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How School Norms, Peer Norms, and Discrimination Predict Interethnic Experiences Among Ethnic Minority and Majority Youth

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This research tests how perceived school and peer norms predict interethnic experiences among ethnic minority and majority youth. With studies in Chile (654 nonindigenous and 244 Mapuche students, $M = 11.20$ and 11.31 years) and the United States (468 non-Hispanic White and 126 Latino students, $M = 11.66$ and 11.68 years), cross-sectional results showed that peer norms predicted greater comfort in intergroup contact, interest in cross-ethnic friendships, and higher contact quality, whereas longitudinal results showed that school norms predicted greater interest in cross-ethnic friendships over time. Distinct effects of school and peer norms were also observed for ethnic minority and majority youth in relation to perceived discrimination, suggesting differences in how they experience cross-ethnic relations within school environments.

Initiating relationships across ethnic boundaries can often provoke discomfort and lead children to feel less secure in diverse school environments (Schofield, 2001). Yet, although there are unique challenges associated with developing cross-ethnic friendships (Aboud, Mendelson, & Purdy, 2003; Quintana, 2011), there are many social benefits to be gained from them. Friendships help children and adolescents to navigate their social worlds (Bagwell & Schmidt, 2011), and cross-ethnic friendships uniquely contribute to children's social adjustment in ways beyond what can be achieved through same-ethnic friendships (Graham, Munniksma, & Juvonen, 2014; Kawabata & Crick, 2008). Research with adolescents and adults also shows that as people gain experience in cross-ethnic friendships, they become more comfortable and open to engaging in future cross-ethnic contact (Tropp & Al Ramiah, 2016). Greater research is therefore needed to understand the factors that can promote and enhance children's intergroup experiences.

Peer Norms as Predictors of Children's Intergroup Experiences

A growing body of research points to the importance of social norms for understanding the development of children's attitudes toward peers and social relations (Galván, Spatzier, & Juvonen, 2011; Huesmann & Guerra, 1997; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004), and in particular toward cross-group peers (Abrams, Rutland, & Cameron, 2003; Nesdale, 2004). Peers from one's own group become important sources of social information as children move toward adolescence, including how one should evaluate and interact with peers from other groups (Nesdale, 2004; Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005). As children grow older and gain greater understanding of intergroup dynamics, they become increasingly aware of the social

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consequences associated with forming cross-ethnic friendships (Kawabata & Crick, 2011; Quintana, 2011) and motivated to follow norms that demonstrate loyalty to their own groups (Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier, & Ferrell, 2009). As such, during the transition from childhood to adolescence, perceiving disapproval of cross-ethnic relations from one's peers can damage interethnic attitudes and relations (Bukowski, Newcomb, & Hartup, 1996; Nesdale & Lawson, 2011; Nesdale et al., 2005), whereas perceiving supportive norms for cross-ethnic relations from peers can promote more positive interethnic attitudes and a greater willingness to develop cross-ethnic friendships (De Tezanos-Pinto, Bratt, & Brown, 2010; Feddes, Noack, & Rutland, 2009; Gómez, Tropp, & Fernandez, 2011; McGlothlin, Edmonds, & Killen, 2008).

Examining Interethnic Experiences Among Ethnic Minority and Majority Youth

Nonetheless, research on how peer norms inform interethnic experiences of both ethnic minority and ethnic majority youth has been limited. Greater emphasis on potential ethnic differences in children's and adolescents' peer relations is needed, as processes of attitude and friendship formation are often shaped by ethnic dynamics in diverse social environments (Bigler & Liben, 2007; Killen, Crystal, & Ruck, 2007). Although most prior work has not examined ethnic differences among youth (Graham, Taylor, & Ho, 2009), children from ethnic minority and majority groups often have different perceptions of and responses to norms for cross-ethnic relations (Tropp & Al Ramiah, 2016), as well as distinct experiences in interethnic settings (Graham et al., 2014; Molina & Wittig, 2006). For example, ethnic minority children often encounter forms of ethnic discrimination and victimization that differ from the common experiences of ethnic majority children (Quintana & McKown, 2008; Verkuyten, 2006), which can color their perceptions of social relations (Bukowski et al., 1996). Moreover, by virtue of their minority status, the norms ethnic minority youth perceive from coethnic peers may have less of an impact on their feelings about cross-ethnic relations than norms they perceive in their broader social environments (see Tropp, 2006 for a related discussion). Consistent with this view, some studies indicate that perceived peer norms supporting cross-ethnic relations (e.g., Feddes et al., 2009; Jugert, Noack, & Rutland, 2011) tend to be more weakly related to cross-ethnic friendships among ethnic minority youth than among ethnic majority youth.

School Norms as Predictors of Interethnic Experiences Among Minority and Majority Youth

Given these differences associated with group status, norms of the school environment may be especially important for encouraging ethnic minority and majority youth to engage in inclusive and cooperative relations across group lines. Ethnic minority youth typically perceive less equal relations between the groups than do ethnic majority youth (Brown, 2008), and schools can provide a regulatory context that structures relations between youth from different groups (Nipedal, Nesdale, & Killen, 2010; Schofield, 2001). Perceiving support for cross-ethnic relations within the school environment—such as from teachers and other school authorities—may therefore be especially critical for encouraging positive orientations toward cross-ethnic interactions among both ethnic minority and majority youth. This analysis is consistent with intergroup contact theory (see Tropp & Al Ramiah, 2016), which highlights how norms of inclusion and equality transmitted through institutional authorities can facilitate and enhance the likelihood of achieving positive outcomes from interethnic contact.

Although both school norms and peer norms have been shown to play valuable roles in social development, limited work has focused on their additive effects in predicting children's intergroup attitudes and relationships. Notable exceptions include experimental studies by Nesdale & Lawson (2011) and Nipedal et al. (2010), showing that school and peer norms for cross-group relations can both contribute to children's developing intergroup attitudes. The present research extends this work in a number of ways. Instead of conducting experimental studies with simulated norms, the present research examines—across two national contexts—how children's subjective perceptions of prevailing norms for cross-ethnic relations among their peers and school authorities predict intergroup outcomes. Also, beyond focusing on children's intergroup attitudes, this research investigates the implications of peer and school norms for children's interethnic experiences, including their comfort and interest in cross-ethnic interactions, the quality of their contact experiences, and their reported numbers of cross-ethnic friends. Additionally, rather than testing these normative effects only among ethnic majority children, the present research examines potential differences in the effects of peer and school norms among ethnic minority and majority children. Here, we expect that perceiving norms supporting cross-

ethnic relations from coethnic peers will be especially likely to predict more positive interethnic experiences among ethnic majority youth and less so among ethnic minority youth; at the same time, we expect that perceiving norms supporting cross-ethnic relations from school authorities will be especially important for predicting positive interethnic experiences among ethnic minority youth.

In sum, this research examines how both school and peer norms for cross-ethnic relations contribute to predicting interethnic experiences among ethnic minority and majority youth. In so doing, we purposely focus on injunctive norms for cross-ethnic relations (i.e., perceiving how others think one should behave) rather than descriptive norms for cross-ethnic relations (i.e., observing and acting according to how others behave; see Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990; Elek, Miller-Day, & Hecht, 2006) in order to employ parallel items that would assess children's perceptions of norms from peers and school authorities. We examine these issues cross-sectionally and longitudinally across two studies, with samples of ethnic minority and majority students in Chile (Study 1, nonindigenous and Mapuche students) and in the United States (Study 2, non-Hispanic White and Latino students).

Study 1

Study 1 included both nonindigenous and indigenous Mapuche students in Chile. The Mapuche represent Chile's largest indigenous ethnic minority group (~8% of the population), who have cultural customs, facial features, and a language that are clearly distinguished from those of the nonindigenous majority in Chile.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were recruited from 32 schools in the Chilean cities of Santiago and Temuco, which have relatively large proportions of Mapuche students. After obtaining parental consent and students' assent, students completed surveys during the middle of the school year, as part of a larger study. Between August and December 2013, members of the research team visited each classroom to introduce the study and distribute surveys to participating students. Students were informed that the study concerned "why kids become friends with other kids," and they were assured that there were no right or wrong answers to any of the questions in the survey and that we simply wanted to know what they think and feel.

Altogether, 654 nonindigenous Chilean and 244 Mapuche students in the fifth and sixth grades participated in this study. All students were classified as either "nonindigenous Chilean" or "Mapuche" by their teachers. Teacher classifications were further verified by students' reports of their ethnic heritage (as "nonindigenous" or "Mapuche"), having (or not having) a Mapuche surname, and/or indicating that their parents did or did not have Mapuche heritage.

Of the nonindigenous Chileans students, 405 were in the fifth grade (209 boys, 196 girls) and 249 were in the sixth grade (119 boys, 128 girls), with ages ranging from 9 to 15 years (M_{age} = 11.20 years). Of the Mapuche students, 133 were in the fifth grade (50 boys, 82 girls) and 111 were in the sixth grade (57 boys, 54 girls), with ages ranging from 10 to 15 years (M_{age} = 11.31 years); it should be noted that most reported ages between 10 and 13 years, and only 2% of these participants reported an age of 14 or older.

Measures of Predictor and Control Variables

Students' responses to the following measures were scored on 7-point scales ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*, unless otherwise indicated.

Perceived school and peer norms. Parallel items were used to assess perceived norms of support for cross-ethnic relations among school staff and among coethnic peers, adapted from measures used in prior research (see Green, Adams, & Turner, 1988; Jugert et al., 2011; Molina & Wittig, 2006). Two separate items asked participants to report the extent to which they agree or disagree that school authorities (i.e., their principal and teachers), or kids from their own ethnic group, *value and approve of their having friends from the other ethnic group*. Nonindigenous students were asked about the extent to which they believe school authorities and nonindigenous peers value and approve of their having Mapuche friends. Mapuche students were asked about the extent to which school authorities and Mapuche peers value and approve of their having nonindigenous friends.

Prior cross-ethnic friendship. Prior cross-ethnic friendships were assessed by asking students to report how many of their friends before middle school were nonindigenous Chileans or Mapuche,

on a scale from 0 = *none at all* to 10 = *or more*. Reported friendships with Mapuche prior to middle school was used to represent prior cross-ethnic friendships among nonindigenous Chilean participants and reported friendships with nonindigenous Chileans prior to middle school was used to represent prior cross-ethnic friendships among Mapuche participants. Prior cross-ethnic friendships was included as a control variable, as these may enhance perceptions of inclusive norms supporting cross-ethnic friendships (see Feddes et al., 2009).

Measures of Outcome Variables

Students' responses to the following measures were scored on 7-point scales ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*, unless otherwise indicated. Paralleling the measures described above, items presented to nonindigenous students asked them to report on their interethnic experiences with Mapuche students, and items presented to Mapuche students asked them to report on their interethnic experiences with nonindigenous students.

Comfort with out-group members. Comfort with out-group members was assessed by a single item asking participants the extent to which they feel *safe and relaxed with students from the other group* (see Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Interest in cross-ethnic friendship. Interest was assessed by asking students to indicate the *extent to which they would like to become friends* with students from the other group (see Migacheva & Tropp, 2013).

Quality of interethnic contact. Contact quality was measured using four items adapted from prior research (Dixon et al., 2010), in which students indicated the extent to which it feels like they *cooperate, are on the same team, are equals and treated the same,* and *are close like with good friends and family* when they interact with children from the other group. These items formed reliable scales for nonindigenous Chilean and Mapuche participants (α = .87 and .84, respectively).

Current cross-ethnic friendships. Current cross-ethnic friendships were assessed by asking students to report how many of their friends at school now were nonindigenous Chileans or Mapuche, on a scale from 0 = *none at all* to 10 = *or more*. Reported friendships with Mapuche at school was used to represent current cross-ethnic friendships among nonindigenous Chilean participants, and reported friendships with nonindigenous Chileans at school was used to represent current cross-ethnic friendships among Mapuche participants.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Table 1 provides the descriptive statistics and correlations for the predictors, control, and dependent variables separately for each ethnic group. Mean comparisons showed that nonindigenous and Mapuche students reported similar perceptions of school norms (M = 5.87 and 5.53) and interest in cross-ethnic friendship (M = 5.10 and 4.94). At the same time, Mapuche students reported significantly greater numbers of prior cross-ethnic friendships (M = 6.46), greater comfort in intergroup contact (M = 5.30), and more supportive peer norms (M = 5.00) relative to nonindigenous students (M = 3.10, 5.00, and 4.56, respectively).

Perceived school norms and peer norms correlated significantly with greater comfort, interest, and contact quality, among both nonindigenous students, rs from .37 to .56, $p < .001$, and Mapuche students, rs from .14 to .47, $p < .01$. Perceived

Table 1
Means, Standard Deviations (in Parentheses), and Correlations for Mapuche and Nonindigenous Chilean Students (Study 1)

	Mapuche	Nonindigenous	*t*	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Prior cross-ethnic friendship	6.46 (3.69)	3.10 (3.15)	11.89***	—	.03	.21**	.29**	.34**	.14**	.67**
2. School norms	5.53 (1.62)	5.87 (1.84)	0.74	−.04	—	.38**	.39**	.37**	.41**	.06
3. Peer norms	5.00 (1.69)	4.56 (1.92)	3.28**	.11	.34**	—	.56**	.50**	.45**	.21**
4. Contact quality	5.26 (1.41)	4.75 (1.77)	4.38***	.21**	.22**	.36**	—	.64**	.53**	.23**
5. Comfort	5.30 (1.68)	5.00 (1.93)	2.15*	.22**	.14**	.20**	.52**	—	.47**	.28**
6. Interest	4.94 (2.08)	5.10 (2.10)	−1.03	−.00	.34**	.47**	.27**	.22**	—	.10*
7. Cross-ethnic friendship	5.88 (3.76)	2.88 (3.23)	10.23***	.48**	−.08	.16*	.21**	.22**	.06	—

Note. Correlations for Mapuche students are below the diagonal, correlations for nonindigenous Chilean students are above the diagonal. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

school and peer norms also correlated significantly with each other among both nonindigenous students, $r = .38$, $p < .001$, and Mapuche students, $r = .34$, $p < .001$.

Multivariate Analyses

We conducted multivariate linear models with covariates (using the GLM command in SPSS version 22 [IBM Corp., Armonk, NY]) in order to streamline the presentation of results and to account for the multiple outcomes associated with interethnic experiences of ethnic minority and majority youth. The initial model included participant ethnic group, school norms, and peer norms as primary predictors for the multivariate outcomes (i.e., comfort, interest, contact quality, reported cross-ethnic friendships), along with gender, grade, and prior cross-ethnic friendships as covariates (controls); we then added two-way interaction terms between school norms and participant ethnic group, and between peer norms and participant ethnic group, to see whether the addition of these interaction terms added significantly to the prediction of the multivariate model. When significant effects were obtained in the multivariate model, we then conducted separate univariate analyses for each outcome to specify the outcome measures on which the key predictors and control variables yielded significant main or interaction effects. Here, p values for the univariate models have not been adjusted for multiple comparisons; using a significance level of $p < .01$ would be comparable to a Bonferroni correction for alpha inflation.

The multivariate linear model with participant ethnic group, school norms, and peer norms as key predictors—and gender, grade, and prior cross-ethnic friendships as covariates—predicted a significant amount of variance in comfort with out-group members, $R^2 = .25$, $F(6, 510) = 28.74$, $p < .001$, interest in cross-ethnic friendship, $R^2 = .28$, $F(6, 510) = 33.67$, $p < .001$, quality of contact, $R^2 = .34$, $F(6, 510) = 42.96$, $p < .001$, and current cross-ethnic friendships, $R^2 = .48$, $F(6, 510) = 79.39$, $p < .001$ (see Table 2).

Effects of covariates. As expected, prior cross-ethnic friendship had a strong effect in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .39, $F(4, 507) = 81.82$, $p < .001$, predicting higher levels of comfort ($\beta = .25$), contact quality ($\beta = .20$), and current cross-ethnic friendships ($\beta = .63$); however, it was not a significant predictor of interest in further cross-ethnic friendship ($\beta = .02$). Gender and grade were not significant predictors in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .003, $F(4, 507) < 1$ and Pillai's trace = .006, $F(4, 507) < 1$, respectively.

Effects of key predictors. The main effect of participant ethnic group was statistically significant, Pillai's trace = .03, $F(4, 507) = 4.56$, $p < .01$; with all other variables controlled, univariate analyses showed that Mapuche students reported lower levels of comfort compared to nonindigenous Chilean students ($\beta = -.11$); at the same time, Mapuche students reported greater numbers of

Table 2
Univariate Predictors of Interethnic Experiences (Study 1)

	Contact quality β	Comfort β	Interest β	Cross-ethnic friendship β
Gender	−.04	−.01	.02	−.01
Grade	−.06	−.04	−.02	−.02
Ethnic group	−.00	−.11**	−.06	.10**
Prior cross-ethnic friendship	.20***	.25***	.02	.63***
School norms	.19***	.12**	.25***	−.03
Peer norms	.41***	.34***	.39***	.11**
R^2	.34	.25	.28	.48
$F(df)$	42.96 (6, 510)***	28.74 (6, 510)***	3.67 (6, 510)***	79.39 (6, 510)***
Two-way interactions				
Ethnic Group × School Support	−.06	−.00	−.07	−.04
Ethnic Group × Peer Norms	−.05	−.13**	.07	.01
R^2	.34	.27	.29	.48
$F(df)$	33.11 (8, 508)***	23.34 (8, 508)***	25.88 (8, 508)***	59.53 (8, 508)***

**$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

current cross-ethnic friendships than nonindigenous Chilean students (β = .10). Mapuche and nonindigenous Chilean students did not differ in their reports of contact quality (β = .00) and interest (β = −.06).

School norms showed a significant effect in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .09, $F(4, 507) = 11.83$, $p < .001$, predicting greater comfort (β = .12), interest (β = .25), and contact quality (β = .19), yet it did not predict greater numbers of cross-ethnic friendships (β = −.03). Peer norms also showed a significant effect in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .26, $F(4, 507) = 45.11$, $p < .001$, predicting significantly greater comfort (β = .34), interest (β = .39), contact quality (β = .41), and cross-ethnic friendships (β = .11).

Addition of interaction terms. Including the two-way interactions between participant ethnic group and school norms, and between participant ethnic group and peer norms, significantly added to the prediction in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .04, $F(8, 1{,}012) = 2.57$, $p < .01$. The interaction between participant ethnic group and school norms was not significant, Pillai's trace = .01, $F(4, 505) = 1.26$, $p = .29$. However, the interaction between participant ethnic group and peer norms was significant, Pillai's trace = .03, $F(4, 505) = 3.94$, $p < .01$; see Table 2. Univariate analyses showed that the participant Ethnic Group × Peer Norms interaction was significant for comfort (β = −.12, $p < .01$; see Figure 1). Peer norms predicted comfort more strongly among nonindigenous students than among Mapuche students.

Multilevel analysis. Given the hierarchical structure of our data, with individual students within schools, we also ran multilevel analyses in order to explore possible contextual effects. At the school level, our outcome variables show rather low intraclass correlations (ICC = .016–.050), with the exception of current cross-ethnic friendship (ICC = .122). Perceived school and peer norms also showed low intraclass correlations (ICC = .028 and .004, respectively). Even though these intraclass correlations had correspondingly low design effects (Lai & Kwok, 2015; Muthén & Satorra, 1995), we ran a series of multilevel regressions to evaluate whether perceived school or peer norms could predict our outcome variables at the school level (while also including the other predictors and controls). In all but one case, the effects were significant only at the within level; the only exception was that more supportive school norms predicted greater interest in cross-ethnic friendship at the school level (β = .71, $p < .01$). All other results at the within level are comparable to those reported above in the main analysis.

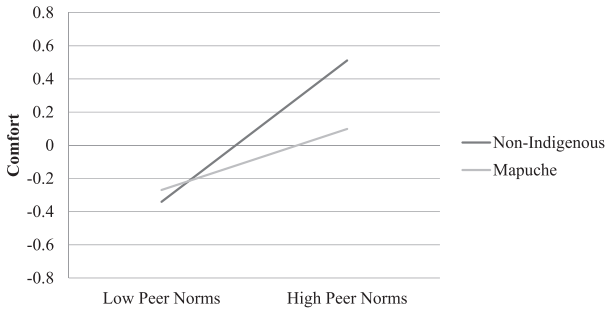

Figure 1. Interaction between participant ethnic group and peer norms when predicting comfort (Study 1).

Discussion

Overall, results from Study 1 showed that both school and peer norms predicted greater comfort in intergroup contact, interest in cross-ethnic friendships, and higher contact quality among both nonindigenous and Mapuche students; additionally, peer norms predicted greater numbers of cross-ethnic friendships. Although each set of norms plays a unique role in prediction, peer norms were especially important in predicting children's interethnic experiences; peer norms also emerged as an especially strong predictor of comfort among nonindigenous students, who may require greater encouragement from coethnic peers to engage in cross-ethnic relations (see Abrams et al., 2009; Feddes et al., 2009). At the same time, analyses controlling for other factors showed that Mapuche students tended to report lower comfort, yet greater experience, in cross-ethnic relations than nonindigenous students. It is possible that, due to their minority status, Mapuche students typically have greater opportunities for interethnic contact, yet still anticipate and experience discrimination by members of the majority community, such an analysis would be consistent with other work showing that ethnic minority youth often expect and encounter victimization and discrimination due to their ethnic group membership (see Quintana & McKown, 2008; Tropp & Al Ramiah, 2016; Verkuyten, 2006).

Although the findings from Study 1 are suggestive of broader trends, there are also some limitations to this study that should be acknowledged. Several single-item measures were used to assess the constructs of interest, and additional research with multi-item scales is needed to replicate key findings. Also, relations between school and peer norms and the outcomes of interest were only

examined cross-sectionally, and longitudinal research is needed to test whether similar or different patterns of effects might be observed over time. Additionally, our analysis suggests that perceptions of discrimination—which tend to be more common among ethnic minority youth (Quintana & McKown, 2008)—may hinder their comfort in interethnic contact; correspondingly, perceptions of discrimination could potentially undermine the potential for supportive norms for cross-ethnic relations to promote positive intergroup outcomes (see Tropp, 2006 for a related argument).

Study 2

Study 2 addresses these limitations by including multi-item measures of perceived school and peer norms, as well as a measure of perceived discrimination, and it extends the research in two other important ways. First, Study 2 tests for replication of the trends observed in Study 1 in a novel interethnic context (i.e., among non-Hispanic White and Latino students in the United States). Second, in addition to cross-sectional analyses of the interethnic experiences examined in Study 1, Study 2 includes reports of cross-ethnic experiences at two time points, thereby allowing for longitudinal analyses of school and peer norm effects on students' interethnic experiences over time.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were recruited from 53 classrooms in three public middle schools in Western Massachusetts between September 2011 and April 2012. During this time, data from the Massachusetts Department of Education website indicated that the greatest proportions of students at each school were non-Hispanic White (69%, 69%, and 56.1%, respectively) and Hispanic/Latino (22.2%, 23.5%, and 36%, respectively). Smaller proportions of African American students (2.8%, 2.7%, and 4.2%) and students from other racial and ethnic backgrounds (6.0%, 7.3%, and 7.9%) attended each school.

Using the same procedures as in Study 1, students completed surveys in their classrooms at two time points—6 months apart—near the start and end of the school year. Altogether, 468 non-Hispanic White and 126 Latino students in the sixth and seventh grades participated in this study. Participants were classified as White if they marked "White" as their ethnic background or wrote in an ethnic background indicating European heritage or origins, such as "Polish" or "French Canadian." Participants were classified as Latino if they marked "Latino" as their racial background or wrote in an ethnic background indicating Latino heritage or origins, such as "Salvadoran" or "Puerto Rican." Students from other racial and ethnic backgrounds, and of mixed heritage, were excluded from analysis.

Among the White students, 229 were in sixth grade (101 boys, 128 girls) and 237 were in seventh grade (107 boys, 132 girls), with ages ranging from 9 to 13 years (M_{age} = 11.66 years). Among the Latino students, 65 were in sixth grade (29 boys, 36 girls) and 61 were in seventh grade (31 boys, 30 girls), with ages ranging from 10 to 14 years (M_{age} = 11.68 years). Of students who completed surveys at the start of the school year (Time 1), 437 White students and 111 Latino students completed surveys at the end of the school year (Time 2).

Measures of Predictor and Control Variables

Measures of the predictor and control variables were included in the surveys distributed to students at Time 1. The terms "race" and "racial group" were used in survey items instead of "ethnicity" or "ethnic," because pilot testing revealed that the terms "race" and "racial group" were more readily understood by students in these public middle schools. Students' responses to the following measures were scored on 5-point scale ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *very much*, unless otherwise indicated.

Perceived school and peer norms. Parallel items were used to assess perceived norms of support for cross-ethnic relations among school staff and among coethnic peers (see Green et al., 1988; Jugert et al., 2011; Molina & Wittig, 2006). Three separate items asked participants to report the extent to which they agree or disagree that their "principal and teachers" *encourage them to become friends with*, *would be happy if they made friends with*, and *like it when they hang out with* students from other racial and ethnic backgrounds (Time 1 α = .86 among White students and .85 among Latino students). Three additional items asked participants to report the degree to which they agree or disagree that "kids from their racial group" *encourage them to become friends with*, *would be happy if they made friends with*, and *like it when they hang out with* students from other racial and ethnic backgrounds

(α = .85 among White students and .91 among Latino students).

Perceived discrimination. A single item was used to assess students' perceptions of discrimination: *In this school, I am sometimes treated badly by other kids because of my race.*

Prior cross-ethnic friendship. Prior cross-ethnic friendships were assessed by asking students to report how many of their friends prior to middle school were White or Latino. Responses to these items ranged from 1 = *none at all* to 5 = *very many*. Reported friendships with Latinos prior to middle school were used to represent prior cross-ethnic friendships among White participants, and reported friendships with White participants prior to middle school were used to represent prior cross-ethnic friendships among Latino participants. Prior cross-ethnic friendship, along with participant grade and gender, were used as control variables in data analysis.

Measures of Outcome Variables

Measures assessing the dependent variables were included in the surveys distributed to students at Time 1 and Time 2. Students' responses to the following measures were scored on 5-point scales ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *very much*, unless otherwise indicated.

Comfort with out-group members. Comfort with out-group members was assessed using items from prior research (Tropp, O'Brien, & Migacheva, 2014), in which students were asked to respond to four questions with the same item stem (e.g., *In general, when you interact with kids from other racial groups. . .. how comfortable do you feel, like you can relax around them?*). These items formed reliable scales for White and Latino participants at Time 1 (α = .86 and .78, respectively) and at Time 2 (α = .89 and .78, respectively).

Interest in cross-ethnic friendship. As in prior research (see Migacheva & Tropp, 2013), students were asked to indicate the extent to which they would like to become friends with children from the other ethnic group.

Quality of interethnic contact. Contact quality was measured using four items adapted from prior research (Dixon et al., 2010), in which students indicated the extent to which it feels like they *cooperate, are on the same team, are equals and treated the same,* and *are close like with good friends and family* when they interact with children from other racial and ethnic groups. These items formed reliable scales for White and Latino participants at Time 1 (α = .87 and .85, respectively) and at Time 2 (α = .89 and .91, respectively).

Current cross-ethnic friendships. Current cross-ethnic friendships were assessed by asking students to report how many of their friends—both in and outside of school—are White or Latino. Responses to these items ranged from 1 = *none at all* to 5 = *very many*. Reported friendships with Latinos were used to represent current cross-ethnic friendships among White participants, and reported friendships with White participants were used to represent current cross-ethnic friendships among Latino participants.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Table 3 provides the descriptive statistics and correlations for the predictor, control, and dependent variables at Time 1 and Time 2, separately for each ethnic group. Mean comparisons showed that, at the start of the school year, White and Latino students reported similar perceptions of school norms, peer norms, and discrimination (M = 3.92 and 3.97, 3.72 and 3.75, 1.46 and 1.48, respectively), as well as similar levels of contact quality and interest in cross-ethnic friendship (M = 3.57 and 3.67, 3.80 and 3.78, respectively). Additionally, Latino students reported greater numbers of prior cross-ethnic friendships (M = 3.13), current cross-ethnic friendships (M = 3.34), and greater comfort (M = 4.12) relative to White students (M = 2.04, 2.23, and 3.81, respectively, $p < .01$).

Perceived school norms and peer norms correlated significantly with greater comfort, interest, contact quality, and current cross-ethnic friendships among both White students, rs from .15 to .53, and Latino students, rs from .26 to .60 (see Table 3). Perceived school and peer norms also correlated significantly with each other among both White students and Latino students. Greater perceived discrimination was associated with lower comfort among both White and Latino students; additionally, perceived discrimination correlated with lower contact quality among Latino students, whereas perceived discrimination correlated with having greater numbers of cross-ethnic friendships among White students.

Multivariate Analyses

As in Study 1, we used multivariate linear models with covariates to account for the multiple outcomes associated with the interethnic experiences of ethnic minority and majority youth. The initial

Table 3
Means, Standard Deviations (in Parentheses), and Correlations for Latino and White Students (Study 2)

	Latino	White	*t* Test	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1. T1 prior cross-ethnic friendship	3.13 (1.23)	2.04 (1.04)	9.18***	—	.07	.17*	.22*	.18**	.18**	.30**	.73**	.12	.11	.19**	.42**
2. T1 perceived discrimination	1.48 (1.04)	1.46 (0.94)	0.19	−.01	—	−.06**	−.09	−.08	−.19**	−.04	.12**	−.09	−.12	−.12	−.01
3. T1 school norms	3.97 (1.10)	3.92 (1.06)	0.05	.34**	−.09	—	.64**	.36**	.38**	.28**	.15*	.32**	.33**	.28**	.15*
4. T1 peer norms	3.75 (1.20)	3.72 (0.96)	0.21	.35**	−.15	.51**	—	.52**	.53**	.31**	.24**	.36**	.36**	.28**	.15*
5. T1 contact quality	3.67 (1.04)	3.57 (1.01)	0.82	.16	−.28**	.51**	.60**	—	.72**	.30**	.18**	.49**	.43**	.24**	.13
6. T1 comfort	4.12 (0.78)	3.81 (0.92)	3.69***	.19*	−.28**	.26**	.42**	.68**	—	.30**	.23**	.42**	.47**	.26**	.16*
7. T1 interest	3.78 (1.17)	3.80 (1.23)	−0.11	.38**	−.14	.38**	.36**	.42**	.36**	—	.33**	.16*	.14*	.44**	.24**
8. T1 cross-ethnic friendship	3.34 (1.22)	2.23 (1.15)	9.07***	.69**	−.05	.41**	.36**	.28**	.27**	.41**	—	.11	.11	.22**	.43**
9. T2 contact quality	3.73 (1.06)	3.57 (1.06)	1.52	.06	−.27**	.38**	.38**	.47**	.34**	.35**	.08	—	.78**	.35**	.17*
10. T2 comfort	4.15 (0.85)	3.81 (0.96)	3.61***	.10	−.48**	.25*	.31**	.46**	.38**	.33**	.19	.76**	—	.36**	.23**
11. T2 interest	4.13 (.97)	3.82 (1.21)	2.82**	.10	−.08	.16	.19	.21*	.22*	.39**	.22*	.47**	.49**	—	.38**
12. T2 cross-ethnic friendship	3.47 (1.03)	2.22 (1.10)	11.25***	.27**	.00	.12	.19	.12	.21*	.21*	.35**	.23*	.21*	.40**	—

Note. Correlations for Latino students are below the diagonal, correlations for White students are above the diagonal. T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

model included participant ethnic group, school norms, peer norms, and discrimination as primary predictors for the multivariate outcomes (i.e., comfort, interest, contact quality, reported cross-ethnic friendships), along with gender, grade, school, and prior cross-ethnic friendships as covariates (controls); we then added two-way interaction terms between school norms and participant ethnic group, and between peer norms and participant ethnic group, as well as three-way interaction terms based on these two-way interactions and perceived discrimination to see whether the addition of the interaction terms added significantly to the prediction of the multivariate model. When significant effects were obtained in the multivariate model, we then conducted separate univariate analyses for each outcome, to specify the outcomes on which the key predictors and control variables yielded significant effects.

Predicting Time 1 Outcomes

The multivariate linear model with participant ethnic group, school norms, peer norms, and discrimination as key predictors—and gender, grade, school, and prior cross-ethnic friendships as covariates—predicted a significant amount of variance in comfort with out-group members, $R^2 = .30$, $F(9, 550) = 26.80$, $p < .001$, interest in cross-ethnic friendship, $R^2 = .19$, $F(9, 550) = 14.41$, $p < .001$, contact quality, $R^2 = .31$, $F(9, 550) = 28.27$, $p < .001$, and current cross-ethnic friendships, $R^2 = .59$, $F(9, 550) = 87.15$, $p < .001$ (see Table 4).

Effects of covariates. Prior cross-ethnic friendship had a strong effect in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .47, $F(4, 547) = 120.70$, $p < .001$, and predicted greater comfort ($\beta = .10$), interest in further cross-ethnic friendships ($\beta = .26$) and current cross-ethnic friendships ($\beta = .69$), but it was not a significant predictor of contact quality ($\beta = .06$). Gender was a significant predictor in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .02, $F = 2.78$, $p < .05$; however, its effect was only significant for interest ($\beta = .11$), such that female students reported greater interest in cross-ethnic friendship ($M = 3.98$) than male students ($M = 3.56$). Although grade was not a significant predictor in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .01, $F(4, 547) = 1.81$, $p = .13$, univariate tests showed that students from seventh grade reported lower comfort ($M = 3.79$) than students from sixth grade ($M = 3.97$; $\beta = -.09$, $p < .05$), and students from seventh grade reported lower contact quality ($M = 3.50$) than students from sixth grade ($M = 3.70$; $\beta = -.07$, $p < .05$).

Table 4
Cross-Sectional Univariate Predictors of Interethnic Experiences at Time 1 (Study 2)

	Contact quality β	Comfort β	Interest β	Cross-ethnic friendship β
Gender (dummy coding male = −1, female = 1)	.05	−.02	.11**	.01
Grade (dummy coding sixth = −1, seventh = 1)	−.07*	−.09*	−.01	.02
School (dummy coding A = 1, B = 2, C = 3)	−.02	.06	.09	−.02
Ethnic group	.02	.13**	−.07	.11***
T1 prior cross-ethnic friendship	.06	.10*	.26***	.69***
T1 perceived discrimination	−.07	−.15***	−.04	.05
T1 school norms	.08	.06	.11*	.00
T1 peer norms	.46***	.41***	.17***	.09*
R^2	.31	.30	.19	.59
F(*df*)	28.27 (9, 550)***	26.8 (9, 550)***	14.41 (9, 550)***	87.15 (9, 550)***
Two-way interactions				
Ethnic Group × School Norms	.08	−.01	.01	.06*
Ethnic Group × Peer Norms	−.06$^+$	−.11**	−.02	−.04
Ethnic Group × Perceived Discrimination	−.06	−.02	−.03	−.04
School Norms × Perceived Discrimination	.04	.05	−.01	−.01
Peer Norms × Perceived Discrimination	.04	.05	−.04	−.04
School Norms × Peer Norms	−.01	.05	−.00	−.04
R^2	.33	.33	.19	.60
F(*df*)	17.91 (15, 544)***	17.84 (15, 544)***	8.73 (15, 544)***	53.5 (15, 544)***
Three-way interactions				
Ethnic Group × School Norms × Discrimination	−.05	−.01	−.04	.06
Ethnic Group × Peer Norms × Discrimination	.06	−.04	.02	−.06
R^2	.33	.33	.19	.60
F(*df*)	15.92 (17, 542)***	15.94 (17, 542)***	7.71 (17, 542)***	47.56 (17, 542)***

Note. Two-way and three-way interaction effects were estimated after controlling for gender, grade, school, and prior cross-ethnic friendship. T1 = Time 1.
$^+p = .07$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Effects of key predictors. Participant ethnic group yielded a statistically significant effect in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .05, $F(4, 547) = 7.30$, $p < .001$, with Latino students reporting greater comfort (β = .13) and greater numbers of cross-ethnic friendships (β = .11) than White students. There were no significant differences by participant ethnic group on contact quality (β = .02) or interest (β = −.07; see Table 4).

School norms did not reveal a significant main effect in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .01, $F(4, 547) = 1.81$, $p = .13$. However, peer norms showed a strong effect in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .18, $F(4, 547) = 29.92$, $p < .001$, predicting greater comfort (β = .41), interest (β = .17), contact quality (β = .46), and current cross-ethnic friendships (β = .09).

Perceived discrimination was also a significant predictor in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .05, $F(4, 547) = 6.70$, $p < .001$. Students who perceived higher levels of discrimination reported lower levels of comfort (β = −.15) and marginally lower levels of contact quality (β = −.07); discrimination was not a significant predictor for interest (β = −.04) or current cross-ethnic friendships (β = .05; see Table 4).

Addition of interaction terms. Including the two-way interactions between participant ethnic group, school norms, peer norms, and perceived discrimination significantly added to the prediction in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .09, $F(24, 2{,}176) = 2.19$, $p < .001$ (see Table 4). The interaction between peer norms and participant ethnic group was marginally significant in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .02, $F(4, 541) = 2.19$, $p = .07$; univariate analyses showed that this interaction was only significant when predicting comfort (β = −.11), such that supportive peer norms was a stronger predictor of comfort among White students than among Latino students (see Figure 2).

Although school norms did not reveal a significant main effect, school norms did interact

significantly with participant ethnic group in the multivariate analysis, Pillai's trace = .02, $F(4, 541) = 2.78$, $p < .05$. Univariate analyses showed that this interaction was significant when predicting current cross-ethnic friendships (β = .06) and marginally significant when predicting contact quality (β = .08). Stronger school norms supporting cross-ethnic relations tended to predict greater contact quality and greater numbers of cross-ethnic friendships among Latino students but not among White students (see Figure 3 for illustration with contact quality). No other two-way interactions were statistically significant. Additionally, including three-way interactions between participant ethnic group, school norms, and discrimination, and between participant ethnic group, peer norms, and discrimination did not add significantly to the prediction in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .02, $F(8, 1,080) = 1.64$, $p = .11$.

Predicting Time 2 Outcomes

To predict change over time, we used participant ethnic group, school norms, peer norms, and perceived discrimination assessed at Time 1—and gender, grade, and school at Time 1 as covariates—to predict multivariate effects on Time 2 assessments of comfort, interest, contact quality, and cross-ethnic friendships, while controlling for Time 1 assessments of these same outcome variables.

This longitudinal multivariate linear model predicted a significant amount of change in comfort ($R^2 = .28$), interest ($R^2 = .24$), contact quality ($R^2 = .27$), and number of cross-ethnic friendships ($R^2 = .38$; see Table 5). The covariates did not show significant effects in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace ≤ .01, $F(4, 488) = .73–1.78$, $p > .10$ (see Table 5). The effect of participant ethnic group was significant, Pillai's trace = .07, $F(4, 488) = 9.27$, $p < .001$, with Latino students showing greater increases in the numbers of cross-ethnic friendships over time than White students (β = .30); no significant ethnic group differences were observed over time when predicting comfort (β = .08), interest (β = .07), or contact quality ((β = .05).

School norms, Pillai's trace = .02, $F(4, 488) = 2.65$, $p = .03$, showed a significant main effect in the multivariate model. Students who perceived stronger school norms supporting cross-ethnic relations reported greater comfort (β = .13), interest (β = .12), and contact quality (β = .15) over time. At the same time, peer norms did not show a significant main effect in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .01, $F(4, 488) = .38$, $p = .82$. Perceived discrimination also revealed a significant effect in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .02, $F(4, 488) = 3.20$, $p < .01$; students who perceived greater discrimination showed lower comfort and interest over time (β = −.11 and −.09, respectively); however, perceived discrimination did not significantly predict change in contact quality (β = −.06) or number of cross-ethnic friendships (β = −.03; see Table 5).

Addition of interaction terms. Including two-way interactions between participant ethnic group, school norms, peer norms, and discrimination significantly added to the prediction in the multivariate model, Pillai's trace = .08, $F(24, 1,940) = 1.84$, $p < .01$, and so did the further inclusion of three-way interactions between participant ethnic group, school norms, and discrimination, as well as between participant ethnic group, peer norms, and discrimination, Pillai's trace = .04, $F(8, 962) = 2.17$, $p < .05$ (see Table 5).

Univariate models testing the three-way interaction between participant ethnic group, school norms, and discrimination showed that this interaction was significant when predicting changes in comfort (β = −.12) and contact quality (β = −.17), although it was not significant when predicting

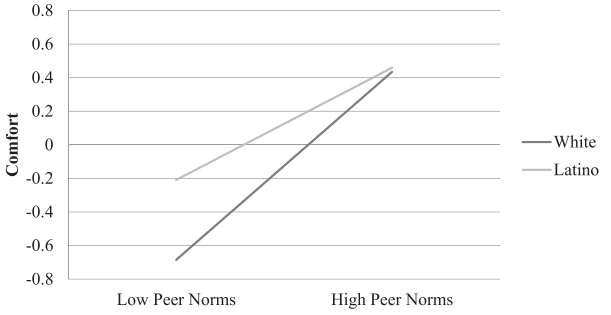

Figure 2. Interaction between participant ethnic group and peer norms when predicting comfort at Time 1 (Study 2).

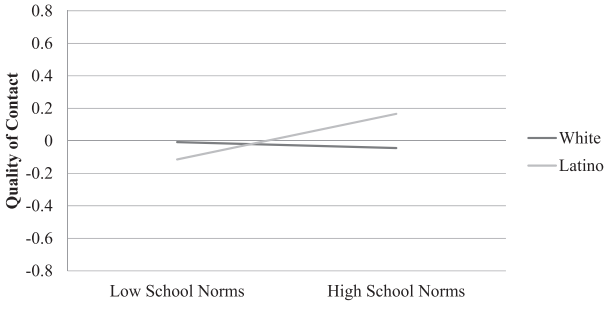

Figure 3. Interaction between participant ethnic group and school norms when predicting contact quality at Time 1 (Study 2).

Table 5
Longitudinal Univariate Predictors of Interethnic Experiences (Study 2)

	T2 contact quality β	T2 comfort β	T2 interest β	T2 cross-ethnic friendship β
T1 contact quality	.34***	.17**	−.05	−.09
T1 comfort	.07	.23***	.08	.12*
T1 interest	.03	−.02	.35***	.08*
T1 cross-ethnic friendship	−.02	.02	.06	.35***
Gender (dummy coding male = −1, female = 1)	−.03	−.01	.05	.08*
Grade (dummy coding sixth = −1, seventh = 11)	−.03	−.06	.01	−.02
School (dummy coding A = 1, B = 2, C = 3)	−.04	−.04	−.06	−.02
Ethnic group	.02	.08	.07	.24***
T1 school norms	.15***	.13**	.12*	.02
T1 peer norms	.05	.06	.05	.00
T1 perceived discrimination	−.06	−.11**	−.09*	−.03
R^2	.27	.28	.24	.38
F(*df*)	15.48 (12, 491)***	15.80 (12, 491)***	13.30 (12, 491)***	25.32 (12, 491)***
Two-way interactions				
Ethnic Group × School Norms	.02	−.02	−.07	−.09*
Ethnic Group × Peer Norms	−.03	−.05	−.01	.05
Ethnic Group × Perceived Discrimination	−.03	−.11**	.04	.04
School Support × Perceived Discrimination	.05	.08	−.01	−.08
Peer Norms × Perceived Discrimination	−.05	−.14**	−.01	.06
School Support × Peer Norms	−.01	−.02	−.00	−.06
R^2	.28	.31	.25	.39
F(*df*)	10.33 (18, 485)***	11.83 (18, 485)***	9.15 (18, 485)***	17.54 (18, 485)***
Three-way interactions				
Ethnic Group × School Norms × Discrimination	−.17**	−.12*	−.01	−.08
Ethnic Group × Peer Norms × Discrimination	.14**	.09*	.00	.11*
R^2	.29	.31	.25	.40
F(*df*)	9.89 (20, 483)***	10.94 (20, 483)***	8.21 (20, 483)***	16.31 (20, 483)***

Note. Two-way and three-way interaction effects were estimated after controlling for gender, grade, school, prior cross-ethnic friendship, and scores on the dependent measures at Time 1. T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

change in interest (β = −.01) or number of cross-ethnic friends (β = −.08). In part, these effects were driven by different subsamples of Latino students: Supportive school norms predicted greater comfort and contact quality over time among Latino students who perceived lower levels of discrimination, whereas supportive school norms did not predict lower comfort and contact quality over time among Latino students who perceived higher levels of discrimination (see Figure 4 for illustration with contact quality). At the same time, school norms supporting cross-ethnic relations predicted greater comfort and contact quality over time among White students who perceived higher levels of perceived discrimination.

Univariate models testing the three-way interaction between participant ethnic group, peer norms, and discrimination showed that this interaction was significant when predicting changes in comfort (β = .09), contact quality (β = .14), and numbers of cross-ethnic friendships (β = .11), although it was not significant when predicting interest (β = .00). In stark contrast to the findings observed with school norms, peer norms predicted greater comfort, contact quality, and numbers of cross-ethnic friendships over time only among Latino students who perceived higher levels of discrimination; at the same time, peer norms predicted greater comfort and contact quality over time among those who perceived lower levels of discrimination (see Figure 5 for illustration with contact quality).

Discussion

As in Study 1, Study 2 revealed that both school and peer norms predicted many of the intergroup outcomes, yet some differences emerged in the effects of these norms. Across both studies, cross-

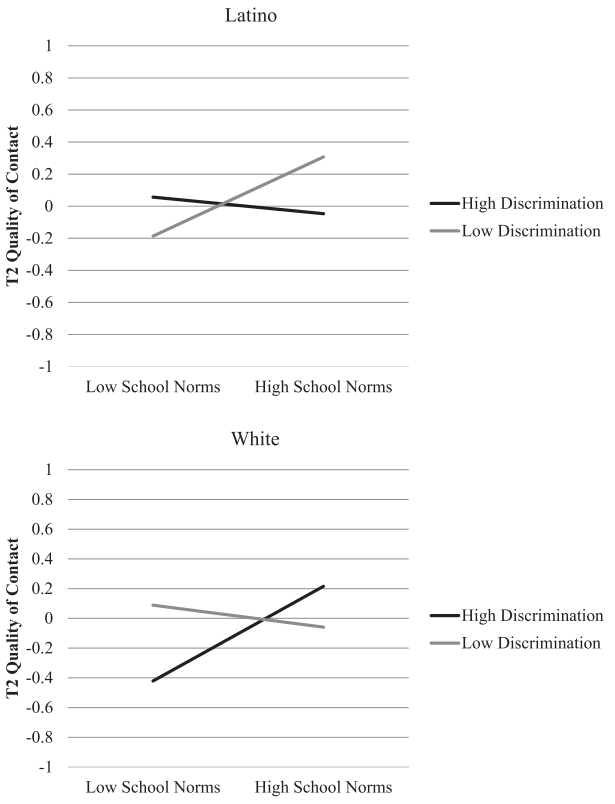

Figure 4. Three-way interaction between participant ethnic group, school norms, and discrimination when predicting change in contact quality over time (Study 2).

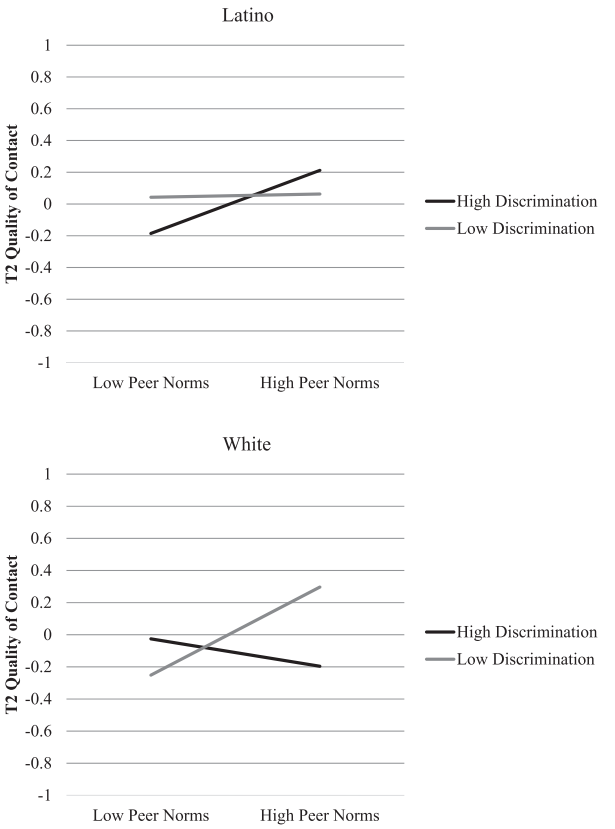

Figure 5. Three-way interaction between participant ethnic group, peer norms, and discrimination when predicting change in contact quality over time (Study 2).

sectional analyses showed that peer norms predicted all four intergroup outcomes, including students' comfort, interest, contact quality, and cross-ethnic friendships. At the same time, school norms consistently predicted greater interest in cross-ethnic friendship in the cross-sectional analyses from both studies and in the longitudinal analyses from Study 2. Together, these initial results suggest that peers may be especially important sources of social information at any given moment in time (Abrams et al., 2003), yet the prevailing norms in children's social environments may affect their interethnic attitudes and experiences over time (Schofield, 2001). Future work should consider the variability, stability, and broader implications of these norms. For instance, peer norms may be more variable as children's social networks and friendship circles shift; yet in the short term, they may be more influential than school norms because they hold more immediate social consequences for youth (e.g., acceptance or rejection by peers; see Kawabata & Crick, 2011). Comparatively, school norms for cross-ethnic relations may be relatively more stable, such that they can have important roles to play in shaping children's perceptions of and experiences in cross-ethnic relations over the long term (see Schofield, 2001).

Importantly, cross-sectional and longitudinal results from Study 2 also revealed some different patterns of norm effects among ethnic minority (Latino) and ethnic majority (White) students. As in Study 1, peer norms more strongly predicted comfort among ethnic majority students than among ethnic minority students. By contrast, school norms more strongly predicted numbers of cross-ethnic friendships among ethnic minority students than among ethnic majority students. Although peers are generally an important source of social information (Abrams et al., 2003), it is possible that, relative to ethnic majority students, ethnic minority students are more likely to be attentive to and assured by cues from institutional norms and authorities that encourage positive cross-ethnic relations (Tropp & Page-Gould, 2014).

Furthermore, supportive norms for cross-ethnic relations at school predicted greater comfort and contact quality over time among Latino students

who perceived lower levels of discrimination. Consistent with the findings reported above, school norms endorsing cross-ethnic relations are likely to enhance Latino students' openness to cross-group interactions when they perceive little discrimination at school. However, perceiving higher levels of discrimination at school may appear to conflict with prevailing school norms supporting cross-ethnic contact, which could make interethnic contact more challenging. Thus, in addition to promoting desired norms for cross-ethnic relations, school authorities must pay close attention to the social reality of students' interethnic experiences at school, in the hopes of both alleviating discrimination and exclusion and promoting norms of acceptance and inclusion (see Tropp et al., 2014 for a related argument).

Other findings indicate that peer norms supporting cross-ethnic relations enhance comfort, contact quality, and cross-group friendships among White students—and particularly among those who perceive lower levels of discrimination; however, peer norms supporting cross-ethnic relations predict greater comfort, contact quality, and cross-group friendships only among Latino students who perceive higher levels of discrimination. Together with the findings reported above, it may be that ethnic minority students are generally responsive to school norms for cross-ethnic relations, yet when they perceive higher levels of discrimination at school, they may instead look toward coethnic peers regarding how to relate to ethnic minority students. At a broad level, these patterns suggest that there are divergent social realities for ethnic minority and majority youth, which vary in relation to levels of perceived discrimination and which may have distinct effects on the interethnic experiences of ethnic minority and majority youth over time.

Further research is needed not only to specify more closely how perceived school and peer norms affect children's interethnic relations but also to understand how these factors jointly contribute to broader dimensions of social adjustment and well-being. Prior work has indicated many ways in which schools and peers can meaningfully affect children's social adjustment, with perceived support from teachers and peers promoting feelings of security and acceptance, and lack of support from these sources contributing to feelings of rejection and lower well-being (see Bagwell & Schmidt, 2011; Rubin, Bukowski, & Laursen, 2009; Verkuyten, 2006). Additionally, future research should consider how school and peer norms may be examined through employing research methods other than self-report measures—such as linking responses from students and their classmates and teachers—as it is possible that the sole reliance on self-report measures could have inflated correlations among the key variables. Nonetheless, the present research importantly builds on prior work by demonstrating how school and peer norms predict interethnic experiences among ethnic minority and majority youth and by highlighting the important roles that school and peer norms can play in fostering environments that encourage interest in and the development of positive cross-ethnic relations.

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