, 1984). Through this racist ideology "Africanness" came to be known as evil and "White-ness" came to be known as virtuous. Now, instead of Blackness and Whiteness as abstract concepts having representations, actual physical traits associated with each racial group began to take on these ideological meanings. Dark brown skin, kinky hair, and wide noses themselves started to represent barbarism and ugliness. Similarly, straight blond hair and White skin as physical traits began to represent civility and beauty. (p.519)

One only has to turn on the television, open a fashion magazine, or browse the beauty products targeted towards African-Americans to see that this American beauty ideal, Whiteness and European features, is still being perpetuated today and reinforces a

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stratification based on color. Biracial youth, whose skin tone may be lighter than that of their monoracial Black peers, may benefit from the higher status associated with lighter skin color. Lighter skin complexion is correlated with higher educational attainment, occupational status, self-worth, and quality of life (Hunter, 1998). Stereotypically, skin color is viewed on a continuum where darker skin color is synonymous with negativity and lighter skin color is synonymous with positivity. This means that men with darker skin are viewed as more dangerous than men with lighter skin and women with darker skin are viewed as less attractive than women with lighter skin (Thompson & Keith, 2001). The next section will discuss the effects of these associations for both men and women.

2.3.2 Gender Differences in the Effects of Colorism

Rockquemore (2002) attests that skin color stratification disproportionately affects women because of the importance of physical appearance for women. In American society, females are socialized to attend to evaluations of others and often think of themselves in relation to others, either comparatively or by who their friends or sexual partners are. For example having the "right" friends may get one noticed (romantically) by males. Physically attractive women are thought to be more confident, more successful, and to have higher self-esteem. For minority women, light skin color is closely linked with standards of beauty (Hunter, 2002). Men on the other hand, are socialized to be the economic providers and protectors. They are encouraged to display such traits as toughness, dominance, aggression, and competitiveness.

Consistent with gendered characteristics of men and women, skin color is important in self-domains central to masculinity (competency) and femininity (affirmation of self) (Thompson & Keith, 2001). Girls as young as six are twice as likely as boys to be sensitive to the social importance of skin color (Thompson & Keith, 2001). In a study of African-American adolescent girls, Leeds (as cited in Hunter, 2002) found not only

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a desire on the part of the girls to have longer, straighter hair, but also a pronounced awareness of Black men's preference for light-skinned women. Bond & Cash (1992) attest to similar findings in an African-American college population. These findings show how the 'ideology of beauty,' defined by skin tone and other phenotypic markers, defines how socially desirable one is in the marriage or dating market (Hunter, 2002). Black and Biracial girls may be more conscious of variations in skin tone than boys; and competition may be keener among females than among males, given the emphasis on appearance among females.

2.3.3 Marriage Market

Hunter (2002) attests that light skin is a form of social capital for women of color:

> . . . Light skin tone is interpreted as beauty, and beauty operates as social
> capital for women. Women who possess this form of capital (beauty) are
> able to convert it into economic capital, educational capital, or another form
> of social capital. (p. 177)

In line with the theory of marital homogamy[3], Hunter (2002) later states "light skin color acts as a form of social capital that is either used for an even swap of one high status for another or as a way to marry and increase one's status" (p.185). Essentially this means that women with a light skin tone have something to offer Black men who either already have high status (via education, income, light skin, etc.) or who seek to gain high status. This may lead to competition between monoracial and Biracial women.

For a myriad of historical and social reasons, there is a discrepancy in the availability of 'marriageable' Black men compared to Black women. For example, the number of college-educated Black women is increasing at a faster rate than the number of college-educated Black men and as marital homogamy states that college-educated Black women would want to marry college-educated Black men, this causes a discrepancy between the

two groups. Rockquemore (2002) states that Biracial men will experience the benefit of their scarcity; they do not compete with Black men for a small pool of women as women do for men and are advantaged in a seller's market. As there is a propensity for Black men to want to marry lighter-skinned Black women (Hunter, 1998), this fosters greater competition among Black (and Biracial) women. This competition is further fueled by the fact that the rate of Black women entering Black-White marriages is much lower than for Black men. In other words, Black women are more likely to marry a Black man than a White man. As Black men are mroe than twice as likely as Black women to marry a White person (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000), Black women must compete intensely for Black men. In the current study, I will examine the extent to which Biracial girls are comfortable with and feel accepted by monoracial African American girls, given the context of competition for Black male partners.

2.4   Conclusion

Based on my review of the literature, it appears that Black-White Biracial adolescents do not differ significantly from their Black peers in terms of racial and ethnic identity development. Among both Biracial and Monoracial Black youth, racial identity is a positive component of the self. One area however, where the two groups may show some divergence is within their patterns of friendships, particularly as their networks are growing to include a larger number of more diverse members. Biracial adolescents may be at a particular disadvantage and may not be the bridge between races as thought by some. In particular, for Biracial females, there may be a lack of a close bond between peers and exclusionary practices by Black girls may affect their ability to reach and maintain closeness with peers.

Another area of potential concern and divergence between the two groups is based on the notion of colorism. Though viewing themselves as a part of the Black race,

discrepancies in treatment and perception of persons based primarily on skin color are real. In particular, Biracial adolescents may stand out from the larger group as being different. They may find that they have higher status in the larger world, but being the minority within the Black world may lead to rejection and distress. As an adolescent, this may be in the form of teasing or exclusion for females and added stress to maintain or portray an image of toughness or authority for males.

2.5 Hypotheses

1. I hypothesize that there will be no significant difference between Biracial adolescents' and monoracial Black adolescents' mean scores on a measure of Black pride, consistent with previous literature.

2. I hypothesize that Black adolescents will report having significantly more Black friends than will Biracial adolescents, which is consistent with previous research on friendship patterns and networks.

3. I expect there to be a difference within the females, such that Biracial girls will have significantly lower mean social self-confidence than Black girls will. While the Thompson & Keith (2001) article reports that women with lighter skin have higher self esteem, when taking into account the statements from the Biracial women in Rockquemore's (2002) sample, namely that tension with Black girls was widespread during high school, I suspect that the additional stress added by females needing to be more social and yet being rejected by their female peers will lead to this lower social self-confidence among the Biracial girls.

4. I further hypothesize that Biracial boys will have significantly lower mean social self-confidence as they are also seen as outsiders by their peers, but that the difference will not be as large among boys as among girls.

5. I hypothesize that Biracial boys will have more positive attitudes towards behav-

iors that are aggressive or stereotypically masculine more than Black boys will. The behaviors will include smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol, using drugs, and engaging in sexual activity. This hypothesis is in line with Anderson's (1999) idea of the "code of the street" where the Biracial boys feel the need to prove their toughness and to compensate for lower social self-confidence, as predicted above.

6. I hypothesize that Biracial boys will engage in behaviors that are aggressive or stereotypically masculine more than Black boys will. The behaviors will include smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol, engaging in sexual activities, and using drugs. This hypothesis is in line with Anderson's (1999) idea of the "code of the street" where the Biracial boys feel the need to prove their toughness and to compensate for lower social self-confidence, as predicted above.

7. I hypothesize that Biracial girls will report having more relationships with boys, both Black and Biracial, than with other girls. I further hypothesize that a higher proportion of Biracial girls will report being in a committed romantic relationship than Black girls. Combining research regarding the status or difficulties of adolescent female relationships with the research on dating and romantic relationships led to each of these hypotheses. The former hypothesis takes specific note of the findings from Rockquemore (2002), Okazawa-Rey, Robinson, & Ward (1987), and the relational aggression literature while the latter hypothesis is based on ideas of light skin as a source of social capital as proposed by Hunter (2002) as well as research regarding Black men's dating and marriage preferences (Bond & Cash, 1992; Leeds, 1994).

CHAPTER 3.   METHODS

3.0.1   Procedures

Data are from the Family and Community Health Study (FACHS). FACHS is the largest longitudinal study of Black families in the United States. It was designed to identify risk and resiliency factors that predict adjustment and mental health outcomes in African-American youth and adults who reside outside of major metropolitan inner-cities. It was conducted using identical methods in both Georgia and Iowa in census tracts with at least 10% African-American residents. Among these census tracts, an effort was made to select communities that covered a wide range of socioeconomic levels. In each study community, public and private schools and community organizations provided rosters of potentially eligible families; from these rosters, families were randomly selected and contacted. In both states, roughly 25% of families contacted did not meet eligibility criteria and of those eligible, 24% declined participation. The recruitment rate (71%) was similar to that achieved in the National Survey of Black Americans (Jackson, 1991). To be eligible, each family had to include at least one Black or Biracial child who was 9-11 years of age. At wave one of data collection in 1997-98, the total number of families recruited was 889. Before the interviews began, focus groups consisting of African-American women were asked to examine and critique sections of the interviews; modifications were then made to eliminate items deemed culturally insensitive, intrusive, or otherwise unclear. Data collection interviews lasted approximately four hours, took place mainly in the participants' homes, and were all conducted by Black interviewers.

Interviewers were university students and community members trained in the administration of the questionnaires. Questionnaires were administered via laptop computer. The questions appeared on the screen, were read aloud, and the responses were entered by the trained interviewer.

3.0.2 Participants

Data for the current study were from waves 3 and 4 of the Family and Community Health Study; there were 766 adolescents at these two waves. The mean age of the adolescents was 15.6 years at wave three and 18.9 years at wave 4. All participants were asked to indicate their racial identity and their gender. Some children identified as Biracial, including 36 girls and 22 boys; 608 children identified as Black, including 380 girls and 328 boys. Fifty-three percent of the participants resided in Iowa and the remaining 47% lived in Georgia. The vast majority (53 of 58) of the Biracial children resided in Iowa. Among youth who identified as Biracial, most, but not all, indicated that they were part Black and part White. Six youth indicated that they were part Black and part Hispanic. At wave three most participants were sophomores in high school and at wave 4 approximately 66% were still in school. Thirty-eight percent of those still in school were still in high school and 57% were in college.

3.1   Instruments

3.1.1 Black Pride

A 21-item Black pride scale was administered to assess the degree of pride participants felt in the skills, accomplishments, and abilities of Black individuals. Example statements include:

Blacks are good at things besides sports.

Whites speak better than Blacks. (reverse scored)

I prefer to go to a White school. (reverse scored)

Responses range from (1) strongly disagree to (4) strongly agree and the coefficient alpha in the current study was .77. Regarding validity, Black pride was found to be significantly correlated with both self-rated social ability ($r = .24, p < .001$) and self-image ($r = .19, p < .001$).

3.1.2 Social Relationships

The Social Ability Scale was created for the current study to ascertain the social self-confidence of the participants. The target adolescent was asked to complete an 11-item measure which assessed the perceived social skills and social self-confidence of the target adolescent. Example items from the target version include:

How well can you make and keep friends of the same sex?

I am popular with others my age.

How well can you work in a group?

Four items used a three-option response format: (1) not well to (3) very well and seven items used a four-option response format: (1) not at all to (4) always. Cronbach's alpha for the target version was .73. The primary caregiver (parent) also completed this scale regarding the perceived social abilities of the target adolescent and this version was then used to establish validity. The target and primary caregiver versions correlated significantly ($r = .33, p < .001$). All items were standardized before computing the total score to ensure equal weighting for all items despite the two different response formats (3-point versus 4-point.)

A number of individual items were also asked of participants concerning their social relationships. Regarding the composition of their social networks, separate items were asked about both the gender and the ethnicity of participants' friends. Participants were also asked about their current romantic relationship status (What best describes your

current relationship status?) and dating patterns (On average, how often do you go out on a date?).

3.1.3 Risky Behaviors

The frequency with which participants engaged in a variety of risky behaviors, as well as their evaluations of people who engage in these same behaviors were assessed. The behaviors included smoking, drinking alcohol, engaging in sexual activities, and using illegal drugs. Frequency of cigarette smoking and drinking alcohol were each assessed with a single item. Participants were asked about their use of several drugs during the prior year; they were also asked about engagement in several sexual activities and situations. The appendix contains the exact questions participants were asked regarding these behaviors.

3.1.4 Prototypes of Persons Who Engage in Specific Behaviors

Evaluations of others who engage in a range of undesirable and desirable behaviors were assessed using a 6-item scale. These behaviors included smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol, abstaining from sex, and using drugs. Each of the six items had the stem: The type of kids your age who (behavior)

How popular are they?

How careless are they?

How cool are they?

The response format for the items ranged from (1) not at all to (4) very. Cronbach's alpha for the scales ranged from .69 (abstinence) to .73 (drug use.)

3.1.5 Violence as a Legitimate Strategy

A 10-item legitimacy of violence scale was administered to assess participants' views about the use of violence and aggression. Participants were asked how much they agree

with the following kinds of statements:

People will take advantage of you if you don't let them know how tough you are.

Sometimes you need to threaten people in order to get them to treat you fairly.

People tend to respect a person who is tough and aggressive.

Responses range from (1) strongly disagree to (4) strongly agree and the coefficient alpha in the current study was .71.

CHAPTER 4.   RESULTS

4.1   Descriptive Analyses

I computed mean scores and standard deviations for all study variables first for the entire sample and then for the Biracial and Black youth separately. These statistics are shown in the tables that test the hypotheses involving these variables. Racial identification was coded such that 1 = Black and 0 = Biracial; and gender was coded such that 1 = male and 2 = female. I also computed correlations among all study variables. Results of this analysis are shown in Table 7.1.

4.2   Tests of Hypotheses

I hypothesized that there would be no significant difference between Biracial adolescents' and monoracial Black adolescents' mean scores on a measure of Black pride. Scores on the Black pride measure were analyzed with a 2 x 2 (racial identification x gender) analysis of variance. These results are shown in Tables 7.2 and 7.3. There was a significant effect for gender, $F(1, 761) = 6.45, p = .01$, with the girls' mean score (75.84) being greater than the boys' mean score (73.33). Results showed that there was not a significant effect for racial identification, $F(1, 761) = 1.43, p = .23$. The interaction between racial identification and gender was not significant, $F(1, 761) = 2.00, p = .16$. These findings are consistent with the prediction of no significant difference based on racial identification. The finding that girls reported higher Black pride than boys, how-

ever, was unexpected.

To determine whether results differed as a function of whether youth lived in Iowa or Georgia, the analysis was repeated and state was added as a third factor (see Tables 7.4 and 7.5). There was a significant main effect of state, $F(1, 757) = 3.75, p = .05$, such that Black pride was higher among youth in Iowa than in Georgia. This main effect was modified, however, by a significant interaction between state and racial identification, $F(1, 757) = 5.94, p = .02$. Among Black adolescents, those in Iowa reported higher Black pride, while among the Biracial adolescents, those in Georgia reported higher Black pride. The lowest level of Black pride was among Biracial boys in Iowa.

I hypothesized that Black adolescents would report having significantly more Black friends than would Biracial adolescents. Scores on the Black Friends measure were analyzed with a 2 x 2 (racial identification x gender) analysis of variance. Results (see Tables 7.2 and 7.3) showed that there was a significant effect for racial identification, $F(1, 707) = 7.65, p = .00$, with the Black adolescents' mean score (8.54) being greater than that of the Biracial adolescents (7.34). There was not a significant effect for gender, $F(1, 707) = 1.84, p = .18$ or for the two-way interaction, $F(1, 707) = 3.52, p = .06$. These findings are consistent with the hypothesis. Tests for the effects of state were non-significant. Further, no significant interactions with state were found.

I expected there to be a difference within the females, such that Biracial girls would have significantly lower mean social self-confidence than Black girls. I further hypothesized that Biracial boys would have significantly lower mean social self-confidence than Black boys because they are also seen as outsiders by their peers, but I did not expect the difference to be as large among boys as among girls. Scores on the Social Ability measure were analyzed with a 2 x 2 (racial identification x gender) analysis of variance. These results are shown in Tables 7.2 and 7.3. There was a significant effect for gender, $F(1, 761) = 13.77, p = .00$, with the boys' mean score (33.21) being greater than the girls' mean score (32.01). Results showed that there was not a significant effect for

racial identification, $F(1,761) = .67, p = .42$. The interaction between racial identification and gender was significant, $F(1,761) = 3.74, p = .05$. Planned contrasts were conducted to examine the strength of racial differences within gender. Among girls there was a significant difference, $t(761) = -2.22, p = .03$, such that Biracial girls' mean score (30.56) was lower than that of Black girls (32.14). Among boys, there was no significant difference as a function of racial identity on Social Ability, $t(761) = .71, p = .48$. The findings for girls were consistent with my predictions. The finding of a larger difference in social self-confidence among girls than among boys as a function of racial identity was also consistent with my predictions. However, contrary to my prediction, I did not find that Black and Biracial boys differed significantly on social self-confidence. Tests for the effects of state were non-significant. Further, no significant interactions with state were found.

I hypothesized that Biracial boys would have more positive attitudes towards behaviors that are aggressive or stereotypically masculine than Black boys. The behaviors included smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol, engaging in sexual activities, and using drugs, as well as the endorsement of the use of violence as a legitimate strategy for achieving one's goals. Scores on the multiple measures of attitudes towards stereotypically masculine behaviors were analyzed with a multivariate analysis of variance with racial identification as the independent variable (see Tables 7.6 and 7.7). These analyses were conducted only for the boys. The overall multivariate result was not significant for racial identification, Wilks' Lambda $\lambda = .97, F(5,343) = .75, p = .57$, indicating no difference between Biracial and Black boys in their attitudes towards engagement in these specific behaviors. The results were not consistent with the prediction. Tests for the effects of state were non-significant. Further, no significant interactions with state were found.

I hypothesized that Biracial boys would engage in behaviors that are stereotypically masculine more than Black boys. Scores on the multiple measures of masculine behaviors

were analyzed with a multivariate analysis of variance with racial identification as the independent variable (see Tables 7.8 and 7.9). Theses analyses were conducted only for the boys. The overall multivariate result was significant for racial identification, Wilks' Lambda $\lambda = .93, F(4, 211) = 4.05, p = .00$, indicating a difference in the level of engagement in these specific behaviors between Biracial and Black boys. The univariate F tests showed there was a significant difference for smoking cigarettes, $F(1, 214) = 9.29, p = .00$; for drinking alcohol, $F(1, 214) = 10.71, p = .00$, and for using drugs $F(1, 214) = 4.50, p = .04$. For all three of these behaviors, the Biracial boys reported higher levels than the monoracial Black boys. There was not a significant difference between Biracial and monoracial Black boys on sexual activity, $F(1, 214) = .50, p = .48$. The results were largely consistent with the hypothesis. Tests for the effects of state were non-significant. Further, no significant interactions with state were found.

I hypothesized that Biracial girls would report having a higher proportion of male friends than would Black girls. I further hypothesized that a higher proportion of Biracial girls would report being in a committed romantic relationship than Black girls. Results are shown in Tables 7.10, 7.11 and 7.12. To test the hypothesis regarding the gender of friendships among the girls, a univariate analysis of variance using racial identification as the independent variable was conducted. There was not a significant effect for racial identification, $F(1, 384) = .09, p = .77$, indicating no difference in the gender of friendships for Black versus Biracial girls. To test whether there was a significant association between racial identity and the youths' romantic relationship status, a chi-square test was conducted. Results showed that there was not a significant association between racial identification and romantic status, $\chi^2(3, N = 361) = .19, p = .98$. To test whether or not there was a difference in the frequency of dating among Black versus Biracial girls a univariate analysis of variance with racial identification as the independent variable was used. There was not a significant effect for racial identification, $F(1, 397) = 1.01, p = .32$, indicating no difference in the frequency of dating among the girls. Tests for the effects

of state were non-significant. Further, no significant interactions with state were found.

CHAPTER 5.   DISCUSSION

I did not expect to find differences between Biracial and Black adolescents on Black pride because previous research has found that most Biracial individuals are more similar to the minority (Black) than the majority (White) in terms of ethnic identity (Gibbs & Hines, 1992). An unexpected gender difference in Black pride emerged. Overall, the girls had a higher mean score on Black pride than boys. It would be of interest to identity specific factors that are most important to the instillation of Black pride in girls versus boys.

I examined the effects of location (Iowa or Georgia) on Black pride and found that state did in fact have a significant effect; overall, adolescents in Iowa reported greater Black pride than did those in Georgia. However, a significant interaction between state and racial identity was also found such that among Black adolescents those in Iowa reported higher Black pride, while among the Biracial adolescents those in Georgia reported higher Black pride. This difference was most pronounced among the Biracial boys. The lowest Black pride was reported by Biracial boys in Iowa. Gender no longer had a significant effect when 'state' was included in the analysis. While no specific predictions regarding state were made, one would imagine that Black pride would be higher in a southern state where the overall percentage of Black residents is higher. Perhaps, however, when one is in an environment where most people are different from oneself one must spend more time reflecting on those differences. Therefore, in Iowa where 2.1% of the population is Black, being Black might be most salient and in Georgia where 28.7% of the population is Black, being Biracial might be most salient. The finding

that Biracial boys had the lowest overall Black pride score is also of particular interest. Most often in the US, part-Black individuals identify themselves and are identified by others as being Black; for an individual to have a low level of pride in this part of himself or herself may have serious implications in terms of his or her relationships with self and others. Differing levels of Black pride may then cause a strain on the friendship of a Black boy and a Biracial boy, for instance, as one or both individuals may experience a lack of closeness or understanding.

As predicted, Black adolescents reported having more Black friends than did Biracial adolescents. Total number of friends was not assessed, so this finding does not suggest that Biracial individuals are lacking in friendships. However, Biracial adolescents report having fewer friends in the group to which they feel they belong (i.e. Black adolescents) which may have implications for their sense of belonging. Teachers and counselors who work with Black and Biracial individuals should be aware that Biracial youth may not be fully integrated into social networks of Black youth. Of interest also, is that Biracial boys reported having the smallest number of Black friends as compared to all of the other adolescents. Unfortunately, we cannot determine from our data if biracial youth have larger social networks composed of friends from other racial groups to compensate for their smaller networks of Black friends. There were several hypotheses regarding social self-confidence. An unexpected finding was that overall, the girls reported lower social self-confidence than did the boys. One important finding was that among girls, as predicted, Biracial youth had lower social self-confidence than Black youth. These findings suggest a need to increase social skills and self-confidence among girls in general, but especially among Biracial girls. It would also be of interest to assess girls' actual social skills to determine whether the Biracial girls are actually less socially skillful or whether they simply lack social self-confidence.

Among boys, Biracial and Black boys did not differ on social self-confidence; in fact, the trend was in the opposite direction: Biracial boys actually scored higher on average

on social self-confidence than Black boys, although the means were not significantly different. Anderson (1999) proposed that Black individuals may feel the need to be or act tough and Pabst (2003) discussed the feelings of some multiracial (part-Black) men who feel that they especially needed to prove their "Blacknes" and that they did so by taking on many stereotypical aspects of Black men. Biracial boys in this sample reported that they engaged in three of the four stereotypically masculine behaviors assessed at rates significantly higher than did the Black boys. The three behaviors were all substance related: smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol, and using drugs. Any substance use at this young age has many negative implications, most notably health related consequences, but substance use may also negatively impact education and relationships. The higher level of alcohol use is particularly alarming as the question specifically asked about heavy drinking, which was defined as three or more drinks at a time.

Stemming from the works by Anderson (1999) and Pabst (2003) suggesting the idealization of stereotypical aspects of a Black male identity due to a desire to fit in, we expected that Biracial boys would have more positive attitudes towards these "masculine" behaviors. There were no significant differences in the attitudes among the boys with regards to others in their age group who engage in substance use, sexual activity or the legitimacy of the use of violence. Legitimacy of the use of violence was the only scale where the mean score of the Black boys was nonsignificantly higher than that of the Biracial boys; on all other scales the scores of Biracial boys were nonsignificantly higher than those of the Black boys. However, the mean scores for both Black and Biracial boys were slightly positive though still in the mid-range of the response scales (about 26 on a 10- to 40-point scale). This apparent ambivalence may suggest that circumstances or context could be an important factor in whether or not boys actually engage in aggressive behaviors. It is important to understand not only which particular circumstances may lead violence to appear more warranted, but also to instill other types of conflict-resolution strategies since the boys' attitudes were slightly positive.

There were no significant differences in gender of friends, relationship status, or dating frequency as a function of racial identity among the girls. Although we did not collect information regarding specifics of these relationships, in light of previous research that Black men tend to have a preference to date women with lighter skin (Hunter, 1998, 2002), the fact that the results show no difference among romantic relationships is an important finding, suggesting that perhaps the trend towards greater popularity of Biracial females among Black males is changing. It would of interest to update the research in this field as more multiracial individuals are now coming of age.

Overall, racial identification did not account for very many significant differences between Black and Biracial adolescents and further, the effect sizes were generally small suggesting that something other than racial identification was a major contributor. Specifically there were no differences on measures of Black pride or social self-confidence and many of the differences that were found appear to be a function of gender, with racial identification having little, if any, additional impact. Only number of Black friends differed significantly as a function of racial identification across both genders. The conclusion to be drawn from this finding is uncertain, however. We could not determine whether Biracial youths' social networks were smaller than those of Black youth or whether Biracial youths' social networks were the same size, but included more friends from other racial and ethnic groups.

For girls, the major findings were that girls overall had higher Black pride and lower social self-confidence than boys did. Further Biracial girls endorsed a lower level of social self-confidence than did Black girls. However, there was no significant difference in romantic relationships or gender of friends, suggesting that the differences in social self-confidence affected friendships more than romantic relationships.

For boys, the major findings were overall higher social self-confidence than girls as well as overall lower Black pride. Within this group, the Biracial boys endorsed a much lower level of Black pride while endorsing the highest level of social self-confidence. Bira-

cial boys also reported engaging in significantly higher levels of risky behaviors, namely smoking, drinking, and drug use. These findings of higher social self-confidence and higher substance use are consistent with other findings that popularity and substance use are related. Killeya-Jones, Nakajima, and Costanzo (2006) found that among adolescents, "users" were rated as more popular by their peers; Luthar and D'Avanzo (1999) also found that substance use had a positive association to acceptance by peers.

5.0.1 Limitations

One limitation of the study concerns the extent to which the results can be generalized. Not only were participants selected from only two states, Iowa and Georgia. Also, 90% of the adolescents who self-identified as Biracial were located in Iowa. Thus, our results may not generalize to Black and Biracial youth from other parts of the countrly. Further, because the original study targeted African-American families, youth in our sample who identify as Biracial may differ from those who would be found in a study that explicitly recruited Biracial youth. Also, because this study utilized secondary data analysis in a study that was not designed to examine the experiences of Biracial youth, not all questions could be answered. For instance, while it was found that Black adolescents had more Black friends than did Biracial adolescents, it is not known about the quality of the relationships or the size of the friendship groups.

5.0.2 Conclusions

Although the study has limitations, the findings are still valuable as they illustrate some areas for consideration as well as areas for further investigation. There is evidence that Biracial girls are at some disadvantage socially. Specifically, the disadvantage seems to be in the realm of friendships rather romantic relationships. However, Biracial girls did not show a deficit in Black pride and may draw strength from this strong ethnic identification, which may compensate, to some extent, for their difficulties making friends.

Of greater concern is the use of harmful substances by Biracial boys. It is especially worrisome that these adolescents are apparently reinforced for these behaviors as they reported high social self-confidence and appear to be quite popular among their peers.

Counselors who work with Biracial youth should be aware of the specific vulnerabilities of Biracial girls and boys. In their work with girls, this should include paying special attention to feelings of social inclusion and/or exclusion and in their work with boys, paying special attention to substance use as well as other markers of self-esteem for both groups. Counselors who work with all youth should devote special attention to conflict management for boys and social skills assessment for girls.

Despite a few specific differences, Black and Biracial youth were quite similar on most measures. Although the differences should not be ignored, they should not be exaggerated either. Biracial youth are generally as well adjusted as their monoracial peers. Previous literature has shown that they do not have more mental health problems than other youth (Gibbs & Hines, 1992). The current study showed that overwhelmingly racial and ethnic identification is equally positive for both Biracial and Black youth and that with the possible exception of the friendships of Biracial girls, the social adjustment is also indistinguishable between the youth.

CHAPTER 6.   NOTES

[1]The Blacker the Berry by Wallace Thurman written in 1927 is an example of a classic literary work of fiction discussing colorism, while Don't Play in the Sun by Marita Golden is a contemporary (2004) nonfiction work. The Brothers (Gary Hardwick, 2001), Jungle Fever (Spike Lee, 1991), and Save the Last Dance (Thomas Carter, 2001) are movies and Waiting to Exhale (Terry McMillan, 1992) is a book that was adapted into a movie. These all depict an interracial (White-Black) relationship that is seen extremely negatively by the Black female characters.

[2]However, it should be noted that there are little to no studies that have the Black woman as the central focus (Chito Childs, 2005) so this image is a one-sided perception. In other words, most of the studies have focused on the White or Biracial women's interpretations of experiences with Black women and not on the Black women's own reasons for or interpretations of the experiences.

[3]For further reading on this topic please see Haller, 1981; Udry, Baumann, & Chase, 1971; or Webster & Driskell, 1983.

CHAPTER 7.   TABLES

Table 7.1   Correlations

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1-Blackpride3	1.00														
2-Blackfriends4	0.08*	1.00													
3-Sociability3	0.22**	0.05	1.00												
4-Smoking3	0.02	-0.09*	-0.09*	1.00											
5-Drinking3	-0.02	-0.08*	-0.07*	0.31**	1.00										
6-Drugs3	0.03	-0.06	-0.08*	0.37**	0.47**	1.00									
7-Sex3	0.12*	-0.01	0.09	0.20**	0.16**	0.24**	1.00								
8-Smoker3	0.09*	-0.01	-0.05	0.30**	0.22**	0.20**	0.09	1.00							
9-Drinkers3	0.08*	0.02	-0.03	0.20**	0.25**	0.21**	0.10	0.70**	1.00						
10-Druguser3	0.11**	0.07	-0.01	0.23**	0.22**	0.28**	0.12*	0.70**	0.68**	1.00					
11-Abstinence3	0.21**	0.01	0.13**	0.08*	-0.01	0.03	0.07	0.09*	0.14**	0.08*	1.00				
12-Violence3	-0.10**	0.06	-0.11**	0.05	0.10**	0.16**	0.07	0.10**	0.13**	0.14**	-0.15**	1.00			
13-Genderfriends4	0.11**	-0.02	-0.03	-0.03	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.00	0.02	0.03	0.08*	0.00	1.00		
14-Relationshipstatus4	0.03	0.07	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.00	-0.04	0.00	-0.04	0.08	0.02	0.02	1.00	
15-Dating4	0.06	0.01	0.06	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.01	-0.04	-0.02	0.06	-0.01	0.29**	1.00

*$p < .05$.
**$p < .01$.

7.1 Tables for hypotheses 1-4

Table 7.2 Means and Standard Deviations for Racial Identification as a Function of Gender

	Boys		Girls	
Racial Identification	**M**	**SD**	**M**	**SD**
Black Pride				
Black	74.62	7.64	75.74	6.42
Biracial	72.04	8.06	75.95	7.06
Total	74.46	7.68	75.75	6.47
Social Ability				
Black	33.17	4.04	32.14	4.15
Biracial	33.82	4.08	30.56	4.45
Total	33.21	4.04	32.01	4.19
Percentage of Black friends				
Black	8.63	2.04	8.45	2.42
Biracial	6.76	2.39	7.91	3.16
Total	8.53	2.10	8.40	2.49

Table 7.3 Analysis of Variance for Black Pride, Social Ability, and Percentage of Black Friends

Variable and Source	df	MS	F	η^2
Black Pride				
Racial Identification	1	71.09	1.43	.00
Gender	1	319.93	6.45**	.01
Racial Identification X Gender	1	99.19	2.00	.00
Error	761	49.63		
Social Ability				
Racial Identification	1	11.26	.67	.00
Gender	1	233.13	13.77**	.02
Racial Identification X Gender	1	63.34	3.74*	.01
Error	761	16.93		
Percentage of Black Friends				
Racial Identification	1	61.38	11.50**	.02
Gender	1	9.82	1.84	.00
Racial Identification X Gender	1	18.79	3.52	.01
Error	707	5.34		

*p < .05. **p < .01.

Table 7.4 Means and Standard Deviations on Black Pride as a Function of State, Gender, and Racial Identification

Racial Identification	State	Boys		Girls		Total	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Black	Iowa	74.90	6.80	76.32	6.24	75.67	6.53
	Georgia	74.36	8.36	75.17	6.57	74.79	7.46
Biracial	Iowa	70.79	7.32	75.85	7.30	73.94	7.65
	Georgia	84.5	2.12	77.00	4.00	80.00	5.10
Total	Iowa	74.44	6.96	76.25	6.39	75.44	6.70
	Georgia	74.48	8.38	75.20	6.53	74.86	7.45

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Table 7.5   Analysis of Variance for Black Pride as a Function of State, Gender, and Racial Identification

Variable and Source	df	MS	F	η^2
Black Pride				
Racial Identification	1	58.41	1.19	.00
Gender	1	.05	.001	.00
State	1	184.81	3.75	.01
Racial Identification X Gender	1	23.24	.47	.00
Gender X State	1	185.19	3.76	.01
Racial Identification X State	1	292.52	5.94*	.01
Racial Identification X Gender X State	1	152.64	3.1	.00
Error	757	49.24		

*p < .05. **p < .01.

7.2 Tables for hypothesis 5

Table 7.6 Means and Standard Deviations of Prototypes of Others Who
Engage in Risky Behaviors as a Function of Racial Identification

Racial Identification	Cigarettes		Alcohol		Drugs		Sex		Violence	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Black	13.48	4.74	13.68	4.91	10.72	4.29	17.43	4.99	26.07	4.35
Biracial	14.45	3.90	14.82	4.34	11.77	4.06	16.41	3.5	25.64	4.94
Total	13.54	4.70	13.75	4.88	10.78	4.27	17.37	4.91	26.04	4.38

Table 7.7 MANOVA and ANOVA F Ratios for Racial Identification Effects
on Prototypes of Others Who Engage in Specific Behaviors

	MANOVA	ANOVA				
		Cigarettes	Alcohol	Drugs	Sex	Violence
Variable	$F_{(5,343)}$	$F_{(1,347)}$	$F_{(1,347)}$	$F_{(1,347)}$	$F_{(1,347)}$	$F_{(1,347)}$
Racial Identification	.75	.89	1.13	1.27	.89	.20
MSE		22.07	23.76	18.28	24.10	19.22

*$p < .05$.　　**$p < .01$.

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7.3   Tables for hypothesis 6

Table 7.8   Means and Standard Deviations for Engagement in Risky Behaviors as a Function of Racial Identification among Boys

	Cigarettes		Alcohol		Drugs		Sex	
Racial Identification	**M**	**SD**	**M**	**SD**	**M**	**SD**	**M**	**SD**
Black	1.42	1.05	1.42	.86	5.73	1.64	9.68	11.05
Biracial	2.36	1.78	2.29	1.94	6.71	2.20	12.00	21.14
Total	1.48	1.13	1.47	.98	5.80	1.69	9.83	11.89

Table 7.9   MANOVA and ANOVA F Ratios of Racial Identification Effects on Engagement in Specific Behaviors

		ANOVA			
	MANOVA	**Cigarettes**	**Alcohol**	**Drugs**	**Sex**
Variable	F (4, 211)	F (1,214)	F (1,214)	F (1,214)	F (1,214)
Racial Identification	4.05**	9.29**	10.71**	4.50*	.50
MSE		1.24	.93	2.81	141.74

*p < .05. **p < .01.

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7.4   Tables for hypothesis 7

Table 7.10   Frequency of Relationship Status among Black and Biracial Girls

Relationship Status	Black (n = 332)	Biracial (n = 29)
Not dating	114	10
Dating, but not one specific	43	3
Dating one, but see others	35	3
Steady, committed	140	13

Table 7.11   Means and Standard Deviations for Gender of Friends and Dating as a Function of Racial Identification

	Biracial		Black		Total	
Variable	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Gender of Friends	3.35	1.41	3.41	.95	3.40	1.00
Dating	3.35	1.54	3.70	1.96	3.67	1.93

Table 7.12   One-Way Analysis of Variance for Effects of Racial Identification on Gender of Friends and Dating

Variable and Source	df	MS	F	η^2
Gender of friends				
Between Groups	1	.09	.09	.00
Within Groups	384	1.00		
Dating				
Between Groups	1	3.78	1.01	.00
Within Groups	397	3.73		

*p < .05. **p < .01

APPENDIX Measures

TARGET AGE

VARIABLES

G[1-3]E0006 What was your age on your last birthday?

G4E0006 How old are you? Even if your birthday is tomorrow or next week, what is your age today?

G[1-4]E0007 What is your birthday? Month. . .

G[1-4]E0008 What is your birthday? Day. . .

G[1-4]E0009 What is your birthday? Year. . .

TARGET GENDER

VARIABLES

G[1-4]E0362 Verify Target's gender

TARGET RACE/ETHNICITY

VARIABLES

G[1-3]E0119 In terms of an ethnic group, what do you consider yourself to be?

G3E0120 OPEN-ENDED "SPECIFY BI-RACIAL OR OTHER ETHNIC GROUP"

VALUES

G3E0119 (1) Black or African American (2) Asian, Asian American, or Oriental (3) Hispanic or Latino (4) White, Caucasian, European (5) American Indian (6) Other (7) Bi-Racial

SCHOOL

VARIABLES

G4E4466 Are you currently in school or will you be attending school during the next school year?

G4E4467 What grade are you currently enrolled in?

G4E4468 OPEN-ENDED "Specify other grade"

G4E4469 What is the highest level of education you have completed?

G4E4470 OPEN-ENDED "SPECIFY OTHER LEVEL OF EDUCATION"

VALUES

G4E4466 (1) yes (2) no

G4E4467 G4E4469 (0) Kindergarten, no grade completed (1-11) Grade completed below 12th, grade in now (12) High school grad or GED (13) 1 year college, vocational, or tech training (14) 2 years college, vocational, or tech training (15) 3 years college, vocational, or tech training (16) BS, BA (77) Other

CURRENT RELATIONSHIP STATUS & ROMANTIC PARTNER

VARIABLES

G4F4263 What best describes your current relationship status? G4F4264 On average, how often do you go out on a date?

VALUES

G4F4263 (1) I am not dating or seeing anyone right now (2) I date, but do not have a steady, romantic relationship with one person (3) I date one person on a regular basis but can still see other people (4) I am in a steady, committed relationship but not engaged (5) I am engaged to be married (and don't live with my fianc) (6) I live with my romantic partner but we do not currently have plans to marry (7) I live with my romantic partner and we are engaged to marry (8) I am married
G4F4264 (1) Haven't dated yet (2) Rarely (3) About once a month (4) Two or three times a month (5) Once a week (6) Twice a week (7) Three or more times a week (8) I am married or living with someone and don't date

FRIENDS' GENDER AND ETHNICITY

VARIABLES

G4E4430 Thinking about your close friends, is your group of close friends...

G4E4431 What proportion of your casual friends is African American?

G4E4432 What proportion of your close friends is African American?

VALUES

G4E4430 (1) All males (2) Mostly males (3) Both males and females, about equal (4) Mostly females (5) All females

G4E4431 G4E4432 (1) 10% or less (2) 11%-30% (3) 31%-60% (4) 61%-80% (5) Greater than 80%

BLACK PRIDE

ITEMS REVERSE CODED: G[3-4]T3018, G[3-4]T3019, G[3-4]T3023, G3T3026, G[3-4]T3032, G[3-4]T3033, G3T3036

MISSING VALUES: 8,9

CODING SCHEME WAVES 3-4: (1) strongly agree (2) somewhat agree (3) somewhat disagree (4) strongly disagree

VARIABLES

G[3-4]T3018 Blacks should be proud of their race. Do you. . .

G[3-4]T3019 Blacks can do anything if they try. Do you. . .

G[3-4]T3020 Whites do better in school. Do you. . .

G3T3021 Whites look better than Blacks. Do you. . .

G3T3022 Blacks do not do well in business. Do you. . .

G[3-4]T3023 Blacks are good at things besides sports. Do you. . .

G[3-4]T3024 I prefer to go to a White school. Do you. . .

G3T3025 Blacks have "bad" hair. Do you. . .

G3T3026 Short hair is as nice as long hair. Do you. . .

G[3-4]T3027 Blacks don't speak as well as Whites. Do you. . .

G[3-4]T3028 I prefer White friends. Do you. . .

G3T3029 Blacks are not good at math. Do you. . .

G3T3030 I don't like being around Blacks. Do you. . .

G[3-4]T3031 Most Blacks can't be trusted. Do you. . .

G[3-4]T3032 I like living in a Black neighborhood. Do you. . .

G[3-4]T3033 Black is beautiful. Do you. . .

G[3-4]T3034 I prefer living in a White neighborhood. Do you. . .

G[3-4]T3035 Whites speak better than Blacks. Do you...

G3T3036 Black people are very smart. Do you...

G3T3037 I wish my skin were lighter. Do you...

G3T3038 I think people of other races look better than Black people. Do you...

SOCIAL ABILITIES 1

(Combined with Social Abilities 2)

STANDARDIZED: No

ITEMS REVERSE CODED: None

MISSING VALUES: 8,9

CODING SCHEME WAVES 3-4: (1) not very well (2) pretty well (3) very well

VARIABLES

G[3-4]T3001 How well can you make and keep friends of the same sex?

G[3-4]T3002 How well can you make and keep friends of the opposite sex?

G[3-4]T3003 How well can you carry on conversations with others?

G[3-4]T3004 How well can you work in a group?

SOCIAL ABILITIES 2

(Combined with Social Abilities 1)

STANDARDIZED: No

ITEMS REVERSE CODED: G[3-4]T3005, G[3-4]T3008, G[3-4]T3009

MISSING VALUES: 8,9

CODING SCHEME WAVES 3-4: (1) not at all (2) little bit (3) quite a bit (4) always

VARIABLES

G[3-4]T3005 I find it hard to make friends.

G[3-4]T3006 I have a lot of friends.

G3T3007 I am a pretty important member of my class.

G[3-4]T3008 I usually do things by myself.

G[3-4]T3009 I am not liked by very many others.

G[3-4]T3010 I am popular with others my age.

G[3-4]T3011 I am really easy to like.

SMOKING BEHAVIOR

VARIABLES

G3T3090 How many cigarettes have you smoked in the last 3 months?

VALUES

G3T3090 (1) I have not smoked in the last 3 months (2) less than 3-4 each month (3) I have smoked a few times every month (4) I have smoked several times a week (5) I have smoked every day

DRINKING BEHAVIOR

REFERENCE: Developed by F. X. Gibbons & M. Gerrard for FACHS

VARIABLES

G[1-4]F0114 During the past 12 months, how often have you had a lot to drink, that is 3 or more drinks at one time

VALUES

G[1-4]F0114 (1) never (2) 1-2 times (3) about 3-11 times (4) a few times per month (5) about 1-2 times per week (6) several times per week

SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

REFERENCE: Developed by F. X. Gibbons & M. Gerrard for FACHS

VARIABLES

G3T3097 Have you ever had sex with a [BOY/GIRL]. (opposite sex)

G3T3109 In the last 3 months, how many times have you had sex with a [BOY/GIRL]?

(opposite sex)

VALUES

G3T3097 G4T4097 G4T4184 (1) no (2) yes, but I didn't want to (3) yes

G3T3098, G3T3109, G4T4109, G[3-4]T3110 G4T4098 G4T4185 G4T4195 OPEN-NUMERIC

DRUG USE BEHAVIOR

REFERENCE: Developed by F. X. Gibbons & M. Gerrard for FACHS

STANDARDIZED: No

ITEMS REVERSE CODED: None

MISSING VALUES: 8,9

CODING SCHEME: G[3-4]T3092 - G[3-4]T3095 G4T4183 (1) never (2) 1-2 times (3) about 3-11 times (4) about 1-2 times per month (5) about 3-4 times per month (6) more than once a week G[3-4]T3096 (1) never (2) 1-2 times (3) about 3-11 times (4) about 1-2 times per month (5) about 1-2 times per week (6) several times per week

VARIABLES

G[3-4]T3092 During the past 12 months, how often have you used Marijuana in order to get high?

G[3-4]T3093 During the past 12 months, how often have you used Ecstasy in order to get high?

G[3-4]T3094 During the past 12 months, how often have you used Methamphetamines (meth, speed, crank, ice, crystal) in order to get high?

G3T3095 During the past 12 months, how often have you used Cocaine in order to get high?

G[3-4]T3096 During the past 12 months, how often have you used a needle to inject drugs in order to get high?

SMOKER PROTOTYPE

REFERENCE: Gibbons, F. X., & Gerrard, M. (1997). Health images and their effects on health behavior. In B. Buunk & F. X. Gibbons (Eds.), *Health, coping, and well-being: Perspectives from social comparison theory* (pp. 63-94). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum Assoc.

STANDARDIZED: No

ITEMS REVERSE CODED: G[1-3]F0101, G[1-2]F0105, G[1-3]F0106

MISSING VALUES: 8,9

CODING SCHEME WAVES 1-3: (1) not at all (2) a little bit (3) kind of (4) very

VARIABLES

G[1-3]F0100 Type of kids your age who smoke cigarettes. . . How popular are they?

G[1-3]F0101 Type of kids your age who smoke cigarettes. . . How careless are they?

G[1-3]F0102 Type of kids your age who smoke cigarettes. . . How smart are they?

G[1-3]F0103 Type of kids your age who smoke cigarettes. . . How cool are they?

G[1-3]F0104 Type of kids your age who smoke cigarettes. . . How good-looking are they?

G[1-3]F0106 Type of kids your age who smoke cigarettes. . . How dull or boring are they?

DRINKER PROTOTYPE

REFERENCE: Gibbons, F. X., & Gerrard, M. (1997). Health images and their effects on health behavior. In B. Buunk & F. X. Gibbons (Eds.), *Health, coping, and well-being: Perspectives from social comparison theory* (pp. 63-94). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum Assoc.

STANDARDIZED: No

ITEMS REVERSE CODED: G[1-3]F0136, G[1-2]F0140, G[1-4]F0141

MISSING VALUES: 8,9

CODING SCHEME WAVES 1-4: (1) not at all (2) a little bit (3) kind of (4) very

VARIABLES

G[1-3]F0135 Type of kids your age who frequently drink alcohol. . . How popular are they?

G[1-3]F0136 Type of kids your age who frequently drink alcohol. . . How careless are they?

G[1-3]F0137 Type of kids your age who frequently drink alcohol. . . How smart are they?

G[1-3]F0138 Type of kids your age who frequently drink alcohol. . . How cool are they?

G[1-3]F0139 Type of kids your age who frequently drink alcohol. . . How good-looking are they?

G[1-3]F0141 Type of kids your age who frequently drink alcohol. . . How dull or boring are they?

ABSTINENCE PROTOTYPE AND SIMILARITY TO
PERSON OF SAME AGE
WHO CHOOSES NOT TO HAVE SEX UNTIL OLDER

REFERENCE: Gerrard, M., Gibbons, F.X., Reis-Bergan, M., Trudeau, L., Vande Lune, L., & Buunk, B. (2002). Health cognitions and adolescent alcohol consumption: Inhibitor effects of drinker and non-drinker prototypes. *Health Psychology, 21*, 601 - 609.
STANDARDIZED: No ITEMS REVERSE CODED: G3T3138, G3T3142, G4T4142
MISSING VALUES: 8,9
CODING SCHEME: G3T3137 - G3T3142 (1) not at all (2) a little bit (3) kind of (4) very

VARIABLES

G3T3137 The type of [GIRLS/BOYS] about your age who choose NOT to have sex at all (until they're older). How popular are they?

G3T3138 The type of [GIRL/BOY] about your age who choose NOT to have sex at all (until they're older). How careless are they?

G3T3139 The type of [GIRL/BOY] about your age who choose NOT to have sex at all (until they're older). How smart are they?

G3T3140 The type of [GIRL/BOY] about your age who choose NOT to have sex at all (until they're older). How cool are they?

G3T3141 The type of [GIRL/BOY] about your age who choose NOT to have sex at all (until they're older). How good-looking are they?

G3T3142 The type of [GIRL/BOY] about your age who choose NOT to have sex at all (until they're older). How dull or boring are they?

DRUG USER PROTOTYPE

REFERENCE: Gibbons, F. X., & Gerrard, M. (1997). Health images and their effects on health behavior. In B. Buunk & F. X. Gibbons (Eds.), *Health, coping, and well-being: Perspectives from social comparison theory* (pp. 63-94). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum Assoc.

STANDARDIZED: No

ITEMS REVERSE CODED: G[1-3]F0179, G[1-2]F0183, G[1-3]F0184, G4F4184

MISSING VALUES: 8,9

CODING SCHEME WAVES 1-4: (1) not at all (2) a little bit (3) kind of (4) very

VARIABLES

G[1-3]F0178 Type of kids your age who use drugs. . . How popular are they?

G[1-3]F0179 Type of kids your age who use drugs. . . How careless are they?

G[1-3]F0180 Type of kids your age who use drugs. . . How smart are they?

G[1-3]F0181 Type of kids your age who use drugs. . . How cool are they?

G[1-3]F0182 Type of kids your age who use drugs. . . How good-looking are they?

G[1-3]F0184 Type of kids your age who use drugs. . . How dull or boring are they?

VIOLENCE AS LEGITIMATE STRATEGY

REFERENCE: Simons, R. L., et al (1995) Developed for FACHS

STANDARDIZED: No

ITEMS REVERSE CODED: All but G[1-4]E0177, G[1-4]E0179

MISSING VALUES: 8,9

CODING SCHEME WAVES 1-4: (1) strongly agree (2) agree (3) disagree (4) strongly disagree

VARIABLES

G[1-4]E0176 Sometimes you have to use physical force or violence to defend your rights. Do you . . .

G[1-4]E0177 Arguing or fighting with other people usually makes matters worse rather than better. Do you . . .

G[1-4]E0178 People will take advantage of you if you don't let them know how tough you are. Do you . . .

G[1-4]E0179 People who get into fights are bullies. Do you . . .

G[1-4]E0180 Sometimes you need to threaten people in order to get them to treat you fairly. So you . . .

G[1-4]E0181 People do not respect a person who is afraid to fight physically for his or her rights. Do you . . .

G[1-4]E0182 Behaving aggressively is often an effective way of dealing with someone who is taking advantage of you. Do you . . .

G[1-4]E0183 If you don't let people know you will defend yourself, they will think you are weak and take advantage of you. Do you . . .

G[1-4]E0184 It is important to show other people that you cannot be intimidated. Do

you ...

G[1-4]E0185 People tend to respect a person who is tough and aggressive. Do you ...

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