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The Social Worlds of Immigrant-Origin Youth: Peer Status and Friendships Across Adolescence

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Psychology

by

Ritika Sonal Rastogi

2022

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Social Worlds of Immigrant-Origin Youth: Peer Status and Friendships Across Adolescence

by

Ritika Sonal Rastogi

Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Jaana Helena Juvonen, Chair

As the population of immigrant-origin adolescents in the United States increases, it is critical to understand the social position these adolescents occupy in school, namely whether they are included and excluded among peers. A well-established body of literature documents that immigrant-origin youth self-report experiencing higher rates of victimization than their non-immigrant counterparts (i.e., of the third generation and beyond). Yet, it is not clear whether the broader peer collective is exclusionary of the immigrant adolescents. Moreover, their positive relationships (i.e., social inclusion) remain unexamined insofar as identifying which peers are a source of socioemotional support across the adolescent years. The current dissertation aimed to examine these questions across two studies, examining the positive and negative peer relations of immigrant-origin youth from multiple perspectives, over the three years of middle school. Study 1 examined several indicators of peer inclusion and social exclusion mainly from the perspective of peers. It was found that while immigrant-origin youth are just as socially included by peers as their non-immigrant counterparts, they are significantly more neglected (i.e., ignored) among the

peer landscape. Immigrant-origin youth were no more likely to be perceived as a “victim” at school than non-immigrant youth. However, immigrant adolescents self-reported significantly more victimization than non-immigrants, highlighting a key discrepancy between peer and self-perceptions of social exclusion. Study 2 focused specifically on friendships from the immigrant youths’ perspective to identify the demographic characteristics (i.e., racial/ethnic background, immigrant generational status) of their friends, as well as the quality and duration. The analyses aimed to test the hypothesis that friendships with other immigrant-origin peers would be highest in quality and duration (i.e., most supportive), relative to friendships with non-immigrant peers. Analyses revealed a significant tendency among immigrant-origin youth to befriend other immigrant-origin peers. While immigrant-origin youths’ friendships with immigrant-origin peers were similar in quality to their friendships with non-immigrants, the friendships with immigrant peers were significantly greater in duration (i.e., lasted longer) regardless of friend race/ethnicity. The findings demonstrate the importance of befriending similar others who understand the immigrant experience. Together, the dissertation studies contribute to a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of the social position and social relationships of immigrant-origin youth during the early adolescent period. Implications for theory and future research are discussed.

The dissertation of Ritika Sonal Rastogi is approved.

Andrew J. Fuligni

Sandra H. Graham

Carola E. Suárez-Orozco

Jaana Helena Juvonen, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

This dissertation is dedicated to Taylor Morrisette Brown. We did not get to cross the finish line together, but I am always thinking of you. May you Rest in Power.

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Select Vita

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- Rastogi, R.** & Juvonen, J. *in preparation*. Immigrant-origin youths' friendships across middle school: Homophily of immigrant experience?
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- Juvonen, J., Lessard, L. M., **Rastogi, R.**, Schacter, H. L., & Smith, D. S. (2019). Promoting social inclusion in educational settings: Challenges and opportunities. *Educational Psychologist*, 54(4), 250-270. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520.2019.1655645>.
- Rastogi, R.** & Juvonen, J. (2019). Interminority friendships and intergroup attitudes across middle school: Quantity and stability of Black-Latino ties. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 48(8), 1619-1630. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10964-019-01044-9>.

Kirsammer, G., Schultz, R. F., **Rastogi, R.**, Gurubaxani, S., & Crispino, J. (2016). A PDZ-binding motif in DCAF7 maintains hematopoietic homeostasis and prevents malignancy in DS-AMKL. *Blood Journal*, 128(22), 1205.

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Rastogi, R. & Juvonen, J. (March, 2022). *Friendships of Immigrant-Origin Adolescents: When Differences Unite*. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence Biennial Meeting. Selected for the “Adolescence in the Context of Domestic and Global Diversity” Poster Session.

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NIH Grant 1R01HD059882-01A2; NSF No. 0921306
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General Introduction

Immigrant-origin youth (i.e., the first and second generation) make up over one-fourth of the school-age population in the United States (Child Trends, 2018). In California, where the data for this dissertation were collected, these youth constitute almost half of children aged 18 and under (Kids Data, 2020). Immigrant-origin youth constitute a unique population, as they often have access to a number of cultural orientations and ways of being. During the adolescent period, youth are tasked with developing a sense of identity and belonging in their communities. Yet, one challenge that may unify immigrant-origin youth is the particular feeling of being “*ni de aquí, ni de allá*” (Anderson, 2016, p. 36), in other words “neither from here, nor from there.” These are adolescents who inhabit multiple cultural worlds, often at the borders where cultures are dynamic and evolving (Anzaldúa, 1987; Phelan et al., 1991). Though spaces of uncertainty, these borderlands are also spaces of flexibility where youth can creatively blend and merge strict cultural scripts in order to best navigate the diversity of contemporary society. However, this strength is often viewed by others as a deficit or a sign of difference. Thus, immigrant-origin adolescents may be viewed by peers as not “fitting in” as well as their non-immigrant counterparts (i.e., the third generation and beyond). Rather, they may be left feeling minoritized and marginalized at school, frequently experiencing tension between their cultures and identities (Anderson, 2016; Newcomer, 2020).

In recent decades there have been increasing calls to understand factors that predict the positive integration and acculturation of immigrant-origin adolescents into mainstream US society. Given the salience of social relationships during adolescence, one fertile ground for which may hold insights into immigrant-origin youths’ positive adjustment is their peer relations. Thus, the aim of my dissertation is to understand the social worlds – that is, the broader social

positioning – of immigrant-origin youth at school. To this end, I conduct two studies which elucidate both the positive and negative peer relations of immigrant-origin adolescents. In Study 1, I examine **the social positioning of immigrant-origin youth in school from the peer perspective**. In light of the societally-marginalized status of immigrants in the United States, it is possible that immigrant-origin youth are similarly positioned along the margins in school. They may be at increased risk for one or more types of social exclusion (i.e., rejection, neglect, and victimization), which has consequences for their socioemotional wellbeing and mental health.

In spite of possible social challenges, immigrant-origin youth often demonstrate socioemotional resilience in navigating between their heritage and mainstream cultures (e.g., Güngör & Perdu, 2017; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013), and may be quite adept at navigating the sociocultural landscape of their schools with the support of close peers. In Study 2, I focus on one source of resiliency by examining their **friendships from the perspective of the immigrant-origin youth**. In doing so, my aim is to shed light on the identities of the friends and quality (e.g., supportiveness) and duration of these relationships. These are important questions as friendships can function as an extrafamilial haven and help youth navigate the developmental tasks of adolescence (e.g., identity negotiation). Thus, it is crucial to understand, from immigrant-origin youths' own perspective, which friendships are enduring and supportive during the critical middle school years.

Before further describing the two studies, I first review the relevant literature on immigrant-origin adolescents' peer relationships and social position. However, there is an important note on terminology first. In the context of Study 1, I refer to immigrant-origin youth's social position. *Social position* has been used to refer to a variety of status indicators such as socioeconomic background or academic achievement (e.g., Bannink et al., 2016; Calsbeek et al.,

2002). However, consistent with the developmental literature (e.g., Neal, 2010), I use *social position* as a superordinate construct which captures adolescents' social status and their negative experiences with their peers.

Peer Experiences of Immigrant-Origin Adolescents

Adolescence is a developmental period marked by increasing independence, autonomy, and uncertainty (Roisman et al., 2004). As preparation for adulthood, this is a time during which youth explore their identities and learn about their social groups (French et al., 2006; Hartup, 1996). This exploration occurs partly within the context of burgeoning relationships with peers. Arguably one of the most critical roles of the peer is that of social support (Rubin et al., 2008). Indeed, the increasing developmental importance of peers coincides with adolescents' growing needs for socioemotional security, companionship, and validation (Furman & Buhrmester, 1985). At the same time, peers take on a more active role as key socializing agents in the environment, constructing and enforcing norms regarding appropriate conduct (e.g., academics, dating behaviors; Shin et al., 2007; van de Bongardt et al., 2015). In this way, peers can powerfully shape the school social landscape, sanctioning grademates for behavior they deem non-normative or elevating the status of grademates who behave desirably (e.g., Baumgartner et al., 2011; Dijkstra & Gest, 2015). Here I review the positive and negative experiences that youth may have with their peers, focusing on the current literature on immigrant-origin youths' peer relations.

Peer Inclusion

Being socially included by peers includes acceptance, or liking, by the peer collective as well as individual, close friendships. Together, these experiences can confer a sense of connectedness and belonging at school. Arguably, social inclusion is a developmental necessity; as youth mature, they move beyond the more foundational need for nurturance (Furman &

Buhrmester, 1985), instead seeking out similar-age companions who may serve as more appropriate and relevant developmental models. In seeking out peers, youth are motivated by needs for companionship, validation, and intimacy. Feeling socially included (e.g., being accepted) by peers is associated with a variety of positive socioemotional outcomes such as self-esteem and academic achievement (Hutteman et al., 2015; Kingery et al., 2011). For immigrant youth, positive relationships with peers of diverse cultural backgrounds – immigrant and non-immigrant – can also potentially ease the challenges associated with migration and acculturation (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009).

Research on immigrant-origin youth paints a mixed picture of their inclusion experiences. For instance, using high school sophomore year data from the Education Longitudinal Study of 2002, Cherng and colleagues (2014) found that first-generation and second-generation adolescents were less likely to report having a friend than their counterparts of the third-generation and beyond. Consistent with these findings, Plenty and Jonsson (2017) demonstrated that immigrant-origin youth were less likely to be named by peers as a friend in the Swedish middle school context (i.e., eighth grade). In a longitudinal study of early and late adolescents in Italy, Bianchi and colleagues (2021) found that immigrant youth reported having fewer friends. However, they did not feel less accepted than their non-immigrant counterparts. Some studies unpack the differences between first- and second-generation immigrant youth. Using cross-sectional data on seventh through 12th grade students from the National Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Health (i.e., Add Health), Reynolds and Crea (2017) found second-generation adolescents were well-integrated within their school friendship networks, while first-generation adolescents had fewer reciprocated friendships.

In sum, there appear to be mixed findings regarding the social inclusion of immigrant-origin youth, with evidence of youth lacking friends and acceptance from peers. However, Bianchi et al. (2021) demonstrate that lack of friends is not always related to lack of acceptance. The generational comparisons are also mixed; in some cases second-generation adolescents appear to be positively positioned in the school, and it is first-generation youth who are at greatest risk of low inclusion. To my knowledge, there is little to no research that has systematically examined friendships and acceptance in concert, among immigrant-origin and non-immigrant adolescents in the United States context.

Social Exclusion

Exclusion broadly includes experience of rejection (being disliked), neglect (being invisible to or ignored by peers), isolation (having no friends), and victimization (bullying, harassment). The school environment often mirrors broader societal norms surrounding exclusion and marginalization, and thus youth may antagonize their societally marginalized peers similar to the antagonism such groups face outside of schools. Indeed, much research documents that immigrant-origin students report greater levels of exclusion than their non-immigrant counterparts. For example, youth from immigrant families self-report experiencing greater rates of verbal and physical harassment (Fandrem et al., 2012; Strohmeier et al., 2011; Sulkowski et al., 2014). These students are often explicitly targeted for reasons such as racial/ethnic background, religion, English proficiency, whereas such identity-based exclusion is not as common for non-immigrant adolescents (Strohmeier et al., 2011).

From the peer perspective, immigrant-origin youth are also at greater risk for exclusion (e.g., being left out, physically harassed) than non-immigrants. In a sample of Finnish elementary students, first-generation youth were more victimized, rejected, and isolated (e.g., not having any

friends) than their second-generation and non-immigrant counterparts (Strohmeier et al., 2011). Immigrant-origin youth who are racially/ethnically marginalized are particularly at-risk for peer rejection and isolation (e.g., Plenty & Jonsson, 2017). The findings highlight that students' exclusion experiences may be compounded and multifaceted, as a second-generation adolescent from particular ethnic groups may experience greater victimization than a first-generation youth when attributes like race/ethnicity, religion, and cultural styles of dress are considered.

In sum, there is robust evidence, particularly self-report, that immigrant-origin youth are victimized by peers at school. The adolescents' share experiences of physical aggression as well as relational bullying. In spite of these youths' first-hand experiences, less is known about whether peers notice such dynamics unfolding. That is, do adolescents notice when their immigrant-origin grademates are picked on at school? Insofar as bullied youth are frequently avoided by peers, it is not clear whether immigrant-origin adolescents' lived experience is mirrored by the collective.

Extending Past Research: Aims of Current Research

Overall, the goal of this dissertation is to gain a nuanced understanding of where youth are located within the social landscape of their school by relying on a range of indicators of inclusion and exclusion. **In Study 1**, I unpack immigrant-origin adolescents' social position largely from the peer perspective. I make comparisons between first-generation, second-generation, and third-generation and beyond adolescents to gain further insights about whether it is predominantly more recent immigrant youth who have low social position among their schoolmates.

More specifically, I examine multiple indicators of social position during adolescence. In each of the two studies I investigate *friendships*, which are dyadic relationships high in warmth

and affective closeness (Bagwell & Bukowski, 2018). While there are multiple ways to methodologically assess friendships, for the purpose of Study 1 I examine whether or not an immigrant-origin adolescent is *named by others* as a friend. I also rely on an additional indicator to assess social inclusion: **acceptance** by peers. Peer acceptance captures how likeable and included an individual is within the peer collective. Although friendship and general acceptance nominations received are positively correlated, they are not redundant. For example, an adolescent could have two or three close friends yet not be well-liked within the broader peer group (Parker & Asher, 1993). At the same time, a teen could be generally liked by peers, while perhaps having only one close friend. In this way, friendships and peer acceptance provide a somewhat complementary picture of the positive features of an adolescents' social position within a school.

It is also important to recognize that lack of friends and low acceptance do not necessarily imply that peers dislike a youth. To gain insights about overt exclusion, **rejection** captures the number of peers who dislike or actively avoid a youth. The combination of acceptance and rejection nominations can be also used to capture peer **neglect**, or lack of visibility within a peer collective. Lastly, I examine **victimization**, or targeted mistreatment (e.g., being ridiculed, taunted, abused). While immigrant-origin adolescents self-report high rates of victimization, it is another question whether peers *perceive* them as victims. Victimized youth are typically also rejected by peers. Having a reputation as a victim among the peer collective can result in perpetuated exclusion (Boivin et al., 2001). Thus, I rely on a range of constructs ranging from neglect (i.e., lack of visibility) to overt hostility to capture exclusion largely from the perspective of the peer group.

Despite their unique developmental experiences, to the best of my knowledge, no research to date has systematically examined the social status and friendships of immigrant-origin adolescents – assessing both inclusion and exclusion – specifically from the peer perspective. In general, such studies are rare after elementary school when youth are no longer in self-contained classrooms. While most of the pertinent research on immigrant youth has relied on their self-reports of victimization by peers, it is critical to consider the peer perspective to understand the social position of immigrant-origin youth.

In Study 2 I further unpack immigrant-origin youths' positive relationships, namely friendships, from their own perspective. In addition to gaining insights about with whom they say they are friends, I want to understand the duration and quality of these close ties. To get a sense of the supportiveness and duration of the friendships, I rely on comparisons between immigrant-origin youths' friendships with other immigrant-origin peers, relative to non-immigrant (i.e., third-generation and beyond) youths' same-ethnic friendships. I also make comparisons between immigrant-origin adolescents' friendships with other immigrant-origin peers, relative to their friendships with non-immigrant peers. Insofar as friendships are important sources of socioemotional support, I aim to identify who immigrant-origin adolescents derive the greatest support from in order to navigate the social complexities of the American middle school.

The data for this dissertation were collected in California which constitutes a unique context of reception for immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). As mentioned previously, almost 50% of the California school-age population is of immigrant-origin background (i.e., first or second generation; Kids Data, 2020). Also, over half of California public school students are Latinx (California Department of Education, 2022), a racial/ethnic group that is marginalized at the state and national levels. In this way the California context holds powerful insights as to how

immigrant-origin adolescents' social position in schools may change, or stay the same, as the rest of the country follows these demographic trends. Therefore, the aim of this two-study dissertation is to longitudinally examine the social position and peer relationships of a racially/ethnically diverse sample of immigrant-origin adolescents within the multiethnic California context.

Context of the Dissertation

Data for both studies of the dissertation are based on the longitudinal UCLA Middle School Diversity Project (Chen & Graham, 2015; Juvonen et al., 2018). Although sampling and survey procedures remained consistent at each timepoint of data collection, the two studies rely on distinct analytic samples given the different aims. Therefore, I overview the general methodological approach to selecting each sample. I also provide a description of the immigrant-origin youth.

Procedure

All sixth-grade students were recruited across 26 racially/ethnically diverse public California middle schools. Youth received parental consent forms and informational letters to bring home. Forms were provided in English, Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean as necessary. Students returning a signed consent form – regardless of whether they received parental permission – were entered into a raffle of two \$50 gift cards and two iPods. Across the 26 schools, parental consent rates averaged 81% while student assent rates averaged 83%. Questionnaires were administered by trained researchers in a classroom setting. Students were reminded about the confidentiality of their responses and that their participation was voluntary. The survey took approximately one hour to complete; students were compensated \$5 at each of the sixth grade timepoints (i.e., fall and spring), and \$10 in seventh and eighth grades. Eighty-six

and 81% of the analytic sample were retained in seventh and eighth grades, respectively. Surveys were administered on a particular day during students' homeroom period. Therefore, some adolescents who were absent from school may not have participated in a particular timepoint.

Participants

Participants for the current study were drawn from the longitudinal study with an initial sample of $N=5,991$ (52% female). The racial/ethnic composition of participating students was 32% Latinx, 20% White, 14% Multiracial, 13% East/Southeast Asian, 12% Black, 3% Filipinx/Pacific Islander, 2% South Asian, 2% Middle Eastern, 1% Native American, <1% other ethnic groups, and 3% unreported. Below, I provide a specific sample description of the immigrant-origin youth. The middle school data collection took place across three cohorts and was collected in four waves between 2009 and 2014. Students participated in the study in the fall of sixth grade and again in the spring of sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. Only data from the spring of sixth, seventh, and eighth grades was used in the analyses.

Description of the Immigrant-origin Adolescents

Based on birthplace data, 3,286 adolescents were identified as immigrant-origin, with 18% being first-generation (i.e., born outside of the US) and 82% being second-generation (i.e., US-born with at least one foreign-born parent). Across first- and second-generation youth, 127 different countries of origin were represented. Those with the largest representations were Mexico, Vietnam, China, El Salvador, Guatemala, South Korea, the Philippines, and Japan. These youth were 44% Latinx, 21% East/Southeast Asian, 11% Multiracial, 9% White, 4% Black, and 11% other racial/ethnic groups (i.e., South Asian, Filipino/Pacific Islander, Middle Eastern/North African, Native American). First-generation youth reported moving to the United States at ages ranging from two months old to 13 years ($M=4.88$, $SD=2.98$).

The sample was also linguistically diverse. Seventy-nine percent of immigrant-origin adolescents ($n=2,583$) reported a language other than English being spoken at home (most frequently, Spanish, Vietnamese, Chinese, Korean, Tagalog, and Japanese), while 19% ($n=627$) reported coming from homes where English was the only language. First-generation youth were significantly less likely to come from an English-only household than second-generation youth ($OR=0.32$). Forty-eight percent of immigrant-origin youth came from monolingual households (i.e., English only, or another language only), while 50% came from multilingual households. First-generation youth were significantly more likely to come from a monolingual household than second-generation youth ($OR=1.38$).

Notably, these adolescents navigate a unique sociocultural context at school. Across the 26 middle schools in the study, the proportion of grademates of the same racial/ethnic background ranged from 0 to .68 ($M=.38$, $SD=.19$; California Department of Education, 2022). The proportion of grademates sharing the same generational status as the student ranged from .02 to .72 ($M=.43$, $SD=.14$). In other words, for the average adolescent in the sample, there was considerable availability of same-ethnic and same-generation peers with which to affiliate.

Analytic Samples

The analytic sample varied as a function of the analyses. Below I outline the analyses and relevant sample for each of the two studies.

Study 1

To examine generational differences in social position mainly from the perspective of peers, the analyses for Study 1 relied initially on an analytic sample of 5,562 adolescents (53% girls). Students with missing immigrant generational status data ($n=300$) were excluded. Students were also excluded due to missing peer nominations data, caused by attrition ($n=160$). The

composition of the analytic sample by racial/ethnic background and immigrant generational status can be found in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic composition of the Study 1 analytic sample: Race/ethnicity and immigrant generational status.

Immigrant Generational Status	Race/Ethnicity					
	Black (n=648)	East/Southeast Asian (n=757)	White (n=1153)	Latinx (n=1759)	Multiracial (n=780)	Other (n=475)
First-generation (n=603)	17	192	49	210	26	109
Second-generation (n=2754)	115	508	267	1261	337	266
Third-generation + (n=2203)	516	57	837	288	417	88

Note: Two students who did not provide racial/ethnic self-identification are not included in the table.

Study 2

The study of immigrant-origin youths' friendships takes a different approach. Consistent with my goal to examine the close positive friendship experiences of the immigrant-origin youth, for this study I rely on their given nominations of peers (i.e., not nominations received) and their self-reports of friendship quality. It should be noted that because Study 2 focuses specifically on immigrant-origin youths' friendships, the unit of analysis is the friendship and not the adolescent.

For the study, two types of comparisons are made, each with slightly different samples. The first set of analyses include non-immigrant youth (i.e., third generation and beyond) as my

goal is to compare immigrant-origin youths' friendships to those of their non-immigrant peers. The analytic sample consisted of 4,740 youth (53% girls; Table 2). This included two groups: *immigrant-origin adolescents* who report having other immigrant-origin peers as their friends (e.g., a first-generation Latinx adolescent nominating a second-generation African peer), and *non-immigrant youth* who report having other non-immigrant, same-ethnic peers as their friends (e.g., a third-generation Latinx adolescent nominating a third-generation Latinx peer).

The second set of analyses involved within-subjects comparisons of immigrant-origin adolescents' friendship duration and quality as a function of the friends' immigrant or non-immigrant background. Outgoing or given friendship nominations were available from 3,286 immigrant-origin youth in the sample (Table 3).

Students who did not attend the same middle school (i.e., who transferred schools) during the three waves of data collection were excluded ($n=121$), as youth were asked only to name friends attending their same school (and hence duration estimates are affected by school transfers). Moreover, youth who made no friendship nominations at any point during the middle school years were excluded from the sample ($n=1,130$).

Table 2. Demographic composition of adolescents for the Study 2 between-subjects comparisons: Race/ethnicity and immigrant generational status.

Immigrant Generational Status		Race/Ethnicity					
		Black (n=517)	East/Southeast Asian (n=711)	White (n=985)	Latinx (n=1546)	Multiracial (n=570)	Other (n=405)
Immigrant-origin	First-generation (n=574)	17	185	44	202	22	104
	Second-generation (n=2611)	100	495	239	1212	314	251
Non-immigrant	Third-generation + (n=1549)	400	31	702	132	234	50

Note: Six students who did not provide racial/ethnic self-identification are not included in the table.

Table 3. Composition of immigrant-origin adolescents for the Study 2 within-subjects comparisons: Race/ethnicity and immigrant generational status.

Immigrant Generational Status	Race/Ethnicity					
	Black (n=124)	East/Southeast Asian (n=693)	White (n=308)	Latinx (n=1442)	Multiracial (n=355)	Other (n=363)
First-generation (n=594)	17	189	48	208	26	106
Second-generation (n=2691)	107	504	260	1234	329	257

Note: One student who did not provide racial/ethnic self-identification is not included in the table.

Study 1: Immigrant-Origin Adolescents' Social Position Across Middle School

It is well-recognized that sociocultural context is a key determinant of positive youth development (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Fish & Syed, 2018; García Coll et al., 1996). Yet, research on immigrant-origin adolescents often neglects the *peer context* within which their development unfolds. Peers construct and enforce social norms within the school that often mirror societal sociocultural norms (Chen, 2011). Feeling a sense of belonging to the peer collective can facilitate youths' positive identity development, behavioral adjustment, and academic achievement (e.g., Demanet & Van Houtte, 2012; Gummadam et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2015). Peers validate adolescents and help them understand where they “fit in” within their school community and what their goals and interests are.

In the current study, the main goal is to shed light on the *social position* of young adolescent immigrant-origin youth from the perspective of their grademates in school. Consistent with the developmental literature (e.g., Neal, 2010), I use social position as a superordinate construct which captures a range of positive relationships and negative experiences with peers. Specifically, to understand social inclusion I examine the number of friends and overall peer acceptance, whereas to capture exclusion, I assess peer rejection, neglect, and victimization. Let me first briefly review past findings.

The research on immigrant-origin youths' social position based on indicators of social inclusion reveals a somewhat mixed picture. In a study of Italian early and late adolescents, the immigrant-origin youth had fewer friends than their non-immigrant peers. Among high school sophomores in the US, Cherng and colleagues (2014) demonstrated that the immigrant youth were less likely to report having one friend. At least one large-scale investigation relying on social network analyses of seventh through 12th grade students suggests that it is specifically

first-generation immigrant-origin adolescents, rather than the second generation, who have fewer friends (Reynolds & Crea, 2017). From the peer perspective, Plenty and Jonsson (2017) showed that immigrant youth in Sweden were more likely to be friendless than their non-immigrant counterparts. Strohmeier et al. (2011) replicated this among Finnish elementary school students. In terms of general peer acceptance, Bianchi and colleagues (2021) found no generational differences in self-reports of feeling acceptance. However, among Portuguese preadolescents, Guerra and colleagues (2019) found that immigrant youth reported less acceptance by peers. Using a peer nomination procedure in a Greek sample of first-generation immigrant early adolescents, Asendorpf and Motti-Stefanidi (2017) found that immigrant youth were significantly less accepted than their non-immigrant peers, particularly in classrooms where the proportion of immigrant students was low.

Research on social exclusion relies on a wider range of indicators, including peer rejection that captures active avoidance and victimization that entails targeted hostility. Here the findings reveal a rather consistent picture of the social position of immigrant-origin youth. With respect to peer rejection, Strohmeier et al. (2011) showed that first-generation immigrant youth were more rejected by peers than second-generation and non-immigrant youth. Most consistently, immigrant-origin youth self-report experiencing high levels of victimization in comparison to non-immigrants (e.g., Bianchi et al., 2021; Fandrem et al., 2012; Strohmeier et al., 2011; Sulkowski et al., 2014). To my knowledge, only one study has examined immigrant-origin youths' victimization from the peer perspective (Strohmeier et al., 2011). It was found that first-generation youth were higher in peer victimization than second-generation and non-immigrant youth.

Taken together, the findings based on self-report and peer nominations suggest that immigrant youth experience heightened risk of social exclusion, while the evidence on inclusion (or lack thereof) is somewhat more mixed. Most of the studies are based on small samples and cross-sectional analyses, examining either inclusion *or* exclusion. To extend this body of research, the goal of the current study is to unpack the complexity of adolescents' *social position* by including a range of constructs capturing both inclusion and exclusion. I examine social position mainly from the perspective of peers, because it is not yet clear to what extent peer perceptions align with students' lived experiences. In the current study, I assess peer victimization based on peer reports and self-reports. All other measures rely on peer nominations in order to capture the general sentiments and perceptions of the collective. To estimate the robustness of the findings, I rely on longitudinal data by repeatedly testing the associations of generational status differences at sixth, seventh, and eighth grades.

I hypothesize that grademates will regard first- and second-generation adolescents less frequently as close friends than their counterparts of the third generation and beyond. I also predict that first- and second-generation youth will be less accepted, more rejected, more neglected, and more victimized. Although I expect the first and generation immigrant-origin youth to possess a similar social position within their schools, in light of the mixed findings of past studies, it is important to systematically test differences across generational status. I also explore the robustness of the findings by conducting repeated measures analyses across the three grades of middle school (sixth through eighth grades). It is unclear whether any of these indices of inclusion and exclusion should vary across the three years of middle school.

The present study makes important contributions to the existing literature on immigrant-origin youths' peer relations. First and foremost, I highlight the *peer perspective*, assessing social

position using indicators of both inclusion and exclusion. Past research has relied predominately on immigrant adolescents' self-reports of exclusion, which provide invaluable insights about social alienation. Yet, systematic examination of a range of indicators that also include information about whether immigrant-origin youth are possibly not noticed or ignored by their peers is needed. Moreover, the current study is conducted across 26 multi-ethnic middle schools in California, which provides a unique context for immigrant-origin youth to "fit in."

Methods

Participants

Participants for the current study were drawn from a large, longitudinal study of adolescent development with an initial sample of $N=5,991$ (52% female). Data collection took place across three cohorts and was collected in four waves between 2009 and 2014. Students participated in the study in the fall of sixth grade and again in the spring of sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. The analyses relied on data from the spring of sixth, seventh, and eighth grades.

The majority of analyses were conducted on a sample consisting of 5,562 adolescents (53% girls). The demographic composition of the adolescents is depicted in Table 1. Students with missing immigrant generational status data ($n=300$) were excluded. Students were also excluded due to missing peer nominations data, caused by attrition ($n=160$). For the analyses relying on self-perceived victimization, the analytic sample consisted of 3,885 adolescents. This was because there were 1,677 adolescents who were missing data on the self-perceived victimization measure. The missingness was primarily due to attrition ($n=1325$) indicating that the remaining missingness was due to students electing not to complete the measure ($n=352$).

Procedure

All sixth-grade students were recruited across 26 racially/ethnically diverse public California middle schools. Youth received parental consent forms and informational letters to bring home. Forms were provided in English, Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean as necessary. Students returning a signed consent form – regardless of whether they received parental permission – were entered into a raffle of two \$50 gift cards and two iPods. Across the 26 schools, parental consent rates averaged 81% while student assent rates averaged 83%. Questionnaires were administered by trained researchers in a classroom setting. Students were reminded about the confidentiality of their responses and that their participation was voluntary. The survey took approximately one hour to complete; students were compensated \$5 at each of the sixth grade timepoints (i.e., fall and spring), and \$10 in seventh and eighth grades. Eighty-six and 81% of the analytic sample were retained in seventh and eighth grades, respectively. Surveys were administered on a particular day during students' homeroom period. Therefore, some adolescents who were absent from school may not have participated in a particular timepoint.

Measures

Immigrant Generational Status

Students reported where they, their mother, and their father were born. Youth who were born outside of the United States were considered first-generation ($n=603$), while those who were born in the US but whose parents were foreign-born were considered second-generation ($n=2,755$). Adolescents reporting that they and their parents were born in the US were considered third-generation and beyond (heretofore referred to as third-generation; $n=2,204$). Generational status was a categorical variable, with first-generation youth coded as “1,” second-generation youth coded as “2,” and third-generation youth coded as “3.”

Social Position

As mentioned above, social position was assessed using a combination of inclusion and exclusion measures, predominantly relying on nominations received by each student (i.e., nominations given by their grademates). All variables were calculated for sixth grade, seventh grade, and eighth grade (i.e., repeated measures within students).

Peer Nominations. At each wave of data collection, all students in the sample were provided with a name of their grademates and asked to identify which students fit the specified criteria (Appendices A, B, and C). Given the high rates of participation across all the middle schools, students' names were recoded with participant or nonparticipant IDs as appropriate.

Friends. Students were prompted to write down the names of an unlimited number of "good friends" in their grade at school. The number of nominations each participating student received was summed together, in order to determine the *number of friendships*. In order to account for the fact that students at bigger schools would receive more nominations, the number of friends was standardized by school. Greater values indicated being named by more peers as a friend.

Acceptance. Students wrote down the names of grademates they "would like to hang out with at school." Received nominations were summed together for each student and standardized by school. Greater values indicated greater acceptance by peers.

Rejection. Peer rejection was assessed by asking students who they "do not like to hang out with at school." Received nominations were summed and standardized by school. A greater value indicated greater levels of rejection.

Neglect. In order to assess peer neglect (i.e., low visibility amongst peers), the unstandardized, received acceptance and rejection nominations were summed together and standardized by school. This *social impact score* indicates the degree to which a particular

student is noticed or thought about by peers at school - regardless of whether they are considered positively or negatively. Greater values indicated greater social impact, or lower peer neglect. Conversely, lower values indicated greater peer neglect.

Victimization. Students wrote down the names of peers who “get picked on by other kids (get hit or pushed around, called bad names, talked about behind their backs).” Received nominations were summed together for each student and standardized by school. Greater values indicate greater *reputation amongst peers as a victim*. Additionally, data on *self-perceived victimization* was, in order to understand how the sample compares to past research on immigrant-origin adolescents (Appendix D).

Analytic Plan

The aim of these analyses was to test for differences in social position between the three immigrant generational status groups across the three years of middle school. Analyses entailed two-way mixed-design analyses of variance (ANOVAs) and were conducted in IBM SPSS 28. The between-subjects factor, immigrant generational status, was a categorical variable with three levels (L1: first-generation, L2: second-generation, L3: third-generation). The within-subjects (i.e., repeated measures) factor was grade in school and there were also three levels (L1: sixth grade, L2: seventh grade, L3: eighth grade). For each outcome variable, a separate To account for the increased likelihood of Type I error as a result of the multiple comparisons, an adjusted alpha value of .01 was used. In other words, in order to determine statistical significance, $p < .01$ was required.

Missing Data

For most of the analyses, missing data was very limited. The analyses were testing differences in generational status, which was determined using birthplace data. Youth who did

not answer these birthplace questions ($n=300$) were excluded from the analyses. Moreover, there were 120 adolescents who were missing data on the peer nomination indices who were excluded. Therefore the missing data was handled by using listwise deletion in order to ensure the same analytic sample for all comparisons. The exception was self-perceived victimization, for which an additional 1,677 youth were missing data. This missingness was primarily due to attrition ($n=1325$) indicating that the remaining missingness was due to students electing not to complete the measure ($n=352$). A pairwise deletion approach was utilized for this outcome, in order to avoid severely reducing the sample size for the other outcome variables. I compared missingness to the key predictor, immigrant generational status, to identify any patterns in missing data. Notably, first-generation youth had the most missing data, followed by second-generation adolescents, and lastly third-generation youth and beyond. The disproportionality should be kept in mind when considering the results.

Results

The results are presented below. First, I present a correlation matrix (Table 4) which outlines the associations between all main variables, in seventh grade only (see Appendix E for full table). Such analyses shed light on the independence of the constructs. Moving on to the main analyses, the results are divided by each of the indicators of social position. I begin with the indices which reflect social inclusion (number of friendships and peer acceptance). Then, I discuss the findings for the indices of social exclusion (peer rejection, peer neglect, peer victimization, and self-perceived victimization).

Table 4. Intercorrelations of outcome variables in seventh grade.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	M	SD
1. Number of Friends	--						5562	2.77	2.37
2. Peer Acceptance	.584**	--					5562	1.26	1.56
3. Peer Rejection	.043**	.068**	--				5562	1.05	1.95
4. Peer Neglect	-.395**	-.668**	-.781**	--			5562	2.31	2.62
5. Peer Victimization	-.089**	-.060**	.349**	-.223**	--		5562	0.49	1.61
6. Self-perceived Victimization	-.057**	-.060**	.124**	-.053**	.119**	--	3885	1.96	0.78

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Number of Friends

On average, youth were nominated as a friend by 2.77 grademates ($SE=.03$) in seventh grade. In the analysis of the standardized friend nominations, there was no significant main effect of grade, $F(2, 5577)=0.03, p=.97$. In other words, the number of friendship nominations adolescents' received remained constant across the three years of middle school. There was also no effect of immigrant generational status, $F(2, 5577)=0.92, p=.40$, meaning that first-generation ($M=-.02, SE=.03$), second-generation ($M=.01, SE=.02$), and third-generation and beyond youth ($M=.03, SE=.02$) did not significantly differ in the average number of friendship nominations received. Finally, there was a non-significant two-way interaction between immigrant generational status and grade in school, $F(4, 11154)=1.76, p=.13$. Thus, neither first- nor second-generation youth stood out as having fewer friends based on peer nominations and the number of friends stayed relatively stable across the three middle school years.

Peer Acceptance

On average, youth were named as desirable to spend time with by 1.26 grademates ($SE=.02$) in seventh grade. Analyses revealed a non-significant effect of grade, $F(2, 5567)=0.02$, $p=.98$. Thus, adolescents' peer acceptance, or the degree of liking among peers, did not differ from sixth through eighth grades. There was no significant effect of immigrant generational status, $F(2,5567)=1.42$, $p=.24$. In other words, first-generation youth ($M=-.03$, $SE=.03$), second-generation youth ($M=.006$, $SE=.02$), and third-generation and beyond youth ($M=.03$, $SE=.02$) did not significantly differ in the degree to which they were accepted by peers at school. The two-way interaction between immigrant generational status and grade was also not significant, $F(4, 11134)=1.08$, $p=.37$. Thus, results for both the number of friends and peer acceptance indicate that first-, second-, and third-generation and beyond youth all similarly experience social inclusion by peers.

Peer Rejection

Youth were named as undesirable to hang out with by an average of 1.05 grademates ($SE=.03$) in seventh grade. The ANOVA results revealed a non-significant effect of grade, $F(2,5580)=0.15$, $p=.86$, indicating that the degree to which adolescents were disliked by peers remained constant over time. There was a significant effect of immigrant generational status upon peer rejection, $F(2,5580)=15.44$, $p<.001$. *Post-hoc* independent-samples t-tests were estimated to conduct pairwise comparisons. First-generation youth ($M=-.13$, $SE=.03$) were significantly less rejected by peers than second-generation youth ($M=-.02$, $SE=.02$), 99% CI [-0.20, -.02] and third-generation youth ($M=.06$, $SE=.02$), 99% CI [-0.29, -.10]. Second-generation adolescents were also significantly less rejected by peers than third-generation youth, 99% CI [-0.14, -.02]. Said differently, third-generation youth experienced the greatest peer rejection,

followed by second-generation youth. First-generation youth experienced the least peer rejection. There was a non-significant two-way interaction between immigrant generational status and grade, $F(4, 11160)=1.52, p=.19$.

Peer Neglect

Social impact scores, which were the sum of peer acceptance and rejection nominations, were used to measure peer neglect. Low scores reflected a great deal of neglect. On average, youths' social impact score in seventh grade was 2.31 ($SE=.04$). In the analysis of the standardized social impact scores, the effect of grade in school was not significant, $F(2, 5587)=0.08, p=.92$. There was a significant effect of immigrant generational status on peer neglect, $F(2, 5587)=12.99, p<.001$. First-generation adolescents ($M=-.11, SE=.03$) were significantly more neglected than second-generation adolescents ($M=-.01, SE=.02$), 99% CI [- .19, -.006] and third-generation and beyond adolescents ($M=.06, SE=.02$), 99% CI [-.27, -.08]. Second-generation youth were also significantly more neglected by peers than third-generation and beyond youth, 99% CI [-.14, -.02]. Thus, first-generation youth experienced the most peer neglect, followed by second-generation youth. Third-generation adolescents experienced the least peer neglect. There was a non-significant two-way interaction between immigrant generational status and grade, $F(4, 11174)=0.90, p=.46$.

Peer Victimization

On average, youth were identified as frequently victimized by 0.49 peers ($SE=.02$) in seventh grade. ANOVA results for the standardized nominations revealed a non-significant effect of grade in school on peer victimization, $F(2, 5574)=0.75, p=.47$. There was also no effect of immigrant generational status on peer victimization, $F(2, 5574)=1.93, p=.15$. In other words, there were no differences between first- ($M=-.04, SE=.03$), second- ($M=-.02, SE=.02$), and third-

generation and beyond ($M=.02$, $SE=.02$) adolescents in terms of their reputation as a victim of bullying among peers. The two-way interaction between immigrant generational status and grade was not significant, $F(4, 11148)=1.11$, $p=.35$.

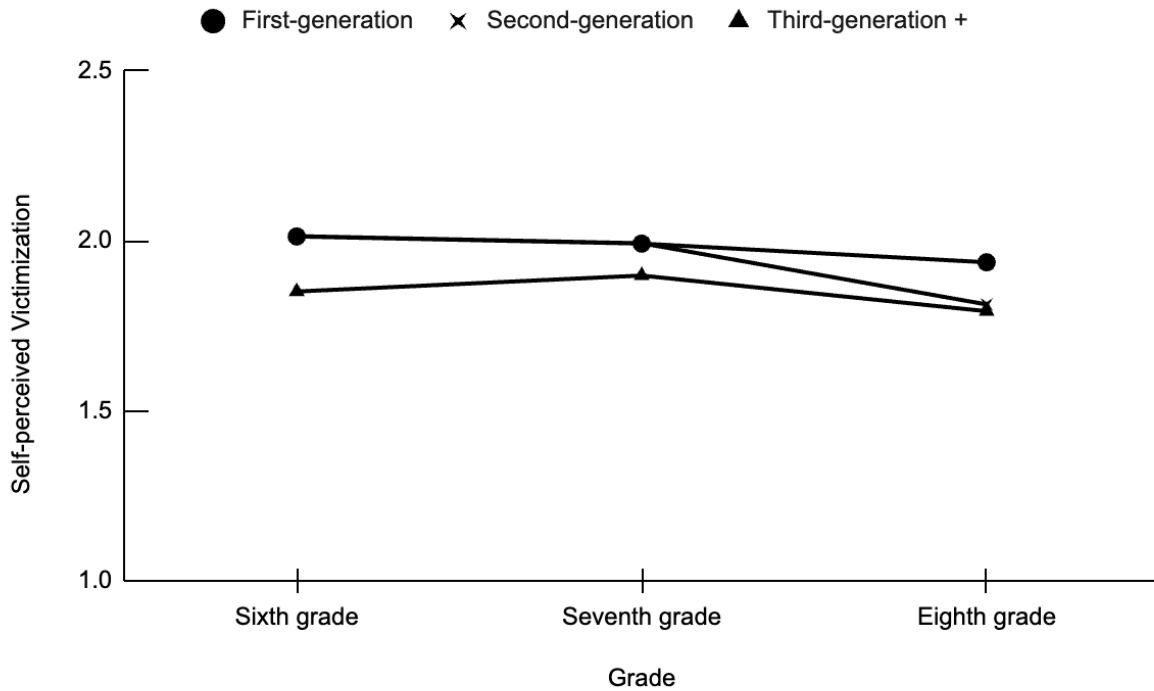
Self-perceived Victimization

Results revealed a significant main effect of grade, $F(2, 3882)=31.20$, $p<.001$. While students' self-reported victimization in sixth grade ($M=1.96$, $SE=.02$) did not significantly differ from their self-reported victimization in seventh grade ($M=1.96$, $SE=.02$), victimization was significantly higher in sixth grade than in eighth grade ($M=1.85$, $SE=.02$), 99% CI [.07, .16]. Victimization in seventh grade was also significantly higher than in eighth grade, 99% CI [.07, .16]. Moreover, the main effect of immigrant generational status was significant, $F(2, 3882)=12.61$, $p<.001$. First-generation youths' ($M=1.98$, $SE=.03$) self-reported victimization did not significantly differ from second-generation youth ($M=1.94$, $SE=.01$). However, first-generation students reported experiencing significantly more victimization than third-generation and beyond students ($M=1.85$, $SE=.02$), 99% CI [.04, .23]. Second-generation adolescents also reported significantly more victimization than the third generation and beyond, 99% CI [.04, .15].

The two-way interaction between immigrant generational status and grade in school was significant, $F(4, 7764)=8.17$, $p<.001$. The interaction is plotted in Figure 1. In sixth grade, first-generation ($M=2.01$, $SE=.04$) and second-generation adolescents ($M=1.95$, $SE=.02$) did not differ in their self-reports of victimization. However, first-generation youth reported significantly more victimization than third-generation and beyond youth ($M=1.95$, $SE=.02$), 99% CI [.05, .28]. Second-generation adolescents also reported significantly more victimization than third-generation and beyond, 99% CI [.10, .23]. In seventh grade, first-generation youth ($M=1.99$,

$SE=.04$) did not significantly differ from second-generation youth ($M=1.99, SE=.02$) or third-generation and beyond youth ($M=1.79, SE=.02$). However, second-generation youth reported significantly more victimization than third-generation and beyond youth, 99% CI [.03, .16]. In eighth grade, first-generation adolescents ($M=1.94, SE=.04$) self-reported experiencing significantly more victimization than second-generation adolescents ($M=1.81, SE=.02$), 99% CI [.02, .23]. First-generation youth also experienced more victimization than third-generation and beyond youth ($M=1.79, SE=.02$), 99% CI [.03, .25]. However, second- and third-generation adolescents did not significantly differ in terms of victimization, 99% CI [-.05, .09]. The findings suggest that at the beginning of middle school, first- and second-generation adolescents report greater victimization than third-generation youth. However, by the end of middle school, second-generation adolescents look quite similar to their third-generation counterparts. In other words, while first-generation adolescents consistently report high levels of victimization across the middle school years, third-generation youth report consistently lower levels of victimization. Second-generation adolescents appear to be positioned in the middle, very similar to their first-generation peers in sixth grade, but mirroring the third-generation in eighth grade.

Figure 1. The interaction between immigrant generational status and grade in school predicting adolescents' self-perceived victimization.



Discussion

The aim of this study was to systematically examine the social position of first- and second-generation immigrant middle schoolers, relative to their non-immigrant counterparts (i.e., third-generation and beyond). Relying on a collection of peer report indices, the goal was to understand how peers perceive, and to what extent they affiliate with, immigrant-origin adolescents at school. These peer perspectives are especially consequential during the adolescent years as youth increasingly refer to the peer collective as a source of sociocultural guidance and emotional support (Rubin et al., 2008). It is also important to examine social inclusion and exclusion, as the two are often confounded (i.e., a lack of inclusion is presumed to reflect exclusion).

Consistent with past findings (e.g., Asendorpf & Motti-Stefanidi, 2017; Cherng et al., 2014; Plenty & Jonsson, 2017), I hypothesized that first- and second-generation adolescents would have fewer friends and be less accepted than non-immigrant youth. In other words, they would be less socially included by peers. I also predicted that immigrant-origin youth would be more rejected, more neglected, and more victimized by peers (i.e., peer exclusion). I explored these patterns across three time points, to assess the robustness of the adolescents' social position over the middle school years. Analyses revealed mixed support for my predictions. Immigrant-origin youth experienced similar levels of social inclusion by peers as the third-generation and beyond adolescents. The peer reports also showed that immigrant youth, especially of the first-generation, were less excluded than non-immigrant youth. However, the youth were more generally socially neglected, or *less visible* to their peers. Lower visibility might also explain the discrepancy between peer- and self-perceived victimization: the lack of any attention from peers might be interpreted as intentional neglect by the immigrant-origin youth. These results provide further evidence in support of examining a wide range of indicators of social inclusion and exclusion.

Peer Inclusion

Both the analyses of number of friends and peer acceptance yielded no differences across the three generational status groups, nor across time. Thus, based on peer reports of social inclusion, first- and second-generation adolescents appear to be faring no better or worse than each other. Both immigrant-origin generations also appear similar to their grademates of the third-generation and beyond. The findings regarding peer acceptance are consistent with Bianchi and colleagues (2021), who found immigrant youth felt just as accepted as their non-immigrant peers. However, the findings are contrary to most research on the inclusion of immigrant-origin

youth. For example, Guerra et al. (2019) found that immigrant youth felt less accepted, while Asendorpf and Motti-Stefanidi (2017) showed that immigrant-origin youth received fewer acceptance nominations than their non-immigrant peers. Similarly to peer acceptance, the results regarding the number of friends are inconsistent with Cherng et al. (2014), Bianchi et al. (2021), as well as Plenty and Jonsson (2017). The present findings instead highlight positive relationships with grademates for both first- and second-generation adolescents, indicating that youth are interested in and desire emotional closeness with their immigrant-origin grademates. One explanation for these findings may be the uniqueness of the California context. A large proportion of California youth are children of immigrants (i.e., first- or second-generation; Kids Data, 2020), and therefore the broader state-level culture may be one of relative inclusion for immigrant communities (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco, 2018).

Social Exclusion

To capture the adolescents' negative social experiences, four indices of exclusion were tested: peer rejection, peer neglect, peer victimization, and self-perceived victimization. In contrast with my hypotheses, the peer rejection analyses showed that first-generation youth were significantly less rejected (i.e., avoided) than second-generation and non-immigrant youth. Moreover, second-generation adolescents were significantly less rejected than non-immigrant youth.

An inverse pattern was found for peer neglect, wherein first-generation immigrants were significantly more neglected than second-generation and non-immigrant youth. Second-generation adolescents, in turn, were more neglected by their peers than the non-immigrant adolescents. This was consistent with my prediction that immigrant-origin adolescents would be more neglected than third-generation and beyond youth. However, it is important to keep in mind

that neglect was assessed using the sum of acceptance and rejection nominations (i.e., social impact scores). Moreover, there was a strong negative correlation between the indices of rejection and neglect. It is therefore likely that immigrant-origin youth were *more neglected* by the collective due to their low levels of peer rejection. In this way, neglect adds nuance to the understanding of social position. An adolescent who is highly rejected would be considered *less neglected* because neglect assesses the degree to which an individual is visible to the peer group.

Similarly to rejection, there were no differences in peer victimization between first-, second-, and third-generation youth. That is, immigrant-origin youth were not identified by peers as being frequently victimized in school, in comparison to non-immigrant youth. The peer-reported rejection, neglect, and victimization findings were robust throughout the three years of middle school, highlighting the robust nature of peer perceptions over time.

Consistent with past research (e.g., Bianchi et al., 2021; Fandrem et al., 2012; Strohmeier et al., 2011; Sulkowski et al., 2014), immigrant-origin adolescents self-reported significantly more victimization than the non-immigrant youth. More specifically, in the first year of middle school (i.e., sixth grade), first- and second-generation adolescents were targeted and harassed at school more than youth of the third-generation and beyond. At the end of middle school (i.e., eighth grade), first-generation adolescents were significantly more victimized than second-generation and third-generation and beyond youth. The second-generation youth no longer differed from their non-immigrant peers. These findings suggest that the self-perceptions of second-generation youth may be more malleable than those of their first- and third-generation peers. One possible explanation for such findings is that second-generation youths' perceptions of their victimization experiences are less stable over time than the self-perceptions of first- or third-generation youth. For instance, it may be possible that youth begin to consider their

experiences somewhat normal. However, it is also possible that as the peer collective gets to know their immigrant grademates over the years, second- and third-generation adolescents begin to converge in their socioemotional experiences and social position. Notably, all adolescents' self-perceptions of victimization decreased over the three years, regardless of their specific generational status.

Together, the peer-report indices of social exclusion suggest that first-generation youth are not outrightly rejected or victimized, but they are less visible (i.e., more neglected) to their peers. Said differently, although first-generation youth are not necessarily avoided or perceived as victims by their peers, they are also not *un-excluded*. The self-perceived victimization findings tell a different story, wherein immigrant-origin youth, especially of the first generation, report greater experiences of victimization. These self-report findings add support to the existing literature on self-perceived victimization and immigrant generational status (e.g., Sulkowski et al., 2014). However, the discrepancy between peer- and self-reported victimization contrasts with Strohmeier et al. (2011), who studied exclusion among Finnish elementary students and demonstrated high rates of peer *and* self-perceived victimization among first-generation immigrant children.

Taken together, the bigger picture that emerges is that while first- and second-generation adolescents were reasonably well-liked at school and their grademates consider them friends, their circles of inclusive peers and friends might be small. They are not necessarily known by all grademates and their unintentional or intentional neglect may be interpreted by them as one form of exclusion or mistreatment. As such, it cannot be said that the youth as a whole are ignored or outcast. Instead, when the various indices of inclusion and exclusion are considered in concert, it

appears that it is specifically the negative social experiences of immigrant-origin adolescents that go unnoticed by the peer group.

I propose two hypotheses for these findings, having to do with school-based manifestations of societal marginalization and oppression. First, immigrant-origin youth, especially first-generation, may be structurally segregated from their non-immigrant peers (Gándara & Orfield, 2010; Juvonen et al., 2019). Many first-generation youth spend parts of their school day in English Language classrooms which are composed of other English Learner (EL) students, most of whom are also immigrant-origin. The youth are also often tracked into remedial or “less rigorous” classes (Gándara & Orfield, 2010). As a result, non-immigrant youth may physically spend less time per day interacting with immigrant-origin peers, and may not even recognize their names when presented with a list of grademates. A second possibility is that immigrant-origin youths’ understanding of victimization is distinct from those of their non-immigrant peers. For one, immigrant youth may interpret social neglect as an act of victimization. Moreover, bullying and rejection of immigrant-origin youth might be normalized at school. Therefore when asking youth who they notice being picked on or want to avoid, their immigrant-origin grademates may not come to mind as targets. Identity-based bullying is commonly delivered in a joking manner, and therefore taunting an immigrant student’s name, accent, or style of dress may be normalized during adolescence (e.g., Benner et al., 2022; Kohli & Solórzano, 2012).

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite the contributions, there are several limitations of the present research. First, I did not examine racial differences in adolescents’ social position, primarily due to the inadequate sample size for particular groups (e.g., first-generation Black youth). While meta-analyses

document conflicting results about the rates of exclusion experienced by youth of minoritized racial/ethnic backgrounds compared to their White peers (Barlett & Wright, 2018; Vitoroulis & Vaillancourt, 2015), immigrant youth who are of marginalized racial/ethnic backgrounds are significantly more excluded than those who are not (e.g., Plenty & Jonsson, 2017). Therefore, it is critical to understand whether immigrant-origin youth of Color are at elevated risk for exclusion. In a similar vein, I did not examine generational differences in discrimination. While I presume that discrimination falls under victimization, emerging research highlights the unique socioemotional consequences of identity-based bullying (Galán et al., 2021). These topics remain critical next steps in research on immigrant-origin youths' social position within their school contexts.

In the current study I examined peer nominations from all grademates, and therefore do not know the social identities of individual nominators. For example, it is possible that the nominations received by immigrant-origin youth came from a subset of grademates. Although my methods allowed me to examine different forms of exclusion ranging from neglect to victimization, they did not allow me to assess network segregation. Thus, it is clear that a combination of methods (i.e., a range of peer nominations assessing forms of exclusion as well as social network analyses) would be needed to get at all aspects of social positioning within an organization such as a middle school. Additionally, social network analyses would enable assessment of the centrality of an adolescent within the peer group.

Additionally, qualitative examination of the different types of positive and negative social experiences would reveal more about youths' social position. For example, would the generational groups differentially perceive the act of teasing a grademate for the smell of their cultural foods at lunch?

It would also be important to understand the influence of structural factors on social position. For example, what role might school racial/ethnic composition, generational status composition, and representation of in-group peers play? Consistent with past research on the socioemotional benefits of school racial/ethnic diversity (Juvonen et al., 2018), it is likely that adolescents are most included and least excluded in diverse contexts. Moderating factors to explore include racial climate, authority support for diversity, and language education models (e.g., schools employing dual immersion methods versus those with English Language classrooms).

Last, what factors might affect the robustness of peer perceptions over time? In the present study, I found that all peer-reported indices of social position were robust over the three years of middle school. This begs the question of whether an adolescent having a particularly difficult sixth grade would be socially marred for the rest of middle school. Last, future research may explore the predictive validity of the various indicators of social position. For example, is peer rejection more developmentally consequential than lack of acceptance?

Conclusions

While the peer context is important for development, it is critical to consider multiple indicators in order to gain a nuanced understanding of adolescents' social position. Had the current study examined peer rejection and victim reputation without assessment of neglect and self-perceptions of victimization, immigrant-origin youth would appear to be faring well among their peers. Thus, much nuance can be gained by using multiple perspectives to understand the peer context within which youth develop. Positive and supportive relationships with peers can be a resource for adolescents and can provide key emotional validation while youth problem-solve their way through development. Yet, when young people simultaneously have to contend with

neglect, it may promote a sense of marginalization. In the present study, the data seems to support this idea. Moreover, the findings reiterate the importance of self-reports, particularly for understanding the experience of immigrant adolescents as they may otherwise be rendered invisible at school.

Study 2: Immigrant-origin Youths' Friendships across Middle School

Friendships are critical during adolescence, as they provide youth with a sense of intimacy, validation, and belonging. For immigrant-origin adolescents, friendships can also ease the stressors of migration and acculturation. Similar peers may be critical in helping youth navigate these challenges, yet little is known to date about the friendships of immigrant-origin adolescents (i.e., who do they befriend, are these relationships long-lasting) and how they perceive these relationships (e.g., how much emotional support is derived). However, in light of the shared feelings of being “different” and not belonging, I presume that close friendships with other immigrant-origin peers may be socioemotionally supportive during adolescence. Below, I briefly review the relevant literature on adolescent friendships, and the presumed and tested functions of different types of friendships (i.e., same- versus cross-group relations).

Friendships provide a uniquely open and egalitarian context where adolescents can connect with similar others on the basis of shared interests, identities, and competencies (Hartup, 1999). Friendships imply a give-and-take; friends support and look out for each other, and care about each other's best interests. In contrast to caregiver relationships, friendships are more similar to the social relationships youth will develop as they enter adulthood (Sullivan, 1953). Once a certain level of intimacy and closeness has developed within the relationship, friends are optimal others with whom adolescents may independently explore aspects of the self – trying out different identities, styles of dress, or hobbies – with minimized risk of broader rejection or

isolation from peers. In effect, friendships function as relational contexts where youth may safely discover who they are, what they like, and where they fit in the world (Sullivan, 1953). Thus, these relationships can be considered a necessity for positive socioemotional development, rather than merely luxury (Ladd, 1990).

From an ecological perspective (García Coll et al., 1996; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018), adolescence may be particularly challenging for youth from marginalized backgrounds (e.g., minoritized racial/ethnic groups, immigrant-origin youth, etc.). Not only must these youth progress toward achieving the normative developmental tasks for their age (e.g., self-regulation, integrating multiple social identities); they must also simultaneously learn how to navigate their social positioning in the world and develop strategies to overcome the social marginalization (e.g., racism, xenophobia) they or their communities experience. For marginalized and minoritized youth, then, positive peer relations may be particularly critical for positive development. I presume that friendships with similarly marginalized or minoritized peers can serve as safe spaces for these youth to learn about social and cultural norms; explore their values and identities; and gain a sense of intimacy, validation, and belonging in spite of broader, societal-level exclusion.

Friendships with Similar Others

Youth are most drawn to befriend peers who are similar to them in some way or another (i.e., homophily; McPherson et al., 2001). In fact, there is a greater propensity for youth from similar backgrounds to cluster together than would be expected by chance (e.g., Carlson et al., 2003; Moody, 2001). Homophily is typically observed along lines of race/ethnicity (Hallinan & Williams, 1990), gender (Clark & Ayers, 1992), and other demographic characteristics (McPherson et al., 2001). In Western nations, where society is heavily stratified by

race/ethnicity, the formation of same-ethnic (or same-race) friendships is most common. Ethnic homophily has a variety of benefits, particularly for adolescents from minoritized or marginalized racial/ethnic backgrounds. Same-ethnic friendships are a critical resource for youth to draw upon in overcoming the negative influence of societal stereotypes about, and perceptions of, marginalized racial/ethnic groups, and have been linked to positive in-group attitudes, ethnic identity development, and school connectedness (e.g., Benner & Wang, 2017; Graham et al., 2014; Kiang & Fuligni, 2009; Yip et al., 2010).

Studies of homophily among immigrant-origin youth have primarily examined same-ethnic friendships. Immigrant adolescents' same-ethnic friendships are likely shaped by factors such as length of residence in the host country, language use, interest in same- versus cross-ethnic friendships, and multicultural identity challenges (e.g., acculturative stress, discrimination). Predictors of immigrant-origin youths' ethnic homophily include, for example, acculturation orientation, or the degree to which an adolescent is oriented toward the host culture (Titzmann, 2014; Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2009).

While research on the influence of immigrant generational status upon friendships is limited, it is reasonable to presume that befriending same-generation peers is protective, particularly for first- and second-generation youth as they can ease the challenges associated with immigration and acculturation (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). Through such friendships, immigrant-origin adolescents may derive invaluable social support and identity negotiation strategies that are critical to their positive development.

To my knowledge, there are two studies that have specifically examined the generational status of immigrant-origin youths' friends. Both studies relied on data from Wave 1 of the National Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Health (i.e., Add Health), surveying seventh through

12th grade students. McMillan (2019) found that first- and second-generation adolescents were significantly more likely to befriend same-generation peers (e.g., a friendship between two first-generation adolescents) than non-immigrant youth. In contrast, Reynolds and Crea (2017) showed that immigrant-origin adolescents were more likely to cross generational status boundaries in friendship than non-immigrant youth. One potential explanation is the generational composition of the participating middle and high schools. Whereas McMillan (2019) examined friendships among the full Add Health sample, Reynolds and Crea (2017) excluded all schools with fewer than 5% immigrant-origin students. Thus, McMillan's findings may illustrate the phenomenon of "hunkering down," or the preference to affiliate with in-group members when the in-group is small (Quillian & Campbell, 2003). Neither study examined the supportiveness or duration of these friendships.

Together, the evidence on demographic-based homophily underscores the importance of friendships with similar others in facilitating adolescent adjustment. Friendships with similar others are often higher in quality and stability than friendships with peers who youth do not share identities with (e.g., Aboud et al., 2003). Therefore, in-group friendships may be important particularly for youth who are neglected by the broader peer collective. For example, a second-generation Salvadorian American adolescent might best be able to develop positive attitudes about the self and the in-group by befriending same-ethnic peers who can validate their struggles at school, with family, and the challenge of creating harmony between two cultural scripts – Salvadorian culture and US culture – that are often positioned in conflict with each other. In other words, it is implied that a friend who shares one's racial/ethnic background also shares a variety of psychological attributes. These similarities result in a strengthened friendship, and positive peer influence. However, what Titzmann and colleagues (2009, 2014) more explicitly

highlight is that selection of in-group friends is driven by similarity of lived experiences. That is, a second-generation Salvadorian American youth's same-ethnic friends likely understand the specific experiences of being rejected by peers for bringing in cultural foods for lunch, or of being victimized for having a non-English name (Kohli & Solórzano, 2012). What is less understood is whether this similarity in lived experiences can also bond youth who do not share cultural attributes such as race/ethnicity or immigrant generational status (e.g., a second-generation Salvadorian American teen and a first-generation Ghanaian teen). In other words, the question is whether homophily can be observed along lines of broader immigration-origin background.

Friendships with Dissimilar Others

While lower in frequency than in-group friendships (McPherson et al., 2001; Moody, 2001), the developmental benefits of cross-group friendships are vast. Specifically, I focus my discussion on the most relevant cross-group ties: those with peers of a different immigration history. While the literature on cross-generation friendships is sparse, some work has examined what developmental benefits may arise from befriending peers of a different immigrant generational status. The majority of the work on cross-generation friendships has been conducted in Europe. Several studies have found that non-immigrant youths' friendships with immigrant peers are associated with decreased anti-immigrant attitudes over time (Miklikowska, 2017; Özdemir & Özdemir, 2017; Titzmann et al., 2015). Similarly, immigrant-origin adolescents' friendships with non-immigrant peers are associated with improved attitudes toward the societal majority (Hooijsma & Juvonen, 2021).

Youth with cross-generation friendships are also better-positioned developmentally in other domains; Reynolds and Crea (2017) found that both immigrant and non-immigrant youths'

cross-generation friendships were positively associated with school connectedness. Cross-generation friendships can also be particularly instrumental for immigrant-origin youth (Chan & Birman, 2009; Yeh et al., 2007). Non-immigrant peers are critical resources for facilitating immigrant-origin youths' acculturation (e.g., comfort using English, familiarity with US cultural norms and values). This has downstream consequences for immigrant-origin youths' adjustment as adolescents reporting familiarity and comfort with both the heritage culture and host culture are among the best-adjusted (Farver et al., 2002; Yan et al., 2021). In sum, cross-group friendships have a variety of potential socioemotional benefits for adolescent development, and thus it is important for youth to cultivate relationships with dissimilar peers as well similar ones.

Current Study

Friendships with similar peers may be critical in helping immigrant-origin youth navigate the complex peer dynamics of the American middle school. Yet, little is known about the friendships of immigrant-origin adolescents (i.e., who do they befriend, are these relationships long-lasting). Thus, the goal of this study is to document immigrant-origin youths' friendships over the middle school years. I presume that for immigrant-origin adolescents, access to multiple cultural worlds is a potential strength and flexibility that allows connection with the broader peer group, blurring lines of identity typically considered rigid such as race/ethnicity. Thus, while friendships have typically been categorized into same- and cross-group based on the salient social identity of race/ethnicity, I presume that immigrant-origin youths' understanding of who is similar to them – and by extension, who is dissimilar – is much broader and more fluid. Namely I expect that immigrant-origin youth are likely to befriend other immigrant-origin peers (heretofore referred to as *IOY friendships*). I expect that IOY friendships will bridge across race/ethnicity and immigrant generational status, bringing together immigrant youth of diverse

cultural backgrounds. For example, an IOY friendship may be between a second-generation Korean adolescent and a second-generation Guatemalan adolescent. An IOY friendship may also be between a first-generation Italian adolescent and a first-generation Pakistani adolescent.

This study has two aims. First, given the absence of literature on immigrant-origin youths' friendships, **I descriptively examine their friends to identify patterns in friend race/ethnicity and immigrant background.** The purpose here is to identify *who* immigrant-origin youth are friends with, and what are the social identities of those friends. I predict that immigrant-origin youth will be more likely to befriend other immigrant-origin peers, as opposed to befriend non-immigrant peers. Moreover, I expect that immigrant-origin youth will be less likely to befriend same-ethnic peers than non-immigrant youth. In other words, I predict that immigrant-origin youth will be more likely to cross racial/ethnic boundaries in friendship than their non-immigrant peers, and therefore will have more racially/ethnically diverse friendships.

The second aim of the study is to describe the quality and duration of IOY friendships. Non-immigrant youths' same-ethnic friendships are the most well-documented and -understood form of friendship homophily during adolescence (McPherson et al., 2001), and these friendships are particularly high in quality and duration. Therefore, I will first conduct *between-subjects comparisons* of the friendships of immigrant-origin and non-immigrant youth to test for evidence of the relational features associated with homophily. I hypothesize that IOY friendships – regardless of friend race/ethnicity and immigrant generation – will be similar in quality and duration to non-immigrant, same ethnic friendships. Second, I tease apart the specific contribution of shared immigrant background to friendship quality and duration. To do so, I conduct *within-subjects analyses* examining variations in the quality and duration of IOY friendships as a function of the friends' demographic characteristics (i.e., race/ethnicity,

immigrant background). Here, I predict that shared immigrant background will be associated with greater friendship quality and duration.

The present study contributes to the existing literature in several ways. First, I merge the developmental literatures on peer relations and acculturation psychology. In doing so, I adopt a more sophisticated conceptual approach which considers the ways the psychological experience of immigration – and frequent identity border-crossing (Anzaldúa, 1987) – may affect the friendships of both first- and second-generation youth. Moreover, I systematically study the friendships of diverse immigrant-origin youth relative to their non-immigrant peers, accounting for friend characteristics. This allows me to tease apart the relative effects of race/ethnicity and immigrant background upon friend selection and friendship processes. To my knowledge, no such study of immigrant-origin adolescents' friendships exists. Finally, students in the current study come from a variety of diverse, multiethnic middle schools. As a result, I am able to understand the particular features (i.e., quality, duration) of cross-ethnic friendships in contexts where students can befriend out-group peers who may either be of the societally dominant group (i.e., White Americans) or of a marginalized racial/ethnic background.

Methods

Participants

Participants for the current study were drawn from a large, longitudinal study of adolescent development with an initial sample of $N=5,991$ (52% female). Data collection took place across three cohorts and was collected in four waves between 2009 and 2014. Students participated in the study in the fall of sixth grade and again in the spring of sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. The analyses relied on data from the spring of sixth, seventh, and eighth grades.

As there were two planned comparisons (between-subjects, and within-subjects), two distinct analytic samples were used. The between-subjects comparisons examined immigrant-origin youths' friendships relative to those of their non-immigrant peers, in an analytic sample of 4,740 youth (53% girls; Table 2). This included two groups: *immigrant-origin adolescents* who report having other immigrant-origin peers as their friends (e.g., a first-generation Latinx adolescent nominating a second-generation African peer), and *non-immigrant youth* who report having other non-immigrant, same-ethnic peers as their friends (e.g., a third-generation Latinx adolescent nominating a third-generation Latinx peer).

The within-subjects comparisons relied on 3,286 immigrant-origin youth (Table 3) for whom outgoing or given friendship nominations were available. These analyses investigated immigrant-origin adolescents' friendship duration and quality as a function of the friends' immigrant or non-immigrant background.

Students who did not attend the same middle school (i.e., who transferred schools) during the three waves of data collection were excluded ($n=121$), as youth were asked only to name friends attending their same school (and hence duration estimates are affected by school transfers). Moreover, youth who made no friendship nominations at any point during the middle school years were excluded from the sample ($n=1,130$).

Procedure

All sixth-grade students were recruited across 26 racially/ethnically diverse public California middle schools. Youth received parental consent forms and informational letters to bring home. Forms were provided in English, Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean as necessary. Students returning a signed consent form – regardless of whether they received parental permission – were entered into a raffle of two \$50 gift cards and two iPods. Across the

26 schools, parental consent rates averaged 81% while student assent rates averaged 83%. Questionnaires were administered by trained researchers in a classroom setting. Students were reminded about the confidentiality of their responses and that their participation was voluntary. The survey took approximately one hour to complete; students were compensated \$5 at each of the sixth grade timepoints (i.e., fall and spring), and \$10 in seventh and eighth grades. Eighty-six and 81% of the analytic sample were retained in seventh and eighth grades, respectively. Surveys were administered on a particular day during students' homeroom period. Therefore, some adolescents who were absent from school may not have participated in a particular timepoint.

Measures

Student Demographics

In the fall of sixth grade, students completed a number of demographic measures.

Race/ethnicity. Youth self-reported their racial/ethnic background based on a list of 12 choices and an additional write-in option. The raw data is recoded and is represented by six dummy variables coding Black, East/Southeast Asian, White, Latinx, Multiracial, and Other. The "Other" racial/ethnic category included South Asian, Filipinx/Pacific Islander, Middle Eastern, and Native American youth. In the analyses, the reference group was rotated to examine all possible comparisons.

Immigrant Background. Students reported where they, their mother, and their father were born. Youth who were born outside of the United States were considered first-generation, while those who were born in the US with at least one foreign-born parent were considered second-generation. First- and second-generation youth were classified as being of immigrant origin. Adolescents reporting that they and their parents were born in the US were considered third-generation and beyond (heretofore referred to as non-immigrant). Immigrant background

was dummy-coded, such that immigrant-origin youth were coded “1” and non-immigrant youth were coded “0.”

Home Language Exposure. In the fall of sixth grade, youth were asked “what language(s) do you and your family speak at home?” The raw data was recoded to identify students who were exposed to languages other than English at home. Youth from multilingual versus monolingual households were identified. This measure was used only descriptively, in order to gain a better understanding of the diversity of lived experiences among the immigrant-origin youth in the sample; it was not included in the main analyses.

Friendship-level Predictors

Friendship Nominations. In the spring of each school year, students were prompted to write down the names of an unlimited number of “good friends” in their grade at school. Given the high rates of participation across all the middle schools, friends’ names were recoded with participant or nonparticipant IDs as appropriate. This allowed for the participant friends’ own data (e.g., immigrant-origin background) to be linked to the friendship data. Using these multiple sources of data, same-ethnic friendships, IOY friendships, and non-immigrant friendships were identified. *IOY friendships* were those where both the student and friend self-reported immigrant-origin background (e.g., a second-generation Indian student with a first-generation Jamaican friend). IOY friendships were coded “1” whereas non-immigrant friendships were coded “0.”

The race/ethnicity data are somewhat more complex as determining a match is challenging for Multiracial youth (Nishina & Witkow, 2020). *Same-ethnic friendships* were therefore identified based on youths’ reports of whether their friend shared their same racial/ethnic background. These data were obtained for each friend listed. This subjective measure allowed for the inclusion of Multiracial youth in the sample. For example, it is not clear

whether a friendship between a biracial Black-Latinx adolescent and a monoracial Latinx adolescent should be considered same-ethnic or not. However, if the biracial adolescent considered their monoracial friend as sharing the same racial/ethnic background, the friendship was then classified as same-ethnic. For the sake of uniformity, all friendships of monoracial youth also relied on subjective reports of the students’ named friends. Dichotomous indicators were created – one for each of the above friendship types. Friendships that were same-ethnic were coded “1” whereas friendships that were not were coded “0.” A breakdown of immigrant-origin adolescents’ friendships as a function of friend demographic characteristics is displayed in Table 5.

Table 5. Composition of immigrant-origin youths’ outgoing friendship nominations based on the perceived race/ethnicity of the named friend, as well as friend immigrant background.

Friend immigrant background	Friend ethnicity	
	Same	Cross
Immigrant-origin	7250	6522
Non-immigrant	1847	4129

Friendship-level Outcomes

Friendship Duration. Friendship nominations across the three years of middle school were compared to determine whether a particular peer was nominated at multiple timepoints. For example, an adolescent could nominate “Sarai F.” in the spring of both sixth and seventh grades. The number of waves at which each friend was nominated indicated the friendship duration. For instance, a friendship with a peer nominated in seventh and eighth grades had a duration of two years. Friendship duration ranged from one to three years ($M=1.39$, $SD=0.65$).

Friendship Quality. At each wave of data collection, in addition to listing the names of their friends, youth were asked to report the perceived quality of the relationship. The friendship quality measure was adapted from Furman (1996) and included three items (“this friend can be trusted,” “this friend helps me feel better when I’m upset,” and “this friend sticks up for me/has my back”). Students reported their agreement with each statement on a three-point scale (1=*no/hardly ever*, 3=*yes/almost all the time*). Responses to the three items were averaged together, with higher values indicating greater quality. For the current analyses of friendships that lasted across grades, quality was assessed at the last timepoint of the friendship. In other words, if a friendship persisted from sixth through eighth grades, then the student’s perceptions of the quality of that friendship from eighth grade were used as the outcome (as opposed to friendship quality in sixth grade). Friendship quality ranged from one to three ($M=2.62$, $SD=0.49$).

Student-level Covariates

Sex. Youth self-reported their sex in the fall of sixth grade. The data was dummy-coded, with males serving as the reference group (i.e., 0=*male*, 1=*female*).

Socioeconomic Status. As a proxy for socioeconomic status, when completing the consent forms parents provided their highest level of education on a six-point scale (1=*elementary/junior high school*, 2=*some high school*, 3=*high school diploma or GED*, 4=*some college*, 5=*4-year college degree*, 6=*graduate degree*). The “elementary/junior high school” ($n=539$) and “some high school” ($n=366$) responses were recoded together due to their small sample size, resulting in five dummy variables that represented socioeconomic status. As the largest group in the sample, students whose parents’ highest education level was “some college” served as the reference group ($n=1,178$).

Total Number of Friendships. Given that youth with more friends are also likely to have more unstable friendships (Poulin & Chan, 2010), students' total number of friendships across the middle school years was controlled for. This was calculated by summing together the number of friendship nominations made to unique peers across sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. The total number of friendships youth reported ranged from one to 30 ($M=6.71$, $SD=2.98$).

Proportion Same-ethnic Grademates. Grade-level race/ethnicity data was collected from the California Department of Education website. The proportion of same-ethnic grademates across the 26 middle schools ranged from 0 to .68 ($M_{\text{immigrant-origin}}=.39$, $SD_{\text{immigrant-origin}}=.19$; $M_{\text{non-immigrant}}=.37$, $SD_{\text{non-immigrant}}=.18$). The measure was included as a covariate in all analyses, in order to account for the availability of similar peers. However, it was nonsignificant. Therefore, it was excluded from the final models presented.

Proportion Same-generation Grademates. There are no official school-level data available on immigration status or generational status. Because participation rates across the 26 middle schools were high, it was possible to calculate a measure of grade-level immigrant generational status composition. To do so, individual students' immigrant background data was aggregated by school. The number of participating students of the same immigrant generational status was divided by the total number of participating students at that school, to calculate the schools' generational composition. This was then mapped onto each student's immigrant generational status data, to identify the proportion of grademates sharing the same generational status as the student. The proportion of same-generation grademates ranged from .02 to .72 ($M_{\text{immigrant-origin}}=.44$, $SD_{\text{immigrant-origin}}=.17$; $M_{\text{non-immigrant}}=.45$, $SD_{\text{non-immigrant}}=.10$). The measure was included as a covariate in all analyses but was nonsignificant. Therefore, it was excluded from the final models presented.

Friendship-level Covariates

Out-of-School Contact. *Home contact* was assessed using one item stating, “We go to each other’s houses after school or on weekends.” Responses were on a three-point scale (1=no/hardly ever, 3=yes/almost all the time). *Electronic contact* was assessed with one item stating, “We talk on the phone, text, email, video chat, or IM each other.” Responses were on the same three-point scale. Out-of school contact was controlled for as it has previously been found to positively predict friendship quality and duration.

Analytic Plan

Given that friendships are nested within students, multilevel analyses were conducted in Mplus 8.0 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2022). Missing data was handled using Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML) estimation. FIML is a preferred method for handling missingness up to 25% (Enders & Bandalos, 2001), as it produces less biased estimates than traditional methods (e.g., listwise deletion). For all the main analyses, the unit of analysis is the friendship. The first set of main analyses entailed *between-subjects comparisons* of the quality and duration of IOY friendships relative to non-immigrant, same-ethnic friendships. These analyses included an analytic sample of 4,740 adolescents who made 18,596 outgoing friendship nominations. The two comparison groups were 1,549 non-immigrant youth (i.e., third-generation and beyond) who made 4,268 outgoing friendship nominations to non-immigrant, same-ethnic peers and 3,191 immigrant-origin youth who made 14,328 outgoing friendship nominations to immigrant-origin peers. Friendships were coded dichotomously to indicate whether they were IOY (coded “1”) or non-immigrant, same-ethnic (coded “0”). Multilevel linear regression models were used to predict friendship quality at the last timepoint of the friendship, as well as friendship duration.

The second part of the main analyses entailed *within-subjects comparisons* of friendship quality and duration only among the 3,286 immigrant-origin adolescents, who made 21,192 outgoing friendship nominations. Friend ethnicity (0=*cross-ethnic*, 1=*same-ethnic*) and friend immigrant-origin background (0=*non-immigrant friendship*, 1=*IOY friendship*) served as predictors of friendship quality and friendship duration. Again, multilevel linear regression models were used to predict friendship quality at the last timepoint of the friendship, and friendship duration. All analyses controlled for student-level sex (reference group=*males*), race/ethnicity (reference group=*White*), socioeconomic status (i.e., parental education level; reference group=*some college*), the total number of friendships, the proportion of same-ethnic grademates at school, and the proportion of same-generation grademates at school.

Results

The results are divided into two sections. First, I present a descriptive overview of the immigrant-origin youths' friendships. My aim is to generally overview patterns in the social identities of immigrant-origin adolescents' friends, relative to their non-immigrant peers. The first set of regressions make between-subjects comparisons of the quality and duration of IOY friendships (e.g., a first-generation Syrian adolescent nominating a second-generation Guatemalan friend) to that of non-immigrant, same-ethnic friendships (e.g., a third-generation Black adolescent nominating a third-generation Black friend). The second set of regressions make within-subjects comparisons of the quality and duration of immigrant-origin youths' friendships with other immigrant-origin peers, relative to their friendships with non-immigrant peers.

Preliminary Descriptive Findings

Descriptively, the first task was to identify who immigrant-origin youth were befriending across the three years of middle school (i.e., sixth, seventh, and eighth grades), and whether there were differences in friendship patterns between immigrant-origin and non-immigrant youth. These analyses relied on *independent samples t-tests*. On average, the total number of middle school friendships immigrant-origin youth reported ($M=6.45$, $SD=2.99$) did not significantly differ from the total number reported by non-immigrant youth ($M=6.55$, $SD=3.12$), $t(4456.88)=1.15$, $p>.05$. Yet, immigrant-origin youth reported significantly fewer same-ethnic friendships ($M=2.86$, $SD=2.44$) than non-immigrant youth ($M=3.00$, $SD=2.31$), $t(4732.38)=2.16$, $p<.05$. Immigrant-origin youth also reported significantly fewer same-generation friendships ($M=3.15$, $SD=2.23$) than non-immigrant peers ($M=3.59$, $SD=2.32$), $t(4451.98)=6.82$, $p<.001$. Said differently, while immigrant-origin and non-immigrant youth do not significantly differ in terms of the total friendship network size, immigrant-origin make significantly more outgoing friendship nominations to cross-ethnic and cross-generation peers than non-immigrant youth do.

Although immigrant-origin adolescents reported fewer same-generation friendships (e.g., a first-generation adolescent nominating a first-generation peer), they nevertheless nominated significantly more peers who were immigrant-origin ($M=4.37$, $SD=2.49$) relative to non-immigrant youth ($M=2.76$, $SD=2.06$), $t(5132.27)=-25.78$, $p<.001$. Notably, immigrant-origin youth were also significantly more likely to perceive these immigrant-origin friends as same-ethnic than they were to perceive their non-immigrant friends ($OR=2.49$). When objective friend ethnicity was controlled for in a subsample excluding Multiracial adolescents, the finding persisted ($OR=1.24$). In other words, shared immigrant background appears to drive immigrant-origin adolescents to *perceive* a friend as being of a shared racial/ethnic background, even if that friend is of a different group.

Multilevel Models

To calculate intraclass coefficients (ICCs), unconditional models were estimated, nesting friendships (Level 1) within students (Level 2). The intraclass correlations for friendship quality indicated that a sizeable proportion of variance in friendship quality was attributable to variance between students ($ICC_{Model\ 1} = .33$; $ICC_{Model\ 2} = .35$). The intraclass correlations for friendship duration were small ($ICC_{Model\ 1} = .066$; $ICC_{Model\ 2} = .049$), suggesting that variance in friendship duration was primarily attributable to variance between specific friendships, rather than at the student-level.

Immigrant Versus Non-immigrant Youths' Friendships

The results of Model 1A, predicting friendship quality, are presented on the left hand-side column of Table 6. Electronic contact with the nominated friend was positively associated with friendship quality, such that as electronic contact increased, youths' ratings of the quality of the friendship also increased. Black youth rated their friendships as significantly lower in quality than White youth did. East/Southeast Asian youth also rated their friendships as significantly lower in quality than White youth. Girls rated their friendships as significantly higher quality than boys. Turning to the primary predictor, there was no difference in friendship quality between IOY friendships and non-immigrant, same-ethnic friendships. In other words, immigrant-origin youths' ratings of the quality of their friendships with immigrant-origin peers did not significantly differ from non-immigrant youths' ratings of the quality of their friendships with non-immigrant, same-ethnic peers.

The results of Model 1B, predicting friendship duration, are presented on the right hand-side column of Table 6. Contact with the nominated friend at home was positively associated with friendship duration. In other words, as the time spent with a friend at home increased, so did

the length of time the friendship was maintained for. Electronic contact with the nominated friend was also positively associated with duration. On average, girls' friendships were longer in duration than boys' friendships. The total number of friendships youth reported negatively predicted friendship duration, such that the more friends an adolescent nominated, the less amount of time an individual friendship endured. With respect to the primary predictor, there was no difference in friendship duration between IOY friendships and non-immigrant, same-ethnic friendships. Said differently, immigrant-origin youths' friendships with immigrant-origin peers endured for a similar length of time non-immigrant youths' friendships with non-immigrant, same-ethnic peers.

Taken together, there were no differences in quality or duration between the two types of friendships. Immigrant-origin youths' friendships with other immigrant-origin peers were similar in quality to non-immigrant youths' friendships with non-immigrant, same-ethnic peers. The immigrant-origin friendships were also similar in duration to the non-immigrant friendships.

Immigrant Youths' Friendships with Immigrant Versus Non-Immigrant Peers

The results of Model 2A, predicting friendship quality, are presented on the left hand-side column of Table 7. Electronic contact with the nominated friend was positively associated with friendship quality, such that as electronic contact increased, youths' ratings of the quality of the friendship also increased. Girls rated their friendships as significantly higher quality than boys. First-generation youth rated their friendships as significantly lower in quality than second-generation youth did. The total number of friendships youth reported was positively associated with friendship quality. Turning to the primary predictor, there was no effect of friend immigrant-background on youths' ratings of friendship quality. That is, IOY friendships were no different in quality than immigrant-origin youths' friendships with non-immigrant peers.

The results of Model 2B, predicting friendship duration, are presented on the right hand-side column of Table 7. Contact with the nominated friend at home was positively associated with friendship duration. In other words, as the time spent with a friend at home increased, so did the length of time the friendship was maintained for. Electronic contact with the nominated friend was also positively associated with duration. On average, Black youths' friendships lasted for a longer period of time than White youths' friendships. Girls' friendships were longer in duration than boys' friendships. Youth whose parents had completed a four-year college degree had longer-lasting friendships than youth whose parents had completed only some college. The total number of friendships youth reported negatively predicted friendship duration, such that the more friends an adolescent nominated, the less amount of time an individual friendship endured. With respect to the primary predictor, nominating an immigrant-origin peer as a friend was positively associated with friendship duration. That is, immigrant-origin youths' friendships with immigrant-origin peers were significantly longer in duration than their friendships with non-immigrant peers.

In sum, shared immigrant-origin background did not appear to influence immigrant-origin youths' perceptions of the quality (i.e., supportiveness) of a friendship. That is, immigrant youths' friendships with other immigrant-origin peers were similar in quality to their friendships with non-immigrant peers. However, shared-immigrant background was associated with greater friendship duration.

Table 6. Between-subjects comparisons of friendship quality and duration

	Model 1A: Friendship quality		Model 1B: Friendship duration	
	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>
Friendship-level covariates				
Home contact	-0.007	0.007	.22***	0.009
Electronic contact	.13***	0.006	.07***	0.007
Student-level covariates				
Race/ethnicity				
Black	-.06*	0.02	0.02	0.03
East/Southeast Asian	-.08***	0.02	0.01	0.02
Latinx	-0.02	0.02	-0.03	0.02
Multiracial	0.003	0.02	-0.01	0.02
Other	-0.03	0.03	-0.03	0.02
Sex	.13***	0.01	.03**	0.01
Parent education level				
Less than high school	-0.03	0.02	-0.01	0.02
HS diploma/GED	-0.02	0.02	0.009	0.02
4-year college degree	-0.03	0.02	0.05	0.02
Graduate degree	-0.02	0.02	0.05	0.02
Total number of friends	0.004	0.002	-.03***	0.002

Friendship-level predictor

IOY vs NIOY friendship

0.001

0.02

-0.02

0.02

Table 7. Within-subjects comparisons of friendship quality and duration

		Model 2A: Quality		Model 2B: Duration	
		<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>
Friendship-level covariates					
Home contact		-0.005	0.007	.21***	0.009
Electronic contact		.11***	0.006	.07***	0.007
Student-level covariates					
Race/ethnicity					
	Black	0.004	0.03	.10**	0.04
	East/Southeast Asian	-0.04	0.02	0.02	0.02
	Latinx	0.006	0.02	-0.03	0.02
	Multiracial	0.002	0.03	0.01	0.02
	Other	0.02	0.03	-.01	0.02
Sex		.15***	0.01	.03**	0.01
Parent education level					0.02
	Less than high school	-0.04	0.02	-0.02	0.02
	HS diploma/GED	-0.02	0.02	-0.007	0.02
	4-year college degree	-0.007	0.02	0.03	0.02
	Graduate degree	-0.005	0.02	.04*	0.02
First-generation		-.07***	0.02	0.007	0.01
Total number of friends		.006***	0.002	-.03***	0.002

Friendship-level predictor

Friend immigrant background

-0.003

0.007

.03**

0.01

Discussion

The overarching aims of this study were to identify who immigrant-origin adolescents befriend throughout middle school and who they derive socioemotional support from. Little research has systematically examined the friendship of immigrant-origin youth; instead the literature has focused on the developmental correlates of specific types of friendships (e.g., same- versus cross-ethnic). Therefore, focusing on named (i.e., outgoing) friendships, I first sought to understand who immigrant-origin youth choose as friends while attending diverse and multiethnic California public middle schools. Second, to understand the socioemotional features of the friendships, I conducted between- and within-subjects comparisons which tested for differences in friendship quality and duration as a function of the immigrant generational status of the adolescents and their friends.

On average, immigrant-origin adolescents nominated the same number of friends across the middle school years as their non-immigrant peers. This is in contrast with past research which describes immigrant adolescents as socially isolated, alienated, and having few friends (Cherng et al., 2014; Lilly, 2022; Yeh et al., 2008). The present results suggest that immigrant-origin youth do not struggle to identify peers with whom they can develop close, supportive relationships. In fact, immigrant-origin adolescents nominated significantly more cross-ethnic friends and significantly more cross-generation friends (e.g., a first-generation adolescent nominating a second-generation peer) than the non-immigrant adolescents even after controlling for the availability of same-ethnic and same-generation peers at school. In essence, there was greater diversity in the racial/ethnic and generational composition of immigrant-origin youths' friend groups than there was among non-immigrant youths' friendships. The finding is notable given the salience of social categories during adolescence. While youth do befriend dissimilar

peers, the majority of adolescent friendships are with those with whom the youth already have a great deal in common (McPherson et al., 2001).

It has been suggested that bicultural adolescents (i.e., those with access to two or more cultural worlds, such as immigrant-origin youth) possess greater levels of cognitive and social flexibility (Benet-Martínez et al., 2006; Spiegler & Leyendecker, 2017) due to their multiple cultural orientations. Therefore, it may be that immigrant-origin adolescents are not as susceptible to social category boundaries as non-immigrant youth, which in turn is reflected in having more diverse friendships. The finding that the youth had fewer same-generation friendships is in contrast with McMillan (2019), who showed using social network analyses that immigrant-origin youth befriended same-generation peers at greater rates than non-immigrant youth. Instead, the current findings support Reynolds and Crea's (2017) social network study which found that first- and second-generation adolescents primarily befriended cross-generation peers. Notably, many of the immigrant adolescents in the McMillan study (2019) attended schools with 5% or fewer immigrant-origin peers in the student body. The low representation of in-group members may have contributed to the adolescents' desire to further seek closeness with the few similar others who were available (Quillian & Campbell, 2003). In contrast, the data for the current study was collected in California, where almost 50% of young people are of immigrant-origin background (Kids Data, 2020). Given the representation of immigrant-origin peers, it is possible that the youth in the current study felt more comfortable and empowered to cross generational boundaries at school.

In spite of having fewer same-generation friendships (e.g., between two first-generation adolescents), immigrant-origin youth were more likely to befriend other immigrant-origin peers than they were to befriend non-immigrant grademates. In other words, in terms of the cross-

generation friendships, a first-generation adolescent was far more likely to name a second-generation adolescent as a friend than they were to name a non-immigrant peer as a friend. Additionally, when comparing immigrant-origin adolescents' friendships with other immigrant-origin peers to their friendships with non-immigrants, the youth were more likely to perceive their immigrant-origin friends as being of the same racial/ethnic background as them regardless of the objective racial/ethnic (mis)match, revealing a *similarity bias*. For instance, consider a second-generation Nepali adolescent who is friends with a second-generation Guatemalan peer as well as a third-generation Guatemalan peer. Based on the current findings, the adolescent would be more likely to perceive a cross-ethnic friend as sharing the same racial/ethnic background if that friend was also of immigrant origin. That is, they would be likely to perceive their second-generation Guatemalan friend as same-ethnic (i.e., also Nepali). In sum, the descriptive findings provide preliminary support for the idea that immigrant-origin adolescents perceive race/ethnicity and culture in unique and fluid ways that are distinct from studies of homophily which rely on an objective one-to-one match of social categories. While specific generational status may not be a salient social boundary for immigrant-origin youth, the *general immigrant experience* is quite salient and appears to manifest in their friendships.

The main analyses examining the quality and duration of friendships entailed between-subjects comparisons, as well as within-subjects comparisons. The between-subjects analyses compared immigrant-origin youths' friendships with other immigrant-origin peers to non-immigrant youths' friendships with non-immigrant, same-ethnic peers. The rationale for this comparison was that same-ethnic friendships among non-immigrant youth have long been considered a gold standard of friendship homophily (McPherson et al., 2001). Within the US context, ethnic homophily is a driver of most adolescent friendships, and such friendships are

typically higher in quality and duration than cross-ethnic ones (e.g., Aboud et al., 2003; Rude & Herda, 2010), at least when out-of-school contact is not considered (Lessard et al., 2019). I hypothesized that if immigrant-origin youth similarly display homophily of broader immigrant-origin background, that such friendships should be similar in quality and duration to the non-immigrant, same-ethnic friendships. In support of my predictions, friendships among immigrant-origin youth did not significantly differ in quality (i.e., emotional supportiveness) or duration from the same-ethnic friendships of non-immigrant youth. The implications of these findings are critical, as Reynolds and Crea (2017) found that immigrant youth displaying immigrant generational homophily (i.e., same-generation friendships) were socially marginalized by peers. Such findings that for immigrant youth to befriend other immigrant peers might contribute to their peer exclusion. However, the present findings highlight a different conceptual approach to studies of homophily, by underscoring the similarity in lived experience shared by immigrant youth more generally, regardless of their specific generational status and offer a different perspective from the conclusion based on Reynolds and Crea.

The within-subjects analyses focused on all friendships of immigrant-origin youth, to determine whether immigrant-origin adolescents' friendships with other immigrant-origin peers were higher in quality and duration than their friendships with non-immigrant peers. The analyses revealed partial support for these predictions. In contrast to my hypotheses, there were no differences in friendship quality as a function of the friend's immigrant-origin background. That is, friendships with immigrant-origin peers were equally as supportive as friendships with non-immigrant youth. However, the friendships with immigrant-origin peers were significantly longer in duration than friendships with non-immigrants. Such differences in friendship stability as a function of friend identity have typically been found to relate to differences in out-of-school

contact (Lessard et al., 2019). However, the present analyses controlled for both home and electronic contact between friends, and friendships between two immigrant-origin adolescents were nevertheless longer in duration. Family factors may partially explain this finding; it has been documented that caregivers in immigrant communities ensure youths' enculturation (i.e., learning about the heritage culture) and positive development through parental and community monitoring (Rios et al., 2020; Zhou & Bankston, 1994), including restricting youth from befriending cross-group peers. Perhaps caregivers are more welcoming of immigrant-origin adolescents bringing home another immigrant-origin friend to hang out with, than a non-immigrant friend. This may contribute to the increased duration of the immigrant-origin friendships.

Limitations and Future Directions

A limitation of the present research is that I did not examine differences in friendships as a function of racial/ethnic background. This was a methodological limitation of the study, due to the inadequate sample size for some groups (e.g., third-generation East/Southeast Asian youth, first-generation Black youth). It is important to explore whether immigrant-origin youth of marginalized racial/ethnic backgrounds are more likely to befriend other immigrant-origin peers than White immigrant-origin youth, particularly due to their multiple marginalized identities. Future research should use more purposive recruitment and sampling in order to understand whether youth of certain racial/ethnic backgrounds derive greater support from befriending other immigrant-origin peers.

The present study relied on a global three-item measure to assess quality. However, there are multiple forms of support that youth may derive from their friends such as companionship, conflict, and more tangible forms of help (e.g., with homework; Bukowski et al., 1994). Perhaps

immigrant-origin youth seek out other immigrant-origin peers to provide a particular kind of closeness and validation, whereas they approach non-immigrant peers for other kinds of support. Also, the current analyses examined differences in friendship quality from the last wave of the friendship. In other words, if a friendship lasted from sixth through seventh grades, then quality in seventh grade was tested. However, this method does not account for fluctuations in friendship quality throughout a friendship. While I presumed that the friendship would be highest in quality at the last timepoint, perhaps friendship quality was lower at that time due to the friendship subsequently dissolving. Moreover, a friendship which lasted for only one grade would potentially be lower in quality than a friendship lasting for three grades because the adolescents would have more time to develop warmth and closeness. On the other hand, there may be more opportunities for conflict to arise over the course of an enduring friendship, which could negatively affect the quality. Therefore, future research should examine the ways in which friendship quality and duration may be related to one another.

It would be important for the current study to be replicated in a different part of the country, as the California context is quite unique and diverse. In geographic regions that are less racially/ethnically or generationally diverse, the friendship patterns of immigrant-origin youth may differ. The youth may be more drawn to befriend each other, as evidenced by McMillan (2019). In a climate that is not welcoming, the similarity of lived experience that other immigrant-origin youth offer may be an important source of solace and solidarity. Alternatively, youth may distance themselves from other immigrant students, attempting to assimilate to the mainstream culture (Berry & Sam, 1997).

Qualitative research might explore how immigrant-origin youth perceive their peers' racial/ethnic background and immigrant generational status, relative to their own. The present

study found that immigrant adolescents display a similarity bias, perceiving their immigrant-origin friends as sharing their racial/ethnic background, over and above the objective friend ethnicity. Therefore, it would be interesting to explore whether youth describe their immigrant-origin friends in terms that allude to a shared background.

General Conclusions

It is challenging for any adolescent to navigate the social environment in middle school, due to its larger size and departmentalized structure where classmates can vary from one class to the next (Juvonen et al., 2001). While it is difficult to get to know most grademates in large urban schools, the social challenges might be particularly difficult for immigrant-origin youth. Although their multicultural identities provide them with social flexibility, they may also require shifting and negotiating between conflicting cultural roles, expectations, and ways of being (e.g., Yeh et al., 2011). In many ways, being of immigrant-origin is a developmental asset (García Coll & Marks, 2012), particularly in today's multiracial and multicultural world. However, peers may not see this cultural richness as a strength, and instead view it as too "different" and undesirable. Indeed, the predominate literature on immigrant-origin youth paint these youth as experiencing frequent exclusion and socioemotional neglect (e.g., Cherng et al., 2014; Strohmeier et al., 2011; Yeh et al., 2008). Therefore, the aim of this two-study dissertation was to understand from multiple perspectives, and using multiple indices, the social position and friendships of immigrant-origin youth.

In Study 1, I found that first- and second-generation youth were relatively well-included in their schools. That is, they were liked and had close, positive relationships with peers. However, peers do not perceive the exclusion of immigrant-origin youth and instead relegate them to a marginalized "invisible" status, wherein their negative experiences remain unnoticed

or ignored by the collective. By examining inclusion and exclusion simultaneously, a more nuanced understanding of immigrant youths' social position arises than could be captured by studying inclusion or exclusion alone. The immigrant-origin youth in the study are socially included, but they are at the same time moderately excluded.

Study 2 focused on friendships from the perspective of the immigrant-origin adolescents themselves, in order to more deeply unpack their social inclusion. The findings here mirrored the Study 1 inclusion findings, as youth had a similar number of friends as their non-immigrant peers. Immigrant-origin youth appear to fluently cross salient social boundaries such as racial/ethnic background and immigrant generational status to make friends. The between- and within-subjects findings together suggest that immigrant-origin youth are drawn to befriend very diverse friends. Friendships with other immigrant-origin peers were particularly enduring, while all friendships were high quality. Together, Study 2 provides evidence to support the idea of homophily of immigrant-origin background. That is, having the shared lived experience of access to multiple cultural traditions seems to override other types of homophily.

The fact that immigrant-origin adolescents display a *similarity bias*, or tendency to perceive immigrant-origin friends as same-ethnic regardless of the objective friend ethnicity supports the idea that immigrant-origin youth may perceive identity categories in more fluid ways than their non-immigrant peers. This has important implications for the current political climate, which is characterized by a high level of partisanship and divisiveness (Meyer et al., 2022). Perhaps there are insights for researchers, interventionists, and educators to learn from immigrant-origin youth about how to consider social identity in ways that are less polarizing. Immigrant youth may have the power to facilitate solidarity building and collective action across racial/ethnic and generational status.

In sum, the big picture of the social worlds of immigrant-origin youth obtained through these two studies challenges in part the notion of social position and status during adolescence. While inclusion and exclusion may be studied relatively separately, there is much to be gained by examining the two in concert, using multiple indices and multiple perspectives. By triangulating multiple data sources, a more nuanced understanding of youths' social experiences can be gained. Particularly, peer neglect is a unique construct as it further contextualizes the experiences of acceptance and rejection. By examining *visibility* among the peer collective, we gain unique insights into a particular kind of exclusion that is distinct from outright avoidance. Together, the studies demonstrate that though immigrant-origin youth are neglected and victimized, they are also generally liked by peers and have close friendships which are strong and supportive. These findings complicate the negative narratives about immigrant youths' social worlds. To further bolster these findings, the current study should be replicated in geographic regions of the United States which are less racially/ethnically diverse and have a lower representation of immigrants.

Appendix A
Friendship Nominations

About My Friends at School

List the names of your GOOD FRIENDS in the 7th grade at this school. For each friend you list, answer the set of questions about that friend by filling in the bubbles. You can list as many names as you want. Let the researcher know if you need another sheet.

Please use the following scale to answer items 1 – 6 about your friend:

Ⓐ = No/Hardly ever Ⓑ = Sometimes Ⓒ = Yes/Almost all the time



Write First and Last Name of Friend ("John Doe")	1. We go to each other's houses after school or on weekends	2. We talk on the phone, text, email, video chat or IM each other	3. This friend can be trusted	4. This friend helps me feel better when I'm upset	5. This friend sticks up for me/ has my back	6. I can talk to my friend if I have a problem at home or in school	7. Do you have the same math teacher		8. This friend is the same ethnic group as me	
							Yes	No	Yes	No
	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	○ ○	○ ○	
	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	○ ○	○ ○	
	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	○ ○	○ ○	
	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	○ ○	○ ○	
	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	○ ○	○ ○	
	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	○ ○	○ ○	
	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ	○ ○	○ ○	

***Before you move to the next section: Circle the name of your best friend or best friends.**

Appendix B

Friendship Quality (part of the friendship nomination measure in Appendix A)

About My Friends at School

List the names of your GOOD FRIENDS in the 7th grade at this school. For each friend you list, answer the set of questions about that friend by filling in the bubbles. You can list as many names as you want. Let the researcher know if you need another sheet.

Please use the following scale:

A= No/Hardly ever B=Sometimes C=Yes/Almost all the time

Write First and Last Name of Friend (Ex. "John Doe")	This friend can be trusted.	This friend helps me feel better when I'm upset.	This friend sticks up for me/has my back.
1.	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C
2.	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C
3.	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C
4.	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C
5.	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C
6.	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C
7.	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> A <input type="radio"/> B <input type="radio"/> C

Appendix C
Peer Nominations

THE KIDS IN MY GRADE

Name students from the 7th grade who fit the following descriptions. You can list as many names as you want for each question and the same name can be used for more than one question. Please write clearly, first and last names. The class list helps you remember the spelling of the names.

Which 7th grade students...

are kind and considerate of other kids?

do you not like to hang out with at school?

get picked on by other kids (get hit or pushed around, called bad names, talked about behind their backs)?

would you like to hang out with at school?

Appendix D. Self-Perceived Victimization

We know many 6 (7,8)th graders often think about themselves and wonder whether they are happy the way they are or whether they would prefer to be different. To understand how YOU feel about yourself, we ask you to choose between two statements in this section: "Some kids feel one way, BUT other kids feel a different way." It's perfectly OK to feel either way.

You need to make TWO choices:

- A. First, CIRCLE which of the two statements is more like you.
- B. Then fill in the bubble ON THE SIDE OF YOUR CIRCLED STATEMENT to show if the statement is "sort of true" or "really true" for you.

Responses	1	2	3	4
	Really true for me	Sort of true for me	Sort of true for me	Really true for me
	<i>Some kids are...</i>		<i>Other kids are...</i>	
WAL1	<u>often</u> <u>unhappy</u> with themselves	BUT	<u>pretty</u> <u>pleased</u> with themselves	1,4
WAL2	<u>not</u> called bad names by other kids	BUT	<u>often</u> called bad names by other kids	1,2,3,4
WAL3	<u>don't</u> like the way they are leading their life	BUT	<u>do</u> like the way they are leading their life	1
WAL4	<u>not</u> talked about badly (gossiped about) behind their backs	BUT	<u>often</u> talked about badly (gossiped about) behind their backs	1,2,3,4
WAL5	<u>happy</u> with themselves as a person	BUT	<u>often</u> <u>not</u> happy with themselves as a person	1,4
WAL6	<u>often</u> picked on by other kids	BUT	<u>not</u> picked on by other kids	1,2,3
WAL7	very <u>happy</u> being the way they are	BUT	wish they were <u>different</u>	1,4
WAL8	<u>not</u> hit and pushed around by other kids	BUT	<u>often</u> hit and pushed around by other kids	1,2,3,4
WAL9	<u>not</u> very happy about the way they do a lot of things	BUT	think the way they do things is <u>fine</u>	1
WAL10	<u>like</u> the kind of person they are	BUT	<u>often</u> <u>wish</u> they were someone else	1,4
WAL11	<u>often</u> called bad names or insulted by other kids <u>online</u>	BUT	<u>not</u> called bad names or insulted by other kids <u>online</u>	4

Responses	1	2	3	4
	Really true	Sort of true	Sort of true	Really true

Appendix E. Correlation matrix of all outcome variables.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
1. Number of Friends (6th grade)	--																		
2. Number of Friends (7th grade)	.506**	--																	
3. Number of Friends (8th grade)	.396**	.497**	--																
4. Peer Acceptance (6th grade)	.627**	.410**	.326**	--															
5. Peer Acceptance (7th grade)	.415**	.584**	.393**	.425**	--														
6. Peer Acceptance (8th grade)	.329**	.408**	.561**	.356**	.425**	--													
7. Peer Rejection (6th grade)	0.021	-.035**	-.062**	.055**	0.017	-0.007	--												
8. Peer Rejection (7th grade)	.075**	.043**	-0.022	.092**	.068**	.043**	.514**	--											
9. Peer Rejection (8th grade)	.079**	.062**	0.023	.087**	.066**	.065**	.393**	.498*	--										
10. Peer Neglect (6th grade)	-.423**	-.243**	-.166**	-.687**	-.287**	-.224**	.749**	.432*	.348*	--									
11. Peer Neglect (7th grade)	-.312**	-.395**	-.229**	-.329**	-.668**	-.295**	.392**	.781*	.415*	.500*	--								
12. Peer Neglect (8th grade)	-.262**	-.299**	-.365**	-.285**	-.314**	-.667**	.287**	.399*	.778*	.398*	.496*	--							

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