

Longitudinal Associations Between Felt Pressure From  
Family and Peers and Self-Esteem Among African American and Latino/a Youth

by

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## ABSTRACT

The present study explored longitudinal associations between self-esteem and a specific dimension of gender identity (GI) and ethnic-racial identity (ERI), namely felt pressure from family and peers to act or behave in either gender or race/ethnic-accordant ways, among a sample of 750 African American and Latino/a middle school students ( $M = 12.10$  years,  $SD = .97$  years) in a southwestern U.S. city. Participants completed measures of self-esteem and GI and ERI felt pressure from family and from peers at two time points. Data were analyzed through bivariate correlation and hierarchical multiple linear regression analyses. Hierarchical multiple linear regression results revealed that among African American students, there was a significant negative longitudinal association between ERI felt pressure from family at Time 1 and self-esteem at Time 2 after controlling for self-esteem at Time 1. There was also a significant negative longitudinal association between ERI felt pressure from peers at Time 1 and self-esteem at Time 2 among African American participants. However, these associations were not found among Latino/a participants. Implications of findings with regards to GI and ERI development during early adolescence, socialization, and school context are discussed.

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## **Introduction**

A considerable amount of research has explored the content, developmental processes, correlates, and outcomes associated with gender identity (GI) and ethnic-racial identity (ERI) respectively. However, very few studies have examined their combined contributions to psychological adjustment among early adolescents, to whom identity development is a crucial developmental milestone (Erikson, 1968). According to social identity theory, one's social group membership can serve as a source of self-esteem which in turn influence the individual's behaviors, feelings, and thoughts (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Consistent with the theory's premise, researchers have found that dimensions of GI (e.g., Carver, Yungler, & Perry, 2003; Corby, Hodges, & Perry, 2007; Egan & Perry, 2001; Yungler, Carver, & Perry, 2004) and ERI (e.g., Contrada et al., 2000; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Roberts et al., 1999; Romero & Roberts, 2003; Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith, 1998; Smith & Silva, 2011; Umaña-Taylor, 2004) are associated with measures of psychological adjustment, one of the most prominent in this literature being self-esteem. In response to a call for bringing these diverse areas of research on social identities together for a better understanding (e.g., Frable, 1997; Santos, 2015), scholars have proposed models and methodologies drawing on a collective identity framework (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin, 2004; Cameron, 2004) as well as an additive approach (Bowleg, 2008; Cole, 2009) to examine how multiple social categories (e.g., gender and race/ethnicity) simultaneously influence outcomes (Brown, Alabi, Huynh, & Masten, 2011; DuBois, Burk-Braxton, Swenson, Tevendale, & Hardesty, 2002; Rogers, Scott, & Way, 2015; Santos, 2015; Wilson & Leaper, 2016).

In the current movement toward the integration of social identity research areas, felt pressure has emerged as a common dimension of GI and ERI (Wilson & Leaper, 2016). Felt pressure is defined as the extent to which the individual feels pressured from others to conform to one's ingroup norms (Egan & Perry, 2001; Wilson & Leaper, 2016). This dimension of social identity was formally introduced by Egan and Perry (2001) in the context of GI research, drawing on previous scholarly work that emphasized the difference between one's self-perception of group compatibility or felt typicality and one's perception of others' reactions to his or her group compatibility or felt pressure (Bandura, 1986; Bem, 1981; Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Most recently, Wilson and Leaper (2016) drew on the collective identity framework (Ashmore et al., 2004) and adapted a measure of GI felt pressure from Egan and Perry's (2001) work to examine ERI felt pressure or felt pressure to conform to racial/ethnic group norms among racially and ethnically diverse college students. Notably, Wilson and Leaper's (2016) work is the only currently published study on the cross-sectional association between ERI felt pressure and self-esteem. Research suggests that both GI felt pressure and ERI felt pressure are typically negatively associated with adjustment indices, including self-esteem (Egan & Perry, 2001; Carver et al., 2003; Corby et al., 2007; Wilson & Leaper, 2016).

Research also shows that the association between felt pressure and adjustment may vary across racial/ethnic groups (Corby et al., 2007; Wilson & Leaper, 2016; Yunger et al., 2004). For example, Corby et al. (2007) found that GI felt pressure was negatively associated with self-esteem among Latina females but not among Latino males or among

African American males and females in 5<sup>th</sup> grade. The researchers proposed that GI felt pressure was not significantly associated with adjustment among African American youth not necessarily because their GI was not important to them but because perhaps their GI was overshadowed by the salience of ERI (Corby et al., 2007). On the other hand, Corby et al. (2007) suggested that GI felt pressure might be more prominent among Latinos/as given the presumed emphasis on traditional gender roles among Latinos/as in the US relative to other US racial/ethnic groups (Addis & Mahalik, 2003). Among college students, Wilson and Leaper (2016) found neither GI felt pressure nor ERI felt pressure were significantly associated with self-esteem among Latinos/as. Their investigation did not involve African Americans; therefore, whether GI felt pressure and ERI felt pressure would relate to self-esteem among African American college students remains unclear. Researchers have suggested that the extent to which felt pressure relates to psychological adjustment may depend on an individual's appraisal of what it means to be and how important it is to be a member of a given social group, which varies by gender, race/ethnicity, and context (Corby et al., 2007; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Given the mixed, inconsistent findings regarding the associations between felt pressure and self-esteem among African Americans and Latinos/as and the dearth of research on adolescents, a critical period in identity development (Erikson, 1968), further research is needed in this area. Identity-related processes are important to examine among African American and Latino/a youth because these youth experience unique stressors that can impact their socio-emotional development (García Coll et al., 1996; Dovidio, Gluszek, John, Dittmann, & Lagunes, 2010; Kogan, Yu, Allen, & Brody, 2015; Sellers,



Copeland-Linder, Martin, & L'Heureux Lewis, 2006). ERI, for example, has been identified as a protective factor associated with psychological adjustment among racial/ethnic minority youth (e.g., Phinney, 1993; Phinney et al., 1997; Roberts et al., 1999; Smith & Silva, 2011). Drawing on a risk and resilience framework (García Coll et al., 1996), ERI can serve as a protective factor in mitigating the negative effects of ethnic and racial discrimination (Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012). However, much of this literature has focused on positive aspects of social identities (e.g., affirmation, private regard or feeling good or positive about one's ERI), which are typically positively associated with mental health outcomes. Less attention has been paid to identity dimensions such as felt pressure that are typically associated with psychological distress and may thus be considered a risk factor. In the following sections, a review of literature relevant to the present study's theoretical background as well as hypotheses is provided.

### **Theoretical Background**

This study draws on social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and developmental theories of identity (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1993) to examine the associations between GI/ERI felt pressure and self-esteem.

**Social identity theory.** Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) is central to the present study. Social identity is defined as "part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value or emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p.63). This group membership in turn has both positive and

negative implications for how individuals view themselves (Tajfel, 1974). According to social identity theory, an individual has the need to maintain positive self-esteem as well as self-concept, of which social identity is a constituent. The individual is motivated to maintain and/or enhance a favorable social identity by typically emphasizing positive attributes of one's social group via social comparisons and differentiations (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The close link between self-esteem and social identity posited by social identity theory provides the theoretical basis for research on social identities and self-esteem, adopted in the present study.

**Developmental theories of identity.** Developmental theories of identity also inform the present study examining GI and ERI felt pressure among ethnic minority early adolescents. In his classic work Erikson (1968) underscored that adolescence is a crucial phase of self identity development that lays a foundation for subsequent development and psychological adjustment. In parallel with personal identity development, social identity development also becomes a milestone task during adolescence (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Evidence supports that gender and race/ethnicity become salient social group categories prior to early adolescence (Brown et al., 2011) and that adolescence is a key phase for social identity development where youth strive to achieve a secure group identity (Brown et al., 2011; French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006; Phinney, 1993; Phinney & Tarver, 1988; Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen, & Guimond, 2009). Adolescence is characterized by social-cognitive maturity (e.g., attainment of abstract thinking, counterfactual thinking, perspective taking; awareness of sociocultural climate), which in turn allows individuals to engage in the process of identity exploration and

integration of social identity into their self-concept (Cross & Cross, 2008; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Adolescence is also a crucial developmental period where “individuals begin to think about the intersections among their multiple important identity domains... No longer is ERI considered in isolation, but also how it intersects with [GI], social class identity, national identity, career identity, and political identity” (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014, p. 29). To account better the complexity of social identity development during adolescence, the present study also draws on the additive approach (Bowleg, 2008; Cole, 2009) examining social categories alongside one another in an additive fashion (i.e., gender and race/ethnicity) as related processes influencing outcomes (i.e., self-esteem).

### **Felt Pressure and Mental Health: Gender and Race/Ethnicity as Moderators**

In their original work on GI felt pressure, Egan and Perry (2001) documented that GI felt pressure could influence girls and boys differently and that feeling pressured to be typical of one’s gender group (i.e., felt pressure) is qualitatively different from feeling typical of one’s gender group (i.e., felt typicality). Egan and Perry (2001) found a stronger negative association between self-esteem and felt pressure for girls than for boys and described this pattern in terms of two possibilities: (a) girls value social feedback and interpersonal connectedness more than boys, making them more vulnerable to felt pressure (Harter, 1998); and (b) girls are confronted with dilemma to handle felt pressure in the sociocultural environment in which male-typical competencies are praised, resulting in more pronounced influence of felt pressure on their self-esteem (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Consistent with such predictions, Carver et al. (2003) found that GI felt pressure was negatively associated with self-esteem only for girls but not for boys. The

finding of felt pressure impacting girls more negatively than boys provides another perspective on previous research showing that boys tend to report greater GI felt pressure than girls. On the other hand, Wilson and Leaper (2016) did not replicate gender difference in terms of the association between ERI felt pressure and self-esteem among diverse young adults. Given the mixed findings relating to the moderating role of gender in the association between felt pressure and self-esteem, further research is needed in this area to clarify the nature of gender differences in racially/ethnically diverse samples.

Several studies have also indicated that the association between felt pressure and self-esteem may vary by racial/ethnic group membership (Corby et al, 2007; Younger et al., 2004). As noted earlier, whereas research suggests that both GI felt pressure and ERI felt pressure are typically negatively associated with self-esteem (Egan & Perry, 2001; Carver et al., 2003; Corby et al., 2007; Wilson & Leaper, 2016), limited have been mixed for African Americans and Latinos/as (Corby et al., 2007; Wilson & Leaper, 2016; Younger et al., 2004). Given the mixed, inconsistent findings regarding the association between felt pressure and self-esteem among African Americans and Latinos/as, further research is needed to clarify how felt pressure relates to psychological adjustment of these racial/ethnic minority populations during early adolescence.

### **The Present Study**

The present study aims to explore the association between GI felt pressure, ERI felt pressure, and self-esteem among African American and Latino/a early adolescents. The present study distinguishes itself from previous research in three ways to make a contribution to the literature. First, the present study taps into distinct sources of felt

pressure, namely family and peers, by drawing on current scholarship that distinguishes between these sources of felt pressure (Kornienko, Santos, Martin, & Granger, 2015). Early adolescents are susceptible to socializing messages from different socializing agents (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Carver et al., 2003; Egan & Perry, 2001; Kornienko et al., 2015). The reliance of a single measure to assess felt pressure thereby confounds these distinct sources of felt pressure (e.g., Carver et al., 2003; Corby et al., 2007; Egan & Perry, 2001; Wilson & Leaper, 2016).

Second, the present study is among the first to examine the moderating role of gender and race/ethnicity in the association between ERI felt pressure and self-esteem during early adolescence, which is known as a critical period for both personal and social identity development (Brown et al., 2011; Erikson, 1968). The integration of felt pressure into ERI dimensions has been proposed only recently, and this data comes from diverse young adults (Wilson & Leaper, 2016). Therefore, the present study's ability to examine the association between ERI felt pressure and self-esteem among early adolescents will help add to the existing literature.

Finally, the present study also aims to explore the association between felt pressure and self-esteem longitudinally. By examining how felt pressure from family and peers at an initial time point will relate to self-esteem at a later time point, the present study attempts to make a contribution to social identity research which has called for more longitudinal studies to capture changes in the content and processes of group identity over time (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Specific research questions and hypotheses to guide the present study are provided in the next section.

**Research questions and hypotheses.** Research questions and hypotheses for this study are as follows:

1. Do GI felt pressure and ERI felt pressure from family at Time 1 (T1) predict self-esteem at Time 2 (T2) among African American and Latino/a youth after controlling for levels of self-esteem at T1?
2. Do GI felt pressure and ERI pressure from peers at T1 predict self-esteem at T2 among African American and Latino/a youth after controlling for levels of self-esteem at T1?
3. Do gender and race/ethnicity moderate the above-mentioned associations between GI felt pressure and self-esteem?
4. Do gender and race/ethnicity moderate the above-mentioned associations between ERI felt pressure and self-esteem?

The hypothesis corresponding to the first question is that both GI and ERI felt pressure from family at T1 will be negatively associated with self-esteem at T2. Similarly, to the second question, the hypothesis is that both GI and ERI felt pressure from peers at T1 will be negatively associated with self-esteem at T2. This is because social identity theory argues for the close link between social identities (e.g., GI and ERI) and individuals' self-esteem. The collective identity framework (Ashmore et al., 2004) highlights multidimensionality of these group identities and supports the importance of examining associations between specific dimensions of GI and ERI and psychological adjustment outcomes. This study is designed to focus on associations between the felt pressure dimension of GI and ERI and self-esteem to contribute to research in this area.

Given previous findings concerning the association between GI and ERI felt pressure and self-esteem (e.g., Egan & Perry, 2001; Wilson & Leaper, 2016), the direction of the association between felt pressure and self-esteem is hypothesized to be negative.

As for the first moderation question, it is hypothesized that the association between GI felt pressure from family/peers at T1 and self-esteem at T2 (controlling for self-esteem at T1) will be negative and stronger among females than males. Existing research has suggested that whereas males report higher GI felt pressure, the negative effect of GI felt pressure on self-esteem is more pronounced among females than males (Egan & Perry, 2001). As described in the previous section, Egan and Perry (2001) proposed that females might be more vulnerable to felt pressure due to a greater emphasis they place on social feedback and interpersonal connectedness (Harter, 1998) and difficulty handling felt pressure in the sociocultural environment in which male-typical behavior is promoted (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). It is also hypothesized that the association between GI felt pressure from family/peers at T1 and self-esteem at T2 (controlling for self-esteem at T1) will be moderated by race/ethnicity. One study with early adolescents reported a significant association between GI felt pressure and self-esteem only among Latinos/as and not among African Americans (Corby et al., 2007). As reviewed earlier, the researchers proposed that these group differences might be due to a between-groups variation in salience of GI influenced by gender socialization practices, with gender being argued to be more salient in gender socialization practices among Latinos/as (Corby et al., 2007). Given this finding, it might be that the association between GI felt pressure and self-esteem will be negative and stronger for Latinos/as than

for African Americans, though there is limited empirical basis from which to draw this hypothesis.

The second moderation question regarding the association between ERI felt pressure and self-esteem is exploratory. As reviewed earlier, the literature suggests that the extent to which felt pressure relates to psychological adjustment may depend on individuals' appraisal of meaning and importance attached to the social identity, which in turn varies by gender as well as race/ethnicity (Corby et al., 2007; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Consistent with the claim, research on the association between GI felt pressure and self-esteem has provided limited evidence that the association between GI felt pressure and self-esteem may vary by gender and/or race/ethnicity (Corby et al., 2007; Wilson & Leaper, 2016; Younger et al., 2004). To date, there is only one cross-sectional study that has examined the association between ERI felt pressure and self-esteem to report gender and racial/ethnic differences among a sample of diverse college students, excluding African Americans (Wilson & Leaper, 2016). Given the limited empirical base on gender and/or racial/ethnic differences in the association between ERI felt pressure and self-esteem among African Americans and Latinos/as during early adolescence, this moderation question is exploratory.



## **Chapter 2**

### **Methodology**

#### **Participants**

Participants were drawn from a larger longitudinal study (Kornienko & Santos, 2014; Kornienko et al., 2015; Kornienko, Santos, & Updegraff, 2015; Santos & Updegraff, 2014; Santos & Menjívar, 2013; Santos, Menjívar, & Godfrey, 2013) examining GI and ERI development and psychological and educational outcomes in American youth. African American and Latino/a students attending a racially and ethnically diverse public middle school in a southwestern U.S. metropolitan city participated in the present study. At the school, most students (more than 50% of the student population) identify as Latino/a. A smaller, but sizable population of the students at the school identify as African American (17.5%).

The present study included African American and Latino/a students who participated in the study from 6th through 8th grades between the fall of 2011 and the spring of 2012 (i.e., Wave 2 and Wave 3 of the larger longitudinal study). Wave 1 data of the larger study were not included for the student body significantly changed between Wave 1 and Wave 2 of the larger study due to another school's closing in the district that led to a substantial number of new students coming in. To examine longitudinal associations, the final sample was restricted to students who participated in both or at least Wave 2 and Wave 3 of the larger study, which are herein referred to as T1 and T2 of the present study. Thus, the final sample for the present study consisted of 750 adolescents, 381 (50.8%) boys and 369 (49.2%) girls. With regard to ethnic/racial

membership, 194 (25.9%) adolescents identified themselves as African American and 556 (74.1%) as Latino/a. The average age was 12.10 years ( $SD = .97$  years). In terms of lunch status, 63 (8.4%) paid full price for lunch while 592 (78.9%) received free or reduced cost lunch. In terms of nativity status, 631 students (84.1%) were U.S.-born whereas 118 students (15.7 %) were foreign-born.

### **Procedure**

The study employed a passive consent procedure, and was approved by the sponsoring university's Institutional Review Board and the school district IRB. Passive consent was allowed because the school from which data were collected agreed to act in *loco parentis*, and because the study also included a social network analysis component, which requires high levels of participation in order for the science to be conducted. Prior to data collection, an informational letter and a consent form were sent home to students and parents were given the option to opt out of the study. All students were asked to provide assent and complete a set of self-report measures assessing their GI, ERI, and psychosocial outcomes in their classrooms. Given all participants' fluency in English, the measures were administered in English. Research staff provided students with the instructions for the measures orally and individual assistance when needed. The data collection spanned approximately two class periods (i.e., 90 minutes) over the course of two days. All participating students received a small compensation in the form of a pen and a water bottle with their school's name.

### **Instrumentation**

**Felt pressure.** A subscale from Egan and Perry's (2001) measure of GI was

adapted to measure felt pressure from family/peers to conform to gender stereotypes (see Appendix A for the list of items). The present study included two separated measures of GI felt pressure to differentiate sources of the felt conformity pressure, namely family and peers, and each of GI felt pressure from family scale and GI felt pressure from peers scale consisted of four items. Given previous research on this particular population, the Harter response format used in the original work by Egan and Perry (2001) was replaced with a Likert format that provided response options ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) to facilitate comprehension and accurate responding (Kornienko et al., 2015). In adjusting the response format, the wording of the items was slightly modified. Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for the GI felt pressure from family scale was .74 at T1 and .88 at T2. Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for the GI felt pressure from peers scale was .87 at T1 and .92 at T2.

Recently, Wilson and Leaper (2016) drew on the collective identity framework (Ashmore et al., 2004) and adapted the GI felt pressure scale (Egan & Perry, 2001) to examine ERI felt pressure or felt pressure to conform to racial/ethnic group norms among racially and ethnically diverse college students (see Appendix A for the list of items). Two separate scales, each of which consists of four items, were prepared to assess ERI felt pressure from family and ERI felt pressure from peers separately (See Appendix A for the list of items). Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for the ERI felt pressure from family scale was .85 at T1 and .86 at T2. Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for the ERI felt pressure from peers scale was .87 at T1 and .92 at T2.

**Self-esteem.** Participants' global self-esteem was measured by using Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE; Rosenberg, 1965) that consists of 10 items. The RSE measures

positive and negative feelings associated with the self. The RSE is in a 4-point Likert response scale that has response options ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Sample items include “On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.” and “At times I think I am no good at all.” The RSE is a widely used measure of self-esteem and has been reported to have internal reliability ranging from .85 to .88 in a sample of college students (Rosenberg, 1965). In the present study, Cronbach’s  $\alpha$  for the RSE was .83 in T1 and .82 in T2.

### **Analytic Plan**

Bivariate correlation analyses were conducted to explore cross-sectional associations among focal variables (i.e., felt pressure measures at T1 and T2 as well as self-esteem at T1 and T2). To test the present study’s hypotheses, two hierarchical multiple linear regression analyses with GI felt pressure and ERI felt pressure from either family or from peers at T1 predicting self-esteem at T2.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Results**

#### **Descriptive Analysis**

Means and standard deviations for focal variables of the study are presented in Table 1. A series of independent *t*-tests (see Table 2 for observed effect sizes) was conducted to examine mean differences between (a) males and females, (b) African Americans and Latinos/as, and (c) males and females within each ethnic/racial group. In the overall sample, females on average reported lower ERI felt pressure from family at T1, lower ERI felt pressure from peers at T1, lower GI felt pressure from family both at T1 and at T2, lower GI felt pressure from peers both at T1 and at T2, and lower self-esteem at T1 compared to male students. With regard to ethnic/racial differences, African Americans and Latinos/as in the final sample did not significantly differ in the focal variables of the study, except self-esteem at T1. On average, African Americans reported higher self-esteem at T1 than Latinos/as. Preceding hierarchical linear multiple regression analyses, bivariate correlations among main variables were examined by gender. Cross-sectional correlational findings are presented in Table 3.

#### **Hierarchical Linear Multiple Regression**

To answer the present study's research questions, two sets of hierarchical multiple linear regression analyses were conducted with the imputed dataset. Data were screened for missing scores and normality before conducting preliminary analyses. There were no missing values for gender and race/ethnicity. However, there were from .1% to 12.7% of missingness in nativity, age, and lunch status. Missingness in focal variables, namely felt

pressure from family measures at T1 and at T2 as well as felt pressure from peers measures at T1 and at T2, ranged from 8.8% to 16.8%. To address missingness in the data, multiple imputation (Schafer, 1999) was run to derive a pooled dataset from 40 datasets through 200 iterations. The violation of normality was not a major concern based on the histograms as well as skewness and kurtosis values obtained ( $z < 3.29$ ; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Linearity, homoscedasticity of residuals, and independence of observations were examined following the data diagnostics strategies suggested by Martin and Bridgmon (2012). No major concerns regarding the key assumptions of multiple linear regression were observed.

**Multiple regression model for felt pressure from family measures at T1 predicting self-esteem at T2.** To test the present study's first set of hypotheses, a hierarchical linear multiple regression analysis was run with family felt pressure measures (i.e., ERI felt pressure from family and GI felt pressure from family) at T1 as predictors of self-esteem at T2 after controlling for self-esteem at T1, race/ethnicity, and gender. Bivariate correlations (see Table 3) by gender revealed that for both males and females, ERI felt pressure from family at T1 was significantly negatively associated with self-esteem at T2. GI felt pressure from family at T1 was not significantly associated with self-esteem at T2. Results of hierarchical multiple regression revealed that when controlling for self-esteem at T1, race/ethnicity, and gender, neither ERI felt pressure from family at T1 nor GI felt pressure from family at T1 were significant predictors of self-esteem at T2 ( $p > .05$ ; Table 4). Two-way interactions (i.e., ERI felt pressure from family at T1 interacting with gender or race/ethnicity in predicting self-esteem at T2; GI

felt pressure from family at T1 interacting with race/ethnicity or gender in predicting self-esteem at T2) were also entered into the model (see Step 3 in Table 4). Results revealed that race/ethnicity was a significant moderator of the association between ERI felt pressure from family at T1 and self-esteem at T2 ( $p < .05$ ; Figure 1). In contrast, gender was not a significant moderator of the association between ERI felt pressure from family at T1 and self-esteem at T2. There were no significant interactions between GI felt pressure from family at T1 and race/ethnicity nor gender. Additionally, three-way interactions between ERI felt pressure/GI felt pressure from family at T1, race/ethnicity, and gender were tested to reveal non-significant results ( $p > .05$ ).

To follow up on the significant two-way interaction between ERI felt pressure from family at T1 and race/ethnicity predicting self-esteem at T2, simple slopes were tested. The results revealed that the regression slopes were significantly different from zero among African American youth (i.e., 1 SD above mean  $t(750) = -1.10, p < .05$ ), and non-significant among Latino/a youth (i.e., 1 SD below mean;  $t(750) = .03, p = ns$ ). These results suggest that African American youth who reported lower levels of ERI felt pressure from family at T1, also tended to report higher levels of self-esteem at T2, compared to those who reported higher levels of ERI felt pressure from family at T1.

**Multiple regression model for felt pressure from peers measures at T1 predicting self-esteem at T2.** To test the present study's second set of hypotheses, another hierarchical linear multiple regression analysis was run with felt pressure from peers measures (i.e., ERI felt pressure from peers and GI felt pressure from peers) at T1 as predictors of self-esteem at T2 after controlling for self-esteem at T1, race/ethnicity,

and gender. Bivariate correlations (see Table 3) by gender revealed that for both males and females, ERI felt pressure from peers at T1 was significantly negatively associated with self-esteem at T2. GI felt pressure from peers at T1 was not significantly associated with self-esteem at T2. Results of hierarchical multiple regression revealed that when controlling for self-esteem at T1, race/ethnicity, and gender, neither ERI felt pressure nor GI felt pressure from peers at T1 were significant predictors of self-esteem at T2 ( $p > .05$ ; Table 5). However, when interactions were tested, race/ethnicity was a significant moderator of the association between ERI felt pressure from peers at T1 and self-esteem at T2 ( $p < .05$ ; Figure 2). Gender was not a significant moderator of the association between ERI felt pressure from peers at T1 and self-esteem at T2. There were also no significant interactions between GI felt pressure from peers at T1 and race/ethnicity nor gender.

To follow up on the significant two-way interaction between ERI felt pressure from peers at T1 and race/ethnicity predicting self-esteem at T2, simple slopes were tested. The results revealed that the regression slopes were significantly different from zero among African American youth (i.e., 1 SD above mean  $t(750) = -2.91, p < .01$ ), and non-significant among Latino/a youth (i.e., 1 SD below mean;  $t(750) = .57, p = ns$ ). These results suggested that African American youth who reported lower levels of ERI felt pressure from peers at T1, also tended to report higher levels of self-esteem at T2, compared to those who reported higher levels of ERI felt pressure from peers at T1.



## Chapter 4

### Discussion

Through the use of separate measures to distinguish sources of felt pressure and adopting a longitudinal approach, the present study aimed to test (a) whether GI and ERI *felt pressure from family* would negatively predict self-esteem among African American and Latino/a early adolescents; (b) whether GI and ERI *felt pressure from peers* would predict self-esteem among African American and Latino/a early adolescents, and (c) whether gender and race/ethnicity would moderate the associations between GI felt pressure, ERI felt pressure, and self-esteem. Felt pressure, particularly ERI felt pressure, has only recently received attention from researchers (Wilson & Leaper, 2016). Although felt pressure is typically negatively associated with self-esteem (Egan & Perry, 2001; Carver et al., 2003; Corby et al., 2007; Wilson & Leaper, 2016), mixed findings regarding gender and/or racial/ethnic differences in these associations have been reported in the literature (Corby et al., 2007; Wilson & Leaper, 2016; Yungger et al., 2004). Given the dearth of research on how felt pressure dimension relates to psychological adjustment of African American and Latino/a early adolescents, the present study was conducted to further examine felt pressure as a possible risk factor for low self-esteem among the populations sampled during early adolescence.

With regard to the exploratory question of whether gender and/or race/ethnicity moderate the associations between ERI felt pressure from family/peers and self-esteem, results revealed that race/ethnicity moderates these associations in a sample of African American and Latino/a early adolescents. More specifically, African American youth

who reported lower levels of ERI felt pressure from family as well as peers at T1, also reported higher levels of self-esteem at T2, compared to those who reported higher levels of ERI felt pressure from family as well as peers at T1. In contrast, gender was not a significant moderator of the association between ERI felt pressure from family/peers at T1 and self-esteem at T2.

A possible yet speculative explanation for the observed moderating role that race/ethnicity may play in the associations between ERI felt pressure and self-esteem could be found in the concept of salience of a given social identity, which varies by race/ethnicity and socialization context of youth (Ashmore et al., 2004; Brewer, 1991; Corby et al., 2007; Hughes et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2012; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). For example, drawing on optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991), Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) have proposed the relationship between contexts and salience of social identity as follows:

...in contexts where individuals are a numerical majority, ERI may be less relevant because the need for deindividuation may need to be satisfied with a different social identity that is more salient in that context and that provides a more readily accessible out-group comparison. (p. 31)

The school in which data were collected consisted primarily of Latinos/as and a smaller percentage of African Americans. Given this contextual information about the school, it could be speculated that salience of ERI varied by race/ethnicity in the school context where youth spend most of their days and have opportunities to socialize with their peers, resulting in the observed racial/ethnic differences in the associations between ERI felt

pressure from family/peers at T1 and self-esteem at T2. More specifically, it may be interpreted that race/ethnicity was the most salient, distinguishing aspect of who they were to African Americans who were a numerical minority at the school, but not necessarily to Latinos/as who were a numerical majority, which may help explain why the association between ERI felt pressure from peers at T1 and self-esteem at T2 might differ for African Americans compared to Latinos/as.

The salience of ERI may be also relevant to understand the current finding that race/ethnicity moderates the associations between ERI felt pressure from family/peers and self-esteem in relation to a larger socialization context of the state of Arizona. In the present study, we found that African Americans who experienced high levels of ERI felt pressure from family/peers at T1 reported low levels of self-esteem at T2. Given that African Americans represent a numerical minority in Arizona (i.e., 4.2%; U.S. Census Bureau, 2015), it may be speculated that ERI was particularly salient to African American individuals, resulting in the unique pattern observed among African Americans with regard to the association between ERI felt pressure from family at T1 and self-esteem at T2. Ultimately, living in a state and attending a school context where African Americans are the numerical minority could be a liability in terms of their self-esteem.

Another possible explanation for the unique pattern observed for African Americans concerning the associations between ERI felt pressure from family/peers and self-esteem is that African Americans experience tremendous discrimination in the larger societal context (Broman, Mavaddat, & Hsu, 2000). Their experiences of discrimination in Arizona (e.g., Thomson, 1997; Turner & Ross, 2005) may be even more pronounced

because their representation is notably low (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015), making ERI felt pressure from family/peers and their behavioral attempts to reconcile such pressure to act and behave to conform to racial/ethnic stereotypes potentially placing African American youth in more visible positions for the discrimination to be experienced, reducing their self-esteem.

As for the moderation question of whether gender and/or race/ethnicity moderate the associations between GI felt pressure from family/peers at T1 and self-esteem at T2 (controlling for self-esteem at T1), both two-way and three-way interactions examined were non-significant. The results were not consistent with Egan and Perry's (2001) findings where GI felt pressure was negatively and more strongly associated with self-esteem among females than males nor with Corby et al.'s (2007) findings where GI felt pressure was significantly associated with self-esteem only among Latinos/as and not among African Americans. It is also important to note that Wilson and Leaper (2016) did not replicate these findings in a sample that included Latinos/as and similar to the present study, did not find that gender moderated the association between GI felt pressure and self-esteem. In light of current limited empirical basis coming from samples at different developmental stages— early adolescents (Egan & Perry, 2001; Corby et al., 2007) and young adults (Wilson & Leaper, 2016)— the current findings provide additional evidence to draw from on whether gender might moderate the associations between self-esteem and GI felt pressure from family and peers during early adolescence.

The study by Wilson and Leaper (2016) is the only existing study to the author's knowledge that considered both GI and ERI felt pressure but as previous noted it did not

find that the associations between GI/ERI felt pressure and self-esteem were moderated by race/ethnicity or gender. Given that we do find that race/ethnicity moderated this association in the current middle school sample, it is important to consider reasons why findings might differ. These differences may underscore strengths of the methodological characteristics of the present study in that it includes (a) a longitudinal approach in which the association between ERI felt pressure at an initial time point and subsequent self-esteem was explored and (b) the distinction of sources of felt pressure (i.e., family vs. peers). It may also be reflective of the distinct developmental stages that are the focus of these two studies, namely, Wilson and Leaper's (2016) study was conducted with young adults and the present study was conducted with early adolescents. Given that early adolescence is a critical period for identity development (Brown et al., 2011; Erikson, 1968) marked by significant changes in identity-related processes (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), further longitudinal research is needed to clarify whether the present study's significant moderation findings concerning ERI felt pressure from family/peers and self-esteem is attributable to other developmental changes and across diverse state and school contexts.

The distinction of sources of felt pressure, namely family and peers, is also a distinguishing feature of this study to contribute nuances to the extant literature on felt pressure. Individuals are susceptible to varying socializing messages from separate socializing agents, namely family and peers (e.g., Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Harris, 1996; Kornienko et al., 2015; Priest et al., 2014). Empirical evidence supports that family and peers represent distinct sources of ethnic-racial socialization influence, for example,

among African Americans (Winkler, 2010) and Latinos/as during early adolescence (Ayres, 2008). Similarly, the literature suggests that early adolescents receive gender socialization messages from multiple sources (Brown & Gilligan, 1993; Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Given that African American and Latino/a early adolescents may receive socialization messages that are not always consistent from family and peers to internalize and conform to group norms (Priest et al., 2014), it is important to distinguish sources of felt pressure. Previous research on the association between felt pressure and self-esteem has confounded family and peers as a single source of felt pressure (Carver et al., 2003; Corby et al., 2007; Egan & Perry, 2001; Wilson & Leaper, 2016). To the author's knowledge, the present study is the first to distinguish sources of felt pressure to provide more nuanced data on associations between felt pressure and self-esteem among African American and Latino/a early adolescents. Given this novel approach, the differences between the present study's findings and previous findings could be a reflection of differential impacts that family and peers have on psychological adjustment among these racial/ethnic minority youths via felt pressure.

In addition to the moderating findings, the present study's results provide additional evidence for future research to draw on in clarifying the associations between GI felt pressure/ERI felt pressure and self-esteem. With regard to the question of whether GI felt pressure from family at T1 and ERI felt pressure from family at T1 predict self-esteem at T2 among African American and Latino/a youth, after controlling for levels of self-esteem at T1, results were non-significant. Neither GI felt pressure nor ERI felt pressure from family at T1 was significantly associated with self-esteem at T2 after

controlling for levels of self-esteem at T1. However, results also showed that there were significant cross-sectional bivariate correlations between ERI felt pressure from family at T1 and self-esteem at T1 as well as between ERI felt pressure from family at T2 and self-esteem at T2 in the current sample. As for GI felt pressure from family, bivariate correlations with self-esteem were significant only at T1 among girls; correlations were non-significant among boys.

The cross-sectional findings concerning the association between GI felt pressure at T1 and self-esteem at T1 were somewhat consistent with previous findings reported by Egan and Perry (2001). Caver et al. (2003) found that GI felt pressure was negatively associated with self-esteem only for girls but not for boys in a sample of early adolescents. The present study's cross-sectional findings concerning associations between GI felt pressure and self-esteem at T1 and at T2 among girls (but not boys) are consistent with these findings. As reviewed earlier, Egan and Perry (2001) proposed that the negative influence of GI felt pressure would be more pronounced for girls than for boys, suggesting two possible explanations. One explanation offered by Egan and Perry (2001) is that girls are socialized to value social feedback and interpersonal relationships more than boys, making them more vulnerable to feeling pressured from others to conform to gender norms (Harter, 1998). Another explanation proposed by Egan and Perry (2001) is that girls face a challenge to handle felt pressure in the sociocultural environment in which male-typical competencies are praised, resulting in more pronounced influence of felt pressure on their self-esteem among girls than boys (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). As suggested by Egan and Perry (2001), it may be that girls are more

negatively affected by felt pressure due to such gender differences in socialization. It is important to note, however, that a study with young adults did not replicate this gender difference finding (Wilson & Leaper, 2016).

With regard to the question of whether GI felt pressure from peers and ERI felt pressure from peers at T1 predict self-esteem among African American and Latino/a youth, after controlling for levels of self-esteem at T1, results were non-significant. However, there were significant cross-sectional bivariate correlations between ERI felt pressure from peers at T1 and self-esteem at T1 as well as between ERI felt pressure from peers at T2 and self-esteem at T2. As for GI felt pressure from peers, bivariate correlations with self-esteem were significant only at T1 among both boys and girls. Interestingly, the direction of the significant bivariate correlation between GI felt pressure from peers at T1 and self-esteem at T1 was positive for boys whereas it was negative (as hypothesized) for girls. This finding is inconsistent with earlier work; however, it is important to note that the present study is unique in distinguishing between sources of felt pressure across multiple domains of identity. Drawing on the gender differences in socialization described earlier (Bussey & Bandura, 1999), one potential explanation for this finding might be that in a society where male-typed competencies are favored in a variety of domains, boys may ultimately benefit from certain forms of GI felt pressure from peers as opposed to girls. GI felt pressure from peers may actually help promote masculine-typed attributes and a sense of congruence between one's self-concept and gender stereotypes/attitudes among boys in a societal context in which male-typical competencies are praised.



A close examination of bivariate correlations between ERI felt pressure and GI felt pressure by sources (i.e., family and peers) at each of the time points (i.e., T1 and T2) revealed gender differences in magnitude of the associations. Specifically, associations between ERI felt pressure from family and GI felt pressure from family were significant and moderate in effect size ( $r = .36$  at T1 and  $r = .27$  at T2) among females. In contrast, associations between ERI felt pressure from family and GI felt pressure from family were significant only at T2 and small in effect size among males ( $r = .13$ ). Similarly, associations between ERI felt pressure from peers and GI felt pressure from peers were significant and moderate in effect size ( $r = .29$  at T1 and  $r = .27$  at T2) among females. In contrast, associations between ERI felt pressure from peers and GI felt pressure from peers were nonsignificant among males. These findings concerning the associations between ERI felt pressure from family/peers and GI felt pressure from family/peers have important implications for advancing an understanding of felt pressure as a social identity dimension. On the development of the original GI felt pressure measure, Egan and Perry (2001) commented that their felt pressure scale could be “a general index of anticipated negative reactions from others rather than a measure of pressure anticipated specifically for gender-linked conduct” (p. 461). While this may still be the case, the present study’s findings show that felt pressure appears to be both domain-specific (i.e., GI vs. ERI) and source-specific (i.e., family vs. peers). Interestingly, Wilson and Leaper (2016) reported a large correlation of  $r = .60$  between GI felt pressure and ERI felt pressure. Conversely, the present study found correlations that were considerably smaller between GI felt pressure among females, and small or negligible associations among boys. These patterns

present evidence in support of the multidimensionality of felt pressure as a dimension of identity across identity domains. Future research is needed to further examine differences in the nature of how felt pressure is experienced differently in terms of gender and race/ethnicity and in terms of the sources of felt pressure (i.e., family vs. peers). This consideration will aid the understanding of how felt pressure may be a risk factor implicated in psychological distress among racially and ethnically diverse youth.

### **Limitations**

There are limitations that need to be acknowledged when interpreting this study's findings. Findings are specific to African American and Latino/a youth sampled in a public middle school in a U.S. southwestern city where Latino/a youth make up the numerical majority at the school. Findings may not apply to African American and Latino/a youth in other settings. Additional research with these populations during early adolescence across a variety of settings is needed to better ascertain the contextual specificity vs. universality of findings presented in this study. The present study's measures also have certain limitations. The present study relied on self-report measures, which are known to be subject to biases due to a variety of factors (e.g., social desirability). Future research on felt pressure with African American and Latino/a youth may benefit from the use of mixed methods to elucidate mechanisms by which GI felt pressure from family as well as peers and ERI felt pressure from family as well as peers relate psychological adjustment among these youths. Although having longitudinal measures is an important strength of the present study, casual associations among study variables cannot be ascertained, given the correlational nature of the study's data.

Despite these limitations, the present study represents a novel direction for GI and ERI research by utilizing separate measures of felt pressure to distinguish sources (i.e., family and peers) and contributing data to the literature on the associations between GI felt pressure from family as well as peers, ERI felt pressure from family as well as peers, and self-esteem among African American and Latino/a early adolescents.

### **Conclusion**

To the author's knowledge, the present study is the first to distinguish sources of felt pressure (i.e., family and peers) to add to the literature on GI and ERI by longitudinally exploring the associations between the emerging dimension of felt pressure and self-esteem among African American and Latino/a early adolescents. Building on this important distinction, results revealed that among African American students, there was a significant negative longitudinal association between ERI felt pressure from both family and peers at T1 and self-esteem at T2 after controlling for self-esteem at T1; however, these findings were non-significant among Latino/a youth. Findings of the present study contribute to the growing literature on felt pressure from family and peers and its associations with psychological adjustment among racially and ethnically diverse youth.

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APPENDIX A  
FELT PRESSURE SCALES

### **FELT PRESSURE FROM FAMILY ETHNICITY**

- Members of my family would be upset if I wanted to hang out with people of other ethnic groups.
- Members of my family would be upset if I wanted to do an activity that people of other ethnicities do.
- Members of my family would be upset if I wanted to dress like people of other ethnic groups.
- Members of my family would be upset if I talked like people of other ethnic groups.

### **FELT PRESSURE FROM PEERS ETHNICITY**

- Other kids who have the same ethnicity as me would get upset if someone of my ethnicity starts acting like someone of a different ethnic group.
- Friends who have the same ethnicity as me would be upset if I wanted to do an activity that people of other ethnicities usually do.
- Other kids who have the same ethnicity as me would get upset if someone of my ethnicity talks like someone of a different ethnic group.
- Friends who have the same ethnicity as me would be upset if I dressed like people of other ethnic groups.

### **FELT PRESSURE FROM FAMILY GENDER**

- Members of my family would be upset if I wanted to hang out with friends who are (“boys,” if respondent is a girl; “girls,” if respondent is a boy).
- Members of my family would be upset if I wanted to do an activity that (“boys,” if respondent is a girl; “girls,” if respondent is a boy) usually do.
- Members of my family would be upset if I wanted to dress like a (“boy,” if respondent is a girl; “girl,” if respondent is a boy).
- Members of my family would be upset if I talked like a (“boy,” if respondent is a girl; “girl,” if respondent is a boy).

### **FELT PRESSURE FROM PEERS GENDER**

- Other kids, who are (“boys,” if respondent is a boy; “girls,” if respondent is a girl) like me, would get upset if someone who is a (“boy,” if respondent is a boy; “girl,” if respondent is a girl) acts like a (“boy,” if respondent is a girl; “girl,” if respondent is a boy).
- Friends, who are (“boys,” if respondent is a boy; “girls,” if respondent is a girl) like me, would be upset if I wanted to do an activity that (“boys,” if respondent is a girl; “girls,” if respondent is a boy) usually do.
- Other kids who are (“boys,” if respondent is a boy; “girls,” if respondent is a girl) would get upset if someone who is a (“boy,” if respondent is a boy; “girl,” if respondent is a girl) talks like a (“boy,” if respondent is a girl; “girl,” if respondent is a boy)
- Friends who are (“boys,” if respondent is a boy; “girls,” if respondent is a girl) would be upset if I dressed like a (“boy,” if respondent is a girl; “girl,” if respondent is a boy).

Table 1  
Descriptive Statistics by Gender and Race/Ethnicity

Variable	Group															
	Overall Sample				Comparison by Race & Ethnicity				Comparison by Gender within African Americans				Comparison by Gender within Latinos/as			
	Male	Female	African American	Latino/a	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Age	M(SD)	n	M(SD)	n	M(SD)	n	M(SD)	n	M(SD)	n	M(SD)	n	M(SD)	n		
	12.16 (1.00)	355	12.03 (.95)	334	12.10 (.96)	174	12.10 (.98)	515	12.13 (1.04)	94	12.06 (.86)	80	12.18 (.98)	261		
Lunch Status																
	-.92 (.29)	338	.90 (.31)	317	.90 (.30)	157	-.91 (.29)	498	.93 (.26)	84	-.86 (.35)	73	.91 (.29)	254		
Nativity																
	2.70 (1.16)	381	2.76 (1.11)	368	3.66 (.87)**	194	2.40 (1.03)**	555	.09 (.29)	102	.07 (.25)	92	-.31 (.41)	279		
FPPE T1																
	2.09 (.98)*	352	1.93 (1.01)*	332	1.98 (1.01)	172	2.03 (.98)	512	2.03 (1.02)	92	1.91 (1.01)	80	2.11 (.96)**	260		
FPPE T2																
	2.12 (.94)	356	2.04 (.99)	328	1.96 (.96)	160	2.12 (.97)	494	1.97 (.89)	79	1.95 (1.02)	81	2.17 (.95)	247		
FPPE T1																
	1.84 (.85)*	352	1.71 (.87)*	332	1.74 (.83)	172	1.79 (.87)	512	1.77 (.85)	92	1.71 (.81)	80	1.86 (.86)*	260		
FPPE T2																
	2.15 (.95)	326	2.03 (.91)	328	2.15 (.90)	160	2.07 (.91)	494	2.26 (1.04)	79	2.04 (.96)	81	2.12 (.92)	247		
FPFG T1																
	3.90 (1.12)**	345	2.72 (1.13)**	330	3.33 (1.36)	166	3.32 (1.24)	509	4.04 (1.14)**	86	2.57 (1.15)**	80	3.85 (1.11)**	259		
FPFG T2																
	3.68 (1.30)**	309	2.55 (1.11)**	318	3.10 (1.39)	153	3.11 (1.31)	474	3.84 (1.24)**	76	2.38 (1.14)**	77	3.63 (1.32)**	233		
FPFG T1																
	4.00 (1.06)**	345	2.54 (1.09)**	330	3.35 (1.39)	166	3.26 (1.27)	509	4.15 (1.13)**	80	2.49 (1.10)**	86	3.95 (1.03)**	259		
FPFG T2																
	3.78 (1.24)**	308	2.46 (1.05)**	316	3.13 (1.42)	153	3.10 (1.29)	471	4.08 (1.13)**	76	2.23 (1.01)**	77	3.68 (1.26)**	232		
Self-Esteem T1																
	3.05 (.54)*	351	2.97 (.55)*	330	3.18 (.62)**	171	2.95 (.50)**	510	3.26 (.62)	80	3.09 (.60)	91	2.98 (.48)	260		
Self-Esteem T2																
	3.04 (.53)	323	2.98 (.57)	328	3.08 (.66)	161	2.99 (.52)	490	3.18 (.63)*	80	2.98 (.67)*	81	2.99 (.49)	243		

Note. Significant mean level differences between males and females as well as between African Americans and Latinos/as are indicated by asterisks.  
 FPPE = Felt Pressure From Family Ethnicity; FPFE = Felt Pressure From Family Gender; FPPG = Felt Pressure From Peers Ethnicity; FPPG = Felt Pressure From Family Gender; FPPG = Felt Pressure From Peers Gender.  
 \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ .

Table 2  
Effect Sizes for Descriptive Analysis

Variable	Comparison by Gender	Comparison by Race & Ethnicity	Comparison by African Americans	Comparison by Latinos/as
	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
Age	.13	.00	.07	.16
Lunch Status	.07	.03	.23	.00
Nativity	.05	1.32**	.07	.13
FPFE T1	.16*	.05	.00	.17*
FPFE T2	.08	.07	.02	.09
FPPE T1	.15*	.06	.07	.18*
FPPE T2	.13	.12	.22	.11
FPFG T1	1.05**	.01	1.28**	.97**
FPFG T2	.93**	.01	1.23**	.85**
FPPG T1	1.36**	.07	1.49**	1.33**
FPPG T2	1.15**	.04	1.73**	.98**
Self-Esteem T1	.15*	.41**	.28	.32
Self-Esteem T2	.11	.15	.31*	.00

Note. Significant mean level differences between males and females as well as between African Americans and Latinos/as are indicated by asterisks. FPFE = Felt Pressure From Family Ethnicity; FPPE = Felt Pressure From Peers Ethnicity; FPPG = Felt Pressure From Family Gender; FPPG = Felt Pressure From Peers Gender.  
\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ .

Table 3  
Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Study Variables ( $n = 750$ )

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	M	SD
1. FPFE T1	--	.50**	.82**	.36**	.36**	.28**	.33**	.30**	-.18**	-.15*	2.01	1.00
2. FPFE T2	.37**	--	.43**	.67**	.25**	.27**	.20**	.28**	-.18**	-.20**	2.08	.97
3. FPPE T1	.81**	.36**	--	.34**	.30**	.30**	.29**	.31**	-.22**	-.16**	1.77	.86
4. FPPE T2	.30**	.74**	.33**	--	.22**	.29**	.24**	.27**	-.09	-.18**	2.09	.93
5. FPPG T1	.03	.11	-.01	.10	--	.43**	.71**	.40**	-.14**	-.02	3.32	1.27
6. FPPG T2	.06	.13*	.10	.09	.35**	--	.44**	.71**	-.16*	-.07	3.11	1.33
7. FPPG T1	.01	.08	-.03	.10*	.73**	.30**	--	.41**	-.16**	-.09	3.28	1.30
8. FPPG T2	.01	.11	.06	.10	.37**	.83**	.34**	--	-.11*	-.07	3.11	1.32
9. Self-Esteem T1	-.32**	-.17**	-.32**	-.08	.06	.08	.16**	.14*	--	.59**	3.01	.54
10. Self-Esteem T2	-.20**	-.17**	-.21**	-.12*	.06	.08	.10	.06	.58**	--	3.01	.55

Note. Bivariate correlations for female participants are presented above the diagonal, and bivariate correlations for male participants are presented below the diagonal. FPFE = Felt Pressure from Family Ethnicity; FPPE = Felt Pressure from Peers Ethnicity; FPPG = Felt Pressure from Family Gender; FPPG = Felt Pressure from Peers Gender.

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ .

Table 4  
 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Effects of Felt Pressure from Family at T1 Predicting Self-Esteem at T2 Controlling for Self-Esteem at T1 ( $n = 750$ )

	<i>B</i>	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> Change	<i>F</i> Change	<i>df</i>
Step 1: Self-Esteem T1	.59**	.58	.37**	.37**	115.68**	587
African American <sup>1</sup>	-.06	-.04				
Male <sup>2</sup>	.02	.01				
Step 2: ERI Felt Pressure From Family T1	-.04	-.04	.37	.00	1.44	585
GI Felt Pressure From Family T1	.06	.05				
Step 3: ERI Felt Pressure From Family T1 x African American	-.16*	-.07	.38*	.01*	1.57*	581
GI Felt Pressure From Family T1 x African American	.06	.03				
ERI Felt Pressure From Family T1 x Male	.06	.03				
GI Felt Pressure From Family T1 x Male	-.04	-.02				

Note. <sup>1</sup>Reference group = Latinos/as. <sup>2</sup>Reference group = female.

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .001$ .

Table 5  
 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Effects of Felt Pressure from Peers at T1 Predicting Self-Esteem at T2 Controlling for Self-Esteem at T1 (n = 750)

	B	sp <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup> Change	F Change	df
Step 1: Self-Esteem T1	.59**	.58	.37**	.37**	115.68**	587
African American <sup>1</sup>	-.06	-.02				
Male <sup>2</sup>	.02	.01				
Step 2: ERI Felt Pressure From Peers T1	-.03	-.03	.37	.00	.32	585
GI Felt Pressure From Peers T1	.00	.00				
Step 3: ERI Felt Pressure From Peers T1 x African American	-.19*	-.08	.38	.01	2.08	581
GI Felt Pressure From Peers T1 x African American	.04	.02				
ERI Felt Pressure From Peers T1 x Male	-.02	-.01				
GI Felt Pressure From Peers T1 x Male	.02	.01				

Note. <sup>1</sup>Reference group = Latinos/as. <sup>2</sup>Reference group = female.

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .001$ .



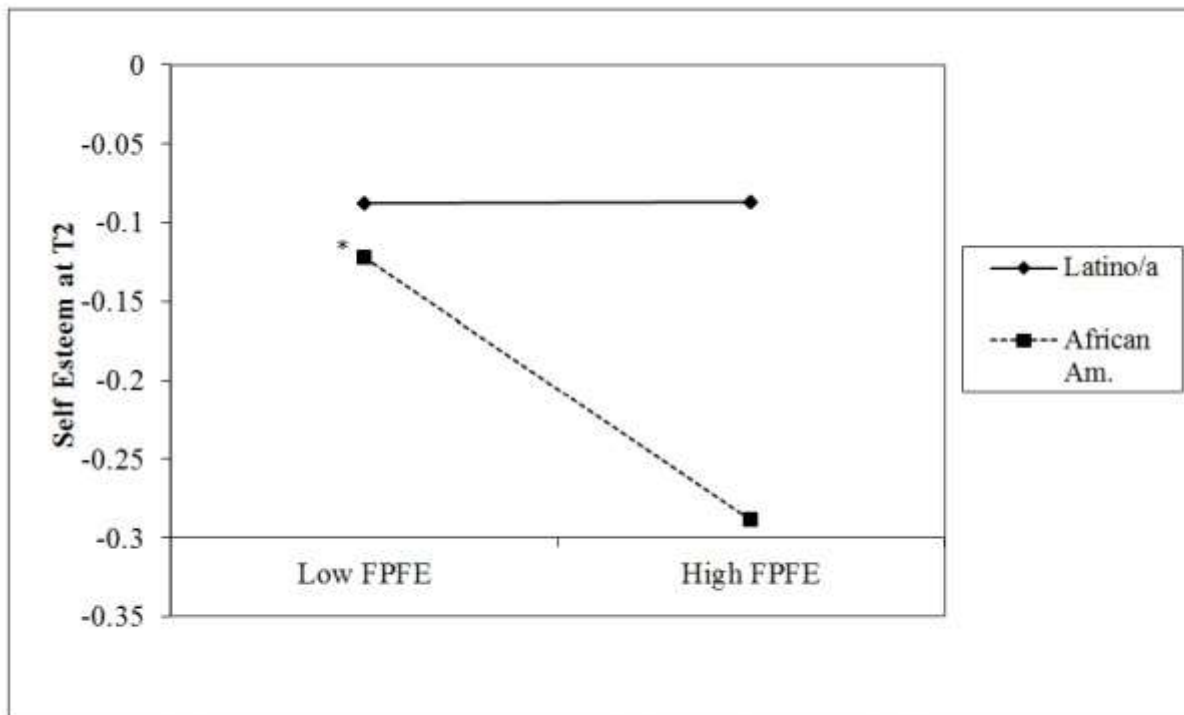


Figure 1. ERI felt pressure from family interacting with race/ethnicity predicting self-esteem at T2 controlling for self-esteem at T1. FPF = Felt Pressure From Family Ethnicity. \*  $p < .05$ .

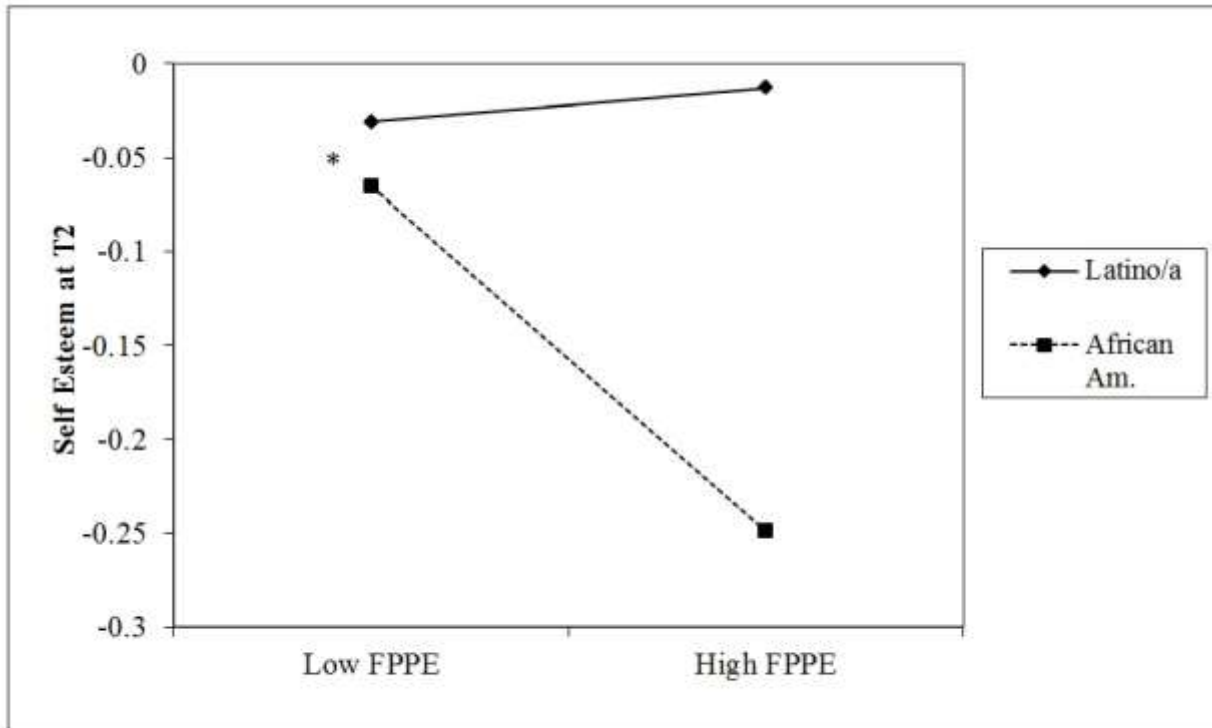


Figure 2. ERI felt pressure from peers interacting with race/ethnicity predicting self-esteem at T2 controlling for self-esteem at T1. FPPE = Felt Pressure From Peers Ethnicity. \*  $p < .01$ .