When compared to White students, Black students underperform at every level of academics. Yet, Black students tend to report significantly higher attitudes toward doing well in school than do White students. One explanation for this apparent attitude-behavior discrepancy between Black and White students is the miscommunication of academic norms. Social norms become known through public behavior and one’s public behavior is assumed to reflect one’s true attitudes. When public behavior is used to determine social norms but does not reflect one’s true attitudes, social norms are miscommunicated. In the case of academic achievement, Black students’ public behavior (such as not studying or performing below ability) may convey to their peers an attitude that school achievement is unimportant when in reality, their private school attitudes are very positive. This miscommunication may occur to a greater degree for Black than White students due to actual social norms (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986) as well as high levels of collectivism that have been found for Blacks (Gaines, et al., 1997). Study 1 investigated whether the miscommunication of academic norms occurred differentially for Black and White students by examining the discrepancy between their private attitudes toward academic achievement and the perception of their friends’ attitudes toward academic achievement. The results indicated no racial differences in the miscommunication of academic norms and the discussion focuses on the limitations of the study. Study 2 served as a conceptual replication of Study 1 and explored how different reference group norms toward academic achievement (i.e., own attitudes, friends’ attitudes and behaviors, and parents’ attitudes) contributed to the prediction of academic achievement behavior (i.e., GPA). The results revealed that for White students friends’ academic behavior tended to influence one’s own GPA positively whereas for Black students, parents’ attitudes toward academics tended to affect their children’s academic behavior negatively. Additionally, Black students, to a greater degree than
White students, perceived themselves to be under a lot of pressure to do well in school (especially from themselves and their parents). Unexpectedly, White students felt that it was more important to be close to their friends and perceived greater pressure to maintain closeness to them in comparison to Black students. Generally, the results of Study 1 and Study 2 did not provide support for the idea of racial disparity in the miscommunication of social norms. However, the results of Study 2 did reveal some important racial differences in the perception of academic achievement attitudes and behaviors for this college sample.

INDEX WORDS: African American, Black, White, Norms, Academics, Academic Achievement, Miscommunication
NORM MISCOMMUNICATION: DOES IT AFFECT THE ACADEMIC SUCCESS OF BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS?

by

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CHAPTER 1  
INTRODUCTION

There is now a substantial body of literature documenting the persistent gap in achievement rates between African and European American students at all levels of schooling (e.g., Steele, 1992; Nettles, 1988). For example, Blacks are more than twice as likely to drop out of school as are European Americans (Cardenas & First, 1985). Furthermore, the national dropout rate for African American college students (those who begin but do not finish college within six years) is 70% compared to the national dropout rate of 42% for European American college students (American Council on Education, 1990). African American college students who do graduate have significantly lower GPAs than European Americans (Nettles, 1988).

This gap occurs even when financial disparities and educational preparation are taken into account. According to Steele (1992), Black middle-class students on wealthy college campuses and even Black students in graduate school who receive substantial financial aid still underachieve compared with their White counterparts. Additionally, at every level of preparation, Black students from elementary school to graduate school tend to perform more poorly when compared with White students (Steele, 1992). Steele states, “… given any level of school preparation (as measured by tests and earlier grades), blacks somehow achieve less in subsequent schooling than whites (that is, have poorer grades, have lower graduation rates, and take longer to graduate), no matter how strong that preparation is. Put differently, the same achievement level requires better preparation for blacks than for whites – far better…”
Why Study Racial Differences in Achievement?

One of the reasons social scientists continue to study racial/ethnic achievement is that consistent racial disparities that are not sufficiently explained by existing theories (Steele, 1992). The tragedy of racial disparities in academic achievement is that American society values individuals based on their achievements. That is, to the degree that one achieves success in school, work, or monetary matters, one will feel valued and respected by others (Giorgi & Marsh, 1990). Thus, to the extent that there are differences in academic performance, for example, Black students may feel less valued than White students. Compared with European Americans, African Americans do suffer from lower self-efficacy (Hughes & Demo, 1989), which is related to reduced sense of control, autonomy, task persistence, and self-determination (Bandura, 1986).

Moreover, early disparities in academic performance can lead to later career or financial disparities. For example, in 1980 African American high school sophomores who completed only a high school diploma by 1992 earned less than ($7,881 versus $11,429) and were also unemployed for more months than their White peers (Nettles, 1997). However, data from this same cross-sectional survey revealed that for Blacks and Whites who attained associate’s degrees, bachelor’s degrees, and advanced degrees, there were no statistical differences in annual earnings and the amount of unemployment (Nettles, 1997). Therefore, it seems that if African Americans are to obtain financial equality, they must obtain advanced degrees beyond the high school level. Yet, African American students drop out of college at a higher rate than do White students. For instance, a longitudinal study looking at first time post-secondary students who entered college in 1989/90 revealed that a greater proportion of African American students left college without receiving a degree (Nettles, 1997).

In addition to financial equality, Black students who complete college in comparison to White students, may also improve their general cognitive ability
(Myerson, Rank, Raines, & Schnitzler, 1999). A nationally representative sample of high school students took the AFQT (a measure of general cognitive abilities) before and after they graduated from high school. With SES, age, and selective attrition controlled, multiple regression analyses indicated that White high school graduates increased their AFQT scores more than twice as much as that of Black high school graduates. However, of the participants that graduated from college, Black college graduates increased their AFQT test scores more than four times as that of White college graduates (Myerson, et al., 1999). Thus, there is some initial evidence that college education may be conducive to reducing the racial difference in general cognitive abilities. It appears that both financial and cognitive equality may benefit those Blacks who remain in and complete college.

Explanations for Racial Achievement Disparities

Why are Black students typically outperformed by their White counterparts in school? Over the years, many explanations have been offered to account for this disparity. According to some researchers (Ramey & Suarez, 1985; Moore, 1986), African Americans may receive inadequate or inappropriate home socialization that impedes them from performing successfully in school. Other researchers (e.g., Ogbu, 1990) have suggested that once in school, African American students, compared with White students, are not offered equal access to good education. For example, primarily Black schools may have inadequate funding, facilities, and teachers may be overworked and insufficiently trained. A third potential explanation is that Black students may perform below their ability due to lowered teacher expectations (Jussim, Eccles, & Madon, 1996).

Although each of the above explanations has received some support, this paper explores a social psychological approach to understanding racial performance differences. Recent social psychological approaches to this problem include the
vulnerability of confirming a stereotype as true of oneself (Steele, 1998) and the
disengagement of one's self-esteem from academic feedback (Major & Schmader, 1998).
One assumption underlying these theories is that attitudes or beliefs about the self can ultimately drive behavior. While this view is common to American social psychologists, many European and cultural psychologists believe that people’s self views are formed primarily by embracing the values of the groups to which people belong (Tajfel, 1979; Hofstede, 1980; Cross, 1995). It is the latter view of social psychology, that certain groups to which we belong influence our behavior, that will be reflected throughout this paper.

Collectivism and Individualism

There appear to be reliable differences in the extent to which individuals see themselves as distinct individuals or as a member of a group. For example, many Eastern cultures emphasize collectivism or interdependence (a sense of self dominated by the heightened awareness of the relationships between the self and others) whereas Western cultures tend to emphasize and value individualism and independence (a sense of self that is unique, autonomous, and bounded by traits, abilities, and goals) (Markus & Kitayama, 1994; Triandis, 1993). The typical study of individualism and collectivism compares samples from the United States with samples from other countries rather than comparing different ethnic samples from within the United States (Gaines, Marelich, Bledsoe, Steers, Henderson, Granrose, Barajas, Hicks, Lyde, Takahashi, Yum, Rios, Garcia, Farris, & Page, 1997; Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995).

However, recent research conducted on samples within the United States indicates that cultural value orientations differ among persons of different races (Gaines, et al., 1997; Oyserman, et al., 1995). Most relevant for the present purpose is the observation that European Americans seem to value individualism and achievement over collectivism whereas African Americans tend to value collectivism and familism more than
individualism (Gaines, et al., 1997; Oyserman & Harrison, 1998). Individualism focuses on the person rather than the context or circumstances. For someone high in individualism, traits and attributes are emphasized (Oyserman & Harrison, 1998). In other words, the orientation of individualism emphasizes one’s own self-interest or welfare (Gaines et al., 1997). Thus, those high in individualism value personal independence and tend to define themselves by their achievements.

African Americans, as well as Hispanics, tend to score high on measures of collectivism whose focus is typically on interdependence, a sense of common fate, and the importance of social unity (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Gaines, et al., (1997) define collectivism as an orientation toward the welfare of one’s larger community. Rather than emphasizing individuals, collectivism emphasizes context in which it is important to fulfill one’s social roles, promote the goals of others, and engage in behavior that is appropriate for the group (Oyserman & Harrison, 1998; Markus & Kitayama, 1994).

Related to collectivism is familism, which is an orientation toward one’s immediate and extended family (Gaines, et al., 1997). In anthropological research on African Americans fictive kin is a term used for non-kin plutonic relationships whose bonds are so strong that they resemble those of biological kin (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Gaines, et al., 1997). Gaines, et al.’s research (1997) revealed that African Americans scored higher on measures of collectivism and familism than European Americans. Thus, African Americans who are predominantly high in collectivism seem also to share strong bonds with those who are not kin yet nonetheless perceived to be members of their group (i.e., African Americans are also high in familism).

How do these cultural orientations relate to academic achievement and race? People’s cultural values can permeate everyday social behavior through institutions, customs, and norms that reflect these values (Markus & Kitayama, 1994). For example, within the school environment the dominant ideology is to reject behaviors that do not
support the idea of equal opportunity for all and an individualistic attitude toward success (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). Therefore, individuals who appear unmotivated or uninterested in school may not reap the rewards of affection and liking from their teachers or peers. Hard work is also rewarded by teachers as it complies with the implicit notion that European Americans have of the Protestant work ethic (Ogbu, 1990). Additionally, there is evidence that European American students tend to receive positive encouragement from their parents as well as their peers supporting academic achievement attitudes and behaviors (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Thus, in the domain of school where an individualist orientation seems to be emphasized, it may be difficult for someone with a predominantly collectivist orientation who values harmony with others to adapt successfully without some conflict.

Peer Influence

Another factor that may influence academic achievement is peer influence. Moreover, this influence appears to be different for Black and White students. Steinberg, et al., (1992) found that White high school students who received support from parents as well as peers performed better academically than students who received support from just one source (parents or peers), and those who received support from just one source performed better academically than those who received support from neither source. Steinberg, et al. (1992) also found that White students from authoritative homes (i.e., strong parental support for academic achievement) are more likely to have peers that support academic achievement.

The influence of peer support worked differently for African American students. Steinberg et al. found (1992), that similar to their White counterparts, African American high school students performed well when they received support from parents and friends. Interestingly, though, when a student’s parents emphasized positive academic achievement but the student’s peers did not, the influence of their peers was more
influential. So, for Black students, the peer group or one's friends seem to be the more important predictor of academic success.

Steinberg, et al. (1992) did not indicate why Black and White students’ achievement differed with peer group affiliation. One possible contributor may be the differences in underlying cultural orientations (i.e., individualism vs. collectivism). For example, White students who do not have the support of their friends still do well academically if they have the support of their parents. Thus, achievement or individualistic orientations may guide the school-related behavior of European American students. However, Black students who have the support of their parents but not their peers tend to do poorly in school. Perhaps, Black students’ underlying collectivist orientations guide their behavior to fulfill goals such as relating to and understanding and being accepted by one’s friends to a greater extent than trying to achieve the more European American goal of individual achievement, at least to the extent that achievement conflicts with the collectivist orientation.

Social Norms and Cultural Values

Another reason to think that Black and White students may be susceptible to different pressures regarding their academic achievement can be seen in the different norms that develop within Black and White student peer groups. Social norms are the descriptive and prescriptive rules for behaviors, beliefs, and values by which group members are expected to abide (Miller & Prentice, 1996). There is some evidence that African American students may experience peer pressure from other ingroup members to devalue attitudes and behaviors that promote academic success (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). African Americans may experience prejudice, discrimination, and stereotyping in the domain of academics and this may induce them to develop their own norms that devalue academic success (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Aronson, Quinn, Spencer, 1998). These norms are developed by *inverting* the beliefs and behaviors valued by the dominant
cultural ideology (i.e., school success) and, instead, valuing beliefs and behaviors that are uncharacteristic of the dominant culture, a process referred to as cultural inversion (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). These culturally inverted norms are based on not “acting White.” Acting White involves engaging in such behaviors as studying, going to the library, listening to classical music, going to museums, going hiking, hanging out with other White students, looking favorable to teachers, and openly believing that it is important to do well in school (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986).

Fordham and Ogbu (1986) observed that African American students who violated these group norms suffered costly sanctions, such as the threat of physical violence, rejection from peers, and hostility and disapproval from group members. These students also experienced psychological distress (Arroyo & Zigler, 1995). Essentially, Black students who attempted to excel academically perceived themselves to be disconnected from their social group. This sense of alienation was accompanied by feelings of anxiety and depressive symptomology, as well as interpersonal conflict between doing well in school and being popular among members of their peer group (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986).

Furthermore, current research in social psychology suggests that ability stigmatized groups such as African Americans are more prone to “disidentify” from academics than non-stigmatized groups (Major & Schmader, 1998). Specifically, chronic exposure to threats or stigmatization in a given domain, such as academics, may result in dropping that domain as a basis of self-evaluation (Steele & Aronson, 1995). The reason that disidentification is problematic is because identification with academics is assumed to be important in the motivation of high levels of achievement (Aronson, et al., 1998).

Normative Social Influence

The differing social norms for Black and White students are important because the social pressure from others can sometimes lead to conformity. Members of a group who conform to the rules or social norms are rewarded with warmth, liking, acceptance,
and at times, praise by the group (Asch, 1952). They may also feel a sense of belonging or closeness with the group and its members (Baumeister, 1995). Conversely, individual group members who do not comply with the norms of the group may be considered different, difficult, and possibly deviant. Deviant group members may face disapproval, hostility, punishment, or rejection by other group members (Kruglanski & Webster, 1991). This idea of conforming to group social norms to gain rewards and avoid punishment from the group members is known as normative social influence.

Typically, normative social influences produce the kind of conformity known as public compliance. A person is likely to comply with the beliefs and behaviors of the group’s social norms only when one’s beliefs and behaviors can easily become known to the group. For example, a Black student who wants to fit in with his/her peers who do not value academics may skip classes with these peers or avoid studying in a place that is observable by these peers. However, public compliance to social norms does not mean that one has privately accepted or internalized these group beliefs and behaviors. Publicly one does what is required to be accepted by the group members even though these individuals may not personally value these behaviors. As a result, the individual’s public behavior does not necessarily predict and is not the same as the individual’s private attitudes. Thus, when individuals are exposed to normative social pressure, they may experience a discrepancy between their private attitudes and their public behavior.

As noted earlier, peer pressure may be a more important predictor of school success for Black students than White students and this pressure may be against performing well (Steinberg, et al., 1992). Black students who want to be accepted by their Black friends may believe that displaying behavior that indicates one is doing well in school could jeopardize their chances of making or keeping their friends (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). To avoid such consequences, these students might “dumb down” or hide their school performance in order to gain the approval of their peers despite their private
convictions for academic success. Thus, the performance of public behavior that is consistent with an anti-academic achievement norm may derive from the motivation to identify with one’s valued social group and thus reap the rewards of being a good group member or avoid the punishment of not measuring up to the group’s standards. This does not mean, however, that any given individual student does not privately hold strong positive attitudes toward academic achievement. Interestingly, though, their public compliance reinforces the very norm with which their private attitudes disagree. Whereas this type of pressure might be experienced by both White and Black students, the pressure may be stronger for Black students because of the greater levels of collectivism in these groups.

Pluralistic Ignorance

According to Prentice and Miller (1996), people rely on the public behavior of others to identify social norms. Public behaviors are typically assumed to reflect one’s true attitudes. When public behaviors do not reflect one’s attitudes yet are still used to determine social norms, there is a miscommunication of the actual social norms. For example, Black students may perceive what the academic social norms are from their peers’ public behavior, such as skipping classes or belittling those who do study. Thus, based on the public behavior of their peers, Black students may infer that their peers do not value academics. Yet, this is clearly not the case; privately, black students report that they strongly value academic success (Major, Spencer, Schmader, Wolfe, & Crocker, 1998). Not only do a majority of Black students actually renounce the negative social norms towards academics, but also these same students may perceive that the majority of their peers accept these negative attitudes toward academic achievement (based on their public behavior). This collective misperception of individual group member’s perception of the social norms is known as pluralistic ignorance⁴. In comparison to African

⁴ Norm miscommunication and pluralistic ignorance are used synonymously throughout this paper.
American students, European American students typically may be less susceptible to this norm misperception in the area of academic achievement. This is because the public behavior of the average European American students, such going to the library or studying, may be more likely to reflect a positive attitude toward academic achievement. Thus, the public behavior and the private beliefs are more likely to be in agreement.

In short, pluralistic ignorance may be contributing to some of the racial differences in academic performance. Consider that there are substantial racial differences in the academic performance for Black and White students, and yet both Black and White students agree on the importance of academic achievement (with Black students, in some circumstances, having more positive attitudes than White students). This apparent group level attitude-behavior discrepancy for Black students may reflect pluralistic ignorance. Each individual Black student may think that other Black students devalue academic achievement when in reality, the average Black student privately values academic achievement. This same misperception may also be true of White students, but Black students’ greater emphasis on collectivism may exert more pressure on Black students to act in accord with the perceived norms of their group.

The purpose of Study 1 was to collect information on actual norms and perceived norms regarding the achievement among Black and White students. It was expected that Black students may show a greater divergence between their private attitudes and the perception of their friend’s norms toward academic achievement than White students. Study 2 provided a conceptual replication of Study 1, and examined the predictors of academic achievement for Black and White students. It was expected that the perception of friends’ norms toward academic achievement would better predict Black students’ academic behavior whereas one’s own attitude toward academic achievement would better predict White students’ academic performance.
CHAPTER 2
STUDY 1

Study 1 assessed the norms of academic achievement among Black and White students using the procedure of Prentice and Miller (1993). In their study, participants (who were Princeton students) indicated a) how comfortable they felt with the alcohol drinking habits of students at Princeton and b) how comfortable the average student felt with the alcohol drinking habits of students at Princeton. Participants indicated that on average they as individuals were less comfortable with the drinking habits on campus than the average student. Interestingly, in this study the attitudes of “the average student” could be inferred from the ratings of the individual participants. Specifically, for any given participant, the ratings of the other participants comprised (at least in part) the rating of “the average student.” What this means is that as individuals participants indicated that they experienced more discomfort with drinking alcohol than the average student even though the average student was (in part) the very participants who were indicating discomfort with drinking.

According to Prentice and Miller (1993), this kind of norm miscommunication occurs when individuals use another person’s public behavior to infer that person’s private attitudes under conditions in which the behavior is not being guided by the attitudes (i.e., under conditions of normative pressure). An individual may drink at a party, for example, to go along with the group, but may not particularly enjoy drinking. The outside observer, having only the public behavior to go on, may infer that the individual enjoys drinking. When this inference is made for each individual in turn, the end result is that each individual thinks that he or she feels less comfortable with drinking than the average student even though each of the students in essence comprises the
average. In other words, when pluralistic ignorance occurs, individuals may see their own attitude as discrepant from the attitude of others even when this may not be the case.

Replicating the procedure of Prentice and Miller (1993), Study 1 assessed Black and White students in terms of their actual achievement attitudes and the achievement attitudes they perceived in their friends. It was possible that on average participants may have thought they valued academic achievement more than their friends (Suls & Wan, 1987). However, this difference between own and perceived attitude should be greater among Black students. Specifically, it was predicted that the actual norm of achievement (as indicated in participants’ self-ratings) would be significantly higher than the perceived norm of achievement (as indicated in ratings of others) among Black students but not among White students.

Participants

Participants were students, enrolled at The University of Georgia, who were members of various campus organizations and who elected to participate in this study. The sample consisted of one hundred nineteen\(^2\) college students with seventy-five White (66 females and 9 males) and forty-four Black students (32 females and 12 males). The sample was 82% female. The sample was further broken down by school status or year in school. The White students were composed of 20 freshman, 26 sophomores, 21 juniors, and 8 seniors. The school status of the Black students consisted of 11 freshman, 14 sophomores, 11 juniors, and 7 seniors (one student did not complete the status information).

With the exception of two service fraternities, all of the White student groups were sororities. The Black student groups were more diverse and consisted of a choral ensemble, bible study, mentoring group, and a mentoree group. The only groups that had

\(^2\)Data from two students, both of whom belonged to the social fraternity, were not included for analyses in this study because of their ethnicity. One student was Indian and the other was Chinese.
membership requirements were the sororities and the mentoring group; the requirement was a minimum 2.5 grade point average. No other groups had GPA requirements.

College students were used in this study for several reasons. Primarily, the attitude-behavior discrepancy in academics has been documented at all levels of schooling, including college and beyond (Steele, 1992). Theoretically, samples drawn from any level of schooling would be of interest to examine. Additionally, the finding that friends are more important to Black students’ academic performance than parents (Steinberg, et al., 1992), may mean that the norms for achievement (or anti-achievement) are stronger in college especially because parents are not as an immediate and available influence in the lives of college students as are friends. Finally, as discussed previously, there are advantages to completing college even beyond the completion of high school, especially for Black students (Myerson, et al., 1999; Nettles, 1997).

Procedure

All participants were approached either individually or at their campus meetings by a female group member who administered the survey, with the exception of two groups\(^3\). When students filled out surveys at their meeting, groups ranged from 7 to 18 members with a mean of 12 members per group. Participants were told that the researcher was interested in group norms (specifically social and academic norms) of different campus organizations. Participants were not told that different ethnic groups would be compared. All participants signed an informed consent prior to completing the survey. Surveys were completed either during or after the meetings and all meetings were held in the evenings.

The survey (see Appendix A) contained 34 items that were in different formats (i.e., yes/no, Likert scales, fill-in the blank, etc.). The relevant items were the questions that contrasted the perceptions of own and other academic attitudes: How important is

\(^3\) A white female researcher gave the survey to the two social fraternities at their respective campus meetings.
doing well in school to you? vs. (How important is doing well in school to your friends at UGA? How important is doing well in school to people in this organization? How important is your doing well in school to your parents?). These items were presented on a 7-point scale from “extremely unimportant” to “extremely important”. Additionally, perceptions of own and other academic behaviors, such as current GPA, were included in the survey.

Results

Campus group attitudinal norms. Before examining racial differences within group norms (i.e., collapsing across campus groups to examine race), the White and Black campus groups’ norms were examined separately. In other words, because White and Black groups were not matched a priori, there was the possibility that individual White groups, for example, differed in their group norms. If each of the ethnic groups differed from the outset, then it would not be appropriate to collapse across the White groups to obtain an average effect to compare with the Black groups. To ensure homogeneity of norms within racial groups, a series of one-way (campus group) ANOVAs were conducted on the following perceived norms: How important is doing well in school to you? How important is doing well in school to your friends at UGA? How important is doing well in school to people in this organization? How important is your doing well in school to your parents? Then, Tukey’s HSD post hoc analyses were conducted. For the Black student groups, there were no differences in any of the perceived group norms as a function of which group was surveyed, all Fs < 1. There were differences in the White student groups, however, for the group norm of “how important is doing well in school to people in this organization?”, F(4, 75) = 7.28, p <

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4 There was no specific prediction made for this dependent variable because it was not known a priori whether organizations were close-knit and cohesive.

5 This dependent variable was included as a control. That is, no differences were expected between racial groups with respect to parents’ attitudes toward school achievement.
.05. Specifically, Tukey’s HSD post hoc tests revealed that out of the five White campus groups, one of the fraternal groups differed from the other fraternal group as well as two of the sororities, (p < .05). Consequently, this particular White campus group was dropped from the next set of analyses involving race (i.e., race was collapsed across four Black and four White campus groups to examine racial differences within attitude norms).

Racial differences within attitude norms. A 2 (race) x 2 (reference group) mixed ANOVA was conducted on the following perceived norms: How important is doing well in school to you? How important is doing well in school to your friends at UGA? How important is doing well in school to people in this organization? How important is your doing well in school to your parents? The main prediction was an interaction such that Black students would rate their friends’ attitude toward doing well in school lower than their own attitude towards school whereas White students’ self and friends’ ratings would be rated high. The predicted interaction was not significant, F < 1. However, there was a main effect for the repeated measure of perceived norms $F(3, 267) = 7.91, p < .05$. Contrast analyses revealed that “how important is doing well in school to you?” (M = 2.62 SD = .80) significantly differed from “how important is doing well in school to your friends at UGA that you spend the most time with?” (M = 2.20 SD = .91) and from “how important is doing well in school to people in this organization?” (M = 2.32 SD = .71).

Racial differences in grade point averages. An independent samples t-test was conducted to examine any racial difference in GPA. This test indicated that there was no significant difference in GPA between Black and White students, $t(116) = 1.30, p = .20^6$.

Discussion

The goal of Study 1 was to assess the actual attitudinal norms of academic achievement among Black and White students, as well as the beliefs among these

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$^6$ The result was statistically similar to the entire sample when the fraternal group is dropped from the analysis.
students regarding their group norms. The primary research question in this study concerned whether the academic norms were miscommunicated to a greater degree for Black than for White students. The results revealed that there were no race differences in the communication of academic norms as well as no racial difference in GPA. Why the null results?

There are two general possibilities. Perhaps there are no racial differences in norm miscommunication or perhaps methodological weaknesses made it difficult to detect any weaknesses that might be present. Obviously, it is not possible to support the first interpretation with just one study. A single null finding does not provide strong support for the hypothesis that there is in fact no difference between groups. It makes sense, therefore, to examine some methodological weaknesses in this study so that future studies might provide stronger tests of the norm miscommunication hypothesis.

In survey research such as this, there are always problems associated with self-report. One problem in particular may have concerned a positivity bias. Because participants were told that the research concerned “group norms, such as academic and social behaviors,” this may have alerted participants to their being compared to other groups. In turn, participants may have responded in a manner biased positively toward themselves and their group. A general positive bias across participants would have made it difficult to detect an effect if it were there.

In addition to the problems of self-report, the administration of the survey was not well controlled and probably contributed to the error variance. For example, all of the sororities contacted actually requested that surveys be passed out by a member of their own group because meetings were typically in-house and private. Another confound with the administration involved filling out a survey in a group setting versus by oneself. Completing a survey in a group may have made group norms more salient than completing a survey by oneself. Finally, surveys were administered either during or after
group meetings. Thus, it is unclear whether surveys were given appropriate attention when participants are either concentrating on the minutes of the meeting or in a rush to get home.

Another potential problem with this study was the groups themselves. It would be difficult to argue that sorority members are typical of White college students or that persons in a bible study group or even a mentoring group are typical of Black college students. In other words, to compare the norms of White and Black college students appropriately, one must assume that the college students selected represented typical members of these groups. It is doubtful that this was the case. The selection of the groups may also account for the lack of a difference in GPA between the races. Black mentors and their “mentorees” may have higher GPAs than Black students in general.

Although the results of Study 1 do not support the idea that there are racial differences in the academic norms of Black and White students, it is important to explore whether academic achievement behavior can be predicted from different norms (i.e., personal attitudes, friends’ attitudes, and friends’ behaviors). In addition, even if Black and White students do not differ in norm miscommunication, it might be possible that different norms predict academic achievement for Black and White students.
CHAPTER 3
STUDY 2

There are three major assumptions regarding racial differences in the miscommunication of academic norms. The first is that both Black students will rate their own attitudes toward academic achievement higher than White students. Second, the perception of friends’ attitude toward academic achievement will be greater for White than for Black students. These first two assumptions reflect norm miscommunication (i.e., a discrepancy between one’s own and one’s friends’ attitudes toward academic achievement). Third, race differences are expected in perceived pressure to conform. Specifically, Black students are assumed to place more importance on the closeness of their friendships. This difference, in turn, may facilitate the norm miscommunication. These basic assumptions will be tested using planned comparisons. Parents were included in the design as a control condition. Because previous literature has shown that both Black and White parents tend to value their children’s education (Steinberg, 1992), no race differences in the perceived norms of parents were expected as contrasted with the race difference for perceived norms of friends.

If it is the case that Black students experience greater miscommunication of academic norms than White students, then Black students’ achievement behavior should be better predicted by their friends’ academic attitudes and behaviors than are White students’ achievement behavior. This prediction is expected for two reasons. First, Black students tend to be higher in collectivism (Gaines, et al., 1997), and this may exert greater pressure on them to maintain harmony with their friends. Second, in comparison with White adolescents, Black adolescents were more influenced by their peers, and less by their parents when it came to academic achievement (Steinberg et al., 1992).
Therefore, because Black students' academic behavior may be driven more by their peers' acceptance, it is likely that Black students’ public academic behavior would be better predicted by their friends’ academic attitudes and behaviors than White students' academic behavior. This prediction reflects norm miscommunication in that the public academic behavior of Black students, although not necessarily their private beliefs, is strongly related to the perception they have of their friend’s attitudes and behaviors. By comparison, their private attitudes may not predict as well as the perception of their friends’ attitudes and behaviors. The academic behavior of White students, however, may be better predicted from their private attitudes (i.e., personal norms) towards academic importance than is Black students' academic behavior. Among White students there may be less pressure to conform to a perceived social norm that is counter to their private attitude. These predictions are consistent with the notion that students who experience pluralistic ignorance will show a divergence between their private attitudes toward academic achievement and their public behavior towards academic achievement.

Finally, in addition to race, the contribution of individualism and collectivism were explored as possible moderators of academic achievement behavior. The moderator hypothesis predicts that the level of academic achievement by Black students depends on the level of their collectivism and the level of academic achievement by White students depends on the level of their individualism. Supplemental analyses explored the contribution of individualism and collectivism to academic achievement.

Participants

One hundred forty-eight University of Georgia students enrolled in introductory psychology courses received class credit for their participation in this study. The sample consisted of one hundred and four White students (70 females and 34 males) and forty-four Black students (39 females and 11 males). The sample was 70% female. Students  

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7 Six Asian/Pacific Islander students were not included in the analysis due to the small sample size.
were further broken down by school status. The White students were composed of 33 freshmen, 41 sophomores, 26 juniors, and 4 seniors. Of the Black students, 17 were freshmen, 15 were sophomores, 6 were juniors, and 6 were seniors.

**Procedure**

Over the course of the study, two sign-up sheets were posted which allowed participants to enroll in the study. In the restriction area of one sign-up sheet, “For African Americans only” was printed whereas race was not specified on the other sign-up sheet. The ultimate goal of this procedure was to run groups that consisted of either all White or all Black students so that group norms if they existed would become salient as students filled out the survey. Furthermore, because White students represented over 90% of the student body, the majority of participants in the sample would also be White and a restriction of “Whites only” seemed unnecessary. However, because Black students made up less than 5% of the student body, it was extremely important to solicit Black students to sign up. Once the study began, it was explained to Black student groups that a separate sign-up sheet was important to improve the numerical representation of Black students in the study. The issue of separate sign-up sheets was not addressed for White students. Groups of White and Black students (up to seven per group) were run separately by either a White or Black researcher.

All participants signed an informed consent form prior to beginning the study. Participants completed two surveys; the first pertained to academic and social norms (see Appendix B). Relevant questions pertaining to academic behavior included: 1) If you work, how many hours on average do you work per week? 2) What is your current GPA on a 5-point scale? (Actual GPAs were used for statistical analysis). 3) Of the friends at UGA that you spend the most time with, what would you say is their average GPA? Additionally, participants rated three reference groups (self, friends, and parents), using 7-point Likert scales, on the following dependent variables: How important is doing well
in school (to you/members of this group)? How much pressure do you experience (from yourself/members of this group) to do well in school? Finally, participants rated two reference groups (friends/parents) on the following dependent variables: How important is it to you to maintain closeness and harmony with your (friends/parents)? How important is it to your (friends/parents) to maintain closeness and harmony with you? How much pressure do you experience to maintain closeness and harmony from (friends/parents)? How much pressure do you put on yourself to maintain closeness and harmony with (friends/parents)? The second survey contained measures of cultural orientation including measures of individualism and collectivism (Gaines et al., 1997); (see Appendixes C and D).

Results

Testing the assumptions of norm miscommunication for racial differences. The first assumption is Black students will rate their attitudes toward academic achievement higher than White students. This was tested with an independent t-test, \( t(120) = 2.82, p = .02 \) which indicated a significant effect of race. In other words, Black students rated their attitudes toward doing well in school higher (\( M = 2.73, SD = .45 \)) than White students (\( M = 2.51, SD = .68 \)).

The second assumption tested was that White students’ perceptions of their friends’ attitude toward doing well in school would be greater than Black students’ ratings of their friends attitudes. This assumption was tested with an independent t-test, \( t(146) = 2.90, p = .00 \). There was a significant difference in the perception of friends’ attitudes toward doing well in school but not in the predicted direction. Black students rated their perception of their friends’ attitude toward school significantly higher (\( M = 2.45, SD = .82 \)) than did White students (\( M = 1.96, SD = .99 \)).

\(^8\) The pooled degrees of freedom was used for race because the Levene test indicated heterogeneity of variance.
The last assumption of norm miscommunication concerns Black students having closer knit relationships and experiencing greater pressure from their friends than do White students. This assumption was tested using various dependent measures. A 2 x 3 mixed ANOVA was used to test this assumption with the first DV: “How much pressure do you experience (from yourself/friends/parents) to do well in school?” The main prediction was an interaction such that Black students would experience greater negative pressure from their friends as opposed to the positive pressure from self and parents, whereas White students would experience positive pressure from all reference groups. The predicted interaction was not significant however there was a main effect for the repeated measure of reference group, \( F(2, 294) = 26.13, p = .000 \). Contrast analyses revealed that “How much pressure do you experience from yourself to do well in school?” was significantly different (\( M = 2.02, SD = .99 \), \( F(1, 146) = 6.21, p = .01 \) from “Of the friends that you spend the most time with at UGA, how much pressure do you experience to do well in school?” (\( M = .70, SD = 1.58 \), \( F(1, 146) = 18.30, p = .00 \) and from “How much pressure do you experience from your parents to do well in school?” (\( M = 1.54, SD = 1.12 \), \( F(1, 146) = 52.97, p = .00 \). There was also a main effect of race, \( F(1, 146) = 4.52, p = .04 \) such that Black students rated their perceptions of reference group norms (\( M = 1.71, SD = .67 \)) higher than did White students (\( M = 1.42, SD = .80 \)).

Participants also rated two reference groups (self and parent or self and friend) on several dependent variables that assessed the importance of being close with friends and parents. For each DV, a 2 (race) x 2 (reference group) mixed ANOVA was conducted. The main prediction was a main effect of race such that Black students would rate the importance of close knit friendships and family higher than White students. Contrary to the prediction, for the DV “How important is it to you/parents to maintain closeness and harmony with your parents/you?” there was no main effect of race. There were also no effects of reference group or the interaction, all \( F \)’s < 1. For the DV “How important is it
to you/friends to maintain closeness and harmony with friends/you?” the result was not in the predicted direction. That is, there was a main effect of race, $F (1, 146) = 17.14, p = .000$ such that White students rated maintaining closeness and harmony with their friends as more important ($M = 2.48, SD = .62$) than Black students ($M = 2.18, SD = .48$). There was also a main effect for reference group $F (1, 146) = 28.69, p = .000$ such that students rated themselves significantly higher ($M = 2.14, SD = .85$) than they rated their friends ($M = 1.67, SD = 1.16$) in their perception of the importance to maintain closeness and harmony with friends. These main effects were not qualified by an interaction, $F > 1$.

Finally, participants rated two reference groups (self and parent or self and friend) on several dependent variables that assessed the pressure of being close with friends and parents. For each DV, a 2 (race) x 2 (reference group) mixed ANOVA was conducted. The prediction was a main effect such that Black students would rate the pressure of being close with friends and parents higher than White students. Contrary to the prediction, there was no main effect for the DV “How much pressure do you experience to maintain closeness and harmony from (self/friends)?” However, there was a main effect of reference group and a significant interaction, $F (1, 146) = 3.80, p = .05$ and $F (1, 146) = 4.81, p = .03$, respectively. For the main effect of reference group, students rated themselves as putting more pressure on themselves to maintain closeness and harmony with their friends ($M = 1.23, SD = 1.33$) than their friends put on them ($M = .97, SD = 1.47$). The interaction indicated that White students reported putting more pressure on themselves to maintain closeness and harmony with their friends ($M = 1.37, SD = 1.26$) than their friends put on them ($M = .98, SD = 1.43$), whereas Black reported about the same relatively low level of pressure from themselves ($M = .98, SD = 1.43$) as from their friends ($M = .93, SD = 1.56$). As expected for the DV, “How much pressure do you put on yourself to maintain closeness and harmony with (self/parents)?” there was a main effect of race, $F (1, 146) = 3.86, p = .05$. That is, Black students perceived that they put
more pressure on themselves and experienced more pressure from their parents to maintain closeness ($M = 1.80, SD = 1.25$) than did White students ($M = 1.36, SD = 1.35$).

Additionally, there was a main effect for reference group, $F (1, 146) = 17.21, p = .000$ which indicated that students rated themselves as perceiving more pressure in maintaining closeness and harmony in their relationship with their parents ($M = 1.68, SD = 1.34$) than they perceived in their parents ($M = 1.29, SD = 1.39$). The interaction was not significant.

Predicting academic behavior from attitudes (reference group) and friends’ behavior. The main predictions were 1) Black students’ achievement behavior, in comparison to White students, is better predicted from friends’ achievement behaviors, 2) Black students’ achievement behavior, in comparison to White students, is better predicted from friends’ achievement attitudes, and 3) White students’ achievement behavior is better predicted from personal attitudes than are Black students’ achievement behavior (see Table 1).

Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to examine how the participant’s own attitude toward academic achievement, friend’s attitude toward academic achievement, friend’s self-reported GPA, parents’ attitude toward academic achievement, and race predicted academic achievement (i.e., current grade point average). In step 1, the following covariates\(^9\) were entered simultaneously: gender (coded male = 0 and female = 1), parents’ combined yearly income, and hours worked per week by participant. There were no main effects for any of the covariates, all $F$’s $< 1$. In step 2, own attitude, friend's attitudes, friend's behavior, parent’s attitude, and race (coded Black = 1 and White = 0) were entered simultaneously. Main effects of own attitude ($B = .48$),

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\(^9\) These particular covariates were chosen among others for two reasons. First, each covariate either was significantly correlated ($p < .05$) with another predictor in the model or with the dependent variable. Second, each covariate had a common regression coefficient.
Table 1
Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Academic Behavior

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>β</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>own attitude</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>friend’s attitudes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>friend’s behavior</td>
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<td></td>
<td>parents’ attitude</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>race</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>race x own attitude</td>
<td>(β_{\text{race x own attitude}} &gt; 0)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td>own attitude</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>friend’s attitude</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>friend’s behavior</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parents’ attitude</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>race</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>race x own attitude</td>
<td>(β_{\text{race x own attitude}} &gt; 0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>race x friend’s attitudes</td>
<td>(β_{\text{race x friend’s attitude}} &gt; 0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>race x friend’s behavior</td>
<td>(β_{\text{race x friend’s behavior}} &gt; 0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
friend’s attitude ($B = -.18$), friends’ GPA ($B = .51$), and race ($B = -.39$) emerged for GPA, see Table 2. For own attitude and friends’ GPA, the more positive one’s own attitude toward doing well in school and the higher the friends’ GPA, the higher was one’s GPA. An inverse relationship was found for friends’ attitude such that the lower one’s friends’ attitude toward doing well in school, the higher one’s own GPA. In the case of race, Black students had lower GPAs than White students.

Finally, the following product terms were added to the model in Step 3: race x own attitude, race x friends’ attitude, race x friend’s behavior, and race x parents’ attitude. Two significant interactions emerged; race x own attitude ($B = .90$) and race x parents’ attitude ($B = -.60$). A third interaction that approached significance was race x friend’s GPA ($B = -.43$). To further probe the interactions, separate models for Black and White participants were composed to predict academic achievement behavior from own attitudes, friend’s GPAs, and parents’ attitude toward academic achievement. In Step 1 for each model, gender, parents’ combined yearly income, and hours worked per week by participant were entered simultaneously as covariates. There were no main effects for any of the covariates, all $F$’s $<$ 1. In Step 2 for each model, own attitude, friend’s GPA, and parents’ attitudes toward academic achievement were entered simultaneously as main effects. As predicted for White participants, there was a main effect of own attitude indicating the higher one’s attitude toward achievement, the higher one’s actual achievement ($B = .43$). Unexpectedly, there was a similar main effect of own attitude for Black students ($B = .93$), see Table 2. As predicted for White students, there was also a main effect of friend’s GPA ($B = .51$) indicating that the higher one’s friend’s GPA, the higher was the student’s own GPA. Although there were no predictions made concerning parents’ attitudes toward achievement, there was an effect that approached significance for Black students ($B = -.57$). This relationship shows that the more positive parents’
Table 2
Hierarchical Regression Results for Variables Predicting Academic Behavior (N = 148)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE B</th>
<th>β</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 1</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Step 2</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
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<td>.11</td>
<td>.05</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hours Worked</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents’ Income</td>
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<td>-.10</td>
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<td>Race</td>
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<td>.11</td>
<td>-.26***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>-.08</td>
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<td><strong>Step 3</strong></td>
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<td>Race</td>
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<td>-.22**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Attitude</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.39****</td>
</tr>
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<td>Friends’ Attitude</td>
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<td>-.25**</td>
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<td>Friends’ Behavior</td>
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<td>.17</td>
<td>.39****</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race x Own Attitude</td>
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<td>.28</td>
<td>.33***</td>
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<td>Race x Friends’ Attitude</td>
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<td>-.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race x Friends’ Behavior</td>
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<tr>
<td>Race x Parents’ Attitude</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>-.23**</td>
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</table>

Note. For Step 1: $R^2 = .04$, Adj. $R^2 = .02$. For Step 2: $R^2 = .38$, Adj. $R^2 = .35$, $\Delta R^2 = .34$, $\Delta F = .00$. For Step 3: $R^2 = .44$, Adj. $R^2 = .39$, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $\Delta F = .02$

****$p < .0005$. ***$p < .005$. **$p < .05$. *$p < .10$. 

attitudes toward the school achievement of their children, the worse these students actually perform in school.

*The Role of Individualism and Collectivism in Academic Achievement.* Tests of moderation were conducted to determine if individualism or collectivism interacted with race to differentially affect GPA. Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted as before with two exceptions: in step 2, individualism and collectivism were included as predictors and in step 3, two additional cross-product terms were added, race x collectivism and race x individualism. Step 1 contained the covariates which were entered simultaneously; there were no main effects for any of the covariates, all F’s < 1, see Table 3. In step 2, own attitude, friend's attitudes, friend's behavior, parent’s attitude, race, individualism, and collectivism were entered simultaneously. Main effects of own attitude (B = .49), friend’s attitude (B = -.18), friends’ GPA (B = .50), and race (B = -.36) emerged for GPA. These results were almost identical to the previous hierarchical regression and therefore will not be discussed further. Step 3 added the cross-product terms in which race x own attitude (B = .81) was significant, race x friend’s attitude approached significance (B = -.22), and parents’ attitude was marginally significant (B = -.53). The cross-product terms including collectivism and individualism were not significant.

**Discussion**

The major purpose of study 2 was to assess whether miscommunication of norms with regard to the importance of academic achievement might differentially influence the academic performance of Black and White students. If Black students do conform to the perception of their group’s social norms to devalue academic success while maintaining
Table 3
Hierarchical Regression Results for Variables (with Individualism and Collectivism)
Predicting Academic Behavior (N = 148)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
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<th>β</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism (Col.)</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.17**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race x Ind.</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race x Col.</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race x Own Attitude</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.30**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race x Friends’ Attitude</td>
<td>-.22</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>-.15*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race x Friends’ Behavior</td>
<td>-.32</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>-.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race x Parents’ Attitude</td>
<td>-.53</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>-.20*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. For Step 1: $R^2 = .04$, Adj. $R^2 = .02$. For Step 2: $R^2 = .39$, Adj. $R^2 = .34$, $\Delta R^2 = .34$, $\Delta F = .000$. For Step 3: $R^2 = .46$, Adj. $R^2 = .39$, $\Delta R^2 = .07$, $\Delta F = .01$

****p < .0005. ***p < .005. **p < .05. *p < .10.
an opposing private attitude, then the discrepancy between their attitude and behavior will be higher for Black students than for White students. This was tested in three parts.

First, it was found that Black students’ rated their own attitudes toward doing well in school higher than did White students. This is consistent with what Major and Schmader (1998) and Major, et al. (1988) found in their research. So, the first assumption of norm miscommunication was met. However, the second assumption was contradicted by the data. That is, Black students’ perception of their friends’ attitude toward doing well in school was significantly greater than the perceptions that White students had of their friends. If it is the case that one infers attitudes from behaviors and acts on these perceived attitudes, then Black students would have made a positive inference from their friends’ positive academic behavior. Yet, based on the regression analyses, friends’ academic behavior or GPA is not predictive of Black students’ academic behavior (i.e., GPA). The final assumption of norm miscommunication was that Black students perceive more pressure to conform and this pressure comes mainly from their friends. Overall, Black students did perceive more pressure to do well in school than did White students. However, it appears that this pressure emanated primarily from both the self and parents rather than from their friends.

Further exploration of the idea of perceived pressure to conform examined the perceived importance and perceived pressure of maintaining closeness and harmony in one’s relationship with friends and parents. As predicted there were no significant racial differences in the importance of closeness with parents. This finding indirectly supports the research of Steinberg, et al. (1992) that there are no racial differences between Blacks and Whites in positive parental support in academics. Although it may be more important to White students to be close to their parents, Black students feel more pressure than White students to maintain closeness with their parents. When it comes to friends, there is a very different picture for Black and White students. White students find it more
important than Black students to be close with their friends and even more, White students put more pressure on themselves to maintain this closeness with their friends. Generally, these results do not support racial differences in norm miscommunication as originally hypothesized. Moreover, these results are contrary to what Steinberg, et al. (1992) and Arroyo and Zigler (1995) reported when it comes to social influence on academics. Specifically, Steinberg, et al. (1992) found that for Black students, peers are the most important predictor of academic behavior whereas parents are the best predictor of academic achievement for White students. However, the Steinberg, et al. (1992) study did use high school students unlike the present study that used college students. Therefore, it may be the case that social influences change once students enter college and the nature of this change may depend on one’s race.

To directly test the prediction of academic achievement, a series of hierarchical regression equations were conducted. According to norm miscommunication, Black students’ academic behavior should be better predicted by their friends’ academic attitudes and behaviors than are White students’ academic behavior. Conversely, White students’ academic behavior should be better predicted from their own attitudes toward academic achievement. It was found that own attitude toward academic achievement was an important predictor of academic behavior for both Black and White students. That is, the higher one’s attitude toward doing well in school, the higher one’s GPA. Interestingly, for Black students the beta weight of own attitude was twice that of White students suggesting that it may be an even more important predictor of achievement for Black than White students. Although this finding is not entirely consistent with the norm of miscommunication hypothesis, it does lend credence to the findings that Black students rate their own attitudes toward school higher than White students (e.g., Major & Schmader, 1992).
There were several unexpected results in the hierarchical regression analyses. For one, friends’ GPA was a significant predictor of academic behavior for White students. That is, the higher one’s friends’ GPA, the higher one’s own GPA. While this was an unexpected result, it may fit with the finding of Steinberg et al. (1992) that it is easier for White students to find and seek out friends who positively support academic achievement than it is for other ethnic groups. Finally, for Black students, parents’ attitudes appeared to be a somewhat important predictor of academic achievement (i.e., this effect only approached significance). Interestingly, this finding revealed that the greater one’s parents’ attitude toward doing well in school, the lower the student’s own GPA. One interpretation of this relationship is that if Black students feel pressure to be close to their parents and feel pressure from them to do well in school yet also feel that it is not important to be close to their parents, this type of psychological conflict could negatively affect their grades.

Although collectivism and individualism did not moderate the relationship between race and academic achievement this does not mean that they are unimportant concepts within the realm of either race or academics (Gaines, et al., 1995; Oyserman & Harrison, 1998). Supporting the research of Gaines, et al., Black students (M = 1.94, SD = .69) were significantly more collectivistic than White students (M = 1.44, SD = .74), F (1, 146) = 2.64, p = .01. However, unlike what Gaines, et al., found (1995), the Black students (M = 1.34, SD = .87) in this sample were also significantly more individualistic than White students (M = .94, SD = .83), F (1, 146) = 3.80, p = .000. Perhaps this result is due to a somewhat small sample of Black students.
CHAPTER 4
GENERAL DISCUSSION

Based on the results from Studies 1 and 2, there is not sufficient evidence that there is a racial difference in the miscommunication of academic norms. Both studies failed to meet key assumptions that would support the theory. However, one interpretation of the data from Study 1 may be that both Black and White students suffer from pluralistic ignorance. That is, on average, students rated their own attitudes toward doing well in school higher than they rated their friends' attitudes and higher than they rated the members of various organizations to which they belonged.

Nonetheless, Study 2 provided several noteworthy findings worth future inquiry. For example, the finding that friends’ academic behavior predicts White college students’ own academic behavior and that for Black students, their parents’ attitudes toward academics may negatively affect their children’s academic behavior. Additionally, Black students, to a greater degree than White students, perceive themselves to be under a lot of pressure to do well in school (especially from themselves and their parents) and at the same time to be close to their parents. On the other hand, White students feel that it is important to be close to their friends and perceive pressure to do so. It is unclear how these relationships involving perceived pressure play themselves out in terms of academics. For example, do White students who feel pressure to be close to their friends become competitive with them academically or do they become similar to their friends in academic as well as social aspects of life? Are Black college students actually hindered or helped by the pressure they feel from themselves and their parents? Further research should address these questions as well as limitations of the present studies.
An especially important limitation to these studies may involve the selection of the sample. It was argued that Black students lag behind White students at every level of schooling and therefore a Black college sample is just as likely to suffer from norm miscommunication as is a Black high school sample. On the other hand, an argument could be made that Black students who make it into college do so because they do not value their friends’ negative attitudes and behaviors toward academics. Therefore, high school samples may render very different results than college samples. Of course, this is an empirical question that needs further study.

Another limitation of the present studies is whether self-report measures accurately assessed people’s thoughts and feelings especially when they are negative toward one’s own group. Future research should examine less obtrusive measures of perceived academic norms. According to the norm miscommunication theory, White students should show no differences on measures of self-report and less obtrusive measures of their friends’ attitudes toward academics. On the other hand, there should be a discrepancy between the two measures for Black students. That is, the non-conscious measure should be more negative for perceptions of friends’ attitudes toward academics than the self-report measure if Black students are monitoring information that may make their friends appear negative on an important issue.

A different avenue of research that was not explored in the present studies is worth mentioning. First, do feelings of alienation relate to academic achievement and do such feelings differ depending on race? According to Arroyo and Zigler (1995), Black students are generally more depressed and experience more symptomology than White students. It would be worth exploring whether feelings of alienation moderate the relationship between race and academic achievement.

Finally, it is important to keep in mind that the present studies are correlational. It is unclear whether perceived attitudes are the cause or effect of academic achievement.
behavior. High achievement by students may provoke high expectations within their parents. Conversely, high expectations from parents may lead to high achievement behavior from their children. Due to the non-experimental nature of these studies, no conclusions can be drawn about the causal direction of the relationships found. Therefore, experimental studies should address the question of whether perceived norms do influence academic achievement. The academic norms that govern different ethnic groups (based on pre-testing) could be manipulated to demonstrate the effect on academic achievement.
APPENDIX A
SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE, STUDY 1

Instructions: For each question, either check one answer or fill in the blank.

1) Are you from Georgia? ( __ ) Yes ( __ ) No

2) I am ( __ ) Female ( __ ) Male

3) I am a ( __ ) freshman, ( __ ) sophomore, ( __ ) junior, ( __ ) senior.

4) I am currently employed. ( __ ) Yes ( __ ) No

5) If yes, on average how many hours per week do your work? ______ hours per week

6) I belong to one or more clubs/organizations on campus. ( __ ) Yes ( __ ) No
   If yes, please list
   ____________________________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________________________

7) What percentage of your good friends at UGA are in this particular organization with you?
   _____ % (choose a number from 0-100)

8) Please indicate with an “x” the highest education level completed for your parent(s)/guardian(s).
   
   Father's/Guardian's highest level of education:
   _____ some high school
   _____ high school graduate/GED
   _____ technical or trade school
   _____ some college education
   _____ college graduate
   _____ graduate/professional degree

   Mother's/Guardian's highest level of education:
   _____ some high school
   _____ high school graduate/GED
   _____ technical or trade school
   _____ some college education
   _____ college graduate
   _____ graduate/professional degree

9) Please describe your parent(s)/guardian(s) current occupation and status (indicate with an "x").

   Father's/Guardian's occupation: ________________________________________________
Father's/Guardian's status:
   _____ full
   _____ part-time
   _____ unemployed
   _____ semi-retired
   _____ retire
   _____ disabled
   _____ other

Mother's/Guardian's occupation: ________________________________________________

Mother's/Guardian's status:
   _____ full
   _____ part-time
   _____ unemployed
   _____ semi-retired
   _____ retired
   _____ disabled
   _____ other

10) Please indicate with an “x” your parent(s)/guardian(s) combined yearly income.
   _____ less than $20,000   _____ $60,000 – $69,999
   _____ $20,000 – $29,999   _____ $70,000 – $79,999
   _____ $30,000 – $39,999   _____ $80,000 – $89,999
   _____ $40,000 – $49,999   _____ $90,000 – $99,999
   _____ $50,000 – $59,999   _____ greater than $100,000

11) When you study, what percentage of the time do you study on your own (____% ) or with a
group (____ %)? (choose a number from 0-100 for each blank; the two should add up to
100%)

12) On average, how often do you attend class? _____ % of the time

13) Of the friends at UGA that you spend the most time with, how often would you say that they
attend class? _____% of the time

14) Of the people who are in this organization, how often would you say that they attend class?
_____% of the time

15) How many hours are you taking this semester? _____ hours

16) On average how many hours a week do you study? _____ hours per week

17) Of your friends at UGA that you spend the most time with, how many hours would you say
that are taking this semester? _____ hours

18) Of your friends at UGA that you spend the most time with, how many hours a week would
you say that they study? _____ hours per week

19) Of the people who are in this organization, how many hours a week would you say that they
are taking this semester? _____ hours
20) Of the people who are in this organization, how many hours a week would you say that they study? _____ hours per week

21) Do you make an effort to meet people of different ethnicities/nationalities?
   ( ___ ) Yes ( __ ) No

22) What percentage of your good friends at UGA are predominantly the same race as you?
   _____ % (choose a number from 0-100)

23) What is your current GPA on a 0-4 scale? _____

24) Of the friends that you spend the most time with, what would you say is their current GPA on a 0-4 scale? _____

25) Of the people who are in this organization, what would you say is their current GPA on a 0-4 scale? _____

26) How often do you use the library? _____ times per week

27) Of the friends at UGA that you spend the most time with, how often would you say that they use the library? _____ times per week

28) Of the people who are in this organization, how often would you say that they use the library? _____ times per week

29) Do you try to arrange your classes so that you can take them with friends? ( ___ )Yes ( __ )No

30) About how much time do you spend on homework each week? ____ hours per week

31) Of the friends at UGA that you spend the most time with, about how much time do you think they spend on homework each week? _____ hours per week

32) Of the people who are in this organization, about how much time do you think they spend on homework each week? _____ hours per week

33) Are you or have you been on a scholarship while at UGA? ( ___ )Yes ( __ ) No

34) Do you plan on getting a post-secondary degree? ( ___ ) Yes ( __ ) No

35) What kind of job/career do you want?

___________________________________________________

**Instructions:** For each question, circle the one number on the scale the best represents your answer.

1) How important to you is doing well in school?
   
   -3  -2  -1  0  +1  +2  +3
   
   extremely unimportant  extremely important
2) Doing well in school will permit me to get a good job.
   -3  -2  -1  0  +1  +2  +3
   extremely unlikely extremely likely

3) Doing well in school will bring me social recognition.
   -3  -2  -1  0  +1  +2  +3
   extremely unlikely extremely likely

4) Doing well in school will make me feel good/proud of myself.
   -3  -2  -1  0  +1  +2  +3
   extremely unlikely extremely likely

5) Doing well in school will allow me to live a more comfortable life.
   -3  -2  -1  0  +1  +2  +3
   extremely unlikely extremely likely

6) It is important to me to get a good job.
   -3  -2  -1  0  +1  +2  +3
   extremely unimportant extremely important

7) It is important to me to receive social recognition.
   -3  -2  -1  0  +1  +2  +3
   extremely unimportant extremely important

8) It is important to me to feel good about my accomplishments.
   -3  -2  -1  0  +1  +2  +3
   extremely unimportant extremely important

9) It is important to me to live a comfortable life.
   -3  -2  -1  0  +1  +2  +3
   extremely unimportant extremely important

10) How important is doing well in school to your friends at UGA that you spend the most time with?
    -3  -2  -1  0  +1  +2  +3
    extremely unimportant extremely important

11) To what extent do your friends at UGA that you spend the most time with encourage or discourage you to do well in school?
    -3  -2  -1  0  +1  +2  +3
    highly discourage highly encourage
12) How motivated are you to comply with your friends at UGA that you spend the most time
with when it comes to doing well in school?
-3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3
extremely extremely
unmotivated motivated

13) How important is doing well in school to the people in this organization?
-3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3
extremely extremely
unimportant important

14) To what extent do people in this organization encourage or discourage you to do well in
school?
-3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3
highly highly
discourage encourage

15) How motivated are you to comply with people in this organization when it comes to doing
well in school?
-3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3
extremely extremely
unmotivated motivated

16) How important is your doing well in school to your parents?
-3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3
extremely extremely
unimportant important

17) To what extent do your parents encourage or discourage you to do well in school?
-3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3
highly highly
discourage encourage

18) How motivated are you to comply with your parents when it comes to doing well in school?
-3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3
extremely extremely
unmotivated motivated

19) How often do you read your class texts?
-3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3
almost almost
never always

20) Of your friends at UGA that you spend the most time, how often do you think they read their
class texts?
-3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3
almost almost
never always

21) How often do you think the people in this organization read their class texts?
-3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3
almost almost
never always
22) Do you feel that you try as hard as you can in your classes?

-3 strongly disagree
-2 disagree
-1 neutral
0 neutral
+1 agree
+2 strongly agree
+3 strongly agree

23) Do you think that your friends see you as a good student?

-3 strongly disagree
-2 disagree
-1 neutral
0 neutral
+1 agree
+2 strongly agree
+3 strongly agree

24) Do you agree that a college education is important for getting a good job?

-3 strongly disagree
-2 disagree
-1 neutral
0 neutral
+1 agree
+2 strongly agree
+3 strongly agree

25) I do only as much work as I have to in order to get by in school.

-3 strongly disagree
-2 disagree
-1 neutral
0 neutral
+1 agree
+2 strongly agree
+3 strongly agree

26) I work hard to do well in school.

-3 strongly disagree
-2 disagree
-1 neutral
0 neutral
+1 agree
+2 strongly agree
+3 strongly agree

27) When classes are hard, I just do the easy parts or give up.

-3 strongly disagree
-2 disagree
-1 neutral
0 neutral
+1 agree
+2 strongly agree
+3 strongly agree

28) I work hard to get good grades, even if I don’t like a class.

-3 strongly disagree
-2 disagree
-1 neutral
0 neutral
+1 agree
+2 strongly agree
+3 strongly agree

29) I feel like a real part of this school.

-3 strongly disagree
-2 disagree
-1 neutral
0 neutral
+1 agree
+2 strongly agree
+3 strongly agree

30) I feel that being in school is boring and irrelevant.

-3 strongly disagree
-2 disagree
-1 neutral
0 neutral
+1 agree
+2 strongly agree
+3 strongly agree

31) At UGA the instructors are really interested in the students.

-3 strongly disagree
-2 disagree
-1 neutral
0 neutral
+1 agree
+2 strongly agree
+3 strongly agree
32) I feel that being in school is satisfying, worthwhile, and important.

-3   -2   -1    0    +1    +2    +3
strongly disagree strongly agree

33) Overall, how happy are you to be in school at UGA?

-3   -2   -1    0    +1    +2    +3
extremely unhappy extremely happy

34) Is there anything missing (either positive or negative from your social/academic life at UGA? If so, what? ________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
APPENDIX B
SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE, STUDY 2

Instructions: For each question, either check one answer or fill in the blank.

1. Are you from Georgia? (__) Yes (__) No

2. I am (__) Female (__) Male

3. I am a (__) freshman, (__) sophomore, (__) junior, (__) senior.

4. I am currently employed. (__)Yes (__) No

5. If yes, on average how many hours per week do your work? ______ hours per week

6. I belong to one or more clubs/organizations on campus. (__)Yes (__)No
   If yes, please list
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________

7. Please indicate with an “x” the highest education level completed for your parent(s)/guardian(s).

   Father's/Guardian's highest level of education:
   _____ some high school
   _____ high school graduate/GED
   _____ technical or trade school
   _____ some college education
   _____ college graduate
   _____ graduate/professional degree

   Mother's/Guardian’s highest level of education:
   _____ some high school
   _____ high school graduate/GED
   _____ technical or trade school
   _____ some college education
   _____ college graduate
   _____ graduate/professional degree

8. Please describe your parent(s)/guardian(s) current occupation and status.

   Father's/Guardian's occupation: ________________________________________________


Father's/Guardian's status:
- full
- part-time
- unemployed
- semi-retired
- retired
- disabled
- other

Mother's/Guardian's occupation: ________________________________

Mother's/Guardian's status:
- full
- part-time
- unemployed
- semi-retired
- retired
- disabled
- other

9. Please indicate with an “x” your parent(s)/guardian(s) combined yearly income.
- less than $20,000
- $20,000 – $29,999
- $30,000 – $39,999
- $40,000 – $49,999
- $50,000 – $59,999
- $60,000 – $69,999
- $70,000 – $79,999
- $80,000 – $89,999
- $90,000 – $99,999
- greater than $100,000

10. When you study, what percentage of the time do you study on your own ( ___% ) or with a
group ( ___% )? (choose a number from 0-100 for each blank; the two should add up to
100%)

11. On average, how often do you attend class? _____ % of the time

12. Of the friends at UGA that you spend the most time with, how often would you say that they
attend class? _____ % of the time

13. How many hours are you taking this semester? _____ hours

14. On average how many hours a week do you study? _____ hours per week

15. Of the friends at UGA that you spend the most time with, how many hours would you say
that are taking this semester? _____ hours

16. Of the friends at UGA that you spend the most time with, how many hours a week would you
say that they study? _____ hours per week

17. Do you make an effort to meet people of different ethnicities/nationalities?
- Yes
- No

18. What percentage of your good friends at UGA are predominantly the same race as you?
_____ % (choose a number from 0-100)

19. What is your current GPA on a 0-4 scale? _____
20. Of the friends at UGA that you spend the most time with, what would you say is their current GPA on a 0-4 scale? _____

21. How often do you use the library? _____ times per week

22. Of the friends at UGA that you spend the most time with, how often would you say that they use the library? _____ times per week

23. Do you try to arrange your classes so that you can take them with friends? ( ___ ) Yes ( ___ ) No

24. About how much time do you spend on homework each week? ____ hours per week

25. Of the friends at UGA that you spend the most time with, about how much time would you say that they spend on homework each week? _____ hours per week

26. Are you or have you been on a scholarship while at UGA? ( ___ ) Yes ( ___ ) No

27. Do you plan on getting a post-secondary degree? ( ___ ) Yes ( ___ ) No

28. What kind of job/career do you want? ____________________________

Instructions: For each question, circle the one number on the scale the best represents your answer.

1. How important to you is doing well in school?
   -3    -2    -1    0    +1    +2    +3
   extremely unimportant important

2. Doing well in school will permit me to get a good job.
   -3    -2    -1    0    +1    +2    +3
   extremely unlikely likely

3. Doing well in school will bring me social recognition.
   -3    -2    -1    0    +1    +2    +3
   extremely unlikely likely

4. Doing well in school will make me feel good/proud of myself.
   -3    -2    -1    0    +1    +2    +3
   extremely unlikely likely

5. Doing well in school will allow me to live a more comfortable life.
   -3    -2    -1    0    +1    +2    +3
   extremely unlikely likely
6. It is important to me to get a good job.
   -3 extremely unimportant
   -2 extremely unimportant
   -1 extremely unimportant
   0 important
   +1 extremely important
   +2 extremely important
   +3 extremely important

7. It is important to me to receive social recognition.
   -3 extremely unimportant
   -2 extremely unimportant
   -1 extremely unimportant
   0 important
   +1 extremely important
   +2 extremely important
   +3 extremely important

8. It is important to me to feel good about my accomplishments.
   -3 extremely unimportant
   -2 extremely unimportant
   -1 extremely unimportant
   0 important
   +1 extremely important
   +2 extremely important
   +3 extremely important

9. It is important to me to live a comfortable life.
   -3 extremely unimportant
   -2 extremely unimportant
   -1 extremely unimportant
   0 important
   +1 extremely important
   +2 extremely important
   +3 extremely important

10. How important is doing well in school to your friends at UGA that you spend the most time with?
    -3 extremely unimportant
    -2 extremely unimportant
    -1 extremely unimportant
    0 important
    +1 extremely important
    +2 extremely important
    +3 extremely important

11. To what extent do your friends at UGA that you spend the most time with encourage or discourage you to do well in school?
    -3 strongly discourage
    -2 strongly discourage
    -1 strongly discourage
    0 neutral
    +1 strongly encourage
    +2 strongly encourage
    +3 strongly encourage

12. How motivated are you to comply with your friends at UGA that you spend the most time with when it comes to doing well in school?
    -3 extremely unmotivated
    -2 extremely unmotivated
    -1 extremely unmotivated
    0 neutral
    +1 extremely motivated
    +2 extremely motivated
    +3 extremely motivated

13. How important is your doing well in school to your parents?
    -3 extremely unimportant
    -2 extremely unimportant
    -1 extremely unimportant
    0 important
    +1 extremely important
    +2 extremely important
    +3 extremely important

14. To what extent do your parents encourage or discourage you to do well in school?
    -3 strongly discourage
    -2 strongly discourage
    -1 strongly discourage
    0 neutral
    +1 strongly encourage
    +2 strongly encourage
    +3 strongly encourage

15. How motivated are you to comply with your parents when it comes to doing well in school?
    -3 extremely unmotivated
    -2 extremely unmotivated
    -1 extremely unmotivated
    0 neutral
    +1 extremely motivated
    +2 extremely motivated
    +3 extremely motivated
16. How often do you read your class texts?
-3 almost never
-2 never
-1 rarely
0 occasionally
+1 fairly often
+2 often
+3 almost always

17. Of your friends at UGA that you spend the most time with, how often would you say that they read their class text?
-3 almost never
-2 rarely
-1 occasionally
0 fairly often
+1 often
+2 almost always
+3 always

18. How much pressure do you put on yourself to do well in school?
-3 no pressure
-2 moderate pressure
-1 slight pressure
0 no pressure
+1 slight pressure
+2 moderate pressure
+3 extreme pressure

19. Of the friends that you spend the most time with at UGA, how much pressure do you experience to do well in school?
-3 no pressure
-2 slight pressure
-1 moderate pressure
0 no pressure
+1 slight pressure
+2 moderate pressure
+3 extreme pressure

20. How much pressure do you experience from your parents to do well in school?
-3 no pressure
-2 slight pressure
-1 moderate pressure
0 no pressure
+1 slight pressure
+2 moderate pressure
+3 extreme pressure

21. I feel that I try as hard as I can in my classes.
-3 strongly disagree
-2 disagree
-1 neutral
0 agree
+1 strongly agree
+2 agree
+3 strongly agree

22. I think that my friends see me as a good student.
-3 strongly disagree
-2 disagree
-1 neutral
0 agree
+1 strongly agree
+2 agree
+3 strongly agree

23. How important is it to you to maintain closeness and harmony with your parents?
-3 extremely unimportant
-2 unimportant
-1 neutral
0 important
+1 very important
+2 extremely important
+3 extremely important

24. How much pressure do you put on yourself to maintain closeness and harmony with your parents?
-3 no pressure
-2 slight pressure
-1 moderate pressure
0 no pressure
+1 slight pressure
+2 moderate pressure
+3 extreme pressure

25. How much pressure do you experience from your parents to maintain closeness and harmony?
-3 no pressure
-2 slight pressure
-1 moderate pressure
0 no pressure
+1 slight pressure
+2 moderate pressure
+3 extreme pressure
26. How important is it to your parents to maintain closeness and harmony with you?
   -3 extremely unimportant
   -2 extremely unimportant
   -1 extremely unimportant
   0        extremely important
   +1        extremely important
   +2        extremely important
   +3        extremely important

27. How important is it to you to maintain closeness and harmony with the friends that you spend
    the most time with at UGA?
   -3 extremely unimportant
   -2 extremely unimportant
   -1 extremely unimportant
   0        extremely important
   +1        extremely important
   +2        extremely important
   +3        extremely important

28. How much pressure do you put on yourself to maintain closeness and harmony with the
    friends that you spend the most time with at UGA?
   -3 no pressure
   -2 no pressure
   -1 no pressure
   0        extreme pressure
   +1        extreme pressure
   +2        extreme pressure
   +3        extreme pressure

29. How much pressure do you experience from the friends that you spend the most time with at
    UGA to maintain closeness and harmony?
   -3 no pressure
   -2 no pressure
   -1 no pressure
   0        extreme pressure
   +1        extreme pressure
   +2        extreme pressure
   +3        extreme pressure

30. How important is it to the friends that you spend the most time with at UGA to maintain
    closeness and harmony with you?
   -3 extremely unimportant
   -2 extremely unimportant
   -1 extremely unimportant
   0        extremely important
   +1        extremely important
   +2        extremely important
   +3        extremely important

31. Do you agree that a college education is important for getting a good job?
   -3 strongly disagree
   -2 strongly disagree
   -1 strongly disagree
   0        strongly agree
   +1        strongly agree
   +2        strongly agree
   +3        strongly agree

32. I do only as much work as I have to in order to get by in school.
   -3 strongly disagree
   -2 strongly disagree
   -1 strongly disagree
   0        strongly agree
   +1        strongly agree
   +2        strongly agree
   +3        strongly agree

33. I work hard to do well in school.
   -3 strongly disagree
   -2 strongly disagree
   -1 strongly disagree
   0        strongly agree
   +1        strongly agree
   +2        strongly agree
   +3        strongly agree

34. When classes are hard, I just do the easy parts or give up.
   -3 strongly disagree
   -2 strongly disagree
   -1 strongly disagree
   0        strongly agree
   +1        strongly agree
   +2        strongly agree
   +3        strongly agree

35. I work hard to get good grades, even if I don’t like a class.
   -3 strongly disagree
   -2 strongly disagree
   -1 strongly disagree
   0        strongly agree
   +1        strongly agree
   +2        strongly agree
   +3        strongly agree
36. I feel like a real part of this school.
   -3               -2               -1               0               +1               +2               +3
   strongly disagree
   strongly agree

37. I feel that being in school is boring and irrelevant.
   -3               -2               -1               0               +1               +2               +3
   strongly disagree
   strongly agree

38. At UGA the instructors are really interested in the students.
   -3               -2               -1               0               +1               +2               +3
   strongly disagree
   strongly agree

39. I feel that being in school is satisfying, worthwhile, and important.
   -3               -2               -1               0               +1               +2               +3
   strongly disagree
   strongly agree

40. Overall, how happy are you to be in school at UGA?
   -3               -2               -1               0               +1               +2               +3
   extremely unhappy
   extremely happy

41. Is there anything missing (either positive or negative) from your social/academic life at UGA? If so, what?

___________________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________________
APPENDIX C

INDIVIDUALISM (Gaines, et al., 1997)

1. I’m not to blame for others’ misfortunes.

2. I feel that I’m the master of my own fate.

3. I really feel that the “pull-yourself-up-by-your-bootstraps” philosophy makes a lot of sense.

4. These days, the only person you can depend upon is yourself.

5. I take great pride in accomplishing what no one else can accomplish.

6. I actively resist other people’s efforts to mold me.

7. Before I can feel comfortable with anybody else, I must feel comfortable with myself.

8. I place personal freedom above all other values.

9. I know myself better than anyone else possibly could know me.

10. I see nothing wrong with self-promotion.
APPENDIX D

COLLECTIVISM (Gaines, et al., 1997)

1. I don’t feel that I’m a success unless I’ve helped others succeed as well.

2. I want the opportunity to give back to my community.

3. I’m the type of person who lends a helping hand whenever possible.

4. I consider myself a team player.

5. My major mission in life is striving for social justice for all.

6. My heart reaches out to those who are less fortunate than myself.

7. If another person can learn from my mistakes, I’m willing to share my ups and downs with that person so that he or she can do better.

8. It feels great to know that others can count on me.

9. I have an important role to play in bringing together the peoples of the world.

11. I believe in the motto, “United We Stand, Divided We Fall.”
REFERENCES


