A FURTHER INVESTIGATION OF INTERETHNIC FRIENDSHIP AMONG HIGH SCHOOL AGE ADOLESCENTS: ETHNIC PREJUDICE, SCHOOL INTERRACIAL CLIMATE, AND THE ACTING WHITE ACCUSATION

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Friendship is an essential component of adolescent development. During adolescence, friends become more vital to one’s identity, serving as a source of social comparison, support, companionship, and as confidants. Extensive research pertaining to several aspects of adolescent friendship has been conducted including: relations to well-being (Dubois & Hirsch, 1993; Hansell, 1985; Raja, McGee, & Stanton, 1992), social competence (Jenkins, Goodness, & Buhrmester, 2002; Rubin, Dwyer, Booth-LaForce, Kim, Burgess, & Rose-Krasnor, 2004), parent child attachment (Kerns, Klepac, & Cole, 1996; Weimer, Kerns, & Oldenburg, 2004) and gender differences in friendship (Hussong, 2000; McNelles & Connoly, 1999; Schneider, Woodburn, del Pilar Soteras del Toro, & Udvari, 2005; Youniss & Haynie, 1992). Though considerable research has examined various aspects of friendship during adolescence, limited information regarding interethnic friendship during this developmental period is available.

For the proposed study, interethnic friendship is defined as a friendship between two adolescents who differ in ethnic and/or racial background. People are often considered members of the same ethnicity when they share similar cultural practices such as religion, language, or traditions and have a common history. People are often considered members of the same race because they share biological heritage; this is evidenced through a variety of shared physical features such as similar skin tones, hair texture, facial features, or physical stature. For instance, in America, being Hispanic is
considered an ethnicity while being Black is considered a race. Theorists have established that generally, adolescents tend to choose friends who are similar to them on several dimensions (Berndt, 1982; Clark & Ayers, 1992; Urberg, Degirmencioglu, & Tolson, 1998), including gender and ethnicity (Clark & Ayers, 1992; Rose, 2002). This choice of similarity may explain, in part, why interethnic friendships become increasingly less common during adolescence (Hallinan & Williams, 1989; Kao & Joyner). Some researchers also theorize that the transition from elementary to middle and high school poses challenges to maintaining long-term friendships (DuBois & Hirsch, 1993). As mentioned, little is known regarding interethnic friendships. Even less is known regarding interethnic friendships among high school aged adolescents. Some literature has examined interethnic romantic relationships among adolescents (e.g., Joyner & Kao, 2005; Wang, Kao, & Joyner, 2006); however, when looking at interethnic friendships, the majority of the literature has examined elementary or college aged students. For this reason, an important goal of the proposed study is to survey high school aged adolescents. Obtaining this population’s views on interethnic friendships will not only expand the knowledge base regarding interethnic friendships among high school aged adolescents, but it will also expand knowledge regarding interethnic friendships in general.

Research suggests interethnic friendship is a unique friendship context that warrants further investigation. For instance, Aboud, Mendelson & Purdy (2003) found that elementary school children’s interethnic friendships were generally “less stable and intimate” than friendships between members of the same race. Among adolescents, Kao
and Joyner (2004) found that interethnic friends shared fewer activities (i.e. hanging out after school, talking on the phone) than same race friends. While the aforementioned research may allude to deficits in interethnic friendship when compared to intraethnic friendship, additional research highlights several benefits associated with being a member of an interethnic friendship. Aboud et al., (2003) also found that individuals in *high quality* (e.g., loyalty, companionship, mutual encouragement, helping, intimacy, emotional security, and positive feelings) friendships reported that their interethnic friendship exhibited less racial prejudice, helping behaviors, positive emotions, and “emotional security.” Several studies have also found that being a member of an interethnic friendship predicts increased multicultural sensitivity and decreased prejudice (e.g., Damico, Bell-Nathaniel, & Green, 2001; Hunter & Elias, 1999). Given the noted benefits of interethnic friendships, it is important to examine these relationships further, especially potential variables that contribute to the initiation, maintenance, and quality of interethnic friendships. Thus the current study was conducted to investigate the variables mentioned that the existing literature has found to be associated with interethnic friendship and to build upon previous work conducted by the author.

The author investigated interethnic friendships in her Master’s Thesis (Demmings, 2008). The purpose of the project was to take an exploratory approach to examining interethnic *friendship quality* among high school aged adolescents, who were members of a same gender, interethnic friendship. Two additional variables theoretically related to the quality of interethnic friendships were examined as well. Specifically, the variables *ethnic identity development* (i.e., the extent to which an individual feels they
belong and are committed to their ethnic group) and *other group orientation* (i.e., how willing an individual is to interact with others from different ethnic and racial groups than their own) were examined. Advanced ethnic identity development is theoretically related to a multicultural orientation and age for ethnic minorities as well as European Americans, who are traditionally considered an ethnic majority in the United States (Perron, Vondracek, Skorikov, Tremblay, & Corbiere, 1998; Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Chavira, 1992; Phinney & Tarver, 1988). Accordingly, it was hypothesized that older participants would report more advanced ethnic identity. In this same vein, it was hypothesized that participants, since they were members of an interethnic friendship, would report high levels of other group orientation. Adding a qualitative component, participants were also asked whether they felt comfortable sharing their culture with their friend, and if yes, how did they share (e.g., conversation, taking friend to a cultural event). A summary of the findings are as follows: A) Friendship quality ratings were moderate (e.g., $M = 3.5, SD = .49$ on a 5 point scale), with girls reporting feeling closer to their friends compared to boys; B) The majority (73%) of participants were advanced in their ethnic identity, with older adolescents having statistically significantly more advanced ethnic identity development; C) The majority of participants were high on other group orientation ($M = 3.5, SD = .49$ on a 4 point scale); and D) The majority (82%) of adolescents reported feeling comfortable sharing their culture with their friend.

Two additional qualitative questions were included in the original questionnaire packet but were not systematically analyzed. These questions asked students to describe whether there were any advantages or disadvantages associated with being a member of
an interethnic friendship. A preliminary review of adolescents’ responses to the questions indicated that participants had experienced both advantages (e.g., learning about other cultures) and disadvantages (e.g., misunderstanding between friends based on race; disapproval from peers or family). A more systematic approach to identifying and coding potential themes from these qualitative responses must be taken. Also, as is characteristic of qualitative data collection, data from additional participants must be gathered to investigate whether additional themes emerge (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003).

Taken together, past research and results from the authors’ previous work on interethnic friendships, offer compelling findings upon which to build. However, this is only the beginning. There are more constructs to investigate within the context of interethnic friendship. While the author’s previous work examined the relationships between friendship quality, ethnic identity, and other group orientation, the proposed study aims to include other constructs that may impact and define interethnic friendship. Specifically, the study will investigate ethnic prejudice, school interracial climate, the acting white accusation, and conduct a content analysis of qualitative themes, regarding the content and meaning of interethnic friendship, as reported by the participants. The next section of this paper will describe and present a rationale for the inclusion of examining these variables.

*Ethnic Prejudice*

Ethnic prejudice is an intriguing variable to examine within the context of interethnic friendships. At first glance, one would predict that individuals who have a
good friend who is a different ethnicity than their own would be low on reported prejudice. However, the concepts discussed in the next section of this paper will reveal that feelings and beliefs regarding interethnic interaction are more complex than one might initially expect (e.g., Ashmore, 1981; Taylor, 1981; Weber & Crocker, 1983).

Moreover, the developmental period of adolescence potentially adds to the complexity of the ways in which feelings towards intergroup interactions manifest themselves (Black-Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Brown, Mory, & Kinney, 1994; Rutland, 1999). Thus, the next section of this paper will begin with providing a definition and description of prejudice, highlight the complex nature of prejudice, and include a discussion of the developmental trajectory of prejudice.

Prejudice is most generally defined as an unwarranted negative attitude regarding an individual(s) based on their membership in a particular social group (Allport, 1954). Often times, these negative attitudes may be accompanied by discriminatory behavior (Kiesner, Maass, Cadinu, & Vallese, 2003). Generally, being in an interethnic friendship has been associated with decreased ethnic prejudice (Aboud, Mendelson & Purdy, 2003; Damico, Bell-Nathaniel, & Green, 2001; Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). However, a social psychological phenomenon referred to as “subtyping” suggests that despite engaging in frequent, positive interethnic interactions, many individuals remain generally prejudiced. Subtyping is characterized by believing that the people with whom one interacts are “exceptions to the rule” (Ashmore, 1981; Taylor, 1981; Weber & Crocker, 1983). For instance, if a European American believes all African Americans are poor students, but has a friend who is African American and a good student, they may say
to their friend, “You’re not like most African Americans.” Thus, though they know an African American who contradicts their stereotyped view of African Americans, their stereotyped belief persists because they think of their friend as an exception.

An issue tied closely to the phenomenon of subtyping is the question of whether prejudice is a general factor or source specific. For instance, if a person is prejudiced against one ethnic group, are they more likely to be prejudiced against all ethnic groups? In reference to interethnic friendship, since interethnic friendship has been associated with decreased prejudice, is this decreased prejudice specific to the ethnicity of one’s friend, or does it extend to all ethnic groups different than one’s own? Maybe an individual is less prejudiced against Arab Americans because one of their good friends is Arab American; however could the individual still have a negative opinion of African Americans, Hispanics or Asians? The Kiesner, Maas, Cadinu, and Vallese’s (2003) Ethnic Groups Rating Scale, which will be used in the proposed study, allows for this assessment.

Another concern that must be taken into consideration is the developmental trajectory of prejudice. Both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies have found that around kindergarten, children tend to have a high amount of prejudice (Doyle & Aboud, 1995), which generally begins to decrease soon after. While prejudice generally tends to decrease after kindergarten, several studies have found that around adolescence, prejudice begins to increase once again (e.g., Black-Gutman & Hickson; 1996; Brown, Mory, & Kinney, 1994; Rutland, 1999). Perhaps it is the increased emphasis on group
membership that occurs during adolescence, which further divides adolescents into an “us” versus “them” mentality.

Taken together, the phenomenon of subtyping, ethnic prejudice as a global or source specific factor, the developmental trajectory of prejudice, and findings that being a member of an interethnic friendship is associated with decreased prejudice highlight the importance of investigating ethnic prejudice within the context of interethnic friendships. Also, revisiting the findings from the author’s previous work on interethnic friendship among adolescents, the majority of adolescents were advanced in their ethnic identity development and high on other group orientation, both theoretically negatively related to prejudice. Prejudice is generally higher during adolescence; however, will this be the case for high school aged adolescents who are members of interethnic friendships? Findings from this study may illuminate questions regarding how prejudice manifests itself among high school aged adolescents who are members of interethnic friendships. To the best of the author’s knowledge, the proposed study is the first that has investigated prejudice from this vantage point—juxtapositioning the developmental period of adolescence with being a member of an interethnic friendship.

_School Interracial Climate_

Generally, interracial climate is defined as observable actions that establish norms and reveal the values of a particular environment (Guion, 1973). School interracial climate indicates the “quality of interpersonal interactions within schools” (Hayes, 1997 as cited by Mattison & Aber, 2007, p. 2). Though the term “ethnicity” has been used thus far when speaking of interactions between individuals from different cultural and racial
backgrounds (e.g., interethnic friendships), the term school inter “racial” climate will be
used in this section, as it is the term used by researchers who examine intergroup
interactions in primary school, secondary school, and college settings. While it must not
be ignored that some theorists fervently believe a distinction exists between race and
ethnicity (e.g., Helms, 1990), others focus more on the overlap between the two (e.g.
Phinney, 1996). The latter perspective is what the author of this paper will take for the
purposes of the proposed research project. Thus, from this point on in this document,
etnicity and race will be used interchangeably, when referencing constructs relevant to
intergroup interaction.

Returning to the construct at hand, many aspects in an educational institution
contribute to its overall interracial climate such as programming and the attitudes and
beliefs expressed by the administration, teachers, and staff. Principals, teachers, and
other school officials can directly and indirectly send messages to students regarding
interethnic interaction. For instance, if a school does not have any programs that promote
diversity when the population at the school is in fact diverse, this lack of programing
could imply something about the interracial climate (e.g. “It is acceptable to ignore
multiculturalism”) (Green, Adams, & Turner, 1988). The aforementioned example is a
fitting demonstration of implicit messages a school environment might send students
regarding interracial interaction. Teacher attitudes, instruction, and interaction with
students can influence student interaction (Epstein, 1985; Patchen, 1982; Schofield,
1989). Additionally, research indicates that students working together in interethnic
groups exhibit more helping behaviors and are less likely to feel social threats from
members of other racial and ethnic groups within and outside of the classroom setting (Cohen & Lotan, 1995).

Not only do principals, teachers, and school staff contribute to an individual’s overall perception of their school’s interracial climate, peer interactions are also important (Green, Adams, & Turner, 1988; Chavous, 2005). For instance, if a student sees fellow students of different ethnicities working amicably together, a number of interethnic friendships, and other peers who react positively to these interethnic interactions and friendships, the dynamics in this environment can influence an individual’s perception of their school interracial climate as well. However, if the opposite is true—the student regularly witnesses negative interethnic interactions, constant disagreements between students based on racial and ethnic issues, and the disapproval of interethnic friendships by fellow students, the dynamics of this environment could render an individual hesitant to interact with peers of different ethnicities than their own in their school. Previous research indicates that in schools where the school interracial climate reflects higher incidents of negative interactions, students often cleave to same-ethnic peers for support (Chavous, 2005). As a result, the probability that interethnic friendships can be established and maintained may diminish.

Given the data on the importance of school interracial climate (e.g., Chavous, 2005; Green, Adams, & Turner, 1988), it is imperative that the perceptions adolescent participants have of their school interracial climate be investigated. For instance, do they believe school faculty and staff encourage interethnic interaction? Do they believe fellow students from diverse backgrounds generally interact positively? The adolescents’
answers to these types of questions may provide added insight into environmental conditions (e.g., school racial climate) that could influence how students who are members of interethnic friendships perceive the quality of their friendship. Within the current dataset the author has gathered, all interethnic friendship pairs attended the same school as their friend and reported school as being the most common place where the friends met and initiated their relationship. Using the reasoning that more positive (e.g., accepting and promoting interethnic friendships, open dialogue regarding interethnic/race relations) school interracial climates support the initiation and maintenance of interethnic friendships, it is probable that the adolescents in the dataset perceive their school interracial climate as one that is generally supportive of their interethnic friendship. Green, Adams, and Turner (1988) found that number of interethnic friendships was strongly correlated with ratings of school interracial climate among European American and African American middle school students. In other words, the students who reported more interethnic friendships were more likely to rate their school interracial climate favorably. While Green, Adams, and Turner inquired about the number of interethnic friendships middle school students had, they did not assess the student’s perception of the friendship. Did they consider their friends “good” or “best” friends? How long had they been friends? The current study collected data on high school students who reported having a “good” or “best” friend of a different race or ethnicity than their own. All students in the current dataset attended the same school as their friend. Would these adolescents perceive their school interracial climate positively?
The Acting White Accusation (AWA)

Assessing school interracial climate can provide insight into whether adolescents who are members of interethnic friendships perceive that their fellow schoolmates approve of interethnic interaction. However, there is an additional variable relevant to peer acceptance for African American adolescents—the acting White accusation. The acting white accusation was first explored by Fordham and Ogbu (1986) in an attempt to explain the academic achievement gap existent between African American and European American adolescents. Initially, Fordham and Ogbu hypothesized that African Americans who performed well academically were accused of “acting white” by their fellow African American peers, based on a common perception that academic achievement was associated with Eurocentric values. It was further hypothesized that in order to avoid this questioning of their racial identity, African American students disidentified with academic achievement, which in turn, would protect them from experiencing the acting white accusation. Subsequent research has discovered that performing well academically does not adequately account for every African American’s experience of the acting white accusation (Carter, 2005; Cook & Ludwig, 1998; Tyson, Darity, & Castillino, 2005). However, many African Americans have experienced the acting white accusation, and behaviors such as speech (e.g., using Standard American English), dress, and hobbies (e.g., listening to alternative, rock, or grunge music) put African Americans at an increased risk for experiencing the acting white accusation from fellow African Americans (Neal-Barnett, Stadulis, Singer, Murray, & Demmings, 2009).
Another potential factor that may put African American youth at risk for experiencing the acting white accusation is the friends with whom they might associate. For instance, if an African American has a “good” or “best” friend who is European American, fellow African Americans may perceive that interethnic friendship as evidence that the African American “wants to be White” (Neal-Barnett et al., 2009). It is important to investigate whether being in an interethnic friendship is associated with risk for experiencing the acting white accusation because for some adolescents, this could have implications for the quality of their friendship. For many, it puts added stress on a relationship when an individual perceives disapproval from others.

While taking into consideration the effects experiencing the acting white accusation may have on an African American adolescent, it is important to assess how adolescents respond to experiencing the acting white accusation. Some adolescents may be more bothered than others by being accused of acting white, and this could have implications for their relationship—particularly if the person being accused believes that being a member of the interethnic friendship contributed to them experiencing the accusation.

Adolescent Friendship and Friendship Quality

Not only have developmental psychologists focused on outlining the normative changes in friendship, but examining the quality of friendship and the associated influences of high quality friendships has been a center of investigation as well. However, before discussing the associated benefits of high quality friendships, it is important to define friendship quality.
Bukowski, Hoza, and Boivin (1994) suggested five dimensions that characterize the quality of a friendship: closeness, companionship, conflict, helping, and security. Friends who report high levels of closeness (e.g., intimacy), companionship, helping, and security, and minimal levels of conflict, are considered to have a high quality friendship. Research has found that adolescents who rate one positive dimension (e.g., closeness, companionship, helping, and security) high tend to rate other positive dimensions of friendship quality highly as well (Berndt, 2007; Berndt & Keefe, 1995).

As mentioned, high friendship quality has been associated with several benefits. Specifically, self-esteem, utilizing positive coping skills, increased school engagement, and better adjustment (Berndt & Keefe, 1995; Hartup & Stevens, 1999; Keefe & Berndt, 1996) have been identified. Gender differences in friendship quality have emerged as well; generally, during early adolescence, girls report higher levels of intimacy compared to their male counterparts (Azmitia, Kamprath, & Linnet, 1998). One additional characteristic of adolescent friendship that seems to differentiate these types of relationships from friendships in earlier developmental periods is self-disclosure. Self-disclosure is generally defined as sharing one’s personal thoughts and feelings (Bauminger, Finzi-Dottan, Chason, & Har-Even, 2008). For many adolescents, a level of comfort is required to disclose intimate information between themselves and another individual. Self-disclosure has been closely linked to intimacy (e.g., closeness), and researchers recognize intimacy as another staple of adolescent friendship (e.g., Berndt & Hanna, 1995; Buhrmester & Prager, 1995; McNelles & Connolly, 1999; Parker & Gottman, 1989; Shulman, Elicker, & Sroufe, 1994). Adolescents engage in self-
disclosure and experience intimacy with individuals who they consider to be close friends, and theorists propose that adolescents who are members of close friendships are in an ideal environment in which to engage in self-exploration and identity formation (Buhrmester, 1990; Parker & Gottman, 1989).

As indicated, the author (Demmings, 2008) investigated an aspect of self-disclosure specific to interethnic friendships—whether or not the adolescents reported feeling comfortable sharing their culture with their friend. Again, the majority (82%) reported feeling comfortable sharing their culture with their friend through attending cultural events (15%) or conversations (65%). One adolescent said about their friend, “I feel comfortable because we can talk about anything even if my heritage is involved. He [doesn’t] down talk me or anything.” Another adolescent commented, “Yes, we talk openly about our beliefs and our race on the phone, at school, and when we hang out. We talk about comfortable and uncomfortable things we deal with as [members of] our race.” For those adolescents who reported feeling comfortable sharing their culture with their friend, self-disclosure could have served as a mechanism by which both friends increased their multicultural sensitivity, reinforcing feelings of closeness among the friends and thus having implications for the quality of their friendship.

Though most adolescents reported feeling comfortable sharing their culture, some adolescents implied that they did not feel comfortable discussing issues of ethnicity and race with their friend. One participant explained, “She wouldn’t understand how it feels when people make you feel negative about the color of your skin.” If an adolescent perceives that their friend would not understand them, they may avoid self-disclosing
their thoughts or feelings pertaining to issues relevant to their ethnicity or race. This hesitancy to self-disclose could potentially have implications for the quality of their interethnic friendship.

While the Bukowski, Hoza, and Boivin (1994) *Friendship Quality Scale* “taps into” five dimensions of general friendship quality, aspects that could potentially be unique to adolescent interethnic friendships (e.g., sharing one’s culture) are not examined by this measure. Accordingly, qualitative data collected in the author’s previous work and through recruiting additional participants must be systematically organized and examined. Incorporating a qualitative approach will assist in painting a clearer picture of how adolescents who are members of an interethnic friendship perceive this relationship.

*Qualitative Themes*

The current study has several quantitative research questions in mind; however, the author realizes the benefit of obtaining a qualitative perspective as well. As mentioned, while Bukowski, Hoza, and Boivin’s (1994) Friendship Qualities Scale is appropriate for assessing general friendship quality among middle and high school aged adolescents, there is no known assessment that inquires about themes that could potentially be unique to interethnic friendship quality.

The author’s existing dataset contains participants’ qualitative responses to the questions, A) “Do you feel comfortable sharing your cultural/racial heritage with your friend? If yes, how do you share (i.e. attending an event, talking, etc.)?” B) What are the benefits of being a member of an interracial friendship? C) What are the disadvantages
of being a member of an interracial friendship?” However, to date, participants’ responses to these questions have not been systematically organized and coded into categories. The organization and systematic coding of qualitative data should shed light on the potential advantages and disadvantages associated with being a member of an interethnic friendship. Given what the literature says thus far (e.g., Aboud, Mendelson & Purdy, 2003; Damico, Bell-Nathaniel, & Green, 2001; Hunter & Elias, 1999), it is reasonable to assume that themes of increased multiculturalism and decreased prejudice might arise, reflecting the benefit of interethnic friendship. It is also reasonable to assume that themes related to the potential for conflict (perhaps based on ethnic and racial differences), disapproval from peers and others might arise as disadvantages associated with being a member of an interethnic friendship as well.

Hypotheses

There are three central goals of the proposed study. The first goal is to build upon what is known about the participants in the author’s 2008 data set to test inferences regarding the prejudice level of participants, how they perceive their school interracial climate, whether African American participants involved in African American—European American friendship dyads have experienced the acting white accusation, and if they have experienced the accusation, how bothered are they by that accusation. As mentioned, the majority of participants in the 2008 data set were advanced in their ethnic identity development and reported high other group orientation. All participants were members of interethnic friendships. Also, 15 African American participants were members of an African American—European American interethnic friendship dyad. As
indicated, being in an interethnic friendship may put African American adolescents at an increased risk for experiencing the acting white accusation. Moreover, the extent to which an adolescent is bothered by experiencing the acting white accusation may be associated with how they view the quality of their friendship, if the accused adolescent perceives that their involvement in the friendship contributed to his/her experience of the accusation.

The second goal is to examine whether variables such as prejudice and perceived racial climate are associated with interethnic friendships. If relationships exist, these findings could have practical implications for policy and programming in the realm of prejudice reduction and school intergroup interaction enhancement interventions. The third goal is to collect additional qualitative data that can serve as a supplement to the quantitative analyses. Including qualitative data is important because it highlights specific thoughts, feelings, and experiences that traditional Likert-type measures may inadvertently fail to detect. Moreover, an analysis of themes that emerge from qualitative data can lead to the development of an assessment tool that can measure elements of friendship quality specific to interethnic friendships. With the aforementioned goals in mind, the hypotheses of the proposed study are as follows:

**Hypothesis 1:** The first hypothesis is made with the intent to examine the general levels of reported prejudice among the participants and the phenomena of subtyping and prejudice as a source specific or general factor. Accordingly, the hypothesis is three-part.
**Hypothesis 1a:** The majority of adolescents in the existing dataset are at an advanced ethnic identity status and high on other group orientation. Since achieved ethnic identity status and higher other group orientation both reflect increased multiculturalism, it is hypothesized that a substantial number of adolescents will report low levels of general prejudice.

**Hypothesis 1b:** Since it is predicted that a substantial number of adolescents will score low on general prejudice, it is also predicted that the phenomenon of subtyping (e.g., thinking of my friend as an exception) will not be detected.

**Hypothesis 1c:** Since it is predicted that participants will be low on general prejudice, it is also predicted that prejudice as a general (global) factor will emerge.

**Hypothesis 2:** The second hypothesis is made with the intent to examine participants’ general perceptions of their school interracial climate and to examine the relationship between school interracial climate and reported friendship quality.

**Hypothesis 2a:** Given that all friends in the existing data set attended the same school as one another and the probability of interethnic friendship has been found to decrease in negative school interracial climates, it is hypothesized that the majority of adolescents in the current study will report positive school interracial climates.

**Hypothesis 2b:** It is hypothesized that school interracial climate and reported friendship quality will be positively related. The more positively
participants rate their school interracial climate, the more positively they will rate their friendship quality.

**Hypothesis 3:** Hypothesis three is proposed with the intent of investigating whether or not African American students involved in an African American-European American interethnic friendship report experiencing the acting white accusation and whether, ultimately, it is related to their reported friendship quality. Accordingly, the third hypothesis is two-part as well.

**Hypothesis 3a:** A substantial number of African American participants who are members of African American—European American friendship dyads will report experiencing the acting white accusation.

**Hypothesis 3b:** For those who report experiencing the acting white accusation, the extent to which they are bothered by experiencing the accusation will be negatively related to their reported friendship quality. In other words, the more bothered they are by the accusation, the lower their reported friendship quality will be.

**Hypothesis 4:** Participants’ responses to the open-ended qualitative questions will support current themes in the literature and the author’s previous research regarding the dynamics of interethnic friendship (e.g., potential for increased multiculturalism and decreased prejudice; potential for increased conflict due to differences based on race and ethnicity).
CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

A total of seventy-six adolescents attending high schools in the Midwest participated in the study. Of the 76 participants in the study, four high schools were represented. Forty-four participants attended School 1, a public school located in a suburban small town that consists of the following ethnic group representation: European American (79.4%), African American (10.9%), Hispanic (0.8%), Asian/Pacific Islander (2.5%), and Multi-Racial (6.1%). Twenty-four percent of students are eligible for the discounted or free lunch program at School 1. Fourteen participants attended School 2, a private school located in the inner-city with the following ethnic group representation: European American (90.57%), African American (1.54%), Hispanic (5.52%), and Asian American (2.37%). Approximately 50% of students receive financial aid. Two participants attended School 3, a private school located in a suburban small town with the following ethnic group representation: European American (80.1%), African American (3%), Asian American (9%), and Not Specified (7.9%). School 3 does not offer a financial aid program. Sixteen participants attended School 4, a public school located in the inner-city with the following ethnic group representation: European American (11.7%), African American (85.6%), Hispanic (1%), Asian American (1%), and Not Specified (0.7%). Seventy-eight percent of students are eligible for the discounted or free
lunch program at School 4. Forty-four of the 76 participants were female. Thirty-two participants were male. Ages ranged from 14-18 with a mean age of 15.9 ($SD = 1.2$).

The distribution of adolescents in each grade was as follows: 9th grade ($n=16$), 10th grade ($n=23$), 11th grade ($n = 18$), and 12th grade ($n=19$). Participant individual ethnic group representation was as follows: European American ($n=31$), African American ($n=25$), Bi racial ($n=13$), Latino/a ($n=4$), Asian American ($n=1$), Norwegian ($n=1$) and South African ($n=1$). To be eligible to participate, adolescents were required to be attending the ninth through twelfth grade and be a member of a same gender, interethnic friendship in which they considered their friend a “good” or “best” friend. Though all research questions and analyses are at the individual level, both friends were required to participate in order to cross-reference their information (Please see Appendix A for a copy of the recruitment presentation).

**Power Analysis**

The technique of statistical power analysis considers the relationship among sample size, significance criterion, effect size, and statistical power (Cohen, 1992) in order to ensure that statistically significant relationships among the study variables can be detected. Cohen (1992) recommended a standard that researchers can reference. Cohen’s standard allows researchers to determine, in advance, the sample size required to detect statistically significant relationships among variables. Using Cohen’s (1992) recommended power level and effect sizes, anticipated sample sizes were calculated for each of the applicable quantitative hypotheses.
After an extensive literature view, no studies that investigated ethnic prejudice as a source specific versus general factor or lack of subtyping within the context of an interethnic friendship were located. Thus, estimates for effect sizes were calculated with the expectation that participants’ responses would vary on a normal distribution. Using a significance criterion of .05, a statistical power estimate of .80, an expected mean difference of 1.0, standard deviation of 1.5, and group size ratio of 10, the required sample size of participants per group was recommended at n=36.

Since previous studies have not examined the relationship between school interracial climate and perceived friendship quality, studies within a similar area were referenced for effect size estimates. Specifically, Pettigrew and Tropp’s (2000) meta-analysis of over 203 studies investigating the relationship between prejudice and intergroup contact found effect sizes of approximately .40. Thus, using an effect size of .40, a significance criterion of .05 and a statistical power estimate of .80, the required sample size for the aforementioned analysis was estimated at n = 99.

To the author’s knowledge, a study has yet to investigate African American adolescents who are members of an African American—European American interethnic friendship and the relationship between the extent to which the African American adolescent is bothered by the acting white accusation and their perceived friendship quality. Accordingly, an estimate for anticipated effect size was computed by using what is known about the means and standard deviations of these two variables (e.g., level of bother and perceived friendship quality) in similar samples. Using the calculated effect
size of .80, a significance criterion of .05, and a statistical power estimate of .80, the required sample size for this analysis was estimated at n =26 per group.

Since the proposed study represents a relatively new area of investigation, it is very difficult to determine the appropriate sample size. After conducting a power analysis for each quantitative hypothesis, a best estimate was calculated using logically predicted data and the author’s knowledge of comparable studies. Accordingly, a recommended sample size of N=54 was proposed for the current study. The current study’s sample size of 76 exceeds this number. The subsample size for each analysis will be reported in the results section of this document.

**Measures**

*Ethnic Prejudice*

An adapted version of Kiesner, Maas, Cadinu, and Vallese’s *Ethnic Groups Rating Scale* (2003) was used to assess participants’ prejudicial views towards specific ethnic/racial groups. Kiesner used this questionnaire for 7th and 8th graders originally to assess attitudes towards ethnic groups in Italy. Accordingly, the measure has been adapted to include representation from ethnic groups residing in the United States. For the current sample, Cronbach’s alpha test of internal reliability was run and equaled .76.

The Ethnic Groups Rating Scale (2003) was used in several ways. First, the assessment was used to determine an overall prejudice mean score. Secondly, the assessment was used to investigate whether individuals held differential opinions of certain ethnic groups compared to others. The second approach was used in the hope to
“tap into” whether some individuals hold specific prejudices or whether their prejudice is more global. Finally, the ethnicity of each participant’s friend was cross-referenced with their views of the ethnic group to which their friend belonged. For instance, if a European American participant had an African American friend, their rating of African Americans was analyzed to ascertain whether they were low on prejudice against African Americans. This method was used to address the question of whether subtyping (e.g., thinking of their friend as an exception) was at work. In other words, though they may have an African American friend, they may still view African Americans as a group unfavorably. To investigate levels of prejudice, each participant’s total mean score from the Kiesner et al.’s (2003) ethnic groups rating scale was calculated. Participants rated their opinions of six different ethnic groups (i.e., Asian Americans, African Americans, Hispanics, European Americans, Native Americans, and Arab Americans) using the following three questions: (1) How much do you like the following groups? (2) How nice do you consider the following groups? (3) How much can you trust people from the following groups? The questions were asked of participants in the aforementioned order. Accordingly, participants first completed Question 1, indicating how much they liked each of the ethnic groups listed in the following order: Asian Americans, African Americans, Hispanics, European Americans, Native Americans, and Arab Americans. Next, participants completed Question 2, indicating how nice they believed each ethnic group to be, rating each of the ethnic groups in the same order as in Question 1. Then, participants completed Question 3, indicating how much they believed they could trust people from each ethnic group. Groups were presented in the same order as in Questions
Participants used a 7 point Likert scale to respond to each question respectively (1 = not at all and 7 = very much; e.g., 1 = I don’t like them at all and 7 = I like them very much. For ease of interpretation, items were reverse coded so that averages closer to 7 (e.g., 5 and above) indicated high levels of prejudice. As determined by Kiesner et. al., (2003), averages of 4 were considered neutral. Averages closer to 1 (e.g., 3 and below) indicated low levels of prejudice.

**Additional Question**

To further explore the possibility of subtyping (e.g., thinking of my friend as an exception to an ethnic group stereotype), the 20 participants who were added to the existing dataset responded to the following statement, “My friend is similar (i.e. “typical”) to other people of his/her race/ethnicity.” This statement was added as an addendum to the Ethnic Groups Rating Scale. As with the Ethnic Groups Rating Scale, participants used a 7 point Likert scale with ratings of 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much) in response to the aforementioned statement. A copy of the Ethnic Groups Rating Scale, along with the “typical friend” question asked of the additional 20 participants, can be found in Appendix B.

**School Interracial Climate**

Green, Adams, and Turner’s (1988) School Interracial Climate Scale (α = .94) was used to assess racial climate. This scale consists of forty-three items. Participants were asked to rate on a 5 point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = “strongly agree” to 5 = “strongly disagree” with statements related to four subscales: Interdependence (15 items, α = .85), Supportive Norms (10 items, α = .90), Association (9 items, α = .81), and Equal
Status (9 items, $\alpha = .90$). All reliability statistics represent those calculated in the current sample. Sample items include: “Students here like to have friends of different races.” (Interdependence), “Teachers encourage students here to make friends with people from different races.” (Supportive Norms), “You have to be a particular race to get privileges at this school.” (Association), and “All students at this school are treated equally” (Equal Status). Since in the original measure higher ratings actually indicate a more negative school interracial climate, items were reverse scored for ease of interpreting the data when making statistical comparisons between school interracial climate and friendship quality. Once the items were reverse coded, mean scores for the respective school interracial climate dimensions and an overall total mean score was calculated as well. Higher mean scores indicated a more positive school interracial climate. Green et al. (1988) conducted an assessment of construct validity on the School Interracial Climate scale and found that the scale strongly correlated with six separate measures relevant to interracial climate. These measures include: Multicultural Orientation (Narot, 1973), Other Race Friends (Kisner et al, 1988), Cafeteria Integration (Campbell, Kruskal, & Wallace, 1966), The Battle Attitude Toward School Scale (Damico, Hines, & Northrop, 1975), and Classroom Resegregation (Koslin, Koslin, Pargament, & Waxman, 1972). A copy of the School Interracial Climate Scale can be found in Appendix C.

Acting White

The Acting White Experiences Questionnaire (AWEQ; Neal-Barnett, Stadulis, Singer, Murray, & Demmings, 2009) was used to assess whether or not African American participants who are members of African American—European American
friendship dyads report experiencing the acting white accusation. The questionnaire is an indirect assessment of the acting white accusation. Thirty-six items assess the extent to which adolescents have experienced different aspects of the acting white accusation. While adolescents may not explicitly hear, “you are acting white,” they may be excluded or taunted by peers indirectly because of their “white” behavior. The AWEQ takes this indirect experience into account by including many items that “tap into” subtle aspects of the acting white accusation. One item in particular is of interest in the proposed study. This item states, “Because of my friends, my peers don’t think I’m black enough.” Adolescents’ response on a six-point Likert-type scale ranging from “never” (1) to “almost all of the time” (6) were examined. Along with assessing whether or not African American participants who are members of an African American—European American friendship dyad have experienced the acting white accusation, for those who reported experiencing the accusation, the extent to which they were bothered was assessed. The question, “How bothered were you by this?” was asked. Participants rated from 0 (“DIDN’T bother me AT ALL”) to 5 (“bothered me a WHOLE LOT”).

Researchers have accepted this measure as having demonstrated content validity (e.g., Neal-Barnett et al., 2010). Cronbach’s alpha for this measure is $\alpha = .9$ (Neal-Barnett, Stadulis, Singer, Murray, & Demmings, 2010). A copy of the measure in its entirety can be found in Appendix D.

Friendship Quality

Bukowski, Hoza, and Boivin’s (1994) 23-item Friendship Qualities Scale ($\alpha = .87$) was used to assess five Dimensions of friendship quality. In the current sample,
friendship dimension reliability coefficients were as follows: conflict (4 items, \( \alpha = .71 \)), closeness (5 items, \( \alpha = .87 \)), companionship (4 items, \( \alpha = .75 \)), receiving help (5 items, \( \alpha = .81 \)), and security (5 items, \( \alpha = .57 \)). Sample items include: “My friend and I argue a lot” (conflict); “If my friend had to move away, I would miss him/her” (closeness); “My friend and I spend all our free time together” (companionship); “My friend helps me when I am having trouble with something” (receiving help); and “If there is something bothering me, I can tell my friend about it” (security). Responses were rated using a 5-point scale (1= not true to 5= really true) indicating how true each statement was for the participant’s interethnic friendship. The conflict dimension items were reverse coded so that a total mean score for overall friendship quality could be calculated. Higher overall scores indicated higher friendship quality. When investigating the dimensions individually, higher mean scores on the closeness, companionship, receiving help and security dimensions indicated more positive friendship dynamics. For the conflict dimension, higher levels indicated more conflict, while lower levels indicated less conflict. Bukowski, Hoza, and Boivin’s (1994) confirmed the construct validity of this measure by finding that participants rated reciprocal (both participants identified one another) friends higher than non-mutual friends. A copy of the Friendship Qualities Scale can be found in Appendix E.

**Qualitative Data Analysis**

Three open-ended questions were used to obtain participants’ qualitative responses regarding their interethnic friendships. Three trained coders analyzed participants’ responses. Initial coders were an African American woman and a European
American male. The third coder was an Israeli male. This coder’s analysis was used to resolve disagreements between the first two coders. All coders held Bachelor’s degrees and had previous experience conducting empirical research. Prior to coding, the coders were given instructions describing the predetermined categories for each question and encouraging generation of new categories as necessary. Definitions of terms relevant to the focus of the study (e.g., multiculturalism, prejudice) were included in the coder’s instructions as well (please see Appendix F for coders’ instructions). The qualitative questions were as follows: Question 1, “Do you feel comfortable sharing your cultural/racial heritage with your friend? If yes, how do you share (i.e. attending an event, talking, etc.)?”; Question 2, “What are the benefits of being a member of an interracial friendship?”; Question 3, “What are the disadvantages of being a member of an interracial friendship?” For Question 1, the number of “yes” and “no” responses was totaled. Next, axial coding was used to categorize participant responses to the part of participant’s responses that told about the ways in which the participants shared their culture with their friend. If the trained coders determined that participants’ responses did not fit into one of the predetermined categories, they were instructed to develop a new category or categories that better represented the participants’ responses. For Question 1, the predetermined categories for ways in which adolescents share their culture were *talking* and *attending a cultural event*.

For Questions 2 and 3, axial coding, along with the option for coders to generate new categories as necessary, was used as well. The predetermined categories for Question 2 (i.e., benefits associated with being a member of an interethnic friendship)
were increased multiculturalism, decreased prejudice, and race doesn’t make a difference. The following statement was used to clarify the definition of multiculturalism, “A person is considered to exhibit multiculturalism if they have an interest in many cultures within a society rather than only in the mainstream culture and respect and encourage differences among and within groups (Rosado, 1996).” The following statement was used to clarify the definition of prejudice, “Prejudice is defined as an unwarranted negative attitude toward an individual(s) based on their membership in a particular social group. Sometimes, these negative attitudes may be accompanied by discriminatory behavior (Allport, 1954; Kiesner, Maass, Cadinu, & Vallese, 2003).”

The predetermined categories for Question 3 (i.e., disadvantages associated with being a member of an interethnic friendship) were potential for conflict, disapproval from others (e.g., peers, parents, other adults), and no disadvantages.

For all three questions, two researchers coded the data separately. After coding the data individually, coders’ evaluations were compared. Disagreements that could not be resolved through a consensus were determined by a third coder. To assess inter-rater reliability, percent agreement was calculated. Since Cohen’s Kappa is generally used when comparing ratings of dichotomous variables (Cohen, 1960) and there are more than two categories of responses for each qualitative question, percent agreement was determined to be a more appropriate assessment of inter-rater reliability. The percent agreement for Question 1, “Do you feel comfortable sharing your cultural/racial heritage with your friend? If yes, how do you share (i.e. attending an event, talking, etc.)?” was 76.3% percent. Percent agreement for Question 2 “What are the benefits of being a
member of an interracial friendship?” was 71 percent. Percent agreement for Question 3 “What are the disadvantages of being a member of an interracial friendship?” was 90.7 percent.

Methodological Rationale: An Additional Issue

Exclusion of a Comparison Group

Historically, when examining constructs within a group (e.g., members of interethnic friendships), research practices often demand that a comparison group be used (e.g., members of intraethnic friendships). For the purposes of the current study, the author is of the persuasion that the inclusion of a comparison group was not in accord with the aims of the study (Azibo, 1988). There are several reasons for the author taking this position. First, the focus of the current study was to examine variables relevant to the content and meaning of interethnic friendship. Using a comparison group could detract from this focus. Incorporating a comparison group into the study design would place emphasis on juxtapositioning interethnic friendships and intraethnic friendships, rather than delving into the dynamics characteristic of interethnic friendships themselves. A second reason for excluding the use of a comparison group is that a comparison group implies that there is a “standard” for friendship and that all friendships perhaps function similarly. Albeit, there are several aspects of friendship that have been identified as “normative” and essential to a high quality friendship (e.g., Berndt, 1982; Berndt & Hanna, 1995; Buhrmester & Prager, 1995); however, within friendships in general, each friendship most likely holds unique qualities because of individual differences or culture. Within interethnic friendships, it is difficult to assert without question that a friendship
between an African American and European American is exactly similar to a friendship between an African American and Hispanic. In part, this could be due to the social status differentials placed on being a member of a particular racial or ethnic group in the United States. Finally, the research questions and hypotheses guiding the current study are ones that focus on within group dynamics rather than between group comparisons.
CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

First, descriptive statistics (N=76) were conducted to examine reported levels of friendship quality, prejudice, and school interracial climate. Reported levels of friendship quality (rated on a 5 point scale) were moderate in the current sample (\(M = 3.55, SD = .52\)), which is consistent with previous research (e.g., Bukowski, et al., 1994; Demmings, 2008; Weimer, Kerns, & Oldenburg, 2004). Pearson bivariate correlations among the five dimensions of friendship quality revealed positive statistically significant correlations (\(r > .40\)) when comparing companionship and closeness, security and closeness, and receiving help and closeness (see Table 1 in Appendix G for correlations). Correlations were examined as well between reported levels of friendship, prejudice, and school interracial climate. A significant correlation between prejudice and school interracial climate was found (\(r = -.39, p<.001\)).

Hypothesis 1: Part A of the first hypothesis predicted that the majority of adolescents in the dataset would report low levels of general prejudice. This hypothesis was supported in that a mean score of 2.48 (\(SD = 1.11\)) was found on total prejudice. A one-way analysis of variance comparing African Americans (n=25), European Americans (n=31), and Biracial (n=13) participants confirmed no significant differences in reported prejudice levels based on race, F (2, 68) = .52, \(p = .59\). Asian American (n=1), Latino (n=4), Norwegian (n=1), and South African (n=1) participants were excluded from the analyses due to minimal group representation for this analysis.
As mentioned in the introduction section of this paper, the concepts related to Hypotheses 1B and 1C are closely related. Thus, the same analysis was used to test both hypotheses. Part B of the first hypothesis asserted subtyping (e.g., thinking of their friend as an “exception” to a stereotype they may hold about their friend’s racial/ethnic group) would not be found. Part C of Hypothesis 1 predicted that participants’ prejudice would be global in nature rather than source specific. To explore both questions, the ethnicity of the participant’s friend was cross referenced with the prejudicial rating the participant gave the ethnic group to which the friend belonged. A one-way repeated measures analysis of variance compared participants’ prejudicial ratings on the following: 1) their own ethnic group, 2) their friend’s ethnic group, and 3) all other ethnic groups. Only 52 participants were included in this analysis. Twenty four participants were excluded from the analyses because the ethnic group they identified as their own ethnic group or the ethnic group of their friend was not represented on the Ethnic Groups Rating Scale (i.e., Biracial (n=13), Norwegian (n=1) and South African (n=1). Results indicated no statistically significant difference in prejudice ratings $F(2, 102) = .90, p = .40$ when comparing prejudicial ratings of participants’ own ethnic group ($M = 2.33, SD = 1.21$), participants’ friend’s ethnic group ($M = 2.14, SD = 1.15$), and all other ethnic groups ($M = 2.33, SD = 1.18$). A second set of analyses compared ratings of only African American participants and European American participants (n=48) with friends whose ethnic group was represented on the Ethnic Groups Rating Scale. Subsample sizes were insufficient to make comparisons between Latino participants (n=4) the Asian American participant (n=1), the Norwegian participant (n=1), and the South African participant (n=1). A series
of independent samples t-tests were run to examine whether African American participants would differ from European American participants on their prejudicial ratings of 1) their own ethnic group, 2) their friend’s ethnic group, and 3) all other ethnic groups. Results indicated no statistically significant difference in prejudice ratings when comparing African American (M=2.44, SD=1.33) and European American (M=2.15, SD=1.11) participants’ rating of their own ethnic group; t (46) = .822, p = .238. African American (M=2.16, SD=1.08) and European American (M=2.11, SD=1.27) participants’ ratings of their friend’s ethnic group; t (46) = .162, p = .471, and African American (M=2.12, SD=1.04) and European American (M=2.36, SD=1.04) and ratings of all other ethnic groups, t (46) = -.719, p = .496. From the aforementioned analyses, subtyping was not detected, and prejudice as a general (e.g., global) factor emerged.

Additional Question

The construct of subtyping was explored further by analyzing the 20 additional participants’ rated responses on a scale of 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much) to the following statement: “My friend is similar (i.e. “typical”) to other people of his/her race/ethnicity.” Results indicated that only a few participants rated their friend as “not at all” typical (M = 4.40, SD = 1.95). Please see Table 2 for the frequency distribution of participants’ ratings.
Table 2. Frequency count of participants’ responses to the question, “My friend is similar (i.e. “typical”) to other people of his/her race/ethnicity.” (N=20)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating Options</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not at All Typical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Typical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hypothesis 2: Part A of the second hypothesis predicted that the majority of participants would report positive school interracial climates. An overall mean score for each participant was calculated from Green et. al’s (1988) School Interracial Climate Scale. Participants rated their responses on a scale from 1 to 5. Higher means (e.g., 4 or above) reflected a more positive racial climate. Results indicated a mean score of 4.00 (SD = .54) on total school interracial climate, supporting the hypothesis that participants would generally rate their school interracial climate favorably. In other words, the majority of participants rated their school as having a positive school interracial climate. Means for the four separate dimensions of school interracial climate were as follows:
Interdependence (M=3.85, SD=.55), Supportive Norms (M=4.0, SD=.70), Association (M=4.28, SD=.59), and Equal Status (M=3.97, SD=.81).

Part B of the second hypothesis predicted that reported school interracial climate and friendship quality would be positively related. First, overall mean school interracial climate scores were compared with overall friendship quality scores using a Pearson correlation. Results indicated there was no statistically significant correlation between school interracial climate and friendship quality. Interestingly, although not hypothesized, school interracial climate and prejudice were negatively correlated (for correlations, see Table 3).

Table 3. *Friendship Quality, Prejudice, and School Interracial Climate*

*Correlations and Standard Deviations (N=76)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Mean (Standard Deviation)</th>
<th>Friendship Quality</th>
<th>Prejudice</th>
<th>School Interracial Climate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friendship Quality</td>
<td>3.55 (.52)</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prejudice</td>
<td>2.48 (1.11)</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Interracial Climate</td>
<td>4.00 (.54)</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-.39**</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

_Hypothesis 3:_ Part A of the third hypothesis predicted that African American participants who are members of an African American—European American interethnic friendship dyad would report experiencing the acting white accusation. First, data from the Acting White Experiences Questionnaire (2009) was examined for all African American participants who are members of an African American—European American friendship dyad to determine whether or not they endorsed experiencing the Acting White
Accusation. As mentioned in the description of the current sample, 25 African Americans participated in the current study. Twenty-two African Americans in the sample were members of an African American—European American friendship dyad. Of these twenty-two African American participants, 13 (i.e., 59%) endorsed the single item, “Because of my friends, my peers don’t think I’m black enough.”

Part B of the third hypothesis predicted that the extent to which adolescents who experienced the acting white accusation were bothered by the accusation would be related to their reported friendship quality. Of the 13 participants who endorsed the item, “Because of my friends, my peers don’t think I’m black enough,” 12 participants indicated that they were bothered to some extent by experiencing the accusation. Pearson correlations were calculated to investigate whether the extent to which these participants were bothered by experiencing an aspect of the acting white accusation was related to their perceived friendship quality. Bother was compared to overall friendship quality, as well as the five separate dimensions of friendship quality (e.g., receiving help, companionship, closeness, security, and conflict). Results indicated that bother and friendship quality (by total score and dimensions) were not statically significantly correlated. An independent samples t-test compared African Americans who reported experiencing the acting white accusation and being bothered by it (n=12) to African American participants who did not report experiencing the acting white accusation (n =9) on reported friendship quality. Results indicated that there was no statistically significant difference in reported friendship quality between those African American participants.
who experienced the acting white accusation and were bothered by it \((M=3.49, SD = .43)\) and those who did not \((M=3.55, SD=.51)\); \(t\) \((19) = -.275, p = .113\).

**Hypothesis 4:** The final hypothesis predicted that participants’ responses to the three open-ended qualitative questions would reflect the following predetermined themes: sharing one’s culture through *talking* and *attending cultural events*, increased *multiculturalism*, decreased *prejudice*, *race doesn’t matter*, potential for conflict, *disapproval from others*, and *no disadvantages*. As mentioned, axial coding was used; however, coders were instructed to generate new categories as deemed necessary.

For the question, “Do you feel comfortable sharing your cultural/racial heritage with your friend? If yes, how do you share?”, first, the “yes” and “no” responses were tallied. Seventy-two percent \((n=65)\) of participants indicated that they felt comfortable sharing their culture with their friend, while 28 percent \((n=11)\) did not. For those who felt comfortable sharing their culture, next, the second component to Question 1 was analyzed—the ways in which these participants shared their culture with their friend. Coders determined that of the 72 percent who reported feeling comfortable sharing their culture with their friend, 98 percent reported that they use conversation (e.g., talking) when sharing their culture. A response given by a participant containing the theme of *talking* as a method of sharing one’s culture is reflected in the following quote, “Yes I feel comfortable; we share the information when we have free time in class. For example, a question can come up and we will have a long conversation about it.”

The second predetermined category for Question 1 was *attending a cultural event*. After reviewing all participant responses, post individual coding consensus determined
that this category should be broadened to *attending a cultural event/experiencing the culture*. Twenty nine percent of participants reported that they either take their friend to a cultural event or in some way help their friend experience their culture. One response from a participant that represents the theme of *attending a cultural event/experiencing the culture* as a method of sharing one’s culture is reflected in the following quote, “I feel extremely comfortable about sharing my culture/racial heritage with my girl, and I do so by including her and taking her to step shows, family gatherings…where a lot of ‘my people’ are”. A second example is found in the following response, “Yes I do feel comfortable. For example, I showed my friend I wrap my hair.” Table 4 indicates the number of participants’ responses that endorsed each category, reflecting the ways in which they share their culture. Please see Table 5 in Appendix H for category groupings with participants’ quoted responses.

Table 4. *Number of participants’ responses endorsing the ways in which participants share their culture with their friend.* *(N=65)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method Used to Share Culture</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Talking</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending a cultural event/Experiencing the Culture</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Five participants endorsed both categories.*
As mentioned, the majority of participants reported that they felt comfortable sharing their culture; however, some participants indicated that they did not feel comfortable sharing their culture or that they shared no meaningful cultural exchanges with their friend. For instance, one participant reported, “Kind of, I am proud of my ancestry, but my friend and I don’t talk about it much.”

The second qualitative question asked, “What are the benefits of being a member of an interracial friendship?” The predetermined categories for the benefits that individuals might report experiencing as a member of an interethnic friendship were increased multiculturalism, decreased prejudice, and race doesn’t make a difference. The most commonly endorsed benefit was increased multiculturalism, with 59 percent of participants endorsing this theme in the content of their responses. This theme is reflected in the following participant response, “Everything. I love sharing the differences between my friend and me. She has a lot to offer me and I to her. I can learn from all the things we share and enrich life so much more.”

The second predetermined category for Question 2 was decreased prejudice. Twenty two percent of participants’ responses reflected this theme. For example, one participant commented regarding being a member of an interethnic friendship, “It lets you get beyond the stereotypes and you get to learn about their way of life.”

The third predetermined category for Question 2 was based on the assertion that some participants may not see their interethnic friendship as any different than their same ethnic friendships (e.g., race doesn’t make a difference). Sixteen percent of participant responses reflected this theme. For instance, one participant remarked, “I don’t know. I
just think of her as my friend. I would get close to the same benefits with her as I would with any other friend I have.” Table 6 indicates the number of participants who endorsed each category in the content of their responses. Please see Table 7 in Appendix I for category groupings with participants’ quoted responses. Three participant responses were unable to be categorized, because the participant’s meaning was difficult to interpret, or their response did not seem to fit in any of the three categories nor compose a category of their own (e.g., “We can hang out without any problems or drama”).

Table 6. Number of participants’ responses related to the benefits of interethnic friendship (N=73)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content of Response</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increased Multiculturalism</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decreased Prejudice</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race Doesn’t Matter</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third, and final, open-ended qualitative question asked, “What are the disadvantages of being a member of an interracial friendship?” The predetermined categories were potential for conflict, disapproval from others (e.g., peers, parents, other adults), or no disadvantages. Results indicated that all three categories were represented among participant responses. One participant replied, “Sometime down the road in an interracial relationship, you will end up in a situation of misunderstanding JUST because you are a different race than your friend.” This aforementioned response represents the
theme of potential for conflict, which was echoed in 36 percent of responses. Another participant’s response reflected disapproval from others, “Other people think it is wrong and they ridicule me,” found among 32 percent of participant responses. Finally, the following quote represents 30% percent of participant responses, indicating that some participants do not perceive, or have not experienced, any disadvantages associated with being a member of an interethnic friendship, “There aren’t any disadvantages that have to do anything with race.” Table 8 indicates the number of participants’ responses that endorsed each category. Please see Table 9 in Appendix J for category groupings with participants’ quoted responses. Only 75 participants were included in this analysis due to missing data from one participant.

Table 8. Number of participants’ responses related to the disadvantages of interethnic friendship (N=75)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content of Response</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potential for Conflict</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapproval from Others</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Disadvantages</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*One participant endorsed both Potential for Conflict and Disapproval from others.
CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

With the increasing diversity of the United States and initiatives towards equality among ethnic groups in America, interactions among individuals of different ethnic and racial backgrounds is of growing interest and importance. Moreover, the rarity of interethnic friendships (Kao & Joyner, 2004; Hallinan & Williams, 1989) compared to intra-ethnic friendships is most likely one contributor to interethnic friendship being largely overlooked by developmental researchers. One unique and potentially influential aspect of interethnic interaction is the friendship relationship. Accordingly, a main purpose of the current study was to expand what is known about adolescent individuals who are members of interethnic friendships and variables that highlight the perceptions of these individuals, as well as, the nuances of their friendship. Building upon an earlier study that examined ethnic identity, other group orientation, and friendship quality, specifically, the current study investigated reported prejudice, participants’ perceptions of their school’s interracial climate, the experience of the acting white accusation among African American participants who are members of an African American—European American interethnic friendship, and participants’ narrative responses to open-ended questions related to the quality of their friendship.

The first group of hypotheses in the current study focused on reported prejudice among the current sample’s participants. The general reported prejudice level of participants was low. As mentioned, on a 7 point scale, the mean rating was 2.48 ($SD =$
Kiesner, Maass, Cadinu, and Vallese’s (2003) overall mean was slightly higher (M=3.3, SD=1.2) in their study using the Ethnic Ratings Scale with seventh and eighth grade students. The current study’s results are consistent with research on individuals who are members of interethnic friendships (Aboud, Mendelson & Purdy, 2003; Damico, Bell-Nathaniel, & Green, 2001; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Pettigrew, 1997), but inconsistent with the suggested developmental prejudice level trajectory during adolescence (Black-Gutman & Hickson; 1996; Brown, Mory, & Kinney, 1994; Rutland, 1999). Perhaps being a member of an interethnic friendship serves as a protective factor during adolescence, reducing one’s developmental predisposition towards prejudice attitudes? This is a question that longitudinal research must explore. Furthermore, future research should measure adolescents who report not being members of an interethnic friendship to confirm existing developmental research on increased prejudice and to offer additional confirmatory evidence that being in an interethnic friendship during adolescence may serve as a protective factor from increased prejudice during adolescence.

The second part of Hypothesis 1 focused on the question of subtyping. It is assumed that individuals generally hold their friends in high esteem, whether their friends are of the same ethnicity as themselves or not. However, the question remains as to whether they hold the same positive affect toward their friend’s ethnic group, and this question is relevant to the phenomenon of subtyping. The current study found that participants reported low levels of prejudice towards their friend’s ethnic group. Kiesner and colleagues (2003) found a significant difference between participants’ ratings of their
own group compared to all other groups in that participants in their study rated their own
group more favorably. However, in the current study, the views participants held about
their friend’s ethnic group did not statistically significantly differ from the views they
held regarding their own ethnic group or other ethnic groups. Thus, the null hypothesis
that subtyping would not be detected in the current sample was supported. The 20
additional participants who were added to the existing dataset responded to the statement,
“My friend is similar (i.e. “typical”) to other people of his/her race/ethnicity” in an effort
to assess the subtyping question as well. This additional item was included because
anecdotally, many African Americans have reported hearing the comment from their non-
black friends, “You’re not like most black people,” (Neal-Barnett et al., 2009, Neal-
Barnett, 2001) suggesting the potential existence of subtyping. A few participants rated
their friend as “not at all” typical; however, the average rating was exactly in the middle.
Thus, while there are isolated cases that suggest the presence of subtyping, this
supplemental question offers neither full support nor negation of the quantitative
findings. Accordingly, future research must investigate subtyping further within the
context of interethnic friendships, and measures that directly assess this phenomenon
should be developed and validated.

The third part of Hypothesis 1 investigated the question of whether prejudice is
source specific or global. Results indicated that participants’ prejudice was global in
nature. Thus, one might conclude that adolescents who are members of interethnic
friendships are at an increased benefit of reducing prejudicial beliefs in general, rather
than towards one particular group. However, one must be very cautious when drawing
conclusions, because it also may be the case that people who generally view all diverse groups positively are more likely to enter into and maintain interethnic friendships. For this reason, longitudinal research is needed to investigate the manner in which being in an interethnic friendship can influence an adolescent’s view towards several diverse groups. Also, the way in which global prejudice versus source specific prejudice was defined in the current study must be taken into consideration. In the current study, source specific prejudice was operationalized as holding prejudicial beliefs towards a “specific ethnic group,” while general prejudice was operationalized as holding prejudicial beliefs towards “all ethnic groups.” The current study focused only on ethnic prejudice; however, other forms of prejudice can manifest themselves in negative attitudes towards a gender, sexual orientation, or any other socially defined group. Thus, an individual may have a multicultural orientation towards all ethnic groups, but when it comes to a particular gender or sexual orientation, they may hold negative, prejudicial attitudes.

Admittedly, a limitation of the prejudice measure in the current study is that it is one which measures explicit prejudice, by directly asking participants how they feel about various ethnic groups. Current research suggests that many individuals may hesitate to admit, or be unaware of, biases they may hold (Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009). Thus, future research measuring prejudice among adolescents would be warranted to employ an implicit measure of prejudice, which may reveal participants’ unknown or undisclosed biases.

A second limitation relevant to the assessment of prejudice must be discussed. The Ethnic Groups Rating Scale only represented the following groups: Asian American,
African American, Hispanic, European American, Native American, and Arab American. Thus some ethnic groups represented among participants in the current study were not represented on this assessment (i.e., South African participant, Norwegian participant). Additionally, there were 13 biracial participants in the current study. It is imperative to develop assessment measures that are representative of more ethnic groups and account for individuals who report that they, or their friend, identifies with multiple ethnic groups.

The second group of hypotheses focused on examining participants’ view of their school’s interracial climate and how their assessment of their school’s interracial climate might relate to their perceived friendship quality. Results indicated that the majority of participants perceived their school as having a positive school interracial climate (e.g., M = 4.00, SD = .54 on a 5 point scale) —one conducive to the initiation and maintenance of interethnic interaction. Benner, Graham, and Mistry (2008) reported a total mean of 3.56 (SD = 0.67) in their sample of ninth graders who represented various ethnic backgrounds (e.g., Latino, African American, and Multi-Racial) from inner-city Los Angeles. Existing research has already investigated the extent to which school racial composition might influence interethnic interaction—particularly the prevalence of interethnic friendships (e.g. Moody, 2001). However, no known research has investigated how school interracial climate may potentially influence the quality of an interethnic friendship.

Accordingly, the second part of Hypothesis 2 investigated the relationship between school interracial climate and friendship quality. While no statistically significant correlation was found between school interracial climate and friendship quality, some participants’ qualitative responses reflect that for particular individuals,
school interracial climate may be a relevant factor. For instance 32 percent of participants reported experiencing “disapproval from others” as one disadvantage of interethnic friendship. Some participants did not specify who the disapproving others were, while others specified that their peers disapproved. If these disapproving others were teachers, staff, or peers working at or attending the same school as the participants, their disapproval would undoubtedly contribute to the school interracial climate. Subsequent research should consider whether the assessment of friendship quality used in the current study adequately assesses friendship quality among interethnic friendships where ethnicity is a salient factor. Interestingly, there was a statistically significant negative correlation between school interracial climate and reported prejudice.

Considering that among the students who participated in the current study, their choice of school was limited (e.g., only 16 participants attended a private school), perhaps the school environment influenced their ethnic prejudicial beliefs? Future research should investigate whether the relationship between school interracial climate and friendship quality is moderated by reported prejudice.

The third set of hypotheses focused on investigating a subset of participants—African Americans with a European American friend. These set of hypotheses investigated participants’ reports of experiencing the acting white accusation. Fifty-nine percent of African American participants in the current study who were members of an African American—European American interethnic friendship endorsed the item “Because of my friends, my peers don’t think I’m black enough,” and all but one of the
participants who endorsed this item reported being bothered to some extent by experiencing this aspect of the acting white accusation.

No statistically significant relationship was found between reported level of bother and friendship quality. Undoubtedly, lack of power was most likely an issue in this particular analyses (e.g. n=12). One must note, however, that of the participants in the current sample, many did endorse experiencing the accusation. Thus, being a member of an interethnic friendship may put some African Americans at risk for potentially experiencing the acting white accusation. The fact that several African American adolescents endorsed being accused of acting white because of the friends they hang around speaks to a qualitative theme in the current study—whether members of interethnic friendship receive disapproval from peers, in general, for their friendship choices. Disapproval from same race friends was reflected in a few participants’ responses. For example, one participant commented, “I know over the years my friends that are Black get mad because I’d rather hang with my White friends than them. We’ve gotten over it but they’re still a little jealous.” Another participant commented in response to a potential disadvantage associated with being in an interethnic friendship, “You might lose some of your close friends of the same race.” Future research must explore whether being in an interethnic friendship in general puts African Americans at risk for experiencing the acting white accusation, or if it is mainly being in an interethnic friendship with a European American adolescent. Additionally, research must investigate what protective factors (e.g., social skills, ethnic identity, ethnic/racial socialization, and
school interracial climate) might influence the ways in which adolescents navigate the discord between their interethnic and same ethnic friendships and peer interactions.

The final set of analyses investigated qualitative themes that emerged from three open-ended questions to which participants responded. Incorporating participants’ qualitative responses in the current study provided added insight into the shared and unique experiences of individuals who are members of interethnic friendships.

The first question inquired as to whether participants were comfortable sharing their culture with their friend. As found in the author’s previous research (Demmings, 2009), the majority of participants reported feeling comfortable sharing their culture with their friend, and the most popular sharing method was through conversation. This is not surprising, since during adolescence, self-disclosure becomes an increasingly important feature of friendship. A significantly smaller number of participants reported sharing their culture by taking their friend to a cultural event or letting their friend experience their culture through demonstration (e.g., wrapping one’s hair). The fact that fewer participants reported taking their friend to a cultural event coincides with previous research indicating that adolescents who are members of interethnic friendships spend less time together out of school compared to adolescents who are members of intra-ethnic friendships (Kao & Joyner, 2004).

The second qualitative question asked participants about the benefits they perceive are associated with being a member of an interethnic friendship. The most common benefit of interethnic friendship that emerged from participants’ responses was the fact that being a member of an interethnic friendship allowed them to expand their
worldview and appreciate the similarities and differences among their friend’s culture and their own—all characteristic of multiculturalism (Rosado, 1996). One participant reported, “…I love sharing the differences between my friend and me. She has a lot to offer me and [me] to her. I can learn from all the things we share and enrich life so much more.” Another participant commented, “I get to see a different culture in more detail. When I wasn’t in this friendship, I didn’t know as much about Native Americans and now I do.” Finally, a third participant responded, “I get to learn some things I have NEVER learned in history class or informational things like that. I get to learn about her family and what they have gone through.” Thus the existing finding that being in an interethnic friendship is associated with multicultural sensitivity (e.g., Damico, Bell-Nathaniel, & Green, 2001; Hunter & Elias, 1999) gained further anecdotal support.

A second benefit of interethnic friendship that was emphasized by many participants was decreased prejudice. The majority of responses focused on decreasing one’s own prejudice (e.g., “You get to meet people you never would have talked to and so you don’t have as many stereotypes after that.”), which anecdotally offers further support to existing research (e.g., Damico, Bell-Nathaniel, & Green, 2001; Hunter & Elias, 1999). However, some responses focused on decreasing others’ prejudice by being an example of positive interethnic interaction (e.g., “When people see us together it says something that is very powerful to others that might think we being friends isn’t good. I also [think] branching out is important for this world to expand to be a better place.”).

The third group of responses reflected the view that being in an interethnic friendship is no different than being in a friendship with someone of the same ethnicity,
thus the benefits of both are comparable (e.g., “… An interracial relationship in its essence remains just like any other relationship. If you view it as superior to any other friendship you undermine the true meaning of equality” and “Nothing special. Same benefits of a regular friendship”). The view that being in an interethnic friendship is no different than being in a friendship with someone of the same ethnicity was less common than increased multiculturalism and decreased prejudice, however, this perspective warrants further investigation. There are several factors developmental psychologists might suggest predict, or are associated with, the aforementioned opinion. First, one’s ethnic identity might be a relevant predictor of whether an individual views their interethnic friendships as unique. According to Phinney (1993), an individual with a more advanced ethnic identity holds an appreciation for their own ethnicity, as well as others’. They have spent time thinking about and feel a strong sense of belonging to their ethnicity. The opposite is true of those with a less developed sense of ethnic identity. Another factor could be how salient one’s race is. Though a person may identify as African American or European American, their ethnicity or race may not be a central component of their identity. Thus, they may view interactions with individuals of a different ethnicity at face-value, without an ethnic schema, per say. A third factor might be the length or intimacy of one’s friendship. Perhaps time or circumstances have prevented some individuals from encountering situations in which ethnicity or race might be relevant. A fourth factor may be social desirability. Some participants may have felt that by indicating that their interethnic friendship is somehow different, they may be
perceived as prejudiced. Future research must investigate all of the aforementioned constructs—both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The final qualitative question asked participants about any disadvantages they believe are associated with being a member of an interethnic friendship. The most common theme related to the disadvantages of interethnic friendship was the potential for conflict. One participant provided an extensive list of disadvantages:

There aren’t many disadvantages, but some that I have experienced are as follows: 1) some old fashion family members disapprove; 2) they don’t always fully understand where I’m coming from on certain topics, and vice versa; 3) certain things/groups that we go to or are involved in aren’t completely given to the idea of unifying; 4) when you’re the only one (friend of another ethnicity) it sometimes feel as though you represent your race.

Echoing the thoughts of the individual quoted above, many participants expressed the fear of being misunderstood (e.g., “When you face something in your life by just being a certain color or religion, your friend doesn’t understand as much as you do because they might fit in with everyone else at certain times”). Thus, the legitimacy of potential for conflict as a characteristic must be investigated in hopes that adolescents, teachers, parents, and researchers can discover ways in which conflict in interethnic friendships strengthens or weakens the friendship bond. The distribution of responses was comparable for the two other categories of disapproval from others and no disadvantages. Participants reported disapproval from people in general, peers, friends, and family. Thus, not only must the school environment be examined as one that
influences the initiation and maintenance of interethnic friendships, home environment must be investigated as well. Finally, the finding that many participants reported experiencing no disadvantages associated with interethnic friendship can be interpreted in a few ways. First, perhaps, just as in those who perceived their interethnic friendship like any other friendship, these participants have not encountered or are not anticipating circumstances that might result in stress on the friendship relationship due to conflict or disapproval from others. From an optimistic perspective, the finding that many participants reported experiencing no disadvantages is encouraging because it could suggest high friendship quality and a positive school interracial climate. As mentioned, quantitative findings indicated a positive school interracial climate, moderate friendship quality in general, and low levels of conflict.

The main purpose of the current study was three fold: to build upon the author’s previous findings and expand the current literature on interethnic friendship among high school aged adolescents, to investigate developmental and social variables potentially associated with interethnic friendship, and to incorporate a qualitative approach. The findings from the current study illustrate that interethnic friendship and its related constructs are indeed multifaceted. Furthermore, this study points toward the need for revision and creation of assessment measures that “tap into” the nuances of interethnic friendship and the continued use of quantitative and qualitative methods to elucidate the ways in which being a member of an interethnic friendship is related to developmental and social variables.
REFERENCES
REFERENCES


Berndt, T. J. (2007). *Children's friendships: Shifts over a half-century in perspectives on their development and their effects* Wayne State University Press, Detroit, MI, US.


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APPENDIX A
APPENDIX A

Recruitment Presentation

Good afternoon! My name is Jessica Demmings, and I am a graduate student at Kent State University. Before I begin, I’d like to tell you a short story:

How do two people from different backgrounds become friends? Once there was a little girl. During second grade, a new student joined her class in the middle of the year. The teacher told the class, “This is Ai Mei, she’s just moved here from China.” Ai Mei’s mother came to school with her for the first couple of weeks since both she and Ai Mei were learning the English language.

On a chance meeting during recess, Ai Mei and the little girl began talking and found out they lived in the same neighborhood. From that point on, they joined clubs together, visited each other’s homes and remained friends from middle school, to high school, and into adulthood.

One of the best parts about their friendship was that they got to share their culture with one another. Ai Mei taught the little girl about the Chinese New Year and Buddhism, while the little girl taught Ai Mei about Kwanzaa and gospel music.

Ai Mei was one of the many interracial friendships the little girl had as a child and still maintains today. She also has Indian, White, Polish, and Indonesian friends. That little girl is actually me.

Perhaps this is the reason why as a Child Developmental Psychology graduate student, I am interested in high school aged adolescents and their experiences as being a member of an interethnic friendship.

Specifically, I’m looking for high school aged students who have

• a good friend (someone you spend time with in or out of school; or someone you feel close to) who is of a different race or ethnicity than yourself

• your friend must be in high school

• your friend must be the same gender as you (i.e. a pair of two girls, or two boys)

If you’d like to share your experiences with me, here’s what I’d like you to do:

• First, I’d like you to complete a survey. The survey will consist of mostly multiple choice questions and will ask you about your thoughts and feelings about friendship, your identity, and your high school environment.

• Both teens in a pair of friends must complete the survey

• Next, once you’ve completed the survey, each friend will receive a $10 Wal Mart gift card as an appreciation for giving some of your time to complete the survey. The survey takes about 30 minutes to complete (so, you’re getting $10 for less than an hour worth of work)

I’m hoping you would like to participate. However, if you under 18 years of age, you MUST have a parent or guardian’s consent to be able to complete the survey. Ultimately, I’m looking to survey 10 pairs of friends.

If you’re willing to participate in filling out my survey, I have parental consent forms here (1 for you and 1 for your friend). Also, attached to the consent form is an AVAILABILITY sheet. On the availability sheet, please fill out your name, your
friend’s name, your contact information, and the times you are able to meet. It would be best if friends could come together to complete the survey or at least complete it on the same day.

Please bring back your signed consent form and availability sheet on (designate date here)_______________________. Once I see your availability, I will contact you to confirm the time you’ll complete the survey.

Also, I want you to know that **everything** you write on the survey is confidential; and what this means is that I will **not** share your individual answers with your friend, parents, teachers, or anyone else except my advisor at Kent State. If your name is James Jackson, I will substitute a number for your name. So others will only know that participant #101 said …. Rather than knowing that James Jackson actually said it. Also, when I write up the report about what I’ve found, I’ll only report for example “High school students in interethnic friendships report .....”

I’d like to thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak to you today. And also, I’d like to thank you for listening. Thanks again. Who would like the forms?
APPENDIX B
APPENDIX B

Ethnic Groups Rating Scale (Kiesner, Maas, Cadinu, & Vallese, 2003)

Directions
Please answer the questions below with your feelings about each group. Your feelings are natural and experienced by many individuals. Please tell us how you actually feel—not the way you think you should feel.

Sample Item
1. How much do you like the following groups?
   1  2  3  4  5  6  7
   I Don’t Like Them
   Like Them
   At All Very Much

Groups Participants Will Rate:
Asian Americans
African Americans
Hispanics
European Americans
American Indians
Arab Americans

4. My friend is similar (i.e. “typical”) to other people of h/her race/ethnicity.
   1  2  3  4  5  6  7
   Not Very Much
   At All
APPENDIX C
APPENDIX C

School Interracial Climate (Green, Adams, & Turner, 1988)

Please think about the high school you attend when answering the following questions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample Items
1. Students of different races and ethnicities in my school need each other.
2. Students of different races and ethnicities have important things to offer each other.
3. After students of different races and ethnicities get to know each other, they find they have a lot in common.
4. Students of different races and ethnicities are better off when they work together than when they stay away from each other.
5. Students of different races and ethnicities at my school are all working together for the same things.
6. The principal and assistant principals encourage students to make friends with students of different races.
7. Teachers encourage students to make friends with students of different races.
8. My principal and assistant principal think that all students should be friends.
9. Teachers here like for students of different races to understand each other.
10. Teachers here like for students of different races to get along.
11. I talk to students of different races only when I have to.
12. My friends would think badly of me if I ate lunch with a student of a different race.
13. I often go through a whole school day and never say more than a few words to a student of a different race.
14. You have to be a particular race to get any privileges at my school.
15. People of different races just don’t like being together.
16. Teachers at this school are fair to all students of different races and ethnicities.
17. All students at this school are treated equally.
18. Teachers at this school pay attention to both black and white students.
19. I don’t know of any race that gets special treatment at this school.
20. The principal and assistant principals treat students of all races fairly.

* Interdependence (Items: 1-5); Supportive Norms (Items: 6-10); Association (Items: 11-15); Equal Status (Items: 16-20).
Appendix D

Adolescence Experiences Scale (Neal-Barnett)

Please think carefully about your life as you answer the questions below. For each question, read the question and then answer it twice: answer once for what your ENTIRE LIFE (from when you were a child to now) has been like, and then once for what the PAST YEAR has been like. Circle the numbers that best describes the events in YOUR ENTIRE LIFE, and in the PAST YEAR. Also, circle a number following that best answers the question, HOW DISTRESSED WERE YOU?

Circle 0 = If the event has NEVER happened to you AND:
Circle 1 = If the event happened ONCE IN A WHILE
Circle 2 = If the event happened SOMETIMES
Circle 3 = If the event happened A LOT
Circle 4 = If the event happened MOST OF THE TIME
Circle 5 = If the event happened ALMOST ALL OF THE TIME

AND:
Circle 0 = The event DIDN’T bother me AT ALL
Circle 1 = The event bothered me A BIT
Circle 2 = The event bothered me SOMEWHAT
Circle 3 = The event bothered me A LOT
Circle 4 = The event bothered me A WHOLE LOT

Sample Items

The kids around me say I talk proper.
1. How many times has this happened? 0 1 2 3 4 5
2. How BOTHERED were you by this? 0 1 2 3 4
8. How BOTHERED were you by this? 0 1 2 3 4

People say my extracurricular activities are not white activities.
11. How many times has this happened? 0 1 2 3 4 5
12. How BOTHERED were you by this? 0 1 2 3 4

*Because of my friends, my peers don’t think I’m black enough.
13. How many times has this happened? 0 1 2 3 4 5
14. How BOTHERED were you by this? 0 1 2 3 4
Kids around me talk bad about me because I get good grades.
15. How many times has this happened? 0 1 2 3 4 5
16. How BOTHERED were you by this? 0 1 2 3 4

Kids around me look at me differently because I want to make something of myself.
25. How many times has this happened? 0 1 2 3 4 5
26. How BOTHERED were you by this? 0 1 2 3 4

Because my mom/dad make a lot of money it is harder for people to see me as black.
27. How many times has this happened? 0 1 2 3 4 5
28. How BOTHERED were you by this? 0 1 2 3 4

My peers criticize me because I try to use big words.
33. How many times has this happened? 0 1 2 3 4 5
34. How BOTHERED were you by this? 0 1 2 3 4
APPENDIX E

Friendship Qualities Scale (Bukowski, Hoza, & Boivin, 1994)
Please think about ______________________________, while answering the questions below.

Write Best/Good Friend’s Name on Line

Tell us how true or false each statement is. Please circle the number that represents your answer.

1 2 3 4 5
Not True               Really True

Sample Items

1. My friend and I spend all our free time together.
2. My friend thinks of fun things for us to do together.

3. I can get into fights with my friend.
4. My friend can bug me or annoy me even though I ask him/her not to.

5. If I forgot my lunch or needed a little money, my friend would loan it to me.
6. My friend helps me when I am having trouble with something.

7. If I have a problem at school or at home, I can talk to my friend about it.
8. If there is something bothering me, I can tell my friend about it even if it is something I cannot tell to other people.

19. If my friend had to move away, I would miss her/him.
20. I feel happy when I am with my friend.

*Companionship (Items: 1-2); Conflict (Items: 3-4); Help (Items: 5-6); Security (Items: 7-8); Closeness (Items: 19-20)
Coding Directions

Participants responded to three (3) open-ended questions about their experiences being a member of an interethnic friendship. As a coder, your goal is to classify the participants’ responses into predetermined categories. You will receive three separate Word files representing the three different questions to which participants responded.

Please follow the steps listed below during the coding process.

1. Familiarize yourself with the definitions of multiculturalism and prejudice under the KEY TERMS section of this document.
2. Read through the QUESTIONS & CATEGORIES section of this document for examples of how to classify participant statements. You may want to print this section to reference as you code.
3. Once you are ready to begin coding, first, put your initials in the top left corner of the first page of the coding sheet in the space provided.
4. Read through entry #1. To the right of entry #1, type in the coding category that you believe best fits the response. If you feel a response does not “fit” into one of the categories, please create an additional category name that better represents this response (s). If you feel the response fits into more than one category, please list both categories in the space provided.
5. Repeat this step for all entries and for all three Word files.
6. Once you have categorized each response, please save all three files, and send them as e-mail attachments to jdemmings@gmail.com.
KEY TERMS

A few social scientific terms relevant to the overall research project are used to name some of the coding categories. For a better idea of what these terms mean, please see the terms and their definitions below:

*multiculturalism -- A person is considered to exhibit multiculturalism if they have an interest in many cultures within a society rather than only in the mainstream culture and respect and encourage differences among and within groups (Rosado, 1996).

*prejudice -- Prejudice is defined as an unwarranted negative attitude toward an individual(s) based on their membership in a particular social group. Sometimes, these negative attitudes may be accompanied by discriminatory behavior (Allport, 1954; Kiesner, Maass, Cadinu, & Vallese, 2003).
QUESTIONS & CATEGORIES

1) “Do you feel comfortable sharing your cultural/racial heritage with your friend? If yes, how do you share (i.e. attending an event, talking, etc.)?”
   *First mark an X in the Yes or No box on the coding sheet, based on the participant’s response. If the response is “Yes,” proceed with the following coding categories:
   a. Category 1: Attending a Cultural Event
      Participant Statement Example: “I like to take my friend to dances.”
   b. Category 2: Talking
      Participant Statement Example: “I tell my friend stories about my culture.”
   c. Category 3: Determined by coder if necessary.

2) “What are the benefits of being a member of an interracial friendship?
   a. Category 1: Increased Multiculturalism
      Participant Statement Example: “I like being in an interracial friendship because I get to learn about other cultures.”
   b. Category 2: Prejudice Reduction.
      Participant Statement Example: “I have become more open-minded.”
   c. Category 3: Race Doesn’t Make a Difference.
      Participant Statement Example: “Being in an interracial friendship is just like any other friendship.”
   d. Category 4: Determined by coder if necessary.

3) “What are the disadvantages of being a member of an interracial friendship?”
   a. Category 1: Potential for Conflict Based on Racial/Ethnic Differences
      Participant Statement Example: “My friend doesn’t understand when people don’t like you because of your race.”
   b. Category 2: Disapproval from others (e.g., peers, parents, other adults)
      Participant Statement Example: “Sometimes, other people don’t like that we’re friends.”
   c. Category 3: No Disadvantages
      Participant Statement Example: “I don’t think there are any disadvantages.”
   d. Category 4: Determined by coder if necessary.
APPENDIX G


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Mean (Standard Deviation)</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 TOTAL Friendship Quality</td>
<td>3.55 (.52)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Closeness</td>
<td>4.12 (.81)</td>
<td>.79**</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Companionship</td>
<td>3.23 (.88)</td>
<td>.76**</td>
<td>.50**</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Conflict</td>
<td>2.01 (.87)</td>
<td>.32**</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Receiving Help</td>
<td>4.46 (.60)</td>
<td>.79**</td>
<td>.61**</td>
<td>.43**</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Security</td>
<td>3.54 (.63)</td>
<td>.81**</td>
<td>.71**</td>
<td>.50**</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.67**</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p<.01**
APPENDIX H
Table 5. Participant responses to the question, “Do you feel comfortable sharing your cultural/racial heritage with your friend? If yes, how do you share?” (N= 76)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Number</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>“I share with my friends through communicating such as talking or an e-mail. If an issue comes up in school involving my culture, then I will share my knowledge.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>“Yes, I talk to all my friends about my heritage and am open and listen to them.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>“Yes, I do, merely by talking and sharing information in order to inform him and others.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>“Entirely. Anytime, anyone, anywhere.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111*</td>
<td>“I feel very comfortable about sharing my heritage with all of my friends through talking, attending events, food movies, etc.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>“Yes, I do; we usually just talk.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>“I do feel comfortable talking with my friend. At times he does not understand certain practices that I am acquainted with.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>“Yes I do feel comfortable doing so; we usually talk about our heritage and backgrounds and discuss our views.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>“I feel comfortable because we can talk about anything even if my heritage is involved. He don’t down talk me or anything.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>“Yes, I do not see any boundaries between interaction among different races. As my faith has taught me, all men are created equal.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>“If I’m sharing something I will go back and forth with the person I’m sharing it with.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118*</td>
<td>“Yes, in talking about it together, attending certain events with their families that are important to their race.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>“Yes I feel very comfortable. I talk to my friend about my experience as a different ethnic group.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>“Yes, I talk to them about it.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“Yes, talking about it.”

“I love sharing culture back and forth with my friends. I learn a lot about places and people I couldn’t learn anywhere else. We share telling jokes.”

“Yes. I share by talking and having discussions with my friend.”

“Yes. I tell a lot of people about my religion and tell them a lot of Black poems.”

“Yes I feel comfortable sharing my culture and racial heritage with my friend. I do this by talking to her about anything. We also hang out.”

“Well we don’t really talk about it that much. Sometimes we’ll talk about how our other friends of our own race feel about our friendship, but we really don’t care what others think.”

“Yes I feel comfortable sharing my cultural heritage and I share it by having regular conversations about [it] with friends of the same race and different.”

“I am proud to be who I am. My Caucasian friends ask me a lot of things like about my hair and music about certain holidays and foods and I let them know. I’ve had a few friends over for Kwanzaa and I’ve braided their hair and just share my experiences.

“Yes. I love being all the nationalities that I am. I love that my Grandpa speaks Hungarian and shares so many personality characteristics as I do. I want my friends to know and experience the kind of love I have for my background.”

“Yes. We talk openly about our beliefs and our race on the phone, at school, and when we hang out. We talk about comfortable and uncomfortable things we deal with as our race.”

“Yes, we talk a lot.”

“Yes, by talking.”

“Yes, I talk to them.”

“Yes, because she is new to America, she asks me about our customs a lot and I get to share a lot with her.”

“Yes! I just talk about my background. I have also burned some CD’s with Norwegian music. I also show pictures.”

“Yes, by talking to them about it.”

“Yes, neither of us are racist so we are free to have conversations without any prejudice or bias. We have only known each other for a short time so we haven’t attended any events together.”

“Ya. If there’s something my friend wants to know about where I come from originally and I can answer it I wouldn’t have a problem with telling her.”
“Yes; we talk a lot and culture and ethnicity is not an issue.”

“Yes, we talk. You don’t really seem to notice the racial difference, unless the concept is brought up.”

“Yes, by showing one another the perspective on your heritage.”

“Yes, in English class usually, we have share time. But also just on occasion sitting and talking.”

“Yes, by showing one another the perspective on your heritage.”

“Yes, although I don’t know much about my heritage/culture, but if I did I would feel comfortable with sharing it.”

“Yes I do. How culture typically comes up is after a seminar in class about different cultures or when I talk about what I had for dinner.”

“Yes because I talk and want her to come to events.”

“Yes, although I don’t know much about my heritage/culture, but if I did I would feel comfortable with sharing it.”

“Yes, by showing one another the perspective on your heritage.”

“Yes, we talk about our experiences and families together; sometimes it feels like we are family.”

“Yes, we talk about “black” things all the time (i.e., food, music, that sort of thing).”

“Yes because I talk and want her to come to events.”

“Yes, we talk about our experiences and families together; sometimes it feels like we are family.”

“Yes I talk to my friend about the behaviors of my Black culture.”

“Yes I do even though my race doesn’t really come up in too many of our conversations. I might talk about the differences in our hair only when she complains about her hair texture.”

“Yes I feel comfortable sharing my cultural racial heritage with my friend. I talk to my friend about my heritage.”

“Yes, I talk to my friend about the behaviors of my Black culture.”

“Yes I feel comfortable; we share the information when we have free time in class. For example, a question can come up and we will have a long conversation about it.”

“Yes I feel comfortable sharing my race with my friend. I just talk to her about it.”

“Yes I feel comfortable. I share by talking about my ancestors.”

“Yes, by talking.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Number</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>“I’m about to take him to D.C. to visit my brother. I invite him to parties on the east side.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>“Yes I do feel comfortable sharing my cultural/racial heritage with my friend. I introduce him to my music and food. Also the Puerto Rican girls.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111*</td>
<td>“I feel very comfortable about sharing my heritage with all of my friends through talking, attending events, food movies, etc.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118*</td>
<td>“Yes, in talking about it together, attending certain events with their families that are important to their race.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>“Yes; having them listen to rap music or gospel; having them eat “soul” food.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>“Yes because I think it gives her an opportunity to see how other people live and that there is more than one way to react to things.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>“Yes, we both go to each other’s family events. We eat each other’s’ food, etc.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>“Yes, it’s fun sharing each other’s’ different foods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129*</td>
<td>“I love sharing culture back and forth with my friends. I learn a lot about places and people I couldn’t learn anywhere else. We share telling jokes.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>“Yes, music, dances.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138*</td>
<td>“I am proud to be who I am. My Caucasian friends ask me a lot of things like about my hair and music about certain holidays and foods and I let them know. I’ve had a few friends over for Kwanzaa and I’ve braided their hair and just share my experiences.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>“My friend and I are in so many clubs together.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>“I feel extremely comfortable about sharing my culture/racial heritage with my girl, and I do so by including her and taking her to step shows, family gatherings, and etc. (where a lot of “my people” are.”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>“Even though she already knows a lot about it, yes I do. I share with her by taking her to family gatherings and just hanging out with her.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173*</td>
<td>“Yes the food and their accomplishments.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>“Yes I do feel comfortable. For example, I showed my friend I wrapped my hair.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant Number</td>
<td>Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>“No. It usually comes out the way I act.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>“Not really just because I don’t know how she would react.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>“Kind of, I am proud of my ancestry, but my friend and I don’t talk about it much.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>“Yes I feel comfortable but we don’t really share each other’s cultural...etc.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>“Sometimes I do...it really depends on what happened or where I went. Because sometime I don’t think she understands how we act/interact with others than how she would with her culture or race. But I bet she could relate to me all the time.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>“Yes, I don’t really share too much though cause I was adopted.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>“I personally believe that culture does not play a major role in our friendship. We both are Bi-racial and there is not really a culture for that.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>“No. I don’t enjoy being white. All my friends are other ethnicities.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Responses coded in more than one group.*
**APPENDIX I**

*Table 7. Participant responses to the question, “What are the benefits of being a member of an interracial friendship?” (N=76)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Number</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>“Sharing cultural ideas”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>“You get the chance to experience things you wouldn’t normally because that friend most likely does things different.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>“You get to learn how other people live and what they like to do.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>“You get to learn about other cultures than your own.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>“You get to learn more about people who are different from you.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>“You get to learn about so many different things, like culture, food, music, and so much more. It really is great.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>“The range varies. I believe you attain further knowledge about the world and the people in it which is a great virtue.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>“The benefits are that I am more able to understand other cultures.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>“You have or I have both white and back friends and you can bring your friend from your ethnicity to your other friends.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>“You receive a better understanding of someone different than you.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>“You learn about their culture.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>“I get to be with [my friend].”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>“I can try new food and make new friends.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>“Being able to talk about things and also meeting new people”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“You learn so much! Certain cultures do certain things and it is interesting to see how other people live and react to things. Free up your mind.”

“I see how she sees things about the world, and I see how we are so different.”

“I can’t speak the language, but if people from by background, it’s a pretty interesting benefit.”

“You get to see how their ethnicity celebrates things.”

“The benefits of an interracial friendship is that I’ve learned so many different things about other raced people. Also, I’ve met so many new friends that I’m close to.”

“You are exposed to a whole new set of ideas and a whole new culture. You are very different from each other in so many ways, but it’s cool to see how alike you are too.”

“There are great benefits from being involved in an interracial relationship. For example, you learn about others’ culture and their feelings about different things. Also you feel more comfortable when in mixed crowds of people.”

“I get to meet a lot of her different friends and she gets to meet a lot of mine.”

“Everything. I love sharing the differences between my friend and me. She has a lot to offer me and I to her. I can learn from all the things we share and enrich life so much more.”

“I learn more about different cultures.”

“You can learn so much from them like their culture.”

“I get to learn some things I have NEVER learned in history class or informational things like that. I get to learn about her family and what they have gone through.”

“You see different points of view and perspectives.”

“Yes. I have learned a lot about Norway and that they do a lot of the same things that we do.”

“the different foods we eat and the different things we like to do”

“I have knowledge of a whole other part of the country. Not just white history but Asian history too.”

“You got the chance to feel and experience the other culture.”

“I get to see a different culture in more detail. When I wasn’t in this friendship I didn’t know as much about Native Americans and now I do.”

“I get to learn about another type of culture and get to meet some of the best people.”
“I can learn a lot of culture and broaden my life experiences.”
“You get to learn from more than one perspective or way of living.”
“You get to see two different kinds of cultures.”
“You have better social skills and figure out what you all have in common.”
“You know more about their race.”
“Everything is funner.”
“You get more insight on their race, and their struggles and basically what they go through in daily life.”
“You learn more than just one culture.”
“You get to learn the life and race.”
“You learn new things from different cultures.”
“You can learn a lot about each other.”
“I get to learn about their race.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Number</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>“It brings unity.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>“The benefits are that when people stereotype you, your friend can disprove the stereotype.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>“You’re more open to everything, you have the chance of meeting great people, and you get more chances and opportunities.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>“You get to meet people you never would have talked to and so you don’t have as many stereotypes after that.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>“I feel like I can accept people no matter the ethnic background.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>“It shows that you’re open-hearted and race doesn’t stand the chance of why someone likes you or not.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Group 2**
*(Decreased Prejudice)*
“It helps you get a better understanding of their culture and who they are as people. Sometimes I feel I can trust my white friend more than the other girls of my same race. I know she’ll be there for me and help me when I’m down.”

“Just like any friendship, it provides stability, but an interracial friendship also provides a different perspective and insight on situations. It has made me think in a more open-minded, understanding fashion.”

“I learn a lot all the time. It help me [with] understanding.”

“If you get along with other races you become a well-developed person and are more accepted among peers or co-workers who are not of the same race.”

“When people see us together it says something that is very powerful to others that might think we being friends isn’t good. I also [think] branching out is important for this world to expand to be a better place.”

“Being yourself, and having respect for others.”

“If you hear someone saying something about them whether you’re going to tell them or not, being true, respectful, and staying the stay through thick or thin.”

“You get the opportunity to realize that other races are just like us on the inside.”

“We understand a lot of problems that our parents go through, how we were raised, and how we feel when we disagree about the American culture.”

“It lets you get beyond the stereotypes and you get to learn about their way of life.”

Group 3
(Race Doesn’t Make a Difference)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Number</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>“There ain’t none we’re just friends”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>“None. An interracial relationship in its essence remains just like any other relationship. If you view it as superior to any other friendship you undermine the true meaning of equality.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>“None. Nothing special. Same benefits of a regular friendship.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“The benefits are the same as any other relationship. It’s a friend. That’s all that matters. It doesn’t matter what race they are. But I guess learning about different cultures besides your own.”

“I just think of them as friends. The race thing comes second. But I would have to say it would be that all of [us] bring something different to the table.”

“I believe that you can get benefits from any friendship not just an interracial one once you have made friends with every race you realize that there isn’t much of a difference at all.”

“There are none.”

“I don’t know I just think of her as my friend. I would get close to the same benefits with her as I would with and other friend I have.”

“I get to be friends with a great person and get to know her family and friends and know a lot of cool people.”

“You get to be connected to so many different people. When making new friends. Making interracial friends is not any different than making friends of the same race.”

“T.J. was raised with white people and I was raised with black people. But we are still kind of the same person.”

“There are no benefits. I treat everyone just the same no matter what color their skin is.”

**Group 4**

**Unable to Categorize**

“It gives me a chance to talk and tell what I want to.”

“I get to see how white people act; they can’t dance.”

“We can hang out without any problems or drama.”
Table 9. Participant responses to the question, “What are the disadvantages of being a member of an interracial friendship?” (N= 75)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Number</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>“Disagreements”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>“Stereotypes.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>“Sometime down the road in an interracial relationship, you will end up in a situation of misunderstanding JUST because you are a different race than your friend.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>“A disadvantage of interracial friendship is that, sometimes my friend will talk to someone and leave me out, or talk about my race, derogatively as in a joke.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>“You may have disagreements.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>“Sometimes they can’t relate.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>“Getting into fights”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>“Sometimes you can’t do certain things or you get into more fights or predicaments because of certain beliefs.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>“Sometimes you feel awkward about racial subjects.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>“None, other than maybe music”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>“Sometimes those differences in each other clash and it can cause an argument, but you have to understand that everyone is different no matter their race or ethnicity.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>“When you face something in your life by just being a certain color or religion, your friend doesn’t understand as much as you do because they might fit in with everyone else at certain times.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143*</td>
<td>“There aren’t many disadvantages, but some that I have experiences are as follows: 1) some old fashion family members disapprove; 2) they don’t always fully understand where I’m coming from on certain topics, and vice versa; 3) certain things/groups that we go to or are involved in aren’t completely given to the idea of unifying; 4) when you’re the only one (friend of another ethnicity) it sometimes feel as though you represent your race.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“We can have disagreements because we learned differently, not because of something personal. But it might feel personal.”
“disagreements on certain things”
“Sometimes not everyone in the friendships get along with each other.”
“She wouldn’t understand how it feels when people make you feel negative about the color of your skin.”
“Sometimes it can get [carried] away to most people and focus on one [ethnicity] but end up forgetting your own.”
“You might not like the other culture.”
“You start to see things you don’t like.”
“We sometimes argue about the most stupid things ever.”
“Can’t say the things they say certain words.”
“Their culture is different. Such as dancing. And I avoid school dances because I don’t like to dance the same way. And I like other music other than hip-hop. I prefer to dance to my own music where I’m comfortable.”
“None what so ever, except for you have to be careful what you say around them because some things may offend them.”
“Some disadvantages are that I sometimes don’t understand her culture. She is too into the Bible (Koran) and I am not.”
“You may have differences.”
“I feel different.”
“difference of opinion when it comes to certain issues.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Number</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>“There is always the risk and burden of being judged by your own race of people. Even people outside your race tend to use stereotypes about interracial friendships.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>“There are some people who place stereotypes upon you and perceive you merely as a minority, and nothing more. It’s a challenge to make people see beyond this.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>“You may not have everything in common. And people may look at you wrong according to stereotypes.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>“Other people think it is wrong and they ridicule me.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>“The disadvantages are people turning on you which I really don’t care about.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>“Nothing, besides other prejudice people being angry at you.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>“The disadvantages can be people of your own race wondering why you hang out so much with that person.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>“Some people just don’t want to see you happy. There is always someone looking at you like you’re wrong.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>“Some people may say that you’re trying to become part of the race your friend is from.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>“Nothing, if people have a problem, that’s their problem not mine.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>“The disadvantages of being in this kind of relationship is that sometimes you do get judged by others and there might be some disagreement when it comes to serious situations that deal with race.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>“I know over the years my friends that are Black get mad because I’d rather hang with my White friends than them. We’ve gotten over it but they’re still a little jealous. I’ve also have had friends whose parents are racist and feel that I’m not good enough to be their friend.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 139                | Honestly, I’ve gotten a little negativity from the both ends of the spectrum. Sometimes I feel like my friends’ other African American friends look at me as being too “white.” I take ballet classes and love classical music but it doesn’t mean anything because I also take hip hop and love rap. Does that make me too “black”? I consider myself a person who loves to experience the world regardless of nationality. I don’t mind being told ballet is too white and I don’t mind when people tell me I dance like a black girl. I just do what I love, and my friend supports that.
I just mind that people even care what I love; it only affects them as much as they let it and I don’t think it should matter.”

“You can get talked about a lot.”

“There aren’t many disadvantages, but some that I have experiences are as follows: 1) some old fashion family members disapprove; 2) they don’t always fully understand where I’m coming from on certain topics, and vice versa; 3) certain things/groups that we go to or are involved in aren’t completely given to the idea of unifying; 4) when you’re the only one (friend of another ethnicity) it sometimes feel as though you represent your race.”

“Other people who don’t like us being friends or have a problem with her race because I know that if they got to know her, they would love her and what she stands for!”

“Some people are against it. No one really has ever said anything to me, but same with interracial couples.”

“People get these stereotypical ideas about you, especially people of you same race because the person you are hanging out with is different.”

“Some of your friends’ friends don’t like or think of you as the same because you are of a different race.”

“Sometimes other friends won’t be as open-minded about it.”

“Sometimes people look at you funny if they don’t like what they see but that doesn’t bother me!”

“Well how the parents or the religions is based on.”

“You might lose some of your close friends of the same race.”

“People are still discriminatory against you and your friend.”

“People talk about you a lot.”

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**Group 3**

(No Disadvantages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Number</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>“There ain’t none.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>“I don’t have any disadvantages in interracial friendship. Race doesn’t matter, we’re all human.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>“None.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>“I don’t really see any disadvantages. Maybe one could be that other people (that hold a different view) may see you as different.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“Nothing but I wouldn’t have been able to do the survey.”
“I have not experienced any.”
“None.”
“I don’t think there are any.”
“I can’t think of any.”
“Well I always was shy, because I was a different color, but I grew out of it.”
“None that I can think of.”
“I don’t believe there are any disadvantages of being a member of an interracial friendship.”
“I don’t think there are any disadvantages.”
“There aren’t any disadvantages in our friendship.”
“None.”
“There are none.”
“Not a lot, at first it was hard to understand her accent, but that just made us have more fun together.”
“There aren’t any disadvantages that have to do anything with race.”
“Truthfully I can’t think of any disadvantages.”
“None that I can see.”
response left blank
“Nothing really, because if I had a problem then I would tell her and we’ll come to an agreement.”
“There are no disadvantages.”
“None.”
*Responses coded in more than one group.*