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Instructor in Charge

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Interracial Friendships

School and Neighborhood Correlates of Interracial Friendships During Early Adolescence

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Thesis

for the Degree of Bachelor of Science in Psychology

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Abstract

The present study explored interracial friendship patterns and their socio-environmental correlates with an ecological, multi-setting approach. 7th and 8th grade students of a Midwestern public school were administered several self-report measures concerning their three best school friendships and perceptions of school interracial climate. Student addresses were utilized to determine the numbers of black and white students living in the different neighborhoods served by the school. Findings indicated that black students were three times more likely to report an other-race friend than white students. Students' perceptions of school interracial climate, specifically the interdependence of the races, were positively correlated with interracial friendship activity. Findings also indicated that cross-racial friendships were associated with membership on common instructional teams. Students who lived in neighborhoods with greater numbers of other-race students from their school reported more interracial friendships and nonschool activity with interracial friends than did students from less integrated neighborhoods. The discussion emphasizes the importance of considering ecological factors as potential influences on interracial friendships among youth and emphasizes the need for further research.
School and Neighborhood Correlates of Interracial Friendships During Early Adolescence

It has been predicted, based upon birth rates and immigration statistics, that within twenty years, people of minority races will comprise the majority of the American population (Henry, 1990). Although positive interaction between races has always been a major concern in our multicultural society, this demographic trend emphasizes the urgency of fostering positive cross-race relations.

One can observe societal efforts to improve cross-race bonds at least as far back as the landmark Supreme Court case of Brown v. Topeka Bd. of Education (1954) in which racially segregated schools were found unconstitutional. The widespread desegregation which followed this ruling dramatically changed the racial composition of American public schools (Green, Adams, & Turner, 1988). Although it had been theorized that increased contact between blacks and whites would reduce racial stereotypes and prejudice, thus fostering positive interracial relations (see, e.g., Kluger, 1954; Trager & Yarrow, 1952), findings indicated that increased contact alone seemed to do relatively little to achieve these goals (see Stephan, 1978, for a review). Concerning possible changes in prejudicial attitudes among white students resulting from school desegregation, Stephan (1978) found that only two of fifteen studies reviewed found reduced
levels of prejudice, whereas five studies reported no change, and eight found increased levels of prejudicial attitudes.

One of the earliest and most influential efforts to address the need for greater understanding of the conditions required for fostering positive interracial relations was Gordon Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954). Allport argued that simple contact between races was not enough to insure positive interracial relations and outlined several criteria he believed were necessary in order to improve race relations within the context of increased exposure. According to Allport, in order to have the desired effects, contact between different races would need to be: (1) on an equal status basis; (2) intimate and frequent; (3) within a cooperative, interdependent climate; and (4) positively supported by authoritative and societal influences (Allport, 1954). The extent to which these conditions were satisfied in a situation involving cross-race contact would determine the degree to which outcomes were positive or negative (Bullock, 1978; Pettigrew, Useem, Normand, & Smith, 1973).

Allport's focus on environmental and contextual conditions that may affect the quality of interracial contact has provided an important framework for subsequent research (see, e.g., Amir, 1969; Hallinan & Williams, 1978; Patchen, 1982; Schofield, 1982; Slavin & Hansell, 1983). As noted above, Allport (1954) argued that in order for interracial friendships to occur, they needed to receive the support and encouragement of institutions.
Consistent with this view, several studies have found that interracial friendships are more likely to occur in contexts where there is support, acceptance, and/or promotion of interracial friendships from an authority, an institution, an influential person, or even social norms (see Amir, 1969 for a review). Similarly, with regard to the hypothesized importance of equal status contact between races, findings suggest that a racially-unbiased school atmosphere can impact students not only academically, but also socially (Cohen, 1972; Miller, 1983). Illustratively, white children have been found to be more likely to choose minority children as friends when taught by unprejudiced teachers (see Gerard, Jackson, & Connelly, 1975; Hallinan, 1982).

In a particularly systematic effort to evaluate the importance of the contact theory criteria within the school setting, Green, Adams, & Turner (1988) assessed specific dimensions of school interracial climate which paralleled each of the four conditions outlined by Allport. Using higher scores on the School Interracial Climate Scale to indicate the degree to which students in different schools felt that contact theory requirements were evident in their settings, Green et al. (1988) found that perceived fulfillment of contact criteria was strongly associated with both number of other-race friends and fewer perceived differences between same- and other-race friends (Green et al., 1988).
Interracial Friendships

Despite these promising findings regarding the potential relevance of setting characteristics which may both facilitate and impede the formation of cross-race friendships, research to date has generally not moved beyond the focus on educational settings reflected in Allport’s initial work. Ecological models of development (Bronfenbrenner, 1974; Felner & Felner, 1990) have emphasized the importance of addressing the full range of contextual conditions which may impact a child’s development, including both those contexts or settings in which the child participates directly (e.g., school, neighborhood, family), as well as those which may affect the child more indirectly (e.g., parental work environment). Bronfenbrenner (1974) refers to the immediate settings in which children lead their lives as microsystems and emphasizes the importance of considering possible differential and interactive effects of these settings on developmental processes and outcomes.

In moving toward a more comprehensive, multi-setting focus for understanding the contextual factors associated with childhood interracial friendships, one setting, other than the school, which deserves further consideration is the neighborhood (cf. Epstein, 1986). Bryant (1985) described the neighborhood as a critical social environment in which unique and diversified relationships may be developed and found that social support within this setting was a positive predictor of children’s social and emotional well-being. Population density, and especially
Interracial Friendships

child density in the neighborhood, have also been found to be related to children’s peer associations, with children living in more densely populated neighborhoods tending to have larger numbers of neighborhood friends (van Vliet, 1981). Correspondingly, preliminary findings suggest that the density of other-race persons in the neighborhood may be related to interracial friendship formation (DuBois & Hirsch, 1989; Patchen, 1982). Patchen (1982) found that white high school students living in racially-desegregated neighborhoods had more interracial friendships than those from neighborhoods in which relatively few blacks lived. Similarly, in a study which focused specifically on the proportion of other-race children in the neighborhood, DuBois and Hirsch (1989) found that middle grade students who lived in racially-integrated neighborhoods were more likely to report having a close interracial friendship with a student from their school and frequent contact with this friend outside of the regular school day. These findings are consistent with the numerous studies which have documented the effects of school and classroom racial composition on interracial friendship formation (see, e.g., Epstein, 1986 for a review) and suggest that interracial friendship may also be influenced by the neighborhood racial context.

The present study explores the value of the ecological perspective for further understanding of interracial friendship patterns and their socio-environmental correlates. While initial
findings suggest the value of this viewpoint, limitations of this work are also evident. One major concern is the need for further understanding of the ways in which multiple settings affect interracial friendship activity. Research to date, with notable exceptions (e.g., Patchen, 1982), has paid relatively little attention to the neighborhood setting (Bryant, 1985; van Vliet, 1981). Addressing this concern, the present study examines the roles of both the school and neighborhood settings in facilitating cross-racial friendship formation.

A second major concern is the almost exclusive reliance on self-report data among those few studies which have addressed the role of the neighborhood in the interracial context. No study, to our knowledge, has employed objective "hard data" to assess neighborhood characteristics. Instead, students have been asked to report on characteristics such as the number of other-race persons in their neighborhoods. Employing self-report data in this manner could result in spurious or artificially-inflated correlations between contextual variables, such as neighborhood racial composition, and reported rates of interracial activity. For example, those children with other-race friends may consider their neighborhood more integrated than it actually is due to their own contacts with cross-race youth. To address this issue, the present study recorded each student’s Census tract and block group to objectively determine the numbers of black and white youths who attended the focal middle school within each
neighborhood.

Finally, the ecological perspective has primarily been applied only to the range of possible predictors of interracial friendships. An equally critical concern, as illustrated by the findings of DuBois and Hirsch (1989) concerning interracial contact outside of school, is to understand the ecological context of the friendships themselves. Toward this end, the present study investigates not only relevant characteristics of the school and nonschool environments which may impact interracial friendship behavior, but also the school and nonschool contexts of the cross-race friendship interactions themselves.

Method

School and Community Context

The present study was conducted in a Midwestern community (population approximately 100,000) which is the site of a major state university. The youth participating in the study attended a public grade 7-8 middle school which had a total enrollment of approximately 630 students. Six elementary schools of approximately equal size fed into the middle school. The neighborhoods served by the feeder elementary schools ranged from predominantly poor to upper-middle income areas. Although the elementary schools served primarily the neighborhoods in which they were located, some busing of black students occurred in accordance with the district's desegregation policy. As a
result, the various elementary schools did not differ substantially in their racial composition. In terms of ethnic background, 70% of the students attending the middle school were white, 23% were black, and 7% belonged to non-black minority groups (primarily Asian). School district records indicated that 25% of the students attending the school were from low-income families, as assessed by participation in the Federal subsidized lunch program. Black-white relations in both the community and the focal middle school were reasonably positive, although relatively minor issues had arisen on occasion.

Sample

The sample for this study consisted of seventh- and eighth-grade students who attended the participating middle school during the spring semester of the 1989-1990 school year. Participation in the study was voluntary and required both parent and student consent. Consent was obtained from approximately 90 percent of the eligible students at each grade level. Data were collected as part of a larger longitudinal research project.

The total sample for the current study consisted of 407 middle school students. In terms of ethnic background, the sample consisted of 308 white students and 99 black students. Non-black minority students were not included in the sample due to their small numbers. In addition, special education and ESL (English as a Second Language) students were not included because of the difficulty in obtaining reliable self-report data from
these students, under the conditions of group administration utilized in the present study. As assessed by the number of students participating in the subsidized lunch program, approximately 20% of the students in the sample were from low-income families. Thus, the demographic characteristics of the sample were comparable to those of the overall school population.

Procedure

Self-report measures were administered in classrooms during regular school hours. Students did not place their names on the questionnaires and were assured of complete anonymity. To ensure that reading level did not impede a student’s ability to reliably complete the measures, the instructions and individual items for each instrument were read aloud by members of the research team, while the students read along silently.

Census data and student home address information obtained from the school were utilized to identify the Census tract and block group in which each student lived. The city in which the middle school serves is comprised of nine Census tracts, with each tract containing between one and nine block groups of approximately 400-600 households. Each student’s address was first located on a map prepared by the Champaign County Regional Planning Commission in order to identify the Census tract and block group in which he or she resided. With this information, we were able to determine the numbers of black and white students from the focal middle school who lived in each neighborhood.
Interracial Friendships

Measures

Several self-report measures were used to assess students' same- and other-race friendships with other students as well as their perceptions of race-related dimensions of school climate.

School friendships. School friendships were assessed by asking students to respond to a series of questions regarding each of their three best friends who attended the school (see Appendix A). Originally, we intended to have each student indicate the name of each of their friends. However, due to concerns expressed by school administrators regarding this approach, we instead asked students to think of specific friends to rate for each section of the measure without reporting their names. Students were asked to report the grade level (7th or 8th), gender, and ethnic background (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian-American, or Other) of each friend. Additionally, students were asked whether or not each friend was a member of their instructional team. The middle school was comprised of five instructional teams, with two teams at the seventh-grade level, two at the eighth-grade level, and one containing students from both grade levels. Next, students indicated the frequency of their in-school interaction with each friend (1=never, 2=once a month, 3=once a week, 4=several times a week, or 5=almost every day), as well as the degree to which they felt each friend could be relied on for help during the school day (1=never, 2=sometimes, 3=most of the time, or 4=almost always). A parallel
pair of items regarding friendship interaction and support outside of the regular school day followed these questions.

**Interracial school climate.** A briefer version of Green et al.'s (1988) School Interracial Climate Scale was used to assess students' perceptions of race-related dimensions of school climate (see Appendix B). Items in this measure pertain to students' impressions of their school interracial climate and were derived to assess the extent to which the perceived school climate reflects each of the four criteria outlined by Allport (1954) for positive cross-race contact: (1) interdependence (e.g., "Students of different races at my school are all working together for the same things"); (2) supportive norms (e.g., "Teachers encourage students to make friends with students of different races"); (3) association (e.g., "Students of different races don't have much to do with each other at this school"); and (4) equal status (e.g., "All students at this school are treated equally"). Items chosen for inclusion in the current measure were those that loaded highest on the corresponding factor in the factor analysis findings reported by Green et al. (1988). For each item students were asked to select from five responses in a Likert-scale format (1=never, 2=hardly ever, 3=sometimes, 4=most of the time, 5=always). Following the scoring procedures of Green et al. (1988), we scored the four scales noted above, as well as a total score for the entire measure. Scores are computed such that higher scores on each of the subscales reflect
greater levels of agreement that the climate dimension is present. Green et al. (1988) presented several findings that supported the construct validity of the School Interracial Climate Scale, including significant associations with six other measures of cross-race relations (e.g., cafeteria integration). The researchers also reported high internal reliability estimates for each of the four scales, as well as the entire instrument.

Results

The results are reported in three major sections. The first section examines the rates and characteristics of same- and other-race school friendships reported by the sample. The second section examines possible school predictors of cross-race friendship formation. The third section examines possible neighborhood predictors of cross-race friendships, specifically the numbers of same- and other-race middle school students within each student's block group.

Rates and Characteristics of Same- and Other-Race School Friendships

We first examined responses to the items concerning the race of each student's first, second, and third best school friends.

Insert Table 1 about here

As shown in Table 1, there was a notably larger percentage of same-race friendships reported for each of the three friendship
choices as compared to reports of other-race friendships. Blacks were considerably more likely to report interracial friendships than whites.

Due to the small number of non-black minority students in the sample, very few were chosen as best friends by the black and white students in the sample. We will therefore focus only on black and white friendship choices for the remainder of the study. Thus, when referring to white children, same-race children would be white and other-race children would be black and for black children, same-race children would be black and other-race children would be white.

In order to further investigate students' interracial friendship choices, we examined the numbers of other-race friendships reported by blacks and whites (Table 2). As Table 2 demonstrates, the majority of both black and white students did not report any other-race friendships. It was found, however, that black students were considerably more likely to report multiple other-race friendships than were white students.

**School Predictors**

The next section investigated whether students' perceptions of school interracial climate were related to cross-race friendship formation. Pearson correlations were computed between
each of several interracial friendship indices and each of the student's scores on the School Interracial Climate Scale (Table 3). As shown in Table 3, students' perceptions of their school's overall interracial climate, as reflected by the total score, were correlated with interracial friendship variables.

Insert Table 3 about here

including number of other-race friends. The students' perceptions of interdependence between races at the school (i.e., the extent to which different races depend on each other) were significantly correlated with interracial friendship variables as well. Significant correlations were not found, however, for the other subscales on the School Interracial Climate Scale (see Table 3).

Next, we examined the extent to which membership on common instructional teams in the middle school was associated with interracial friendship formation. As shown in Table 4, students were more likely to report both same- and other-race friendships with students who were members of their instructional team than with students who were not members of their team. Students who chose other-race students as their third best friends were four
times more likely to select members on their teams than members on other teams (see Table 4).

**Neighborhood Predictors**

Pearson correlations between the neighborhood interracial context and interracial friendship variables are reported in Table 5. The proportion of other-race middle school students in

Insert Table 5 about here

the neighborhood was positively correlated with the number of other-race friendships reported and negatively correlated with the number of same-race friendships reported (see Table 5). Correspondingly, students living in neighborhoods with more same-race students from their school reported more same-race friendships and fewer other-race friendships than did students who lived in neighborhoods with fewer same-race students.

We further explored the relationship between neighborhood racial composition and interracial friendship formation by examining nonschool friendship activity (i.e., friendship activity extending beyond the school day). As shown in Table 6,

Insert Table 6 about here

the proportion of other-race students within a child’s neighborhood was positively correlated with the number of reports
Interracial Friendships

of other-race nonschool friendship activity and negatively
correlated with the number of reports of same-race nonschool
friendship activity.

Discussion

Findings from this research suggest the influence of both
the school and neighborhood settings on cross-race friendship
formation. When examining school interracial climate, we found
that reports of cross-racial friendship activity and numbers of
other-race friends were significantly correlated with perceptions
of interdependence between races at the school and total scores
on the School Interracial Climate Scale. Null findings were
found for the other subscales on this measure. In contrast,
Green et al. (1988) found strong correlations between all of the
subscales of the measure and interracial friendship activity,
including a correlation of .89 between test scores of the measure
and number of other-race friends. This discrepancy may be
related to the different levels of analysis employed by the Green
et al. (1988) study and the present study. Green et al. (1988)
employed a school-level analysis by averaging all of the
students' scores from five different schools, whereas we analyzed
scores on an individual basis. Our individual level of analyses
may have attenuated observed correlations between interracial
climate scores and other-race friendship variables. For example,
students with other-race friends may be more aware of problems
involving racial relations within their school. Such students
may therefore be more critical and informed observers of their school climate relative to students with no interracial ties. This type of confound could easily help to obscure effects of school interracial atmosphere on interracial friendship activity when conducting analyses on an individual level.

Other intriguing findings relating to school factors concern the extent to which school instructional teams may influence cross-race friendship formation. Membership on instructional teams seemed to facilitate the formation of both same- and other-race friendships, as reflected by the degree to which classmates on the student's same team were chosen as friends. Findings also suggested that team membership facilitated interracial friendship formation in particular, specifically when considering student's choices for their third other-race friends. Being on the same team may have offered an opportunity for students of different races to interact under the positive conditions outlined by Allport (1954). Because students were likely to already have some friendship ties with other students prior to participation on the team, team membership may have been most important for their third, and perhaps, most easily affected, friendship choice.

The neighborhood, as with the school team, also provides an opportunity for positive other-race contact. The present study found that students residing in neighborhoods with greater numbers of other-race middle-school children reported more
Interracial friendships, as compared to those from areas with fewer other-race students. Moreover, nonschool interracial friendship activity was higher among students living in integrated neighborhoods and lower among those living in more segregated neighborhoods. These findings suggest the influence of neighborhood racial composition on both cross-racial friendship formation and the context in which interracial activity is likely to occur.

It is important to note, however, that although these correlations were quite significant, other neighborhood-related factors may influence interracial friendship formation. Illustratively, it is possible that those families that are more accepting of other races are more likely to reside in racially-integrated neighborhoods.

As in previous research (see DuBois & Hirsch, 1989; Patchen, 1982), the present study found that a larger percentage of blacks reported other-race friendships as compared to whites. Our findings suggest that blacks' more frequent other-race friendship choices could be partially due to blacks' relatively greater exposure to other-race peers in neighborhood and school settings. Based on Allport's (1954) contact theory, this differential degree of contact could easily have an important effect on differences observed between rates of interracial friendships between whites and blacks, especially under the potentially favorable conditions for cross-race interactions which exist in
Interracial Friendships

school and neighborhood settings.

As with other studies concerning interracial friendships, potential limitations of the generalizability of these findings need to be considered. The sample consisted of only two grade levels in a medium-sized Midwestern middle school. In a more urban environment, where students may travel greater distances from their neighborhood to attend school, different patterns of association between school and neighborhood interracial variables might be found.

Despite the potential limitations of the present study, findings do emphasize the need for further research of the ecological factors influencing interracial friendships. The study of cross-racial friendships is critical in a multicultural society such as ours. By considering the ecological context of these friendships, it may be possible to move more easily toward increased facilitation and understanding of positive relations between races.
### Table 1

**Percentage Breakdown of Race of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Best School Friendships Reported By Whites and Blacks**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>84.6</td>
<td>83.2</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(259)</td>
<td>(253)</td>
<td>(244)</td>
<td>(21)</td>
<td>(26)</td>
<td>(26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>62.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(25)</td>
<td>(66)</td>
<td>(64)</td>
<td>(61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian-American</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No friend</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** ns are provided in parentheses.
### Table 2

**Numbers of Other-Race Friendships Reported by White and Black Students**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>White</strong></td>
<td>243</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(81.3)</td>
<td>(16.1)</td>
<td>(1.3)</td>
<td>(1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black</strong></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(58.7)</td>
<td>(21.7)</td>
<td>(7.6)</td>
<td>(12.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** Percentages are provided in parentheses.
Table 3

**Correlations Between Perceived School Climate and Interracial Friendship Variables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interracial friendship variables</th>
<th>Scores on SICS subscales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INTL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of friends</td>
<td>.15**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of friends</td>
<td>.17***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School activity</td>
<td>.14**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonschool activity</td>
<td>.14**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** INTER=Interdependence; SUPPN=Supportive Norms; ASSOC=Association; EQUAL=Equality; TOTAL= Total score on the SICS; SICS = School Interracial Climate Scale.

†p<.10. **p<.05. ***p<.01.
Table 4

Percentage Breakdown of Same- and Other-Race Best Friendships By Membership on Student's Instructional Team

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friendships</th>
<th>On team</th>
<th>Not on team</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(197)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same-race</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(178)</td>
<td>(130)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(178)</td>
<td>(110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other-race</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(27)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>78.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(32)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. ns are provided in parentheses.
### Table 5

**Correlations Between Racial Composition of Neighborhood and Race of Friendships**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friendships</th>
<th>Number school</th>
<th>Number other-race friends</th>
<th>Number same-race</th>
<th>Proportion other-race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number other-race</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.16**</td>
<td>-.15**</td>
<td>.21***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number same-race</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.20***</td>
<td>.20**</td>
<td>-.13**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion other-race</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.17***</td>
<td>-.17***</td>
<td>.20***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05.  **p < .01.  ***p < .001.*
**Interracial Friendships**

Table 6

**Correlations Between Racial Composition of Neighborhood and Nonschool Friendship Activity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number other-race</th>
<th>Number same-race</th>
<th>Proportion other-race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other-race</strong></td>
<td>.15***</td>
<td>-.14***</td>
<td>.18***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Same-race</strong></td>
<td>-.18***</td>
<td>.13**</td>
<td>-.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05.  **p<.01.  ***p<.001.
References


Felner & Felner, 1990, unpublished manuscript.
Interracial Friendships


Appendix A

Friends at Urbana Middle School Measure

Instructions: These questions ask about your 3 closest friends at UMS. You will be asked the same set of questions three times, once for each friend. If you can’t decide which of your friends is your best, just pick one of them for the first section and then do the other friend in the second section. Just remember to always think about only one friend for each set of questions. Please circle your answer to each question on these pages.

Best Friend at UMS [ ] I do not have a friend at UMS

For these next questions think only about your first best friend at UMS

1. What grade is this friend in? 7  8
2. Is this friend a boy or a girl? Boy Girl
3. What is the ethnic background of this friend? White Black Hispanic Asian-American Other
4. Is this friend on your team? Yes No Not Sure
5. How often do you spend free time with this friend during the school day? Never Once a Month Once a Week A few times a week Every day
6. How often do you and this friend get together on weekends or after school? Never Once a Month Once a Week A few times a week Every day
7. I can count on this friend for help during the school day... __ Whenever I need it.
   __ Most of the time I need it.
   __ Some of the time I need it.
   __ Not very much of the time I need it.
8. I can count on this friend for help on weekends or after school... __ Whenever I need it.
   __ Most of the time I need it.
   __ Some of the time I need it.
   __ Not very much of the time I need it.

Second Best Friend at UMS[ ] I do not have a second friend at UMS
FOR THESE NEXT QUESTIONS THINK ONLY ABOUT YOUR SECOND BEST FRIEND AT UMS
1. What grade is this friend in? 7 8
2. Is this friend a boy or a girl? Boy  Girl
3. What is the ethnic background of this friend?
   White  Black  Hispanic  Asian-American  Other______
4. Is this friend on your team? Yes  No  Not Sure
5. How often do you spend free time with this friend during the school day?
   Never  Once a Month  Once a Week  A few times a week  Every day
6. How often do you and this friend get together on weekends or after school?
Never  Once a Month  Once a Week  A few times a week  Every day
7. I can count on this friend for help during the school day...
   __ Whenever I need it.
   __ Most of the time I need it.
   __ Some of the time I need it.
   __ Not very much of the time I need it.
8. I can count on this friend for help on weekends or after school...
   __ Whenever I need it.
   __ Most of the time I need it.
   __ Some of the time I need it.
   __ Not very much of the time I need it.

Third Best Friend at UMS [ ] I do not have a third friend at UMS

For these next questions think only about your third best friend at UMS

1. What grade is this friend in?  7  8
2. Is this friend a boy or a girl? Boy  Girl
3. What is the ethnic background of this friend?
   White  Black  Hispanic  Asian-American  Other
4. Is this friend on your team?  Yes  No  Not Sure
5. How often do you spend free time with this friend during the school day?

Never  Once a Month  Once a Week  A few times a week  Every day

6. How often do you and this friend get together on weekends or after school?

Never  Once a Month  Once a Week  A few times a week  Every day

7. I can count on this friend for help during the school day...

__ Whenever I need it.
__ Most of the time I need it.
__ Some of the time I need it.
__ Not very much of the time I need it.

8. I can count on this friend for help on weekends or after school...

__ Whenever I need it.
__ Most of the time I need it.
__ Some of the time I need it.
__ Not very much of the time I need it.
Appendix B

School Interracial Climate Scale Measure

Instructions: For these items, please choose the response which best describes your school. Mark your answer on your separate answer sheet.

(Subscales shown in parentheses.)

Most of

Never Hardly Ever Sometimes the Time Always
A B C D E

1. Students of different races at my school are all working together for the same things. (INTERDEPENDENCE)

2. The principal and assistant principals encourage students to make friends with students of other races. (SUPPORTIVE NORMS)

3. Students of different races talk to each other only when they have to. (ASSOCIATION)

4. Teachers at this school are fair to students of different races. (EQUAL STATUS)

5. Students of different races in this school need each other. (INTERDEPENDENCE)

6. Students at this school think it's good to get to know other students of different races. (INTERDEPENDENCE)
7. Teachers encourage students to make friends with students of different races. (SUPPORTIVE NORMS)

8. My friends would think badly of me if I ate lunch with students of a different race. (ASSOCIATION)

9. Students of different races are treated equally at this school. (EQUAL STATUS)

10. Students of different races have important things to offer each other. (INTERDEPENDENCE)

11. Students of different races help each other in my classes. (INTERDEPENDENCE)

12. My principal and assistant principals think that students of different races should be friends. (SUPPORTIVE NORMS)

13. Students often go through a whole school day and never say more than a few words to a student of a different race. (ASSOCIATION)

14. Teachers at this school pay attention to students of different races. (EQUAL STATUS)

15. After students of different races get to know each other they find they have a lot in common. (INTERDEPENDENCE)

16. Students of different races at my school work together well in the student activities. (INTERDEPENDENCE)

17. Teachers here like for students of different races to understand each other. (SUPPORTIVE NORMS)

18. You have to be a particular race to get privileges at this school. (ASSOCIATION)
19. The principal and assistant principals treat students of all races fairly. (EQUAL STATUS)

20. It’s better when schools have students of just one race. (INTERDEPENDENCE)

21. Students here like to have friends of different races. (INTERDEPENDENCE)

22. Teachers here like for students of different races to get along. (SUPPORTIVE NORMS)

23. Students don’t like for other students to include people of different races in their activities. (ASSOCIATION)

24. Some students at this school get more opportunities to do things because of their race. (EQUAL STATUS)

25. Students of different races play and hang out together at this school. (INTERDEPENDENCE)

26. This is a school in which students of different races are encouraged to be friends. (SUPPORTIVE NORMS)

27. Students of different races don’t have much to do with each other at this school. (ASSOCIATION)

28. Students of one race get special treatment at this school. (EQUAL STATUS)

29. My teachers feel good when people of different races become friends. (SUPPORTIVE NORMS)