Confidence with Interracial Contact: An investigation into Strategic Colour-blindness, Cross-Ethnic Friendship Self-Efficacy, and Racial Terminology

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I dedicate this thesis to you, Ms. Millie.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work carried out under the normal terms of supervision.

Caitlin M. Baker

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

"But, if you're thinkin' about my baby
It don't matter if you're black or white"
(Jackson & Bottrell, 1991, track 8)

These lyrics from Michael Jackson's song "Black or White" perfectly encapsulate the general aspiration of Strategic Colour Blindness (SCB): that one's race does not matter. SCB purports that by not discussing race, we can avoid the ills of racism and ultimately improve intergroup relations. However, although it may not matter if you're Black or White, what does matter is if people refuse to talk about issues regarding race because "race does not matter".

Strategic colour blindness refers to when individuals avoid acknowledging race, even in situations in which it is relevant, because they are afraid of being seen as racist (Apfelbaum, Sommers & Norton, 2008b). Research suggests that colour blindness is an important factor in shaping both inter-racial interactions, and perceptions of those interactions, usually in a negative fashion. There is very little previous research on SCB, therefore, it is essential that we develop a better understanding of this phenomenon. To start our investigation into Confidence with Contact, I will study SCB and how it can inadvertently worsen interracial interactions, likely decreasing participants' confidence and desire to interact with racially diverse persons. I will begin my investigation by studying interracial contact and social norms, since these predictors are firmly established in the literature on SCB. Starting my research here with these variables will provide a solid foundation from which to explore additional variables, including Confidence with Racial Terminology and Cross-Ethnic Friendship Self-Efficacy.

One of the first variables I will be exploring is Confidence with Racial Terminology. This original measure aims to assess participants' knowledge of racial terminology and their

confidence in their ability to use racial terminology correctly and in situations in which it is appropriate. A major component of SCB is the avoidance of acknowledging race. To know what to avoid mentioning in an interracial interaction requires a knowledge of racial terminology and the deeper meanings behind certain vocabulary. Examples of this can be seen in Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura and Ariely (2006) and Apfelbaum, Pauker, Ambady, Sommers, and Norton, (2008) when participants would use some colour words (red/blue/brown/off-white) but avoid other seemingly innocuous colour words (black/white). However, another explanation is that lack of confidence or knowledge of appropriate terminology could drive SCB behaviour. With the minimal and scattered research literature on this topic, I think it essential to create a measure tapping into this concept, and testing it alongside well-established predictors of confidence with contact.

Another major area I will investigate is Cross-Ethnic Friendship Self-Efficacy (CEFSE, Bagci et al., 2019), its sources and its outcomes. CEFSE refers to the expectation that one has the confidence and ability to create and maintain cross-ethnic friendships. Although there is limited literature on the concept of CEFSE specifically, early research has already indicated that CEFSE is an integral component of confidence with contact, and that increased CEFSE improves intergroup relations (Bagci et al., 2019). It is imperative that I analyse this concept further within my own studies, testing it in different participant populations, intergroup contexts, over time and with the other variables we outlined previously.

As discussed, this topic is complex and important. Therefore, it needs to be studied. The aim of this thesis is to examine confidence with interracial interactions, focusing on strategic colour blindness among adults, confidence in cross-ethnic friendship and other variables associated with inter-group interactions. The organization of the thesis is as follows. In Chapter 1, theoretical content on Strategic Colour Blindness and its hypothesized antecedents (Intergroup Contact, Social Norms, Confidence with Racial Terminology) is

covered to explore the potential reasonings for why some participants exhibit SCB behaviour and others do not. In Chapter 2, theoretical content on Intergroup Anxiety and CEFSE is covered to explore if and how these factors may encourage the development of cross-group friendships and contribute to our overarching concept, Confidence with Contact.

Chapter 3 through 9 are composed of empirical studies on Confidence with Contact. Henceforth, from this point, these chapters are referred to as Studies 1 through 7. Study 1 determined the presence of SCB in a racially diverse sample of university students in the UK, but did not find support for any of the antecedents. In light of the results uncovered in Study 1, Study 2 took a precautionary step back to assess the relationships between the predictor variables (Intergroup Contact, Social Norms, Confidence with Racial Terminology) and an additional factor, Intergroup Anxiety. Study 3 concurrently pursued a new avenue of research within the realm of inter-group interactions, specifically Cross-Ethnic Friendship Self-Efficacy (CEFSE), in which I assessed Bagci et al.'s (2019) model in a new sample of participants, White British university students. Study 4 continued this investigation into CEFSE, now with a racially diverse sample of university students, and investigated CEFSE's relationship with Confidence with Racial Terminology. Study 5 returned to the study of SCB in the UK, and its relationship with the predictors, Confidence with Racial Terminology and CEFSE. Finally, Study 6 and 7 extended the investigation of CEFSE into British-international friendships. I modified the CEFSE model to assess cross-group friendship (CGF) self-efficacy, cross-nationally, and longitudinally to assess the proposed bidirectional nature of the relationship between CGF self-efficacy, the quantity and quality of British-international friendships, and British social norms for cross-group interactions with international students (Turner & Cameron, 2016).

Finally, Chapter 10 will summarize the results of the empirical studies and discuss how they have contributed to the research literature on Strategic Colour-blindness, Racial

Terminology, and Cross-Ethnic Friendship Self-Efficacy. I will conclude this thesis discussing limitations experienced within my studies, and the steps forward that could be taken to improve research on Confidence with Contact and its antecedents.

CHAPTER 1

Strategic Colour Blindness: why it's a problem and what might predict it

The Ferguson Riots and Black Lives Matter movement in the US. The Charlie Hebdo attack in France, the mosque shootings in New Zealand, and Brexit in the UK. These are just a few of the racial and cultural upsets we have seen in the past few years. Entering into the 21st century, many people in the Western world thought we were making progress towards a post-racial society. Events, such as the presidential elections of Barack Obama in the United States, and improvements to civil rights for racial and ethnic minorities in many countries across the world were identified as evidence that relationships between racial/ethnic groups were improving (Howard & Flennaugh, 2011; Neville, Gallardo, & Sue, 2016). However, as recent events have demonstrated, this is not the case.

Although cases of overt racism have decreased in recent decades, and explicit racism is condemned by society at large when it does occur, other more subtle, but still damaging, forms of racism persist (Bonilla-Silva, 2016; Neville et al., 2016; Pearson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2009). These include 'covert racism', such as employment discrimination that occurs under the guise of 'justified, non-racial' reasons. Another form is 'unintentional racism', such as cases where people refuse to recognise cases of prejudice and discrimination as such, and so are less likely to act on or report them (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, & Ambady, 2010; Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Neville et al., 2016). Arguably, these forms of racist behaviour can be just as damaging to interracial interactions as the overt forms of racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2000; Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Bonilla-Silva, 2016). Historical racism, history of inter-racial conflict and current racial tensions mean individuals have to develop coping strategies that can be used during interracial interactions, in the hope of making these interactions run more smoothly. Strategic Colour Blindness (SCB) is one such example of this (Norton et al., 2006).

Colour blindness and Strategic Colour blindness (SCB)

In 2006, Norton, Apfelbaum and their colleagues examined an interesting phenomenon whereby members of the Caucasian community (in the United States) avoided acknowledging race or using racial terms even when it was relevant to the task at hand. They observed this phenomenon even when it meant that by ignoring race, the individuals would perform poorly on a task.

This behaviour is all the more interesting because being able to categorize people, especially by race, is an ability that we form early in human development (Bar-Haim, Ziv, Lamy, & Hodes, 2006; Jones, 2016). The ability to visually perceive racial differences emerges around three months of age, and the ability to categorize people by those differences develops by six months of age (Pauker, Williams, & Steele, 2016). Before a year of age, infants will be able to differentiate and tend to prefer own-race faces versus other-race faces, but only in homogeneous (monoracial) societies. This behaviour does not seem to occur in heterogeneous (multiracial) societies, suggesting that this preference is based more on familiarity rather than racial bias at this point (Pauker et al., 2016; Pauker, Williams, & Steele, 2017). By approximately 5-8 years of age, children more consistently categorize people by race, and begin gaining some knowledge of racial stereotypes. Research among adults has shown that when we look at other people, we are aware of the race of an individual within a few milliseconds; faster than that of other visual traits, such as age and facial expression (Allport, 1954; Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Babbitt, Toosi, & Sommers, 2016; Ito, Thompson, & Cacioppo, 2004;Norton et al., 2006; Pauker, Ambady, & Apfelbaum, 2010).

This therefore creates a puzzle: if individuals are capable of categorizing others according to race, why are they choosing not to do so? Apfelbaum and colleagues coined the term ‘Strategic Colour-Blindness’ to describe this behaviour, because they argued that participants were deliberately ignoring race (i.e. it is strategic) in order to avoid appearing to

be racist. Apfelbaum et al. (2008b) best defines ‘Strategic Colour-Blindness’ (SCB) as follows: This is when individuals…

1. Avoid acknowledging race or using racial terminology
2. Even when it is relevant
3. Due to concerns of being seen as racist

In a series of ground-breaking studies, Apfelbaum and his colleagues began studying this behaviour and why it might occur. The main studies examining this phenomenon will now be outlined.

Strategic Colour Blindness: Initial research

In their first study to examine Strategic Colour Blindness (SCB), Norton et al., (2006) gave participants two tasks to complete: a sorting task and a hypothetical task. The purpose of the sorting task was to test the participant’s ability to categorize faces on seven dimensions: race, gender, age, background colour, hair colour, facial expression, and facial hair. The purpose of the hypothetical task was for participants to describe in what order (fastest to slowest) they believed they noticed the different dimensions, and compare their subjective ordering of characteristics to their objective results in the sorting task. The results showed that in the sorting task, the fastest (or earliest) dimensions that were recognized (or referred to) were (in order) background colour, gender and race. This conflicts with the order the participants *thought* they used, where they selected race and age as the slowest (or last) dimensions they recognized. When comparing groups of White and Black participants, Black participants were better at estimating their categorization abilities in comparison to their actual performance on the sorting task. The researchers suggest that White participants tended to underestimate their ability on purpose: they did not want to appear to be good at categorising people. This behaviour is thought to be driven by a need to avoid appearing to be

racist (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Babbitt et al., 2016; Hugenberg, Miller, & Claypool, 2007; Norton et al., 2006).

In studying the concept of Strategic Colour Blindness, Norton, Apfelbaum and their colleagues created a variation of the popular children's game, "Guess Who?" to study if and when race is mentioned during the task, also known as the Political Correctness Task (Norton et al., 2006). In this task, referring to race is relevant and useful for completion of the game. Performance on the task can tell us if participants deliberately avoid referring to race, even when asking questions about race is the quickest way to complete the game. Participants are presented with a set of pictures, with 32 photos in an array. All the photos differ on various visual characteristics. However, there are three primary features in which the photos differ, where choosing one of these features would reduce the possible pool of candidates by 50% each turn. These features included the background colour of the photo, the gender of the individual, and the race of the individual pictured in the photograph. In the experiment, the participant is paired with a partner, who is actually a confederate in the study. There are two roles in the task: the questioner and the answerer. The participant is always assigned the role of questioner, and the confederate serves the role as answerer. The answerer holds a target photo in their hand. This photo is not shown to the participant. The participant is then told to use as few questions as possible to determine which photo in their set is the photo held in the answerer's hand. The researchers emphasise that participants need to complete the task as quickly and efficiently as possible, in terms of the number of questions asked. The answerer records the number of questions asked overall, and notes if a race-related term is used to complete the task. If more questions are used in the task, and race is not acknowledged, this suggests that the participant is using strategic colour-blind strategies. They are avoiding referring to race even when it is relevant, thereby sacrificing performance on the task, in order to avoid appearing to be racist (Norton et al., 2006).

Norton et al. (2006) found the aforementioned behaviour, a negative relationship between number of questions required to complete the task and the use (or lack thereof) of race in the task. Those that used colour blind strategies avoided acknowledging race, and thus required more questions to complete the task. This was most evident in trials where the participant was playing with a Black (cross-ethnic/racial) confederate, rather than a White (same-ethnic/racial) confederate. Participants were considerably less likely to mention race when paired with a Black confederate (64%) than a White confederate (94%) (Gullett & West, 2016; Norton et al., 2006). This test has been validated and is used by many researchers in practice (Apfelbaum et al., 2008ab; Jackson, Wilde, & Goff, 2016). Researchers have gone on to examine the effect of context on this phenomenon, and features of the environment (race-acknowledged norm vs. colour-blind norm or no-norm situations, race-relevant environment vs. not race-relevant environment) as well as the relationship between SCB and behaviour (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b). In Apfelbaum et al. (2008b), undergraduate participants were found to be significantly less likely to mention race in a colour-blind norm situation (26.5%), than either a no-norm situation (62.9%) or race-acknowledged situation (91.2%) (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Gullett & West, 2016). This pattern of behaviour was also found in older children (10-11 years) who were affected by social norms in Apfelbaum et al. (2008a), where participants were significantly less likely to mention race in a race-relevant situation (37.0%) than a not race-relevant situation (78.3%) (Apfelbaum et al., 2008a; Gullett & West, 2016). In both cases, White participants experienced negative cognitive (reduction in inhibitory control) and affective (nonverbal communication) results, and thus had poor performance in interracial interactions (Apfelbaum & Sommers, 2009; Apfelbaum et al., 2008ab; Gullett & West, 2016; Norton et al., 2006).

Indicators of SCB

Norton et al. (2006) looked for certain indicators of SCB. These indicators were 1) the number of questions required to complete the task, and 2) if race is acknowledged in the task. By attaining this information, they assessed whether acknowledging race in the task aided the participants in achieving their goal: to complete the task as efficiently (in as few questions) as possible. They found a negative relationship between the number of questions required to complete the task and whether race was acknowledged; so that those who avoided referring to race in the task usually required more questions to complete the task, indicating they may be supporting SCB behaviours. Those participants that did refer to race in the task required less questions to complete the task, thus achieving the goal they were given by the experimenters: which was to complete the task as *efficiently* as possible (Norton et al., 2006). Achieving this goal suggested that the participants did not support SCB behaviour.

My research will use the indicators outlined in Norton et al. (2006) and Apfelbaum et al. (2008b). The number of questions required to complete the task will be recorded just as it was by Norton et al., (2006). The number of questions required will be averaged out over four trials, giving a mean number of questions it took for the participant to complete the task and this mean will be used in all further analyses.

In addition, I will be trialling another possible indicator of SCB, *when* race is mentioned in the task. In those participants that *did* mention race in the tasks, I aim to investigate if when the race question is asked in the task affects the participants' performance on the task. This is an exploratory measure. If I were to speculate its effect, I expect that mentioning race earlier in the task may improve task performance as participants will be using the characteristic strategically from the start, rather than using it as a last resort when use of the other characteristics have been exhausted.

Colour blind ideology

To understand Strategic Colour Blindness, it is important to consider colour blind ideology. Colour-blind ideology puts emphasis on individuals to ignore racial differences and categories, and to deem racial differences as insignificant (Babbitt et al., 2016; Johnston, Pizzolato, & Kanny, 2015; Jones, 2016; Neville, Lilly & Duran, 2000; Plaut, 2010; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). This ideology is not necessarily adopted out of the belief of racial superiority (Mekawi, Bresin & Hunter, 2017; Neville et al., 2000). Rather, it reflects how an individual tries to refocus attention on the qualities that are shared amongst a group of people, and uniting them under a single category, such as nationality (Apfelbaum, Grunberg, Haley, & Kang, 2017; Babbitt et al., 2016; Crisp & Turner, 2011; Guimond, de la Sablonnière, & Nugier; 2014; Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Mekawi et al., 2017; Neville et al., 2000; Plaut, 2010; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013; Shin, 2009;Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). Researchers have shown that those who adopt colour-blind ideals commonly believe that policies (affirmative action, desegregation of schools and workplaces, equal rights legislation) and social trends (the general decline in overt racism and the general increase in the living standards of minority groups since the Civil Rights Movement) are evidence that racism is no longer an issue (Cammarota, 2014; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). Adoption of colour-blind ideology may also be associated with a belief that any disparities between racial groups today are because of failings within the group or social economic class issues (Cammarota, 2014; Neville et al., 2000; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). This cumulates in an unbalanced idea that all racial/ethnic groups have equal skills and opportunities for success in these modern times, and that failure to achieve a “successful lifestyle” is reflective of a personal failure of the individual or their community rather than part of larger social systemic issues.

Colour blind ideology is the dominant approach to interracial interactions in the USA, because it is seen as the anti-racist way of managing diversity (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Apfelbaum et al., 2017; Guimond et al., 2014; Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Jones, 2016; Mekawi et al., 2017; Plaut, 2010; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). The colour-blind approach is exhibited in many aspects of life, such as in media, education, organizations, legal proceedings, politics and interpersonal relationships. It is used as an attempt to promote respectable and pleasant interactions amongst members of society (Apfelbaum et al., 2010; Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Guimond et al., 2014; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). Even though it is used across multiple domains, it may not necessarily be the most effective strategy for managing the complexities brought about by diversity. Much current research suggests that although the intentions of the colour-blind users are good, the colour-blind strategy is not an effective way of navigating interracial interactions (Apfelbaum et al., 2008ab; Apfelbaum & Sommers, 2009; Apfelbaum et al., 2010; Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Apfelbaum et al., 2017; Babbitt et al., 2016; Norton et al., 2006).

Negative consequences of SCB and colour blindness

Although the intention of SCB is to appear tolerant and accepting of racial differences, research has identified a number of negative consequences of this strategy for both the user and society (Gullett & West, 2016; Hugenberg et al., 2007). When White participants were given the "Political Correctness Task" by Norton et al. (2006), they avoided using racial terms, especially when partnered with a Black confederate. This negatively affected their behaviour toward the partner, in that they appeared more biased/racist to Black observers and exhibited more explicit and implicit racial bias to the racial minority (Norton et al., 2006; Plaut, 2010). They made less eye contact with their partner, exhibited negative nonverbal behaviour, and were thus seen as less friendly by Black participants (Apfelbaum, 2008b; Babbitt et al., 2016; Gullett & West, 2016; Mekawi et al., 2017; Norton et al., 2006;

Plaut, 2010; Sommers & Babbitt, 2010). On the other hand, White participants in the same study that talked more openly about race in situations in which it was relevant were seen as unbiased (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Norton et al., 2006). An example of a situation in which discussing race was relevant would be whilst discussing issues of racial discrimination, affirmative action and unequal opportunities experienced by different racial/ethnic groups. An example of a situation in which discussing race is not relevant would be mentioning the race of the individual during a face-to-face introduction (when both parties can easily perceive the person's race). Importantly, Black participants agreed that they were more likely to associate with the White participants that could appropriately talk about race (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Apfelbaum et al., 2012).

Therefore, while participants may be adopting SCB with the best of intentions (i.e. to ensure they are not perceived as being racist and to ensure an inter-racial interaction is successful), adopting this approach can backfire in terms of inter-racial interaction success (Babbitt et al., 2016). This behaviour can lead to both sides being less likely to interact and cooperate with each other in the future, preventing the improvement of racial issues (Norton et al., 2006; Sommers & Babbitt, 2010).

In organizations, the colour-blind approach involves focusing on a single goal or company identity, and not on the cultural differences between employees (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Apfelbaum et al., 2017; Crisp & Turner, 2011; Guimond et al., 2014; Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Mekawi et al., 2017; Neville et al., 2000; Plaut, 2010; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013; Shin, 2009; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). There are mixed reactions to the colour-blind approach depending on the racial composition of the company (Apfelbaum et al., 2012). Use of colour-blind behaviour has been shown to have adverse effects on psychological engagement and perceptions of bias within the organization (Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Jones, 2016). This is because instances of discrimination that occur are not recognised as such (since

members of the organization prefer not to see race) and so they explain away discrimination and racism on other, non-racial grounds. This also negatively impacts the psychological health of ethnic minority members of the organization, cognitively depleting them and increasing the chances that they will disengage from the company and its diversity programs (Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Jones, 2016).

The colour-blind approach has been shown to be associated with weaker endorsement for societal issues, such as affirmative action and cultural societies on campus. This lack of endorsement occurs because these issues go against the equality component of colour-blind ideology, as evidenced by enquiries of "why doesn't a White cultural society exist at universities?" or "why did that [minority] student get the university placement/job instead of me?" (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Babbitt et al., 2016; Bonilla-Silva, 2016; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). Programs intended to put minority members on equal footing with their White counterparts (by providing these groups resources and opportunities they may have not had otherwise) or provide safe spaces (where minority students can learn about and celebrate their culture) are seen as giving members of the minority unfair advantages by White people endorsing colour-blind ideals (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Babbitt et al., 2016; Bonilla-Silva, 2016; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015).

Studies have also shown that SCB only has short-term usefulness: in cases in where one is only meeting other-race individuals a few times or for a few hours at a time (Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013). It cannot be used in the long term, because it is challenging to control one's behaviour for long periods without returning to one's true attitudes. It is not uncommon for participants to experience rebound effects in bias after long, stressful interactions involving colour-blind strategies (Plaut, 2010; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013; Sommers & Babbitt, 2010).

Strategic Colour Blindness affects the cognitive performance of both children and adults, who sacrifice efficiency for the sake of "saving face" of their "unbiased" reputation

(Apfelbaum et al., 2008a; Jones, 2016; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013; Sommers & Babbitt, 2010). In addition, the stress that is induced by controlling one's behaviour can increase the chance of explicit and implicit bias being revealed (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Jones, 2016; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013).

Colour blind ideology has a negative relationship with empathy, so that less empathy may be shown to minorities (Mekawi et al., 2017; Plaut, 2010). A study described in Plaut (2010) discovered that therapists displayed less empathy to their minority clients in comparison to their White clients, placing more blame on the clients for their problems.

Finally, colour-blind behaviours appear to maintain racial inequality, rather than decreasing it (Apfelbaum et al., 2010; Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Neville et al., 2000; Plaut, 2010). Some would argue that colour blindness is a modern form of covert racism, concealing one's true racial attitudes whilst appearing supportive of diversity and equality publicly (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Bonilla-Silva, 2002; Bonilla-Silva, 2000; Bonilla-Silva, 2016; Neville et al., 2000; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). Others argue that colour blindness cultivates indifference in both White and minority populations, so that incidences of discrimination go unchallenged and thus the status quo remains unchanged (Neville et al., 2000). Apfelbaum et al.'s (2010) study provides support for this latter view.

Apfelbaum et al., (2010) assessed how colour-blind and multicultural ideologies influence children's behaviour toward people of colour and cases of discrimination. Specifically, they analyzed if being presented with colour blind or multicultural ideologies affected the child's ability to 1) detect discriminatory events, and 2) ability to report the event in such a way as to prompt intervention from a teacher. To do this, students first reviewed a storybook about a teacher encouraging racial equality in their classroom. Half of the students were given a story that promoted the colour-blind perspective, whereas the other half of the students were given a story that promoted a multicultural perspective. Children were then

presented with three scenarios, which varied in discriminatory behaviour: 1) Control condition (no bias) in which there was a dispute between two White students, 2) Ambiguous condition in which a White child did not invite a Black child to their birthday party because the Black child would not be able to get him a good gift, and 3) Explicit condition in which a White child physically attacked a Black child for no reason during a sports game. The results of the study showed that students given the multicultural perspective were more likely than students given the colour-blind perspective to categorize the behaviour as discriminatory in the ambiguous and explicit conditions. This result suggests that the students with the colour-blind perspective were less likely to detect prejudice, even in cases where it was obvious. In addition, these students described the scenarios in such a way that teachers were less likely to intervene, because the teachers did not determine that the behaviour was discriminatory based on the child's recollection of the event. The colour-blind students were less likely to make references to the racial differences between the two students in the scenarios, as compared to those in the multicultural perspective. This suggests children exposed to a colour blind ideology are less likely to recognize inter-racial discrimination and to report it using appropriate labels (Apfelbaum et al., 2010; Babbitt et al., 2016).

Among adults, colour blindness has also been shown to affect people's likelihood of seeing and reporting racist behaviours, desensitizing them to racist actions (Apfelbaum et al., 2010; Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Babbitt et al., 2016). Colour-blindness reduces the perceived importance of racial differences by acting as if they do not exist. If race is not seen as a relevant factor in situations of inequality, people will be less likely to perceive actions as racist. In turn, bystanders are less likely to report situations as racist, resulting in little to no intervention by trained professionals. This suggests that colour blindness is not reducing bias, but masking it (Apfelbaum et al., 2010; Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Babbitt et al., 2016). Thus, a

colour blind ideology may allow prejudice to continue, despite the best efforts of the colour-blind perspective to avoid it (Apfelbaum et al., 2010).

Minority participants also experienced cognitive depletion during colour blind interactions, as the participant's mental resources are being divided by 1) questioning if their interaction partner is prejudiced and 2) controlling their own behaviour to avoid becoming a target of prejudice (Gullett & West, 2016; Richeson & Shelton, 2007). This mental depletion continued after the interaction, thus affecting subsequent interactions or cognitive tasks (Babbitt et al., 2016; Gullett & West, 2016; Holoien & Shelton, 2012). Unfavourable interactions also increase implicit and explicit race bias, and negative feelings such as anxiety. In organizations, minority co-workers may disengage with the workplace if the company supports colour-blind policies (Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Jones, 2016). Members of the racial minority may just want to avoid conflict with members of the racial majority (Babbitt et al., 2016).

Multiculturalism versus Colour Blindness

Colour blind ideology is often contrasted with multiculturalism, and it is useful to consider this approach when considering the benefits and drawbacks of colour blindness. Multiculturalism is an ideology that acknowledges and celebrates the differences between racial/ethnic groups, and promotes its practitioners to learn from people different from themselves (Gullett & West, 2016; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013). The benefits of multiculturalism are that it promotes interaction amongst different groups of people, encourages participation in social change movements, reduces implicit and explicit bias, and improves the well-being of minorities (Guimond et al., 2014; Gullett & West, 2016; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013). People (regardless of racial group) who were raised in diverse communities were likely to adopt multicultural ideology over colour-blind ideology (Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013). This approach also has its drawbacks. It has a tendency to make its supporters appreciate people that follow

racial stereotypes more, which could be problematic if used incorrectly or inadvertently offensively in intergroup interactions (Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013).

This research suggests that colour blindness is an important factor in shaping both inter-racial interactions, and perceptions of those interactions. Therefore, it is essential that we develop a better understanding of this phenomenon. With this in mind, the current research focuses on identifying predictors of Strategic Colour Blindness among adults. Three potential predictors have been identified based on the previous literature: Intergroup Contact, Social Norms and Confidence with Terminology.

Predictors of Colour-Blind Behaviour

In studying Strategic Colour Blindness, we have identified three potential predictors of performance on the colour blindness task: Intergroup Contact, Social Norms, and Confidence with Racial Terminology. These will now be examined in more detail, and the rationale for why these could be important for Strategic Colour Blindness is explained.

Intergroup Contact

In the research literature, interracial interaction has been associated with a multitude of negative affects, such as distrust, anxiety, tension, hostility, fear of saying something inappropriate or offensive, and fear of rejection (Apfelbaum, 2008ab; Apfelbaum & Sommers, 2009; Gullett & West, 2016; Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013; Sommers & Babbitt, 2010). Moreover, inter-racial interactions are cognitively and emotionally draining to all parties involved and can lead individuals to avoid future interaction with the other (Apfelbaum, 2008b; Apfelbaum & Sommers, 2009; Sommers & Babbitt, 2010; Gullett & West, 2016; Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Jones, 2016; Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013).

However, when looked at through the lens of intergroup contact, interracial interaction can have positive effects. Intergroup contact literature is well-established with over a 60-year

history of research starting with Allport's (1954) book, *The Nature of Prejudice*. In it, he presents his contact hypothesis stating that direct contact with the outgroup will reduce prejudice if it meets four conditions:

1. That the two groups share equal status
2. Have a common goal
3. Utilize cooperation to achieve that goal and
4. Receive support from the authorities or institutions

Studies since this landmark book have expounded on his initial ideas. Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis which included over 515 studies, concluded that interracial interaction and prejudice have a negative relationship: greater contact and interracial interaction is associated with reduced prejudice and more positive inter-racial attitudes. Indeed, mean effects of contact were r = -.215, and higher in the more rigorous studies (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The benefits of interracial interaction listed in their analysis included less prejudicial attitudes, and more positive affects toward outgroups such as trust and forgiveness (Crisp & Turner, 2011; Davies et al., 2011; Hewstone & Swart, 2011; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Turner & Feddes, 2011; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Longer periods of contact, characterised by greater *quality* of contact, such as cross-ethnic friendships, lead to better results over time (Hewstone & Swart, 2011; MacInnis & Page-Gould, 2015; Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Toosi, Ambady, Babbitt, & Sommers, 2012). The effects of contact, though positive, are usually weaker for minorities than Whites, possibly due to the fact that minorities may receive lots of experience interacting with other-race groups depending on where they live (Hewstone & Swart, 2011; Shelton 2003).

It is plausible that the level of inter-racial contact available could impact on an individual's adoption of colour-blind ideology. This inter-racial contact could be experienced

either directly, through diverse friendships or neighbourhoods, or indirectly via parents and peers, who may communicate messages about racial outgroups and their inter-racial interactions. It is important to consider contact in childhood and current levels of contact, as both are likely to impact on willingness to adopt strategic colour blindness. Apfelbaum and colleagues have noted how Strategic Colour Blindness is a behaviour that is likely to be learned very early in the lifespan due to early experiences (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Babbitt et al., 2016; Norton et al., 2006). For this reason, the current research will examine the relationship between Strategic Colour Blindness, prior contact (before university) and current contact (at university).

Prior Experience: Before University

A number of studies recently have looked into the development of different racial attitudes and their subsequent outcomes later in the lifespan. Saenz (2010) assessed participants experiences with interracial contact prior to university, with the aim of determining how their prior experiences affected their attitudes toward the outgroup, and if it influenced the participants to seek out opportunities to learn and interact with diverse others once attending university. Questions used to determine the participants' level of prior experience include indicators and items such as: the racial composition of the participants friend group in high school, how often were racial/ethnic issues discussed in high school, how often did the participants study with a cross-racial student, encounter discrimination, their anxiety with interracial interaction and their expectations of interacting with diverse others or attending a class on diversity once entering college. He found that those with more prior experience with diversity in high school would continue to actively seek out more experiences with diversity as young adults; whereas those with less prior experience would not actively seek out experiences with diversity, and thus not improve their knowledge or skills with interracial interaction. This suggests that the prior environments the participants

came from had a considerable impact on their future endeavours with interracial interaction, based on whether those environments fostered or discouraged participants from interacting with diverse others, and gave them ample opportunities to do so (Saenz, 2010).

Pauker et al. (2016; 2017) and Bowman and Denson (2012) have also corroborated that those Caucasians raised interracially in their youth were more likely to carry those thoughts and practices into adulthood, and thus were more comfortable with the idea of using race as a simple categorization technique, a description of one's appearance and not necessarily a commentary on who they are. They also generally knew in what situations it was appropriate to mention race, and when it was not. (Pauker et al., 2016; Pauker et al., 2017).

Current Experience: At University

Although colour blind ideology has the potential to develop earlier in the lifespan, events in adulthood (opportunities for inter-racial interactions) may also challenge or reinforce that ideology. Many young adults enter university in their late teens to early 20s. For many, this could be the first opportunity outside of major cities that they have been presented with to work and socialize with people of diverse groups, lifestyles and dispositions (Allport, 1954; Bowman & Denson, 2012; Gaither & Sommers, 2013; Harrison 2012; Kernahan, 2016; Liao, Spanierman, Harlow & Neville, 2017; Saenz, 2010; Tropp, O'Brien, & Migacheva, 2014; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). The university environment also allows these students to experiment with and challenge ideas, away from the limitations that may have been set by their parents or local community before (Bowman & Denson, 2012; Saenz, 2010). The diversity can challenge the ideologies they developed earlier in the lifespan. Therefore, it will be important to assess the individuals' current level of interracial interaction and determine whether it is influencing changes in their racial ideology (Brigham, 1993; Saenz, 2010; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015).

Universities tend to be places that endorse multicultural ideologies both through institutional mandates and the diversity of its student body (Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). Formal experiences like diversity workshops, course content acknowledging diversity and informal experiences like students studying, socializing and partying together positively influence all students to adopt multicultural ideologies over colour-blind ideologies (Saenz, Ngai, & Hurtado, 2007; Saenz, 2010; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). It has also been noted that it is the quality of these interactions, rather than the quantity of these experiences that are important for racial attitudes to change (Bowman & Denson, 2012; Brigham 1993; Saenz et al., 2007). These experiences increase awareness of racial issues and support for racial equity programs such as affirmative action in White students (Spanierman, Neville, Liao, Hammer, & Wang, 2008). All students increased in their ability to make democratic decisions, were more open with one another, appreciated diversity more, were more satisfied with their university experience and experienced positive changes in their racial attitudes (Spaniermann et al., 2008). These benefits are most evident in White students who lack interracial interaction experience, though both White students with prior experience and minorities experienced benefits as well (Al Ramiah, Hewstone, Voci, Cairns & Hughes, 2013; Bowman & Denson, 2012; Saenz et al., 2007; Saenz, 2010; Spaniermann et al., 2008).

In addition to university providing a background for interracial interaction to occur, student accommodations are a setting in which further and more personal interracial interaction can take place. Shook and Clay (2012) and Gaither and Sommers (2013) both looked at how diverse roommate dyads influenced one another within the first year of them arriving at university. They discovered that White students who had a cross ethnic roommate benefitted greatly from the experience; they had more diverse friend groups, supported and engaged in diversity events, exhibited fewer negative attitudes like anxiety towards minorities and expressed these positive behaviours in different settings beyond their friendship group (Gaither

& Sommers, 2013; Liao et al., 2017). Positive effects were also experienced by the minority students. Minority students paired with a White roommate attained higher GPAs during the first year at university, felt a greater sense of belonging to university society, more social satisfaction and comfort, and less stress. Diverse roommates and friendships helped each group realise they had more similarities than differences with one another and encouraged them to support one another through the challenges of being at university (Shook & Clay, 2012).

Social Norms

Another possible predictor of colour-blind behaviour is social norms. Especially in western societies today, many countries have strong social norms against prejudice as publicized through media, legal policy and multicultural education programs (Pauker et al., 2017; Rutland, Cameron, Milne, & McGeorge, 2005; Thijs, Gharaei, & de Vroome, 2016). From this, there is a large unspoken rule that one should not talk about race, especially those of Caucasian descent (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Goodman, 2014; Pauker et al., 2017). Speaking about race or referring to someone solely by race is seen as inappropriate, and in the worst-case scenario, may lead to being labelled as "racist". This term, whether true or not, is very damaging to one's reputation and can affect social relationships (Pauker et al., 2017; Plant & Devine, 1998).

Just like the literature on interracial interaction research, research on social norms and its relationship with prejudice also has a long history (Rutland et al., 2005). The current research focuses on the importance of Strategic Colour Blindness and two forms of normative influence: family and friends/peers. In their ground-breaking research, Apfelbaum and colleagues argue that the developmental trends they observed in Strategic Colour Blindness in children are a result of increasing awareness of social norms and demonstrate the early age at which young children respond to norms to not mention race (Apfelbaum et al., 2008a; Pauker et al., 2010). In their study, children between the ages of 8-11 years were given the

Political Correctness Task. There were some modifications to the procedure, to make it age-appropriate for the children. Children looked at an array of 40 photos that varied on four dimensions. The dimensions on which the photos could be differentiated (and the target identified) differed depending on the condition the children were in. In the race-relevant condition, the dimensions were background colour, gender, weight, and race. In the race-neutral condition, the dimensions were the same except for the race condition. In this condition, all the pictures were of White individuals, with skin coloured stickers in the bottom corner. The researchers tested if children used race or colour sticker to identify the target image. Age trends were also examined. If performance on this task is based on cognitive ability and strategy, it would be expected that older children would perform better on this task than the younger children.

The results revealed some interesting behaviours. In the race-neutral condition, as expected older children performed better than the younger, that is they required less questions to identify the target picture. Colour was also acknowledged by both groups in this condition. However, in the race-relevant condition, the groups exhibited abnormal behaviour, wherein the younger children did better than the older. The children below the age of 10 more freely talked about race, and therefore did better in this condition as they were able to use race as a category to narrow down the array and identify the target. However, the children 10 years of age and older tended to talk about race less, leading them to perform worse in this condition (i.e. requiring more questions to identify the target). Apfelbaum and colleagues argue that these developmental trends are a result of the children's increasing awareness of social norms to avoid talking about race, even in contexts where it is appropriate (Apfelbaum et al., 2008a; Babbitt et al., 2016). While the young children in this sample may have openly referred to racial differences at these ages because they have not internalized social norms about avoiding race talk, it is expected that the older children have gained an awareness of social

norms avoiding race talk, thus explaining their actions (Apfelbaum et al., 2008a; Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Babbitt et al., 2016; Pauker et al., 2010; Pauker et al., 2016; Pauker et al., 2017). It is thought that these social norms for avoiding race talk continue to influence children's racial behaviours and actions through adolescence and into adulthood. Evidence that colour-blind social norms continue to affect participants' behaviour and actions is exhibited by decreases in explicit bias and increases in implicit bias on racism scales, a decrease in cross-racial friendships and an increase in self-segregation as the participants get older (Apfelbaum et al., 2008a; Pauker et al., 2010; Pauker et al., 2017). This has been suggested by some researchers to occur because as the participants enter adolescence, race and ethnicity become more important to their self-identities. This makes race and ethnicity salient to them, thus activating their implicit biases. To avoid being seen as prejudiced for holding such implicit biases, the adolescents may participate in actions that minimize contact with cross-racial people, thus minimizing the chances they will expose their implicit beliefs and offend others (Pauker et al., 2017).

Similarly, it is thought that adolescents respond to social norms concerning race by adjusting their responses on measures of explicit bias and discrimination. Self-presentational concerns, driven by a need to not appear to be racist, lead these groups to control their responses on explicit bias measures (Plant & Devine, 1998; Toosi et al, 2012). Children as young as 10 and into the adolescent years were shown in Rutland et al.'s (2005) study to exhibit implicit but not explicit bias, due to their internal motivation to appear unprejudiced. The participants were concerned with their self-presentation regardless of the high or low public self-focus conditions employed in the study. This suggests that social norms that were taught to participants earlier in their lifespan were likely to stay well into adulthood. Of these, many learn colour-blind strategies that avoid discussing racial issues in public, for fear of insulting someone or appearing racist (Apfelbaum et al., 2008ab; Babbitt et al., 2016).

Sources of normative influence: Parents

A number of studies have investigated the influence of parent directed social norms on their children's racial attitudes and behaviours. Denger and Dalege (2013) conducted a meta-analysis consisting of 131 studies, and found a moderate correlation between parent and child intergroup attitudes. They also noted that the similarity between the parents' and children's intergroup attitudes is fairly stable over time, from childhood on through to late adolescence (Denger & Dalege, 2013; Thijs et al., 2016). The stability and the similarity between parent and child intergroup attitudes is thought to be due, in part, to the shared environment the two groups inhabit, and where children either learn social norms about race explicitly from their parents' verbal messages supporting colour-blind or multicultural norms, or implicitly by observing and copying their parents' behaviours and actions in interracial interactions (Denger & Dalege, 2013).

A number of studies have provided support for this view. Pahkle, Bigler and Suizzo (2012) studied the racial attitudes of preschool children and their mothers. Mothers read books to their children. Most mothers in the study adopted colour blind racial attitudes during the story time with their children. When asked, neither the mother or the child could predict the racial attitudes of the other very well, and in many cases the children's racial attitudes were unrelated to the mother's attitudes. Instead the researchers discovered that at this age, the child's racial attitudes correlated with the number of the mother's friends that were cross-ethnic. This suggest that the young children's attitudes were influenced by the mothers' actions, rather than her words or inaction. Their mother's friendships provided them with their earliest examples of how they handled interracial interaction (Babbitt et al., 2016; Liao et al., 2017; Pahkle et al., 2012).

Pauker and colleagues found parents influence their children through directing children to social appropriateness of referring to race and colour-blind norms. Pauker,

Apfelbaum and Spitzer (2015), looked into the behaviour exhibited by both racial minority children and White children participating in "race talk". The purpose of this study was to determine the interaction between societal norms (to ignore the race) and the child's social identity (as a member of either the racial majority or minority). The children completed the "Guess Who?" Task and filled out assessments of their behaviour and that of adult influences, such as parents and teachers. When discussing task performance, many of the children avoided mentioning race, and those who did not mention race had worse performance on the task than those who mentioned race. There were non-significant race differences between the groups on performance, meaning that all the racial groups showed similar patterns of behaviour in the task. In assessing non-verbal comfort, avoidance behaviour resulted in discomfort in all racial groups. On social appropriateness, the children had different reasoning for why they did or did not mention race. Of those that mentioned race, the common reasoning was based in task-focused concerns such as good strategy or that racial/ethnic differences were apparent. Of those that did not mention race, the common reasoning was based on social-focused concerns, such as not wanting to be inappropriate/rude/offensive. Participants were unsure of the social appropriateness of referring to race, perhaps due to the social norms they were presented with by their parents, teachers and peers. Results revealed that perceived parent and teacher approaches to race affected the child's responses on the task. With regards to the impact of parents, parental influence regarding referring to race was stronger among White children. This was not found for minority children. However, the impact of teachers views of appropriateness was equally strong among minority and majority children. Seeing as children spend much of their time with the teacher, it is understandable why they account for as much influence as the parents.

Edmonds and Killen (2009) studied the relationship between parents' racial views and teens' contact behaviours. They did this by analysing teens' friendship and dating patterns.

They discovered that children of parents who supported multicultural views were more likely to have cross-ethnic friends, were more likely to have more intimate relationships with cross-ethnic people, see exclusion as wrong, and less likely to use stereotypes to explain their discomfort in interaction. Children of parents who supported colour-blind views were more likely to experience the opposite: parents that held colour-blind values gave more negative messages to their teens on their interracial interaction. With regards to the teens' friends, the parents used more indirect ways of expressing their dissatisfaction, such as concerns for their teens' safety with these cross-ethnic friends. However, in regards to dating relationships, parents were more direct in expressing their frustration towards these relationships. Both these types of influences from parents could account for some of the decrease in cross-ethnic friendships from childhood through the adolescent years. There still needs to be more research done to tease out the complexities, but this study illustrates the important role of parents in the development of a child/teens' racial attitudes before growing into adulthood (Edmond & Killen, 2009).

Thijs et al. (2016) also studied the relationship between the teens' interracial attitudes and parental norms, this time for endorsing multiculturalism. The teens responded to measures assessing their parents' openness towards different cultures and religions, positive attitudes towards multiculturalism and equality, and disapproval towards racism and discrimination. The researchers then assessed the influence of the parental norms on the teen's motivation to control their prejudicial behaviour and their racial attitudes. Thijs found that although parental influence on racial attitudes may decline over time in comparison to that of the friends/peers' influence on racial attitudes as the teen reaches adulthood, the effects of early socialization and parental influence still hold firm and contribute to the teens' internal motivation to control their prejudicial behaviour and endorse positive interracial attitudes (Thijs, 2016).

Parental influence on racial attitudes during childhood can extend into young adulthood. A number of studies recently have looked into the development of racial attitudes and their subsequent outcomes later in the lifespan. Liao et al. (2017) described the effects parents had on their young adult children in endorsing SCB or multiculturalism. They discovered that the intergroup attitudes and racial messages that parents gave did strongly influence their young adult children's racial attitudes. The parental messages and behaviours guided the young adult children's decisions on which people to accept and reject in their interactions. In the case of colour-blind behaviours, this could lead into prejudiced behaviours towards those considered part of the outgroup. However, those young adult children whose parents shared multicultural attitudes and behaviours with them were more likely to appreciate diversity and the differences amongst people, less likely to support colour blind behaviours and possibly more likely to carry on these values throughout their lives (Liao, 2017).

Peers

Studies of peer influence on racial attitudes have more mixed results (Thijs et al., 2016; Tropp et al., 2014). Some researchers assert that peers are not influential in determining one's interracial attitudes. Pauker and colleagues did not find the peer influences significantly predictive of social norms, placing more of the responsibility on parents and teachers (Pauker et al., 2015). However, other researchers have maintained that friends and peers have more of an influence on young people than parents during the child's adolescent and adult years, since these groups become more important to the person as the child grows out of the family home (Allport, 1954; Bagci et al., 2019; Bagci, Kumashiro, Smith, Blumberg, & Rutland, 2014; Liao et al., 2017; Thijs et al., 2016; Tropp et al., 2014). For example, Thijs et al. (2016) found that friends strongly influenced both teen's internal and external motivations to control their prejudicial behaviour, and also their racial attitudes. The

strength of the friends' norms in this study confirmed that peers were becoming an increasingly significant influence on interracial attitudes as the teens aged, more than that of that of the teen's parents (Thijs et al., 2016).

Tropp et al. (2014) assessed if in-group inclusive or exclusive norms for cross-group interactions affected teens attitudes towards cross-group friendships. The researchers found that inclusive peer norms encouraged teens to be interested in making cross-group friendships. These results were the same for both White and minority students (Tropp et al., 2014).

In their research on the role of parents, Edmonds and Killen (2009) also found that among adolescents, peers can act as a buffer against negative parental racial attitudes. They found that contact that the teens experience outside of the home, such as school or extracurricular activities, was associated with more positive racial attitudes, in the face of negative parental views. Having cross-ethnic friendships or relationships provides another support base in which the teen may be able to challenge their parents' attitudes and possibly develop their own racial attitudes separate from their parents (Edmonds & Killen, 2009).

Peer norms for racial attitudes clearly have an important impact on young people's inter-racial attitudes and behaviour, with increasing importance as young people move from childhood into adolescence. Meanwhile, the link between parents' racial attitudes and their children's is clear. While the role of parents declines with age, early socialisation of racial attitudes and behaviours can have a lasting impact on young people (Degner & Dalege, 2013; Edmonds & Killen, 2009; Thijs et al., 2016). The current research builds on these previous findings by examining, among university students, the link between parent and peer social norms and strategic colour blindness. This question has not previously been examined, but it is plausible that peers and parents are likely to influence SCB in students, as they impact other forms of inter-racial behaviours and attitudes.

Confidence with Racial Terminology

Confidence with Racial Terminology may be an essential, and hitherto unresearched, predictor of Strategic Colour Blindness. A number of Strategic Colour Blindness studies have touched on the idea that participants may lack the knowledge of or the confidence to use proper terminology to discuss race, and their discomfort with this may be a potential reason why they avoid using racial terms on the Strategic Colour Blindness task (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Apfelbaum et al., 2008ab). Some support for this being the case is clearly seen in Apfelbaum et al. (2008a), when the researchers discussed the difference in how often race was acknowledged based on how liberal or conservative their criteria was for acknowledging race in the task. When the criteria for what was considered acknowledging race was very liberal [ranging from direct references to race (Black, White, etc) to terminology that indirectly referenced race (is the person's skin brown)], the percentage of participants who acknowledged race was 76.5% in the younger group and 37% in the older group. However, when the criteria for what was considered acknowledging race was very conservative (only direct references to race such as Black, White, African-American, Caucasian, etc), the percentage of participants who were seen to acknowledge race dropped significantly, to 33.3% in the younger group and 0% in the older group (Apfelbaum et al., 2008a). This exhibits a clear aversion to direct racial terminology. This falls cleanly in line with colour-blind ideology, whose primary component is that the avoidance of referring to race is used because the act of referring directly to race is perceived as being seen as racist (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Babbitt et al., 2016; Bonilla-Silva, 2002). Fear of not knowing the right terminology that will not cause offence (and will not cause one to appear to be racist) and lacking the confidence to use the correct terminology could be driving factors in the use of colour-blind strategy. My studies will seek to determine how confidence with racial terminology relates to SCB, and if it is potentially a new predictor of SCB behaviour. By

knowing and using racial terms accurately this could have a positive impact on inter-racial interactions.

Using Apfelbaum et al. (2008a), I have established that there could potentially be a new avenue for research that investigates racial terminology and its connection to SCB. However, I must first take a step back and establish why racial terminology and its correct usage is integral to the study of intergroup interactions as a whole. To start, I will examine social categorization and its place in intergroup interactions. Much like racial categorization (see Chapter 1, pg. 16), social categorization is an intrinsic intuitive process we use to organize the world around us (Allport, 1954; Deaux, 2012; Heron & Pilkington, 2009; Philogene, 2012). We have a cognitive need to categorize and organize our world in order to simplify it, remember relevant associations, make quick assessments, and shape our interactions with others (Philogene, 2012). We categorize prominent categories such as race, gender and age, but as Tajfel and Turner (1979) has shown, the need to categorize things in our world is so pervasive that we will form in-groups and out-groups from the smallest and most subjective of details (such as mascots or camp affiliation). Categorization is something we do, regardless of conscious or subconscious intent and allows one to define their identity (Deaux, 2012).

Of the many ways in which people categorize themselves, their racial/ethnic identity is a common characteristic people use to define their identity. Race is an important part of identity, as it is composed of more things than just biological skin colour (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999; Philogene, 2012; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). It includes the person's self-identity, their identity as a member of the larger racial/ethnic group (Johnston et al., 2015) their ancestry and its history (Philogene, 2012) their country of origin (Rattansi, 2007; Shin, 2009) their cultural practices (Rattansi, 2007; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015) their behaviours and values (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999).

With this many components as part of one's racial/ethnic identity, it is easy to see how ignoring race (as done in SCB) can be seen by some as ignoring large portions of one's identity, culture and history (Ade-Serrano & Nkansa-Dwamena, 2016). This oversight can result in various negative effects (Ade-Serrano & Nkansa-Dwamena, 2016). Ade-Serrano and Nkansa-Dwamena (2016) commented in their paper how studies have found that counselling services in the UK are not always positioned effectively to help vulnerable populations in racial/ethnic minority areas, and that minority groups are more likely to be misdiagnosed, given medication instead of therapy, admitted into inpatient care unnecessarily or, in worst case scenarios, die whilst in custody. Heron and Pilkington (2009) also found weaknesses in the education of their students in preparation for social work, where the lack of discussions about race in their written assignment or critical analysis of racial issues the students may have experienced during their practice placement indicated that race was either marginalized or completely ignored by the students. These actions do not serve their clients' needs nor do they confront deeper, systemic issues of racial inequality. Ignoring race is also seen as ignoring the privileges experienced by certain racial/ethnic groups whilst failing to acknowledge the socio-political needs of other groups (Orelus, 2013).

The interaction between identity and social categorization has real consequences on how people are treated and how society is organized (Ade-Serrano & Nkansa-Dwamena, 2016; Aspinall, 2007; Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999; Deaux, 2012; Heron & Pilkington, 2009; Orelus, 2013; Philogene, 2012). Identity can increase or decrease life chances in many areas such as education, employment, healthcare, housing, legal rights and social resources (Aspinall, 2007; Ade-Serrano & Nkansa-Dwamena, 2016; Plaut, 2010). When combined with social positioning and racism, negative outcomes occur. For years, society has implemented and upheld power hierarchies that usually advantaged White people over other minority groups (Heron & Pilkington, 2009; Song, 2018). Minority groups have

been mistreated, excluded and attacked due to their racial identity (Orelus, 2013). So, if both ignoring racial categories and using categories results in negative consequences, why do we forego the use of social categories in public entirely?

However, this is not the case. Defining one's identity and the social categorization of that identity by society are not mutually exclusive. Racial identity of the person is negotiated between their self-identification and the identification the society labels them (Aspinall, 2007; Bulmer & Solomos, 2018; Deaux, 2012; Philogene, 2012; Rattansi, 2007). Even if an individual were to choose not to identify as any particular social category, this does not prevent society from categorizing that individual into a particular social group. Social categorization is a natural part of human psychology. However, it may be possible that through researching the processes through which it arises, some actions can be taken that negate the worst of its potential downsides.

Having discussed the integral interplay between self- and social categorization, we must acknowledge that both concepts require terminology in which to identify groups, acknowledge differences and confront inequality. Many researchers have emerged in support of opening up discussions on race talk and studying racial terminology, instead of avoiding it (Cammarota, 2014; Song, 2018). Additionally, many disciplines and organizations have inquired into creating an international terminology glossary for the purposes of research, census recording and resource allocation. These groups include, but are not limited to: Epidemiology (Aspinall, 2007; Bhopal, 2004), Sociology (Aspinall, 2007), Medical and Health Education (Aspinall, 2001; Aspinall, 2008; Luquis, 2010), Public Health (Aspinall, 2008; Bhopal, 2004), Ethnic and Racial Studies (Bulmer & Solomos, 2018; Maylor, 2009), Social Research (Aspinall, 2007; Aspinall & Song, 2013), the European Union (EU) and the World Health Organization (WHO) (Aspinall, 2007). Moreover, others still have called for there to be open conversations about race and race issues so that services can be improved

upon and practitioners can take an active role in addressing long-standing social inequalities, such as in social work and counselling psychology (Ade-Serrano & Nkansa-Dwamena, 2016; Heron & Pilkington, 2009).

There is much confusion on what terminology refers to which groups of people, (Apfelbaum et al., 2008ab, Rattansi, 2007) and which of these is the most appropriate to use, as evidenced by the chart below. Table 1 summarizes the most recurrent racial terminology used to describe different racial/ethnic groups just within the purview of this literature review. I will note however, that for the sake of brevity, this is not an exhaustive list of every racial or ethnic term found amongst the literature.

Table 1

Racial Terminology

Majority	White	Caucasian	Northern Irish
		European	British
		European American	English
		Euro-American	White Other
		White British	Occidental
		White Irish	Anglo
		White Scottish	Anglo-American
		White Welsh	
Minority	Black	African	Black African
		African Caribbean	Black Caribbean
		Afro-Caribbean	Black Other
		African American	Colored/Coloured
		Afro-American	Negro
		Black British	
	Asian	Asian American	Japanese
		Asian British	Korean
		Asian Indian	Pakistani
		Indian	Vietnamese
		Bangladeshi	South Asian
		Chinese	Southeast Asian
		Filipino	West Asian
		Hindu	Oriental
		Hmong	Asian Other
	Other	Ethnic Minority	Native Pacific Islander
		Minority Ethnic	Native Hawaiian
		People of Color/	Gypsy/ Roma
		People of Colour	Irish Traveler
		Non-black	Arab
		Native	Middle Eastern
		Indigenous	North African
		Aboriginal	Guamanian
		Hispanic	Samoan
		Latino/a	Mixed
		Mestizo/a	Mixed Heritage Other
		Mexican	White and Black Caribbean
		Puerto Rican	White and Black African
		Cuban	White and Asian
		Chamorro	Any other ethnic group
		Native American	Hyphenated Groups
		American Indian/Alaska	Black (Meaning all minorities)

Note. Papers cited are Aspinall (2001); Aspinall (2007); Aspinall (2008); Aspinall & Chinouya (2008); Aspinall & Song (2013); Bhopal (2004); Bonilla-Silva (2000); Bonilla-Silva (2002); Bonilla-Silva (2003); British Social Attitudes Survey, Bulmer & Solomos (2018); Cammarota (2014); Chavez & Guido-DiBrito (1999); Edmondson (1993); Heron & Pilkington, (2009); Luquis (2010); Maulucci & Mensah (2015); Maylor (2009); Orelus (2013); Plant, (2004); Rattansi, (2007); Sigelman, Tuch, & Martin (2005); Song (2018); Stephan & Stephan (1985); Sue (2013); Swart, Hewstone, Christ, & Voci, (2010).

Further research is required to examine what is defined as appropriate and inappropriate terminology (Aspinall, 2007; Sigelman et al., 2005). However, there are many complexities in this issue (Aspinall, 2007; Orelus, 2013). There are a number of studies from the United States (Edmondson, 1993; Newport, 2007; Sigelman et al., 2005) that suggest that racial terms such as "Black" and "African-American" are the most appropriate terms when identifying someone of African descent. However, there is an issue of using some of these terms in a context outside of the US. Some terms that are seen to respectfully refer to race are not applicable cross-culturally. For example, Black people from countries outside of the US cannot use the term "African-American" because they are not American by nationality. This requires looking into the culture-specific terms of identifying race (Orelus, 2013). We require more research into racial terms used in the UK, as there is little to no research on what terminology is used widely across the UK, and of those terms, which are the most appropriate ways to refer to members of other racial groups.

One final reason to study racial terminology and what terms are considered appropriate is to study confidence with terminology and its connection with SCB and confidence in inter-race interactions more broadly. As shown in Table 1, the large amount of constantly changing terminology used to refer to different racial/ethnic groups would understandably leave many individuals confused about which words are appropriate to use and when (Apfelbaum, 2008b). Those individuals that are confused might opt to avoid terms, anxious that they may make a mistake and be seen as racist. However, as research has shown, avoidance of terms condemns those terms (Bonilla-Silva, 2000; Bonilla-Silva, 2002; Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Cammarota, 2014). Therefore, I seek to study the participants confidence with terminology and confidence with their ability to learn racial terminology and use it appropriately. It is plausible that those more anxious about using the correct terminology and lacking in confidence in their ability to do so, are likely to avoid acknowledging race even

when it is relevant, thus engaging in SCB. Conversely, those that have more confidence in their abilities with racial terminology should be more likely to acknowledge race when it is relevant, thus not participating in SCB behaviour. Research has not currently examined this specific barrier to acknowledging race, and I aim to fill this gap in the literature.

Studying SCB cross-culturally and across races

Lastly, in this thesis, I will aim to study SCB cross-culturally and, when possible, across racial/ethnic groups. Much of the published research to date examining the phenomenon of Strategic Colour Blindness has been conducted in various locations in the US, such as Massachusetts and California (Apfelbaum et al, 2008ab; Pauker et al., 2015). Racial issues play a prominent role on the socio-political stage in the US, due to its long history of racial inequality and discrimination (Orelus, 2013). Events of the past few years, such as the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement, illustrate examples of the prominence of race, racism and prejudice in American society. Although it would be incorrect to assume that racial issues do not occur elsewhere in the world, we have little empirical evidence at the moment (an exception discussed in Warren, 2016) on if SCB behaviours occur in other countries, that have different historical relations between groups, experiences with slavery and immigration, cultural practices, socio-political initiatives and current race relations that are distinct from those found in the US (Aspinall, 2007). We do not know if SCB would be found in other countries or if it would present itself in a manner similar to the American samples. It is important to test if SCB behaviour occurs cross-culturally, which will strengthen the validity of this construct and further aid in our understanding of SCB. Therefore, my studies aim to explore if SCB is present in an adult UK population and what predictors influence SCB in said population.

It is also important to study SCB cross-racially, when possible. Research on SCB often studied this behaviour in mainly White participant samples (Apfelbaum et al., 2008ab;

Apfelbaum et al., 2010; Apfelbaum & Sommers, 2009; Norton et al., 2006). Members of the racial/ethnic minorities were included only recently and substantially with studies that Pauker and her colleagues conducted in 2015 (Pauker et al., 2015). Their results showed that the racial minority children acted similarly to the White children during the Political Correctness Task, avoiding using racial terms even though this caused detriments to their performance on the task and in their nonverbal behaviour (Gullett & West, 2016; Pauker et al., 2015). This study appears to suggest that the colour-blind approach affects the behaviour of all participants, regardless of whether they are of the White majority or the racial minority. However, studies have also shown that we should expect the White majority and racial minority to differ considerably in regards to experiences with interracial interaction, social norms, feelings towards terminology and other such factors (Aboud & Sankar, 2007; Bagci et al., 2014; Bagci et al., 2019; Bikmen, 2011; Hewstone & Swart, 2011; Kawabata & Crick, 2008; Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003; Pauker et al., 2015; Saenz et al., 2007; Saenz, 2010; Shelton, 2003; Swart et al., 2010; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008; Tropp & Bianchi, 2006; Tropp & Bianchi, 2007; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005; Tropp, Stout, Boatswain, Wright & Pettigrew, 2006; Turner & Cameron, 2016; Richeson & Shelton, 2007). Therefore, when it is possible within our studies, I aim to assess if SCB is exhibited in different racial groups, and if they correspond or diverge in which predictors influence their SCB behaviour.

CHAPTER 2

Intergroup Anxiety and Cross Ethnic Friendship Self-Efficacy

This chapter focuses on predictors of confidence in intergroup interactions, including talking about race, and face-to-face interactions. Specially, the research regarding intergroup anxiety and cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy is reviewed. The potential links between these and my main outcomes are examined.

Intergroup Anxiety

Intergroup anxiety is a phenomenon that is well researched in the field of Interracial Interaction. Interracial interaction is sometimes known for causing stress and being rife with miscommunication issues (Gullett & West, 2016; Plant, 2004; Plant & Devine, 2003; Trawalter, Adams, Chase-Lansdale & Richeson, 2011; Trawalter, Richeson, & Shelton, 2009). These issues, of course, generate feelings of anxiety when interacting with a member of the outgroup. Intergroup anxiety is the apprehension felt usually before, but sometimes during, interactions with members of a social group different from one's own (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Stephan, 2014). This anxiety can stem from a multitude of fears, including but not limited to, a fear of negative repercussions for themselves and others (Plant, 2004; Trawalter et al., 2011), negative evaluations by both the ingroup and the outgroup, fear of prejudice and discrimination, fear of rejection, and fear of accidentally offending someone (Gullett & West, 2016). These negative expectations can prevent further interracial contact, creating a cyclical pattern of contact arousing anxiety and in turn, decreasing the amount of future contact (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Stephan, 2014; Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou, 2008). Intergroup anxiety is not equivalent to culture shock, xenophobia, shyness or social anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Intergroup anxiety is thought to be comprised of multiple components; those being affective, cognitive, and physiological indicators (Stephan, 2014). Anxiety produces more

negative emotions in the individual, including embarrassment, anger, confusion, guilt and other such emotions (Stephan, 2014; Trawalter et al., 2009). Anxiety also impairs cognitive abilities, promoting a stronger reliance on stereotypes and fostering negative expectations about future interactions (Gullett & West, 2016; Stephan, 2014). These negative expectations include adverse psychological and cognitive effects to the self, and negative evaluation by both the ingroup and the outgroup (Gullett & West, 2016). Individuals may fear a loss in self-esteem, believe they are socially incompetent, or worry that they will be manipulated or possibly physically or verbally assaulted by the outgroup (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Stephan, 2014). People may also experience mild to severe physiological responses in line with their anxiety, such as increases in galvanic skin response, blood pressure, other cardiovascular related issues and cortisol levels (Stephan, 2014; Trawalter et al., 2009; Trawalter et al., 2011; Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Tropp, 2008).

Antecedents

Predictors of intergroup anxiety include prior experience, cognitions, and situation factors.

Prior Experience*:* Prior experience considers the quantity and quality of contact previously experienced by the participant (Page-Gould et al., 2008; Plant & Devine, 2003; Shelton, West, & Trail, 2010; Stephan and Stephan, 1985; Swart, Hewstone, Christ, & Voci, 2011; Turner & Feddes, 2011; Voci & Hewstone, 2003), their knowledge of the outgroup (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Stephan, 2014), and occurrences of negative contact or conflict (Stephan, 2014; Swart et al., 2011). Individuals with a large amount of experience with positive contact are likely to feel less anxiety during intergroup interactions, whereas those with less experience with contact are likely to experience more anxiety in intergroup interactions. Intergroup anxiety may also be amplified in high conflict situations (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Stephan, 2014).

Status: Intergroup anxiety affects both high- and low-status groups, as both groups fear being seen as prejudiced. This anxiety causes them to respond to it in a variety of unhealthy ways. In high-status individuals, they can attempt to manage their anxiety by truly believing themselves to be superior over individuals from the low-status group, and thus treating this group negatively. Or, on the opposite end of the spectrum, they may search for (non-racial) reasons to defend and validate their position in society, disregarding the privilege their position affords them. In contrast, low-status individuals expect to be mistreated, ostracized or detested by the high-status group. However, to deal with their anxiety, they may either engage in behaviours that attempt to mask their distaste for the high-status group or turn those negative emotions towards themselves, and believe that they are inferior (Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Knowledge of the outgroup: Lack of knowledge of the outgroup is thought to increase anxiety because individuals are unfamiliar with the traditions, attitudes, and behaviours of the outgroup (Allport, 1954; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Included in this is knowledge of the outgroup's culture and practices (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Stephan, 2014; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Swart et al., 2011), stereotyping and prejudice (Stephan, 2014; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Swart et al., 2011), negative expectations (Plant, 2004; Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan, 2014; Stephan & Stephan, 1985) and perceptions of difference that the participants hold towards the outgroup (Stephan, 2014; Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) conducted a meta-analysis assessing through what processes (knowledge of the outgroup, intergroup anxiety, empathy and perspective-taking) contact reduces prejudice, and the interrelations between those three mediators. The researchers assessed the value of increasing participants' knowledge of the outgroup on prejudice reduction. The researchers found that increasing participants knowledge, though less powerful than the other affective mediators, still was a significant mediator between

contact and prejudice reduction. It also showed a significant and negative correlation between knowledge acquisition and anxiety, suggesting that the more knowledge participants had about the outgroup, the less intergroup anxiety they experienced in intergroup interactions.

Situational factors: Researchers have identified a number of situational factors that drive intergroup anxiety, similar to those outlined by Allport (1954). This includes whether groups share equal status and composition, have a common goal, are cooperating towards achieving that goal and received support from reigning authorities (Allport, 1954; Stephan, 2014; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). If any of the above conditions are not met, this can activate the person's negative expectations towards interaction and subsequently experience negative emotions and physiological reactions related to that anxiety (Stephan, 2014).

Consequences

Intergroup anxiety causes an array of negative consequences on behaviour (Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan, 2014; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Trawalter et al., 2011) cognitions (Gullett & West, 2016; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Shelton et al., 2010; Stephan, 2014; Stephan & Stephan, 1985) and affect (Gullett & West, 2016; Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan, 2014; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Swart et al., 2011).

A well-established behavioural consequence of intergroup anxiety is that it leads people to avoid contact situations or seek to get out of such instances as quickly as possible (Islam & Houston, 1993; Jones, 2016; Plant & Devine, 2003; Plant, 2004; Shelton et al., 2010; Stephan, 2014; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Swart et al., 2010; Swart et al., 2011; Trawalter et al., 2009; Trawalter et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2008; Turner & Feddes, 2011). Other behavioural actions include an intensification of adherence to social norms (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Turner et al., 2008), imitation (Stephan & Stephan, 1985), pre-emptive hostility (Plant & Devine, 2003; Shelton et al., 2010; Stephan & Stephan, 1985), low self-efficacy (Plant & Devine, 2003) and increases in negative or unhelpful nonverbal behaviours

(Gullett & West, 2016; Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan, 2014; Trawalter et al., 2009; Trawalter et al., 2011). These include avoiding looking at or directly facing their interaction partners, drastic changes in speech patterns, fidgeting and generally acting awkwardly, disinterested or aggressively toward others in an attempt to leave the situation sooner (Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan, 2014).

Trawalter et al.'s (2011) study illustrates some of these behavioural consequences of intergroup anxiety. They found that those participants that were highly concerned about appearing prejudiced did not or could not manage their intergroup anxiety during interracial interactions with the research assistant. In failing to manage it, they were more likely to show their anxiety through their nonverbal body language (averted eye gaze, stiffness, leaning or facing away from the research assistant, etc). Additionally, these behaviours appeared to increase during the interracial interaction, suggesting that the participant was very uncomfortable and seeking to get out of the situation as soon as possible. Without intervention to help teach these participants better manage their anxiety with interracial interaction, it is likely that these participants would continue to show behavioural problems in future interactions (Trawalter et al., 2011).

Cognitive issues arising from intergroup anxiety include information processing bias (Swart et al., 2011; Voci & Hewstone, 2003), increased ethnocentrism and ego-boosting behaviours (Stephan & Stephan, 1985), increased self-awareness (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) and negative expectations and stereotypes (Stephan, 2014). Intergroup anxiety negatively affects emotions and evaluation (Gullett & West, 2016; Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan, 2014; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Swart et al., 2011).

Strategies to reduce Intergroup Anxiety

Although intergroup anxiety has been shown to have negative effects on future interracial encounters, interestingly enough, further and sometimes more intimate forms of

contact, such as intergroup friendships, can reduce intergroup anxiety (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Tropp, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Steven, 2014; Swart et al., 2011; Swart et al., 2010; Voci & Hewstone, 2003; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). Contact and friendship can reduce anxiety by changing cognitions, alleviating negative emotions, managing situational factors, change behaviour towards the outgroup, modifying personality and adherence to their own social identity and improve one's expectations towards intergroup encounters (Page-Gould et al., 2008; Plant, 2004; Stephan, 2014; Swart et al., 2011; Trawalter et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2008).

Swart et al (2011) studied the longitudinal relationship between cross-group friendships and prejudice through the mediator of intergroup anxiety with a sample of South African students of mixed-race heritage. The researchers found a reciprocal negative relationship between cross-group friendships and intergroup anxiety over the three time-waves of the study. This means that the more cross-group friendships the participants had at Time 1, the less intergroup anxiety they experienced at Time 2, thus motivating them to have more cross-group friends at Time 3. This study provided strong evidence that having cross-group friends aided in reducing the participants' anxiety, allowing them the opportunity and confidence to seek out and enjoy more cross-group friendships (Swart et al., 2011). The current research will consider the role of intergroup anxiety in confidence in intergroup interactions.

Cross Ethnic Friendship Self Efficacy (CEFSE)

Cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy is the expectation that one has the confidence to successfully create friendships with cross-ethnic people, and that they have the motivation and persistence to make these friendships thrive (Turner & Cameron, 2016). This is an indicator of confidence in intergroup interactions. The current research will for the first time

test a model of CEFSE in an adult student sample, and examine the link between CEFSE and SCB.

Whilst researching the intergroup contact literature, a number of researchers put forth the idea of investigating cross-group friendships specifically, as opposed to more general forms of contact. Cross-group friendships meet all four criteria set out by Allport (1954). Cross-group friendship seems to produce stronger effects than general contact at reducing prejudice, at r = -.25, as compared to general contact at r = -.21 (Capozza, Falvo, Favara, & Trifeletti, 2013; Davies & Aron, 2016; Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Titzmann, Brenick, & Silbereisen, 2015; Turner & Cameron, 2016; Turner & Feddes, 2011).

A multitude of studies have recorded the various benefits of having cross-group friendships. This includes, but is not limited to, more positive racial attitudes in both children and adults (Aboud & Sankar, 2007; Bagci et al., 2014; Bagci et al., 2019; Davies et al., 2011; Graham, Munniksma, & Juvonen, 2014; Levin et al., 2003; Page-Gould et al., 2008; Titzmann et al., 2015; Turner & Cameron, 2016; Turner et al, 2008; Turner & Feddes, 2011), less bias and prejudice (Davies et al., 2011; Levin et al., 2003; Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Schofield, Hausmann, Feifei & Wood, 2010; Shelton, Richeson, & Bergsieker, 2009; Titzmann et al., 2015), less intergroup anxiety (Davies et al., 2011; Levin et al., 2003; Page-Gould et al., 2008; Schofield et al., 2010; Titzmann et al., 2015; Turner & Cameron, 2016; Turner et al., 2008; Turner & Feddes, 2011), more empathy (Al Ramiah et al., 2013; Bagci et al., 2014; Kawabata & Crick, 2008; Kawabata & Crick, 2011; Schofield et al., 2010; Swart et al., 2010; Titzmann et al., 2015; Turner et al., 2008; Turner & Feddes, 2011) and perspective-taking skills (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Swart et al., 2010; Titzmann et al., 2015; Turner & Cameron, 2016), more knowledge of the outgroup's culture and practices (Bagci et al., 2014; Schofield et al., 2010; Shelton et al., 2009; Titzmann

et al., 2015; Turner et al., 2008), more leadership ability (Graham et al., 2014; Kawabata & Crick, 2008; Kawabata & Crick, 2011; Turner & Cameron, 2016), more social skills (Bagci et al., 2014; Bagci et al., 2019; Graham et al., 2014; Kawabata & Crick, 2011; Turner & Cameron, 2016), and more resilience (Bagci et al., 2014; Bagci et al., 2019; Graham et al., 2014; Turner & Cameron, 2016). Many of these benefits were seen in both children and adult samples.

With the significant amount of benefits the research has shown cross-group friendships to have, one would assume that cross-group friendships would be commonplace and longstanding. However, research has also demonstrated that this is not the case. A number of researchers have noted that as students age into adolescence and adulthood, they tend to retain and maintain more same-ethnic friendships than cross-ethnic friendships. In contrast, the number of cross-ethnic friendships the students have declines considerably as they age. (Aboud & Sankar, 2007; Graham et al., 2014; Kawabata & Crick, 2011; Kawabata & Crick, 2008; Schofield et al., 2010; Turner & Cameron, 2016). Only a couple of studies have mentioned otherwise (Aboud & Sankar, 2007; Bagci et al., 2014). Aboud and Sankar (2007) discerned that if such cross-ethnic friendships endured through adolescence and young adulthood, they were similar in quality to the individual's same-ethnic friendships. Bagci et al. (2014) found that their participants had more cross-ethnic friends than same-ethnic friends, however the population they tested came from schools in and around London. Seeing as London is well-renowned for its multicultural environment, this possibly explains how this pattern of having more cross-ethnic friends occurred, and thus should be something we stay aware of in future studies.

Given this conflicting relationship between the benefits of having cross-group friendships and yet the lack of people having cross-group friendships, it is essential we

understand the predictors of CGF. What factors promote people to seek out cross-group friendships, and to have the confidence to engage in and maintain those friendships?

The answer to this question may lie within the research literature on self-efficacy. The theory of self-efficacy and its sources first comes from Bandura (1977). He defined self-efficacy as the expectations that one has the abilities to meet future challenges, and has the motivation and persistence to succeed. These expectations regulate future actions to similar challenges by determining if they either approach or avoid future challenges. Bandura also discussed that there were four sources that influenced self-efficacy: Personal performance accomplishments, vicarious experience, verbal persuasion, and emotional arousal. Later, these sources were known as enactive experiences, vicarious experiences, social persuasion, and physiological cues, respectively.

Enactive experiences are the experiences the participant gains from interacting directly with cross-ethnic people. Vicarious experiences are experiences the participant gains indirectly, by observing their in-group friends having good relationships with out-group (cross-ethnic) people. Social persuasion are messages individuals receive encouraging them to engage in interracial/interethnic interaction. Finally, physiological cues are the emotions and physical responses experienced during an interracial/interethnic interaction (Bandura, 1977). Bandura's studies showed that the stronger and more influential these sources are, the greater and usually more positive perceptions are held about self-efficacy towards meeting challenges (Bandura, 1977; Bandura, 2001).

Moving this concept forward into the social realm, Stathi, Crisp and Hogg (2011) investigated how different forms of contact may affect people's self-efficacy expectations to interact with outgroup members, and their intentions to seek further contact. They found that contact, even vicarious contact, could improve self-efficacy expectations, thus increasing the chances that the participants would be motivated to approach intergroup contact, improve

their social skill with the outgroup, and persist through occasional negative experiences to continue interacting with the outgroup. These benefits also generalized beyond just the interaction partners, to include other members of the outgroup (Stathi et al., 2011).

Bagci et al. (2014) examined a specific form of contact, one that may be promising in conjunction with the previous research on self-efficacy. She and her colleagues explored the occurrence of cross-ethnic friendships within secondary schools in London, their quantity, quality and if this differs by racial membership. They found that, contrary to previous research, cross-ethnic friendships can be just as common and high quality as same-ethnic friendships in multi-ethnic environments. White British students may have had more cross-ethnic friendships with less quality compared to other race groups, but this seemed entirely dependent on the racial context of the classroom. Combining this more intimate form of contact with social self-efficacy should improve interracial relations (Bagci et al., 2014).

Based on Bandura's original theory, Bagci et al. (2019) created a model to comprehensively study cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy, also known as CEFSE. Basing itself on the previous literature (Anderson & Betz, 2001; Bandura, 1977; Bandura, 2001; Lent, Lopez, & Bieschke, 1991; Stathi et al., 2011), she and her colleagues tested a new model of self-efficacy tailored for cross-ethnic friendship. According to this model, there are a number of sources of CEFSE (Enactive Experiences, Vicarious Experiences, Social Persuasion, and Physiological Cues). According to this model, CEFSE is predicted by these four sources. CEFSE, in turn, then predicts the quality and quantity of CGF. The impact of CEFSE on cross-group friendship quantity and quality is thought to operate through the motivation to form new cross-group friendships and the persistence to maintain those cross-ethnic friendships. It is through these motivations and drives that self-efficacy is thought to promote high quality and high quantity cross-ethnic friendships.

Bagci et al. (2019) provided the first test of this model in a diverse sample of UK secondary students. Through their studies, they found that Enactive Experiences and Vicarious Experiences were positively related to CEFSE. Social Persuasion was not related to CEFSE, and Physiological Cues were negatively related to CEFSE. They also learned that all the sources of CEFSE (minus Social Persuasion) significantly predicted CEFSE, so that those students that had more direct and vicarious experience with cross-ethnic interaction, and less physiological anxiety were likely to have confidence in their ability to interact successfully with cross-ethnic people and produce friendships. Finally, the researchers uncovered that CEFSE positively predicted the quality of cross-ethnic friendships, so that those with more confidence with their ability to make and maintain cross-ethnic friendships were likely to have high quality cross-ethnic friendships characterized by closeness and much time spent together.

Even though the research literature specifically on CEFSE is very young, it has shown much promise for its use in studying Confidence with Contact, and for improving intergroup relations. Both Intergroup Anxiety and CEFSE appear to affect intergroup relations differently, but significantly, suggesting that both may be related to each other as well. However, we do not exactly know how they relate to one another, or to our previous set of variables (Intergroup Contact, Social Norms, Confidence with Terminology, SCB).

Therefore, this thesis will examine CEFSE and intergroup anxiety as a means of understanding more about confidence in intergroup interactions. Within this thesis, the model of CEFSE will be tested, alongside SCB and confidence in terminology. In this way this research will advance our understanding of contact, and confidence in intergroup interactions.

STUDY 1:

An Investigation of Strategic Colour Blindness and its predictors among students in the UK

Abstract

The purpose of this initial, exploratory study was to determine whether students in the UK engage in Strategic Colour Blindness (SCB), and identify whether participants' interracial experiences (current and previous contact), perceived social norms for discussing race, and confidence with racial terminology predicts their performance on Norton et al. (2006)'s Political Correctness Task. SCB occurs when individuals avoid using racial terms in an interracial interaction, even when relevant, because they are motivated by a need to avoid being seen as racist (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Babbitt et al., 2016). This is the first time the phenomenon of SCB has been studied among an adult sample in the UK. The aims of the study were to 1) test for Strategic Colour Blindness in an adult sample in the UK, 2) create a measure for Confidence with Terminology; and 3) determine if the following key predictors influence SCB performance: prior and current contact, social norms for discussing race influenced by family, friends and peers, concern for social appropriateness for race talk, and confidence with racial terminology. Participants (N = 61) completed Norton et al. (2006)'s measure of SCB, followed by a series of surveys on key predictors. Indicators of SCB are: the number of questions required to complete the task, if race is acknowledged in the task and, if it is used, *when* race is mentioned in the task. The latter is a new indicator of SCB that has not previously been examined. It was hypothesized that participants in the UK will exhibit SCB behaviours similar to that exhibited in previous research in the US. It was predicted that SCB will be greater among individuals with less meaningful interracial interactions, more negative norms for discussing race and a more rudimentary understanding of appropriate racial terminology. Analyses provided evidence for SCB behaviour among adults in the UK, but contrary to expectations, SCB was not affected by any of my expected predictors. Explanations for the findings of this initial and exploratory study are examined, and limitations outlined.

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine confidence with interracial interactions, and the predictors of this (See Chapter 1). In Study 1, I examine one indicator of confidence in interracial interactions, namely 'Strategic Colour Blindness', and potential predictors of this phenomenon in a typical and diverse sample of students. Strategic Colour Blindness occurs when an individual avoids referring to race, even in a case where it is relevant. This is thought to be motivated by a need to avoid being seen as racist and subsequently accused of racism (Apfelbaum et al., 2008ab; Babbitt et al., 2016; Norton et al., 2006). Research, conducted almost exclusively in the US, has shown that individuals exhibit Strategic Colour Blindness when interacting with people from a different race from themselves (Apfelbaum et al., 2008ab; Norton et al., 2006; Pauker et al., 2015). Norton et al.'s (2006) Political Correctness Task is thought to detect Strategic Colour Blindness by examining the participants' behaviours on a task similar to the children's game '*Guess Who?*'. Participants are presented with an array of photos of people who vary on a number of dimensions, including race. Their game partner holds a target card, and the participant must ask yes and no questions to eliminate individuals in the array and identify the target photo. The aim of the game is to identify the target in as few questions as possible. Asking about the race of the target is an effective means of identifying the target, as it reduces the pool of potential photos by half. It is thought that White participants concerned about appearing to be racist will sacrifice task efficiency by avoiding asking about the target race, thereby requiring more questions to identify the target. However, those that do ask about race will complete the task more efficiently, requiring less questions. Crucially, Strategic Colour Blindness refers to acknowledging race in situations where race is *relevant*. In cases where participants acknowledge race, these participants will not only complete the task more efficiently, but

they also appear to understand that in this situation it is appropriate to acknowledge race (Apfelbaum 2008b; Apfelbaum & Sommers, 2009; Norton et al., 2006).

The current exploratory study overcomes these limitations and aims to, for the first time, determine whether SCB is exhibited in a diverse UK student sample and test additional potential predictors of SCB, including current and prior interracial contact, social norms for the acceptability of talking about race as determined by the participants' primary social groups (family, friends, peers), concern for social appropriateness for race talk and confidence with terminology. It is important that we investigate these topic areas and their connections to SCB. Social norms define the rules about the acceptability of talking about race; which can either promote or deter SCB behaviour depending on whether the social norms are positive or negative towards talking about race. Confidence with Terminology is a novel area of research in regards to the study of SCB, but is likely to be important because participants must have certain knowledge about racial terminology which might lead them to actively avoid it in later interracial interactions (See Chapter 1). I expect that those participants that 1) have more previous and current experience with interracial interaction, 2) receive more positive norms for discussing race from their family, friends and peers, and 3) are more confident with racial terminology will have less SCB behaviours. In order to achieve this, a new measure of Confidence with Terminology will be developed and tested.

Furthermore, the current research uses a new indicator of SCB, 'the point at which race acknowledged'. The Political Correctness game typically uses number of questions asked to complete the task, and whether or not race was mentioned, as indicators of SCB. A negative correlation between the two suggests participants are sacrificing efficiency (asking more questions) by avoiding using race in the task. The current research also uses *when* race is mentioned in a task in order to shed new light on the phenomenon. This allows us to determine whether race is used as a 'last resort', when other questions have been utilised, or

whether it is the first one used in the task. It could be expected that those that mention it earlier in the task would require less questions to complete the task. Meanwhile those that acknowledge race, but do so later, are also exhibiting some form of Strategic Colour Blindness as by holding back on using race as a question, they will require more questions to complete the task. In other words, although they acknowledge race, they are also sacrificing task efficiency by asking about race later in the task. By also noting the question at which race is acknowledged, this allows an examination of SCB in this more nuanced manner.

Aims of Study 1

The first aim of this exploratory study is to determine whether SCB behaviour is evident in a typical and diverse sample of students in the UK. It is important to test if SCB behaviour occurs cross culturally, which will strengthen the validity of this construct. This study will determine if SCB is present in an adult UK population collected from a university in south eastern UK.

The second aim is to develop a measure of Confidence with Racial Terminology. A central component of SCB is not acknowledging race. In order to acknowledge race, it requires the use of racial terminology. Therefore, SCB behaviours may be driven by a lack of confidence in correct terminology and need to avoid using racial terminology. My review of the literature did not uncover any survey measures that examined the use of racial terminology or participants attitudes on topics related to racial terminology. So, to investigate this, it was necessary to create a new measure of participants attitudes towards racial terminology, 'Confidence with Racial Terminology'. This measure includes items that gauge participant emotions in response to talking about race/using racial terminology (confidence), and their attitudes towards various topics concerned with racial terminology, including its appropriate use and possible contradicting views towards racial terminology (see Appendix

A). In order to test the reliability and validity of this measure, statistical tests of reliability are used, and I test whether the variables relate as expected to my other predictors in this study.

The third aim of this exploratory study is to understand factors that may be driving strategic colour blindness, and how they contribute to the presence or absence of SCB behaviour. These factors include current and previous intergroup contact, family, friends and peer norms for discussing race, concern for social appropriateness for race talk, and confidence with racial terminology (see Chapter 1 for review). Previous research suggests that these would be the primary areas to investigate in regards to SCB, as discussed below. I expect that those participants that 1) have more previous and current experience with interracial interaction, 2) receive more positive norms for discussing race from their family, friends and peers, and 3) are more confident with racial terminology will have less SCB behaviours.

Potential Predictors of SCB

Interracial interaction. The first predictor I am exploring is Interracial Interaction. Research suggests that people with more experience with racially diverse others are less likely to endorse strategic colour-blind behaviours (Apfelbaum et al., 2008ab; Apfelbaum et al., 2012). This may be due to the fact that these individuals have had more opportunities to interact more personally with members from racial outgroups, creating more opportunities for these individuals to have positive experiences with these outgroups (Saenz et al., 2007; Saenz, 2010; Warikoo & de Novais, 2015). These positive interactions may help them combat their fears of being seen as racist and will make them more confident in referring to race in cases where it is appropriate. In understanding the racial outgroups more intimately, these individuals would be more comfortable talking about race because they view it as describing an important part of one's identity, not as an insult to that identity (Pauker et al., 2016; Pauker et al., 2017). Individuals with more experience of diversity (i.e.

more inter-group contact) may also be less likely to have negative associations with the outgroup (Crisp & Turner, 2011; Davies et al., 2011; Hewstone & Swart, 2011; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Pettigrew, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Turner & Feddes, 2011; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Negative associations would lead to avoidance of the outgroup, and could also lead to avoidance of talking about race. Individuals with more experience of diversity, via intergroup contact may therefore be more comfortable with race talk and racial terminology and less likely to avoid conversations about race. As has been seen in previous research (See Chapter 1), interracial interaction has a number of positive effects on both intergroup attitudes and behaviours.

In this first study, two forms of contact were examined: participants' previous contact and current contact with racial outgroups. The current research is distinctive in that it examines the role of contact before university, and current contact at university. Opportunity for intergroup contact in the early years is important for establishing children's and adolescents' intergroup attitudes (Bowman & Denson, 2011; Pauker et al., 2016; Pauker et al., 2017; Saenz, 2010). Meanwhile, for those young people with little opportunity for intergroup contact in their early education, university can provide increased opportunities for interaction with members of racial and ethnic groups other than their own (Brigham, 1993; Saenz, 2010). Therefore, it is imperative to explore the influence of both the participants' previous and current experiences with interracial interaction, on SCB. To accomplish this, the current research will examine both contact prior to university, and current intergroup contact. This will be achieved using Harrison's (2012) 'Your life before University' measure to analyse participants' past experiences with interracial interaction. To measure participant's current interactions with racially diverse others, I will be using Harrison's (2012) 'Friendships and Interactions at University' measure. It is expected that those with more intergroup contact before and while at University will be less likely to exhibit SCB.

Social norms. Social norms are thought to be another main driver of SCB behaviour (Apfelbaum et al., 2010; Norton et al., 2006). Strategic colour-blind ideology has been exhibited in childhood around the age of 10 or 11 years (Apfelbaum et al., 2008a). SCB in this age group is thought to be due to social norms set by family and teachers (Apfelbaum et al., 2008a; Bagci et al., 2014; Pauker et al., 2015; Rutland et al., 2005). Apfelbaum and colleagues argue that there is a strong societal norm not to acknowledge race, and to avoid talking about race even when it is relevant (leading to Strategic Colour Blindness). Those who adhere strongly to social norms will be more likely to avoid talking about race, since 'talking about race' is seen as socially unacceptable. Apfelbaum and colleagues found that young children (8 or 9 years of age) were less likely to exhibit SCB (and more likely to acknowledge and refer to race), and they attributed this to the lack of awareness of the social norm to not talk about race evident in this young age group. Meanwhile among adult samples and older children, SCB behaviour is more evident due to increased awareness of social norms around referring to race (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Norton et al., 2006).

The current research builds on previous findings by examining social norms for discussing race in greater depth. Specifically, it examines the role of parents, friends and peers for talking about race, in predicting use of SCB among participants. I expect that among the adult participants, social norms of their friends and peers may be more influential than that of their parents (Liao et al., 2017; Thijs et al., 2016; and Tropp et al., 2014). I will use an adapted version of Pauker et al.'s (2015) Social Norms Measure to assess the extent that social norms influence the participant's performance on the Political Correctness Task. In her study, she examined how the social norms provided by family, teachers and peers affected the students' use of race in task, and thus their performance on it. She and her colleagues found that social norms defined by the children's parents and teachers were most influential in predicting their actions on the Political Correctness Task. Peers were not a

significant predictor of student's SCB. It is important to note that in Pauker et al. (2015) participants were young people in late childhood to early adolescence (9-12 years old). Although students in these life stages will become increasingly more influenced by their peers from this point onwards, at that age much of their time is taken by their parents and teachers, who are primarily in charge of their education and guiding their values. As my participants will be much older than the young people in Pauker et al.'s (2015) study, who were entering the early stages of adulthood, I changed our social norms measures to gauge relevant social norms for an adult sample: parents (whom they may still have connections to but are aging away from), friends (their close group of friends gained through the teenage years, and may continue on with these friendships), and peers (people at university that may change, challenge or support their worldviews). It is expected that more positive social norms for discussing race will significantly predict lower SCB (i.e. increased reference to race when relevant). In this older sample, peers and friends are expected to be more influential.

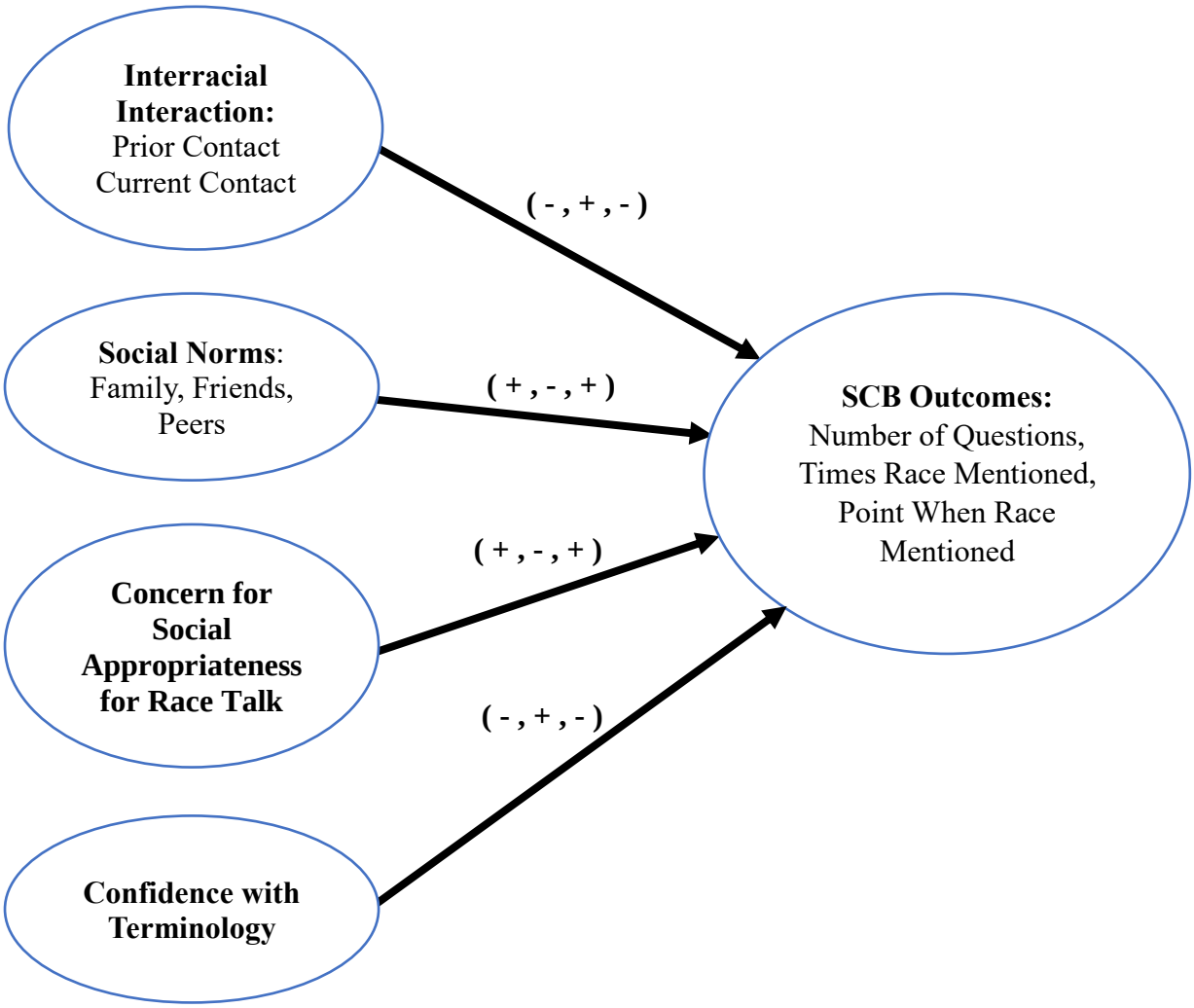
Concern for social appropriateness for race talk. I used Williams, Meyers, Pauker, and Apfelbaum's (2014) Social Appropriateness Scale to assess the extent that participants believe it is socially appropriate to talk about race and how this is related to participant's performance on the Political Correctness Task. Higher scores indicate that the participant is more concerned that using race is socially inappropriate.

Confidence with racial terminology. Finally, a new area I am investigating concerns the participant's confidence with talking about race and with using the correct racial terminology. To my knowledge, no studies have specifically investigated racial terminology and SCB together. However, there are many researchers across multiple academic disciplines who have identified a need to study racial terminology, correct terms for different racial/ethnic groups, and their appropriate use (Aspinall, 2001; Aspinall, 2007; Aspinall, 2008; Aspinall & Song, 2013; Bhopal, 2004; Bulmer & Solomos, 2018; & Luquis, 2010).

The constantly changing terminology used in referring to racial and ethnic groups can leave individuals confused about which are the appropriate terms to use (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b). See also the Racial Terminology Table in Chapter 1, Table 1, page 45 for an example of the wide array of terminology used to refer to different racial groups just within the collection of journal articles examined for this thesis. Therefore, it is plausible that those more anxious about using the correct terminology and lacking in confidence in their ability to do so, are likely to avoid acknowledging race even when it is relevant, and engage in SCB. Research has not examined this specific barrier to acknowledging race. Therefore, it is important to explore the relationship between racial terminology and Strategic Colour Blindness, to determine whether it has a substantial influence on the participant's willingness to acknowledge race when it is relevant to do so. The current research aims to create and validate a measure exploring Confidence with Terminology, and to examine the link between it and SCB. It is expected that participants who are less confident about terminology will be more likely to engage in SCB and are less likely to refer to race.

In summary, I intend to explore the model hypothesized in Figure 1. I expect interracial interaction (prior and current contact), social norms (family, friends, and peers), concern for social appropriateness for race talk, and confidence with racial terminology will predict the SCB outcomes (Number of Questions, Times Race Mentioned, and Point when Race Mentioned).

Figure 1. Hypothesized Model



Hypotheses

H1: The sample from the UK will exhibit SCB, similar to the US sample. I expect that number of questions asked to complete the task and proportions of participants mentioning/not mentioning race will be similar to those in the American samples. Number of Questions required in the task and Times Race Mentioned will be negatively correlated, indicating SCB. Participants who refer to race less or not at all in the task will sacrifice task efficiency, thus leading them to ask more questions to complete the task compared with those that refer to race.

H2: The measure of Confidence with Terminology will be reliable and will correlate as expected with the other related variables: positively with Interracial Interaction, and negatively with social norms and concern for social appropriateness for race talk.

H3: More frequent and meaningful interracial contact (prior and current) and more Confidence with Terminology will be associated with reduced SCB, evidenced by reduced number of questions used to complete the task, increased use of race in the task, and use of racial terms earlier in the task. More negative social norms for talking about race among their family, friends and peers, and increased concern for social appropriateness of race talk will be associated with increased SCB, as indicated by a greater number of questions required to complete the task, decreased likelihood of referring to race in the task, and referring to race later in the task.

H4: Interracial Interaction and Confidence with Terminology will negatively predict SCB outcomes, and Social Norms and Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk, will significantly positively predict SCB outcomes.

Method

Participants

67 participants were tested. Of those, six participants had to be excluded (one for age outlier, one for being a postgraduate, two for disregard for the rules of the Political Correctness Task, and two for unsuitable understanding of English). The sample was mostly female (73.8%), and was comprised of both home and international students. The ages ranged from 18 - 25 years (M_{age} = 20.02, SD = 1.43). The sample was undergraduate students from various stages in their degrees (1st year: 61%, 2nd year: 13%, 3rd year: 21%, Other: 5%), from various degree programmes (see Table 2). Psychology students participated in exchange for class credits given by the Research Participation Scheme (RPS). Because students in other academic

departments cannot take part in the RPS program, they instead participated in exchange for £10 cash payment.

In order to understand the ethnic makeup of the sample, participants were asked for their ethnic/racial background. Using the British Social Attitudes Survey for guidance, participants were divided into global racial groups. For the purpose of understanding the demographics of the sample, the White group consisted of White British, White Irish, White Scottish, White Welsh and White Other. All other racial and ethnic groups were combined under the minority group, consisting of various Black, Asian and Mixed subgroups.

These measures were pre-tested with a small sample of students (N = 3), and all scales and items were understood, including the Political Correctness Task.

Table 2
Demographic Information on Sample: Study 1

Race/Ethnicity	White	Minority
N	32	29
Gender (% Female)	65.6%	82.8%
Mean Age	19.97 years (SD=1.09)	20.07 (SD=1.75)
Race Mentioned	Yes: 78.1% No: 21.9%	Yes: 75.9% No: 24.1%
Year of Study	Foundation: 1 1st: 18 2nd: 4 3rd: 8 4th: 1	Unknown: 1 1st: 19 2nd: 4 3rd: 5
Subject Studying	Architecture Biology Biomedical Science Clinical Psychology Computer Science Cultural Studies Drama/Theatre English Language and Linguistics English Literature Film French Hispanic Studies History Mathematics and Statistics Philosophy Physics Politics and International Relations Psychology Wildlife Conservation	Accounting and Finance Bio-Chemistry Biomedical Sciences Business Administration Clinical Psychology English Language and Linguistics Business Management Economics Financial Mathematics History Journalism Law Music Psychology
Country of Birth	United Kingdom: 20 Other: 12	United Kingdom: 8 Other: 21

The reliability of the measures in this study was also examined. Means, Standard Deviations, Item Examples, Measure Reliability, and Number of Items for all these surveys can be found in Table 3.

Table 3
Reliability Measures

Measure	***Item Example***	***Mean (SD)***	***Measure Reliability***	***Number of Items***
Prior Contact 'Your life before University' (Harrison, 2012)	*I was living in a racially or ethnically diverse neighbourhood.*	4.56 (1.33)	.772	7
Current Contact 'Friendships and Interactions at University' (Harrison, 2012)	*I have daily interactions with people from other racial/ethnic groups*	5.96 (.864)	.785	8
Social Norms Measure (Family) (Pauker et al., 2015)	*Where I live, my family never bring up race or race-related topics.*	3.10 (1.04)	.776	4
Social Norms Measure (Friends) (Pauker et al., 2015)	*Where I live, my friends never bring up race or race-related topics.*	2.96 (1.01)	.800	4
Social Norms Measure (Peers) (Pauker et al., 2015)	*Where I live, my peers never bring up race or race-related topics.*	3.01 (1.00)	.824	4
Social Appropriateness Scale (Williams et al., 2014)	*I try to avoid mentioning someone's race in conversations, so that other people don't think I am prejudiced.*	3.20 (.929)	.626	4
Confidence with Racial Terminology (My Creation)	*How hesitant are you when referring to racial group membership?*	3.06 (.513)	.711	4

Procedure

Participants were welcomed to the laboratory and asked to take a seat across from the experimenter. Informed consent was obtained by all the participants. Participants were video recorded while completing the SCB task and the Confidence with Terminology task. This is because both tasks included qualitative, exploratory items which are not included here. Following these two tasks, the cameras were turned off. Participants then completed questionnaire measures, including demographic questions. We obtained ethical approval from the University of Kent to conduct this study. If the participants experienced any distress during the course of the study, they were free to withdraw their participation from it. Additionally, a list of resources was provided on the debriefing sheet for them to seek help or to air any complaints about the study experience or subject matter.

Measures

Political Correctness Task

The procedure for the Political Correctness Task that was used in this study was guided by the procedures used in Norton et al. (2006). There are two positions in this game: the answerer who holds the target photo and the questioner who asks questions to find the target photo. Previous studies conducted this game between a participant and a confederate. This was necessary in previous studies in order to manipulate the race of the questioner, or other conditions in the study. However, in this study, the investigator served the position of the answerer/confederate and the participant served as the questioner. Participants are presented with a set of photos with 30 faces, aligned in 3 rows of 10 photos each. They differ on 3 primary categories: 1) Gender (Male/Female) 2) Background Colour (Red/Blue) and 3) Race (Black/White). All photos are laid out on the table in front of the participant, so that the participant can view them all at the same time. The goal of the task is to complete the task as efficiently as possible, in as few questions as possible. The ‘answerer’ holds a target photo in

their hand. Participants are allowed to ask the 'answerer' Yes/No questions to figure out which photo it is. The participant flips over the cards that did not meet the criteria. Once one target photo is found, the photos are replaced on the table and the process is done again for each target photo. This is repeated for a total of four trials. The investigator has four predetermined target faces from the array so all participants were looking for the same targets (target photos given upon request). Different arrangements of the predetermined photos created four versions for this study. These versions were Version 1 (Photo 1, 2, 3, 4); Version 2 (Photo 4, 3, 2, 1); Version 3 (Photo 1, 3, 2, 4); and Version 4 (Photo 2, 4, 1, 3).

The dependent variables for this task are 1) the average number of questions it took to identify target photos, 2) whether or not the participant mentioned race, and 3) if so, when did they mention race i.e. which question.

Questionnaire Measures

Following the Political Correctness Task participants completed a short, exploratory interview, which also included the 'Confidence with Terminology' measure outlined below (see Appendix A). The more detailed qualitative interview data is not presented here. Once the Confidence with Terminology measure was complete, the camera was turned off and the participants completed the next section of the survey on Qualtrics. The questionnaires used were the 'Your life before University' measure, 'Friendships and Interactions at University' measure (Harrison, 2012), Social Norms Measure, Social Appropriateness Scale (Pauker et al., 2015), and a demographics survey including questions about participant gender, age, year in university (undergraduate/postgraduate), academic degree, country of birth, and ethnicity (see Appendix B).

Interracial interaction. Two forms of interracial contact were measured: Prior Contact and Current Contact.

Prior contact. Prior contact was measured using the 'Your life before University' measure developed by Harrison (2012). This 7-item measure was measured on a 7-point scale (1 = Entirely Disagree – 7 = Entirely Agree). Examples of questions on this measure include 'I was living in a racially or ethnically diverse neighbourhood', 'In school, almost everyone had the same racial of ethnic background as me' (reverse coded),and 'My family did not have many friends from other racial of ethnic backgrounds' (reverse coded). A mean score was computed, in which higher scores indicate more experience with interracial contact before university (α= .772).

Current contact. Current contact was measured using the established measure of contact, 'Friendships and Interactions at University' by Harrison (2012). This 8-item measure uses a 7-point scale (1 = Entirely Disagree – 7 = Entirely Agree). Examples of questions on this measure include 'I have daily interactions with people from other racial/ethnic groups', 'Most of the students I interact with from different racial/ethnic groups, are just acquaintances' (reverse coded), and 'I only interact with students from different racial/ethnic groups when it is necessary' (reverse coded). A mean score was computed, in which higher scores indicate more experience with interracial contact at University (α= .785).

Social norms. Three measures were used to assess the participants' perceived social norms for talking about race, relating to their family, friends, and peers. These measures were based on 'Social Norms Approaches to Race', created by Pauker et al. (2015). This 4-item measure uses a 6-point scale (1 = Strongly Disagree – 6 = Strongly Agree). In previous research, the measure was used to gather information on perceived norms of Parent, Teacher and Peers for talking about race. For the purposes of this study, I wanted to observe how different groups influenced the participants. So, the four items were repeated three times

over, exchanging the groups between family, friends, and peers. Examples of questions on this measure include ‘My family/friends/peers are uncomfortable talking about race’, ‘My family/friends/peers freely talk about race’ (reverse coded), and ‘My family/friends/peers bring up race in their everyday conversations’ (reverse coded). A mean score was computed, in which higher scores means more negative social norms for talking about race; family (α= .776), friends (α= .800), and peers (α= .824).

Concern for social appropriateness for race talk. Concern for social appropriateness for race talk was measured using the Social Appropriateness Scale by Williams et al. (2014, used with permission) to measure whether participants believe that people who talk about race risk being perceived as racist. This 4-item measure used a 6-point scale (1 = Strongly Disagree – 6 = Strongly Agree). Examples of questions on this measure include ‘I worry that asking about someone’s race makes me appear prejudiced’, ‘Talking about race or someone’s racial identity is not at all connected to prejudice.’ (reverse coded), and ‘It is silly to worry about whether you might be labelled as prejudiced, if you are just using race to describe someone.’ (reverse coded). A mean score was computed, in which higher scores indicate that the participant is more concerned that using race is socially inappropriate (α= .626).

Confidence with racial terminology. Confidence with racial terminology was measured using the new measure, Confidence with Race Terms. Examples of questions on this measure include ‘How confident are you when talking about race’, ‘How nervous are you when talking about race’ (reverse coded), ‘How hesitant are you when referring to racial group membership’ (reverse coded) and ‘How uncertain are you about terminology used to refer to different racial groups’ (reverse coded). This 4-item measure was measured on a 4-point scale [1 = Not (confident/hesitant/nervous/uncertain) – 4 = Very (confident/hesitant/

nervous/uncertain)]. A mean score was computed, in which higher scores means more Confidence with Terminology (α= .711).

SCB outcomes. Three measures were used to measure SCB outcomes: Number of Questions, Times Race Mentioned, and Point when Race Mentioned. Number of Questions was a mean score of the number of questions it took to identify the target, [i.e. (Photo 1 + Photo 2 + Photo 3 + Photo 4)/4]. Times Race Mentioned was the number of trials out of four that race was mentioned in the task. The criteria for what was considered acknowledging race in this study was very conservative. Only direct references to race such as Black, White, African-American, Caucasian, and other similar terminology were considered acknowledging race. Other references suggesting racial differences (dark-skinned, light-skinned, blue eyes, blonde hair, etc.) were not considered as acknowledging race.

Point when Race Mentioned was a mean score of when race was referred to, if it was referred to [i.e. (Race Question 1 + Race Question 2 + Race Question 3 + Race Question 4/4)]. Also, when assessing Point when Race Mentioned, I will be examining just the people whom mentioned race at least once, resulting in a smaller sample size for this measure.

Results

Preliminary analysis

First, number of questions required for each of the tasks was examined, as done in Norton et al., 2006. The mean Number of Questions to complete the task and the average Point When Race Mentioned for each photo are shown in Table 4. Results showed that Photo 3 had a significantly lower mean number of questions than the other three trials (see Table 4). A repeated-measures t-test found this difference to be significant between Photo 3 and Photo 1, $t(60) = -4.52$, $p < .001$, Photo 3 and Photo 2, $t(60) = -5.69$, $p < .001$, and Photo 3 and Photo 4, $t(60) = -2.78$, $p = .007$. It was therefore removed from further analyses and calculations of variables i.e. number of questions required, whether race is referred to and point at which

race is referred to were calculated using data from just three of the targets. Possible explanations for the lower mean number of questions required for Photo 3 are explored in the Discussion.

Table 4.
Target Photo Means and SDs

Photo	Mean Number of Questions	SD	Point Race Mentioned Mean	SD
1	5.62	.820	2.34	1.83
2	5.93	.929	2.18	1.69
3	4.61	1.50	1.31	1.41
4	5.36	1.21	2.03	1.79

Main Analyses

Evidence for Strategic Colour Blindness.

H1: The sample collected from the UK will behave similarly to the previous samples in the US.

The number of questions it took to complete the task in this UK sample ranged from 4 to 11, averaging (M = 5.63, SD = 0.73) questions to complete the task. This average is less than the average number of questions used in the US sample, (M = 6.28, SD = 0.42) (Norton et al., 2006). Race was acknowledged consistently by 77% of the participants (47 of 61). Again, this differs from the US sample, at 93% of participants (14 of 15) [1](Norton et al., 2006).

SCB is evidenced by a negative correlation between acknowledging race and the number of questions required to complete the task. This demonstrates a sacrifice of task efficiency (having to ask more questions) in order to avoid acknowledging race. In order to

[1] The statistics I compare the results against (number of questions required to complete the task, proportion of participants who acknowledged race) were based on the results obtained by participants when they were paired with a White confederate. In my study, the investigator served the position of the confederate, and is ethnically White. This is the best study I could compare to, as both studies utilised a White confederate.

test this, I investigated the strength and direction of the correlation between the mean number of questions to complete the task and the number of times race was mentioned over the three trials. As expected, a significant and negative correlation was demonstrated, r = -.28, p = .029. This suggests that those participants that mentioned race tended to ask fewer questions than those participants that did not mention race. It can therefore be inferred that there is evidence of SCB in this UK sample, supporting the hypothesis.

For those participants that did mention race during the tasks at least once (N = 47), Point when Race Mentioned did not significantly correlate with number of questions asked, r = .10, p = .490. Point when Race Mentioned did, however, correlate significantly and negatively with Times Race Mentioned, r = -.34, p = .018. This suggests that the more times race was mentioned across the task, the earlier the participants asked the race question in the task.

Reliability of Measure of 'Confidence with Racial Terminology'

H2: The measure of Confidence with Terminology will be reliable, and will correlate as expected with the other related variables: positively with Interracial Interaction, negatively with Social Norms and Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk.

One of the aims of this study is to develop a new and reliable measure of Confidence about Terminology. This is a 4-item scale that was developed and tested here for the first time. As presented in Table 3, the reliability between the items in the Confidence with Racial terminology measure was α = .711, suggesting moderate reliability. This supports the first part of our second hypothesis, and gives us confidence in using this measure in analysis and studies moving forward. Furthermore, 'Confidence with Terminology' correlated as expected with other key variables. Confidence with Terminology correlated positively with Current contact, r = .32, p = .015, and correlated negatively with Social Norms for talking about race

with Family, r = -.39, p = .002, Friends, r = -.30, p = .020, and with Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk., r = -.42, p = .001. This suggests that the more confidence the participants had regarding correct racial terminology, the more likely they were to have more current experience with contact, less negative social norms among family and friends for discussing race, and less concern for the social appropriateness of race talk. Confidence in Terminology was unrelated to prior contact and peer norms for discussing race. These results partially support the hypothesis; all variables related as expected to the new measure of Confidence with Terminology, with the exception of Prior Contact and Peer Norms for talking about race.

H3: More frequent and meaningful interracial contact (prior and current) and more Confidence with Terminology will be associated with reduced SCB, evidenced by reduced number of questions used to complete the task, increased use of race in the task, and use of racial terms earlier in the task. More negative social norms for talking about race among their family, friends and peers, and increased concern for social appropriateness of race talk will be associated with increased SCB, as indicated by a greater number of questions required to complete the task, decreased likelihood of referring to race in the task, and referring to race later in the task.

The next aim of the research was to examine the relationships between the main variables, specifically the relationship between the components of Interracial Interaction (Prior and Current Contact), the components of Social Norms (Family, Friends, Peers), Concern for Social Appropriateness for race talk, Confidence With Terminology, and the main outcomes (Number of Questions, Times Race Mentioned, and Point when Race Mentioned). The relationships between variables are shown in the Correlation Matrix below (Table 5).

Table 5.
Correlation Matrix

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Number of Questions		-.280*	.103	.134	.042	-.017	-.132	-.220†	-.020	-.007
2. Times Race Mentioned			-.344*	-.247†	-.061	.003	.003	-.133	-.117	.210
3. Point when Race Mentioned				.159	.092	-.127	-.100	.227	-.010	-.056
4. Prior Contact					.182	-.375**	-.321*	-.114	-.075	.159
5. Current Contact						-.275*	-.183	-.211	-.182	.317*
6. Family Social Norms							.584**	.213†	.184	-.390**
7. Friends Social Norms								.334**	.353**	-.296*
8. Peer Social Norms									.189	-.198
9. Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk										-.418**
10. Confidence with Terms										

† $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Prior contact did not correlate with Number of Questions, $r = .13$, $p = .303$ or Point when Race Mentioned, $r = .16$, $p = .287$. Prior contact was only marginally significantly related to Times Race Mentioned, $r = -.25$, $p = .055$. This suggests that that the more prior experience the participant had, the less likely they were to mention race, though this was marginal.

Current Contact did not correlate with Number of Questions, $r = .04$, $p = .756$; Times Race Mentioned, $r = -.06$, $p = .650$, and Point when Race Mentioned, $r = .09$, $p = .550$. This suggests that current contact was not related to any of the outcomes of SCB. These results do not support the hypothesis; the components of interracial interaction did not relate to most of the SCB outcomes.

Family and friends' norms for talking about race were unrelated to the SCB outcomes. Family norms for talking about race did not correlate with Number of Questions, $r = -.02$, $p = .896$; Times Race Mentioned, $r = .00$, $p = .979$, and Point when Race Mentioned, $r = -.13$, $p = .401$. Friends social norms for talking about race did not correlate with Number of Questions, $r = -.13$, $p = .312$; Times Race Mentioned, $r = .00$, $p = .982$, and Point when Race Mentioned, $r = -.10$, $p = .503$. This suggests that family and friends' social norms for discussing race was unrelated to behaviours on the SCB task.

Peer norms for talking about race was marginally significantly and negatively correlated with Number of Questions, $r = -.22$, $p = .088$. It did not correlate with Times Race Mentioned, $r = -.13$, $p = .308$, and Point when Race Mentioned, $r = .23$, $p = .124$. These findings do not support the hypothesis; the components of social norms did not relate significantly to the SCB outcomes.

Concern for social appropriateness for race talk did not correlate with Number of Questions, $r = -.02$, $p = .876$; Times Race Mentioned, $r = -.12$, $p = .370$, and Point when Race

Mentioned, r = -.01, p = .949. This suggests that Concern for social appropriateness for race talk did not influence any of the outcomes of SCB.

Confidence with Terminology did not correlate with Number of Questions, r = -.01, p = .958; Times Race Mentioned, r = .21, p = .104, and Point when Race Mentioned, r = -.06, p = .708. This suggests that Confidence with Terminology did not influence any of the outcomes of SCB. This result does not support the hypothesis.

H4: Interracial Interaction and Confidence with Terminology will negatively predict SCB outcomes, and Social Norms and Concern for social appropriateness for race talk, will significantly positively predict SCB outcomes.

The next aim of the research was to test whether Prior Contact, Current Contact, Social Norms (Family, Friends, Peers) Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk and Confidence with Terminology predicted SCB outcomes.

Prior Contact, Current Contact, Social Norms for talking about race (Family, Friend and Peers), Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk and Confidence with Terminology were entered as predictors of average number of questions in a regression. All predictors were found to be non-significant. These variables explained 10% of the variance in Average Number of Questions, which was not significant, $F(7, 49) = .791$, $p = .598$. Therefore, it can be concluded that none of these predictors have a significant influence on the average number of questions participants used to complete the task.

Table 6.

Regression analysis of Interracial Interaction, Social Norms, Concern for social appropriateness for race talk and Confidence with Terminology as predictors of Number of Questions.

Predictor	*β*	*T*	*P*
Prior Contact	.166	1.12	.267
Current Contact	-.053	-0.35	.727
Family Norms	.150	0.86	.396
Friends Norms	-.156	-0.89	.377
Peer Norms	-.199	-1.30	.200
Concern for social appropriateness for race talk	-.026	-0.17	.866
Confidence with Terms	-.058	-0.36	.718

Note. N = 49. R^2 = .102, *p* = .598

I then analysed if interracial interaction, social norms, concern for social appropriateness for race talk and Confidence with Terminology predict the times race was mentioned in the task. Prior contact, Current Contact, Social Norms for talking about race (Family, Friend and Peers), Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk and Confidence with Terminology were entered as predictors of times race mentioned in a regression. Prior Contact was found to be a significant and negative predictor; with β = -.329, *p* = .027. All other predictors were found to be non-significant. These variables explained 15% of the variance in Times Race Mentioned, which was not significant, *F*(7, 49) = 1.24, *p* = .299. Therefore, it can be concluded that none of these predictors have a significant influence on Times Race was Mentioned in the task. Although the overall regression is not significant, it is interesting to note that the relationship between prior experience and Times Race Mentioned is the opposite direction from expected, suggesting that the more prior

experience the participant had, the less often they mentioned race. This relationship contradicts that found in previous research and goes against what would normally be expected, and may be a result of the context and sample tested here.

Table 7.

Regression analysis of Interracial Interaction, Social Norms, Concern for social appropriateness for race talk and Confidence with Terminology as predictors of Times Race Mentioned

Predictor	*β*	*T*	*P*
Prior Contact	-.329	-2.29	.027
Current Contact	-.077	-0.53	.600
Family Norms	-.084	-0.50	.622
Friends Norms	.044	0.26	.797
Peer Norms	-.141	-0.95	.347
Concern for social appropriateness for race talk	.000	0.00	.998
Confidence with Terms	.183	1.17	.248

Note. N = 49. R^2 = .151, *p* = .299

I then analysed if interracial interaction, social norms, concern for social appropriateness for race talk and Confidence with Terminology predict the Point When Race Mentioned. Note this analysis included only those who had acknowledged race in at least one task. Prior Contact, Current Contact, Social Norms for talking about race (Family, Friend and Peers), Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk and Confidence with Terminology were entered as predictors of average number until race question in a regression. Peer Norms was found to be a significant and positive predictor; with β = .375, *p* = .047. All other predictors were found to be non-significant. These variables explained 16% of the variance in Average number until race question, which was not significant, *F*(7, 36) = .968, *p* = .469.

Therefore, it can be concluded that none of these predictors have a significant influence on the average number of questions participants used until race was mentioned.

Table 8.

Regression analysis of Interracial Interaction, Social Norms, Concern for social appropriateness for race talk and Confidence with Terminology as predictors of Point When Race Mentioned

Predictor	*β*	*T*	*p*
Prior Contact	.108	0.65	.523
Current Contact	.093	0.54	.595
Family Norms	-.145	-0.80	.428
Friends Norms	-.209	-0.99	.330
Peer Norms	.375	2.06	.047
Concern for social appropriateness for race talk	-.001	0.00	.997
Confidence with Terms	-.140	-0.73	.470

Note. N = 36. R^2 = .158, *p* = .469

Discussion

The aims of this study were to 1) determine whether SCB behaviour is evident in a sample of students in the UK, 2) develop measure of confidence with racial terminology, and 3) understand factors that may be driving Strategic Colour Blindness, and how they contribute to the presence or absence of SCB behaviour.

As expected, analyses show that UK participants showed similar behaviour to the American sample. UK participants did exhibit colour blind behaviours on the task. Analysis revealed a negative correlation between the number of questions, and whether or not race was acknowledged. This suggests those that are less likely to refer to race in the task tend to ask more questions, and lose efficiency on the task. This suggests that, despite the differing

history in race relations, in both the UK and the US, participants respond to social norms to not refer to race even in cases where it is relevant, and sacrifice task efficiency in order to avoid referring to race.

Confidence with Terminology had acceptable reliability (α= .711), and it correlated in the expected direction with other key variables with the exception of Prior Contact and Peer Norms for talking about race. Although these statistics are good for a first trial of the new measure, I believe further work in regards to the clarity of the measure could improve the reliability of this measure.

Contrary to expectations, there was no significant relationship between interracial interaction, social norms, concern for social appropriateness for race talk or confidence with terminology and the indicators of SCB. These results do not support the hypotheses as they did not relate to the outcomes of SCB at all. This also contradicts the previous literature on SCB and these possible predictors, as Apfelbaum and other researchers have at least shown connections between SCB, interracial interaction and social norms (Norton et al., 2006; Apfelbaum et al., 2010; Babbitt et al., 2016; Pauker et al., 2015).

To summarise, this initial study into SCB in a UK sample revealed, for the first time, some evidence that this phenomenon is present in the UK. The expected predictors of SCB were largely found to be non-significant. This also met our aim of developing a confidence with terminology measure.

Limitations and next steps:

Sample: On first glance, the current findings suggest that the expected predictors of SCB were nonsignificant. However, this may be due to a few important limitations of the current study. I conducted an a priori power analysis in G*Power 3.1 (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007; Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009) to determine the number of participants we would need in this study to reach power. With an alpha = .05, power = 0.80

and effect size of 0.15, we would need N = 107 participants for this study. However, due to the limitation in size of our participant pool, we were only able to obtain 61 participants. Although this study was intended to be an exploratory investigation into SCB and its' predictors in an UK sample, the study would likely have benefitted from attaining the suitable number of participants to reach power, as determined by my a priori analysis.

An additional point to consider is that the sample used in this exploratory study included participants from a university that prides itself on being "The UK's European University", and has a substantial international student presence, encompassing 27-28% of the university's total student population (University of Kent, 2016). The sample reflected this diversity: participants came from various different countries. UK participants only comprised 46% of the sample, with the other 54% coming from countries in Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Middle East. Furthermore, the sample was racially diverse, with 31 White, 17 Asian, 9 Black and 4 Mixed heritage participants. In most previous research on SCB participants were mainly White Americans (Norton et al., 2006; Apfelbaum et al., 2008ab). The rationale for analysing together the responses of UK and non-UK students, and White and minority ethnic students, was to test whether SCB can be uncovered in a typical and diverse sample of students. However, this approach may give a skewed understanding about SCB in the UK, as international students may already have more experiences with interracial interaction and be more confident talking about race, and ethnic minority and majority students will also differ similarly, with members of the ethnic minority having more experience. Previous studies support this view, commenting that ethnic minority students would be expected to have more interracial experience than their White counterparts if they live in areas amongst the White ethnic majority (Hewstone & Swart, 2011; Shelton, 2003). The small sample size here precluded comparisons between UK and non-UK samples, or focusing on UK born participants only. However, this is an important issue to address. In

future studies, this issue will be resolved by collecting data from White UK participants exclusively (in Study 2 and 3), and organizing the diversity of the sample in Study 5 by race/ethnicity group and country membership (i.e. White British, White International, Black, Asian).

Effectiveness of new SCB indicator: In this study, it was decided to investigate the effectiveness of a new potential indicator of SCB, Point when Race Mentioned. This indicator observed at what point was the race question asked in the task by those participants that mentioned race at least once during the trials. I hypothesized that mentioning race earlier in the task may improve task performance. However, I did not find a significant relationship between Point when Race was Mentioned in the task and Number of Questions asked in the task, suggesting that this indicator was unrelated to task performance, and may not indicate SCB. Even though I did not find the relationship that was expected between these variables, I did find a significant and negative relationship between Point when Race Mentioned and Times Race Mentioned, suggesting that the more times race was mentioned across the trials, the earlier the participants asked the race question in the task. These results may suggest that Point when Race Mentioned may not be the best indicator of SCB, however, it does merit further investigation to understand how the relationship between Times Race Mentioned and Point when Race Mentioned links to SCB behaviour.

Stimuli: Another limitation of the study relates to a methodological error that was not discovered in pre-test trials but had an influential effect in the sample. The photo materials were used in the original Apfelbaum studies. However, when selecting the target photos, Target Photo 3 had features that were found were too distinct for the SCB task. In this study, this issue was dealt with by removing it from the statistical analyses and creating mean scores with the other three photos (Photo 1, Photo 2, Photo 4). In future studies, this issue will be

resolved by replacing this problematic photo with another Caucasian female on a red background from the Apfelbaum stimuli database.

Our treatment of the Confidence with Terminology measure was a limitation of this study. In the study, this measure was completed alongside more open-ended questions that were completed verbally, therefore a video camera was used to record responses. The initial purpose of filming their interview was to have a clear recording of their responses to the open-ended questions on the measure, in addition to the investigators' notes. It would be possible that this increased attention could lead to heightened self-presentation bias which would prevent honest or full answers to the questions. In future studies, I shall change this measure into a survey only, and add it into the questionnaire phase of the study.

Another limitation of the Confidence with Terminology measure was the item related to uncertainty with talking about race. Although the measure was reliable, the researcher observed that this item appeared to confuse participants during the interview; a number of participants asked for further clarification from the investigator. The measure also included items on how nervous and hesitant the participant feels with racial terminology. Overall, this made for a very negative affective measure. The measure was a more appropriate scale of anxiety with racial terminology than the intended confidence with racial terminology. Therefore, in future studies, I will be replacing the uncertainty item with a more understandable, positive affective item. I expect that this change will balance out the affective component of the measure, and by extension, will improve the reliability of the scale.

Study 2 will build on Study 1 in the following ways. Firstly, methodological limitations will be overcome through using an improved Confidence with Terminology measure that overcomes the above limitations. Secondly, while Study 1 looked at SCB as an indicator of confidence in inter-ethnic interactions, Study 2 moves on from SCB and examines the inter-relationship between contact and social norms, and different aspects of

confidence in inter-group interactions including Confidence with Terminology, Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk and Intergroup Anxiety. Specifically, in Study 2, I examine whether inter-racial contact, social norms and confidence with terminology predicted concern for social appropriateness of race talk, as a proxy for confidence in inter-ethnic relations. Study 2 also examines whether contact, social norms and confidence with terminology also predicted intergroup anxiety, a concept that was not examined in Study 1. Finally, Study 2 focuses on White majority participants, therefore avoiding the problems with differences in responses between ethnic/racial groups.

In Study 3, Bagci's proposed model of cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy (CEFSE; Bagci et al., 2019) will be tested in a UK student/recent graduate population to assess their confidence about inter-ethnic interactions. In this study the expected sources of CEFSE (which included concepts comparable to interracial contact, social norms and intergroup anxiety) and the relationship with the amount of cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy will be examined. The influence of CEFSE on expected outcomes of CEFSE (Motivation to make cross-ethnic friends, Persistence to keep those friendships, and the Quantity and Quality of these friendships) will be investigated. Study 3 will also focus on White majority participants, avoiding issues in differential responses between racial/ethnic groups.

Once I establish in Study 3 if the CEFSE model works similarly in our sample to that used in Bagci et al. (2019), I will seek to extend the research in Study 4 by investigating if Confidence with Terminology could be added to the CEFSE model, and if so, how would it relate to its other factors (Sources of CEFSE, CEFSE, Outcomes of CEFSE). Additionally, I will test the model with a racially diverse sample, assessing how the model functions with group of diverse participants, as was done in Bagci et al.'s (2019) study.

The issue of SCB and its predictors will be returned to in Study 5, using an improved method and new stimuli for the SCB measure. I will again be assessing if SCB is exhibited in

a UK student sample. I will be also investigating the influence of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE on SCB outcomes: Number of Questions Asked, Number of Times Race is Mentioned in the task, and Point when the Race Question was Asked. Additionally, I will test the model with a racially diverse sample, assessing how the model functions 1) with group of diverse participants and 2) within each racial/ethnic group. Given the relative difficulty of collecting data from different ethnic groups, some issues were still found in data collection but the sample was enough to give some preliminary commentary on the issue. This will be an exploratory investigation into if the relationship between Confidence with Terminology, CEFSE and SCB outcomes presents itself differently in each racial/ethnic group, as we can expect majority and minority groups to differ on various factors (Aboud & Sankar, 2007; Bagci et al., 2014; Bagci et al., 2019; Bikmen, 2011; Hewstone & Swart, 2011; Kawabata & Crick, 2008; Levin et al., 2003; Pauker et al., 2015; Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Saenz, 2010; Saenz et al., 2007; Shelton, 2003; Swart et al., 2010; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008; Tropp & Bianchi, 2007; Turner & Cameron, 2016; Tropp & Bianchi, 2006; Tropp et al., 2006; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). I am looking for early indicators of similarity or difference within racial/ethnic groups on the SCB model, which may advise if research should pursue more in-depth investigation on these topics in the future.

STUDY 2:

Do Interracial Interaction, Social Norms and Confidence with Terminology predict students' confidence about cross-ethnic interactions?

Abstract

Study 1 uncovered a need to define the UK's confidence about inter-ethnic interactions more clearly. The purpose of Study 2 was to examine this more closely with a sample of UK students (N = 175). Specifically, in this study, the relationship between interracial experiences (current and previous contact) and perceptions of social norms, and aspects of confidence in inter-ethnic relations (confidence with terminology, concern for social appropriateness for race talk, and intergroup anxiety) is examined. Inter-relationships between variables were also examined. It was hypothesized that the refined confidence with racial terminology measure would be reliable and would be significantly correlated with other variables, that all variables would relate significantly with each other, and that the predictor variables (contact, social norms and confidence with terminology) would significantly predict the outcome variables (concern for social appropriateness for race talk and intergroup anxiety). After analysing the data, it was determined that our Confidence with Terminology measure is reliable (.840). As expected, Prior and Current Contact related negatively with Intergroup Anxiety and positively with Confidence with Terminology. Current Contact significantly predicted all the outcome variables. Current Contact was significantly negatively correlated with Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk. Regarding social norms, the findings were mixed. As predicted, Family, Friend and Peer Social Norms were positively related to Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk and negatively with Confidence with Terminology. There was no relationship between Social Norms and Intergroup Anxiety. Family Social Norms was a significant predictor of Intergroup Anxiety and only a marginally significant predictor of Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk and Confidence with Terminology. Friends Social Norms was a marginally significant predictor of Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk and Confidence with Terminology.

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine confidence in inter-ethnic interactions, and the predictors of this. Study 1 provided an opportunity to develop and test the new measures of Confidence with Terminology and test for Strategic Colour Blindness (SCB) among a diverse sample of students in the UK. However, Study 1 had a number of limitations that impaired understanding of SCB and its predictors in the UK. Firstly, the sample size of Study 1 meant it was not possible to form reliable conclusions about any particular ethnic group. Study 1 included an ethnically diverse sample consisting of home and international students (46% Home Students, 54% International students, originating from 20 countries across Asia, Africa, Europe, and South America). It is likely that international students will have more intergroup contact experiences compared with UK students, due to their immigrant status, and may possibly have more confidence in interethnic interactions. We also know that the consequences of and predictors of contact differ for minorities and majorities (Hewstone & Swart, 2011; Shelton, 2003). It is therefore important to isolate specific groups in order to understand the relationship between contact and the key dependent variables.

In response to these limitations, Study 2 will first build onto Study 1 by focusing on White UK home students only. I focused on this majority ethnic group because relatively little is known about White people's confidence in talking about race. A number of psychological theories exist around socialization of race among minorities (e.g. ethnic identity development theories Cross, 1971; Phinney, 1990). It's likely that minorities are more comfortable talking about race due to their experiences (Hewstone & Swart, 2011; Shelton, 2003).

Specifically, in Study 2, I examined whether inter-racial contact and norms predicted perceived Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk, Confidence with Racial Terminology and Intergroup Anxiety, aspects of confidence in inter-ethnic interactions.

Overview of Study 2

Study 1 examined aspects of interracial interaction, social norms, confidence in terminology, concern for social appropriateness for race talk and strategic colour blindness. In Study 2, I build on this by: 1) focusing on White British students 2) using a revised and more reliable Confidence with Terminology measure and 3) looking more closely at different indicators of confidence in inter-ethnic interactions, including intergroup anxiety as a proxy for confidence in inter-group relations.

In Study 1, I predicted that prior and current contact, social norms for discussing race among family, friends, and peers, confidence with racial terminology and concern for social appropriateness for race talk would predict SCB outcomes. However, I found that none of the predictors predicted SCB outcomes. This contradicts previous research which suggests or provides evidence that these constructs should influence the expression of SCB behaviour (Apfelbaum et al., 2008ab; Norton et al., 2006; Pauker et al., 2015). Therefore, in Study 2, I am looking closely at other key aspects of confidence in inter-ethnic interactions, how they relate to each other, terminology and practices for referring to race within one ethnic group. In this study, I have restricted the participant pool to only White British students/recently graduated students from the UK. By limiting the race/ethnicity and nationality of the participants, I hope to reliably assess how the predictors relate to each other in one ethnic group. It is likely that confidence in inter-ethnic relations is qualitatively different across racial/ethnic groups and nationalities (see Chapter 1, pg. 47). This may have driven the non-significant findings in Study 1. Study 2 will survey White British students/recent graduates experiences with interracial interaction, social norms, confidence with terminology, intergroup anxiety, and concern for social appropriateness for race talk, and how they correlate with one another. It will also determine whether the main outcomes which are aspects of confidence in interethnic interactions (Intergroup Anxiety, Concern for Social

Appropriateness for Race Talk) are predicted by Interracial Contact, Social Norms for discussing race and Confidence with Terminology.

Study 1 was also the first exploratory test of a new measure, Confidence with Racial Terminology. Although the Confidence with Terminology measure achieved acceptable reliability on its first attempt ($\alpha = .711$), Study 2 put in place a number of improvements to increase its reliability. Whilst testing, many participants did not understand the item 'How uncertain are you about terminology used to refer to different racial groups?'. In addition, this uncertainty item when combined with the survey items on nervousness and hesitancy with talking about race, created a measure that put more emphasis on anxious behaviours with terminology, rather than confident behaviours with terminology. As I intend to study Confidence with Racial Terminology, it seemed relevant to change one negative item to a similar but positive and more understandable measure. Therefore, I replaced the item 'uncertainty with talking about race' to instead assess a different item, 'comfort with talking about race' in order to provide a balanced assessment of positive emotions (confident, comfortable) and negative emotions (nervous, hesitant) towards racial terminology.

Finally, I expanded my idea of intergroup outcomes to explore additional facets of confidence with intergroup relations. In order to do this, a measure of intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) was included. The relationship with other related outcomes (concern for social appropriateness for race talk), and whether and how it is predicted by interracial contact, social norms and confidence with terminology will also be examined.

Intergroup anxiety is a well-researched concept in the contact literature that both predicts and is a consequence of interracial contact (Plant, 2004; Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Trawalter et al., 2009; Trawalter et al., 2011). Intergroup anxiety is the uneasiness felt in interactions with members of a different social group from one's own (Stephan 2014; Stephan & Stephan 1985). Interracial contact can cause participants to

become anxious for many reasons, including fear of negative consequences, negative evaluation by others, fear of rejection or discrimination, or causing offense (Plant 2004; Stephan, 2014; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Trawalter et al., 2011). In turn, fear of these negative outcomes can further decrease the amount of contact participants partake in in the future (Stephan, 2014; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Turner et al., 2008).

Meanwhile, it is well-established that interracial contact can reduce intergroup anxiety (Birtel, Vezzali & Stathi, 2018; Page-Gould et al., 2008; Plant, 2004; Stephan, 2014; Swart et al., 2011; Trawalter et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2008; Turner, Dhont, Hewstone, Prestwich & Vonofakou, 2014). It is thought that positive experiences with other groups can reduce fears and concerns about interacting with other racial groups (Birtel et al., 2018; Page-Gould et al., 2008; Plant, 2004; Stephan, 2014; Swart et al., 2011; Trawalter et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2008; Turner et al., 2014).

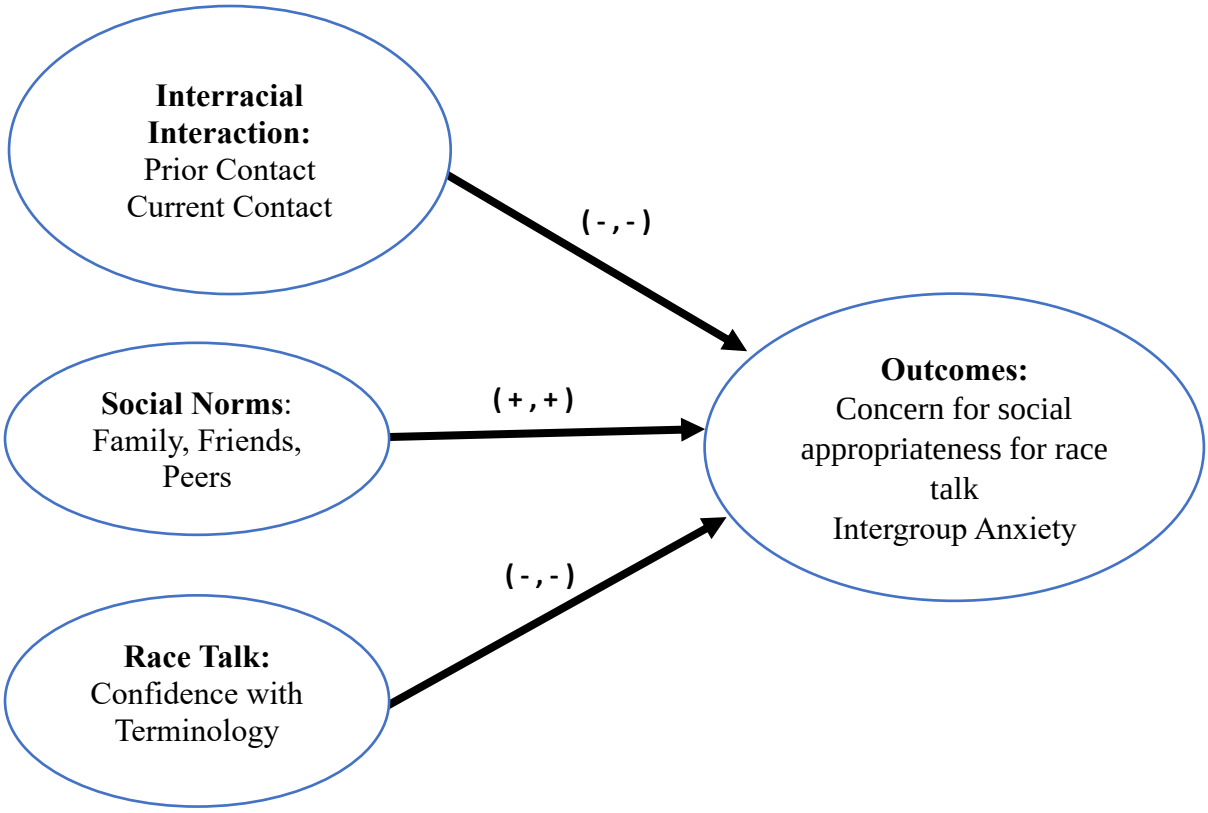
This study also examines whether intergroup anxiety is predicted by social norms for talking about race (family, friends, peers). Previous studies in social psychology usually study the participants' social norms for intergroup contact and friendship, but I intend to take a different approach and look specifically into the social norms for *talking* about race, provided by these three social groups (family, friends, peers). It is plausible that those participants who believe others do not support 'race talk' will be more anxious about intergroup interactions because they are more concerned about how to manage an interracial interaction where race may be discussed.

Additionally, it is also tested whether intergroup anxiety is predicted by confidence with racial terminology. It is expected that confidence in terminology may reduce intergroup anxiety, as this anxiety, at least in White majority group members, is in part driven by a fear of the interaction going badly, saying the wrong thing or being perceived as racist (see

Chapter 2). Those who are more confident about terminology and discussing race should then have reduced intergroup anxiety.

In summary, I expect that interracial interaction (Prior Contact, Current Contact) and Social Norms for discussing race (Family, Friend, Peer) and Confidence with Terminology will predict Intergroup Anxiety and Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk, as shown in 2.

Figure 2. Predictors of Attitudes towards Cross-Ethnic Interactions Hypothesized Model



Hypotheses

H1: The measure of Confidence with Terminology will (a) be reliable and (b) correlate as expected with the other related variables.

H2: Current and Previous Contact will be negatively correlated with Intergroup Anxiety and Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk.

H3. Social norms for discussing race will be positively correlated with Intergroup Anxiety and Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk**.**

H4. Confidence with Terminology will be negatively correlated with Intergroup Anxiety and Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk.

H5: Interracial Interaction, Social Norms and Confidence with Terminology will significantly predict the outcome variables so that Prior Contact, Current Contact and Confidence with Terminology will negatively predict Intergroup Anxiety and Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk. Social Norms will positively predict Intergroup Anxiety and Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk.

Method

Participants

I conducted an a priori power analysis in G*Power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2007; Faul et al., 2009) to determine the number of participants we would need in this study to reach power. With an alpha = .05, power = 0.80 and effect size of 0.15, we would need N = 101 participants for this study.

The study included 251 participants. Of those, 76 participants had to be excluded due to not meeting the inclusion criteria, missing too many attention checks, or incomplete data. All further analyses focus just on the 175 Caucasian participants.

This sample was 61.7% female (38.3% male). The ages ranged from 18 -51, with the average age being 25.31 years (*SD* = 6.48). The sample was comprised of students from the

UK (England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland). The sample consisted of students currently studying for their undergraduate degree or who have graduated within the last five years (See Table 9). The sample was taken from universities all around the UK and from various academic departments (See Appendix C).

Table 9.
Demographic Information on Sample: Study 2

N	175
Gender	Female: 61.7% Male: 38.3%
Mean Age	M = 25.31 (SD = 6.48)
Ethnic Background	White British: 163 White Irish: 2 White Scottish: 4 White Welsh: 2 White Other: 4
Highest Level of Education Completed	GCSE: 4 A Level: 57 Foundation Year: 15 Bachelors: 62 Masters: 33 Doctorate: 4
Location of University	London: 23 England: 110 Scotland: 8 N. Ireland: 4 Wales: 14 Unspecified: 16

The reliability of the measures in this study was examined. Means, Standard Deviations, Item Examples, Measure Reliability, Number of Items and Response scales for all these surveys can be found in Table10. Many of the scales had acceptable to good reliability scores (.761 - .859). Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk was poor (.648).

Table 10.
Reliability Measures

Measure	***Item Example***	***Mean (SD)***	***Measure Reliability***	***Number of Items***	***Response Scales***
Prior Contact *('Your life before University' scale,* Harrison, 2012*)*	*I was living in a racially or ethnically diverse neighbourhood.*	3.70 (1.15)	.761	7	1 Entirely Disagree – 7 Entirely Agree
Current contact *('Friendships and Interactions at University' scale,* Harrison, 2012*)*	*I have daily interactions with people from other racial/ethnic groups*	4.96 (1.07)	.819	8	1 Entirely Disagree – 7 Entirely Agree
Social Norms for talking about race: family (Pauker et al., 2015)	*Where I live, my **family** never bring up race or race-related topics.*	3.31 (.987)	.788	4	1 Strongly Disagree – 6 Strongly Agree
Social Norms for talking about race: Friends (Pauker et al., 2015)	*Where I live, my **friends** never bring up race or race-related topics.*	3.13 (.990)	.812	4	1 Strongly Disagree – 6 Strongly Agree
Social Norms for talking about race: Peers (Pauker et al. 2015)	*Where I live, my **peers** never bring up race or race-related topics.*	3.00 (.888)	.794	4	1 Strongly Disagree – 6 Strongly Agree
Confidence with Racial Terminology	*How hesitant are you when referring to racial group membership?*	2.79 (.670)	.840	4	1 Not (emotion) –4 Very (emotion)

Reliability Measures cont.'

Measure	***Item Example***	***Mean (SD)***	***Measure Reliability***	***Number of Items***	***Response Scales***
Concern for social appropriateness for race talk (Social Appropriateness Scale Williams et al., 2014)	*I try to avoid mentioning someone's race in conversations, so that other people don't think I am prejudiced.*	3.33 (.933)	.648	4	1 Strongly Disagree – 6 Strongly Agree
Intergroup Anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985)	*In a hypothetical situation, how would you feel if you were the only person among a group of strangers all of whom were people from a different racial/ethnic group than yourself?: Awkward*	2.92 (1.15)	.859	6	1 Not at all – 7 Very much

Procedures

Data were collected through the use of Prolific Academic. Members of the website were pre-screened to fit the purposes of the study. These pre-screeners were: 18 years of age or older, currently attending university or had graduated within the last five years, having been born and raised primarily in the UK, and defining their nationality as British or as belonging to UK. After being pre-screened, the participants were free to participate in the study. Informed consent was obtained from the participants. Each participant completed a questionnaire that asked them about their interracial experiences (intergroup contact), social norms concerning talking about race, intergroup anxiety, concern for social appropriateness for race talk, and confidence with terminology. Their submissions were reviewed to ensure that they met the participant criteria, answered the attention checks correctly, and fully completed the surveys. To ensure that the students paid attention during the questionnaire, a series of eight attention checks were used. These attention checks usually appeared after

major sections of the survey, most notably asking if the previous section of questions referred to their time before or after starting university, or with the same or other racial/ethnic group members. Participants that missed four or more attention checks had their data removed and were not paid for their participation. Submissions that passed these checks received a £1 payment for their participation.

We obtained ethical approval from the University of Kent to conduct this study. If the participants experienced any distress during the course of the study, they were free to withdraw their participation from it. Additionally, a list of resources was provided on the debriefing sheet for them to seek help or to air any complaints about the study experience or subject matter.

Measures

This study used the same measures as in Study 1, with the addition of a measure of Intergroup Anxiety and a revised version of the Confidence with Terminology measure. These measures are 'Your life before University', 'Friendships and Interactions at University' (Harrison, 2012), Social Norms (Pauker et al., 2015), and Social Appropriateness Scale (Williams et al., 2014). New measures (Intergroup Anxiety, Confidence with Terms) were introduced in this study, and are discussed below. Means, Standard Deviations, Item Examples, Measure Reliability, Number of Items, and Response Scales for all these surveys can be found in Table 10.

Interracial Interaction Measures of previous contact and current contact were administered. The measure of current contact and previous contact was identical to that used in Study 1, Your life before University' and 'Friendships and Interactions at University' (Harrison, 2012). Higher scores indicate more contact.

Social Norms Measures of social norms for discussing race among family, friends, and peers were administered. These measures were identical to those used in Study 1 (Pauker et al., 2015). Higher scores indicate less perceived support for race talk among those groups.

Concern for social appropriateness for race talk. A measure of concern for social appropriateness for race talk was administered. The measure of concern for social appropriateness for race talk was identical to that used in Study 1, 'Social Appropriateness Scale' (Williams et al., 2014). Higher scores indicate that the participant is more concerned that using race is socially inappropriate.

Confidence with Racial Terminology. This was measured using a revised version of the scale used in Study 1. To improve this measure, the item gauging 'uncertainty' about terminology was removed as this appeared to confuse participants. A new question was added assessing *comfort* with racial terminology, which is presented as 'In general, how comfortable are you when talking about race?' Therefore, the new version of the measure asked participants 'How [Confident/Nervous/ Hesitant/Comfortable] are you when talking about race?' The 4-item measure was assessed on a 4-point scale (1 =Not to 4 = Very) with Nervous and Hesitant items being reverse coded. A mean score was computed, in which higher scores means more Confidence with Terminology (α= .840).

Intergroup Anxiety. Intergroup Anxiety was measured using Stephan and Stephan's (1985) 'Intergroup Anxiety' scale. This 6-item measure was measured on a 7-point scale (1 = Not at all – 7 = Very much). Examples of questions on this measure include 'In a hypothetical situation, how would you feel if you were the only person among a group of strangers all of whom were people from a different racial/ethnic group than yourself? 'Awkward', 'Defensive', 'Happy' (reverse coded), 'Self-conscious', 'Confident' (reverse coded) and 'Relaxed' (reverse coded) (See Appendix D for example). A mean score was computed, in which higher scores mean more anxiety (α= .859).

Demographics. Demographics gathered were: sex, age, year in university (undergraduate/postgraduate), academic degree, country of birth, and ethnicity. This information is summarized in Table 9.

Attention Checks Due to the long length of the survey and the amount of similar questions, eight attention checks were introduced after particular sections of the study. The purpose of these attention checks was to confirm that the responses given in the previous section matched the question being asked. For example, if the section asked about the social norms established by the participant's family, the subsequent attention check for that section would ask "For the set of questions you have just completed on the previous page, the first four statements in that section refer to the opinions of your…". From here, the participant had a choice of either choosing family, friends or peers. Similar items appeared after sections inquiring 1) if interracial interaction behaviours occurred before or during university and 2) if social norms were set by family, friends or peers. Incorrect responses to these questions removed their response from later analysis involving that section. If four or more incorrect responses were found, the participants' responses were removed from the dataset. With these checks in place, I am optimistic that the responses collected are the clearest representation of the racial attitudes and experiences of White British participants.

Results

Preliminary analysis

Characteristics of the sample

Current and previous contact: To further explore the characteristics of our sample, conducted a series of one-sample t-tests was conducted on the measures of Prior Contact and Current Contact, and Intergroup Anxiety using 4 as the mid-point of the scale.

Prior Contact: In order to test whether participants experience substantial prior contact, a one sample t-test was conducted on our 'prior contact' measure, comparing to the midpoint on the scale. It was found that, on average, participants scored significantly lower than the midpoint on the scale (4); $t(174) = -3.44$, $p = .001$. This suggests that they have very little experience with racial/ethnic minorities before attending university.

Current Contact: In order to test whether participants had experienced substantial interracial contact at university, a one sample t-test was conducted on the 'current contact' measure, comparing to the midpoint on the scale. It was found that, on average, participants scored greater than the midpoint on the scale (4); $t(174) = 11.80$, $p < .001$. This suggests that students are experiencing a moderate amount of inter-ethnic contact at university. The finding that prior to university, students on average experienced very little contact, but this amount of contact increases considerably at University (i.e. significantly different from the mid-point) suggests that when going to university many students experience a sudden boost in opportunity for inter-ethnic contact.

Intergroup Anxiety: In order to test whether participants experience substantial intergroup anxiety, a one sample t-test was conducted on the 'intergroup anxiety' measure, comparing to the midpoint on the scale (4). It was found that, on average, participants scored less than the midpoint on the scale (4); $t(174) = -12.37$, $p < .001$. This suggests that the sample significantly experiences less intergroup anxiety than the midpoint.

Main Analyses

Reliability of Confidence with Racial Terminology Measure

H1a: The measure of Confidence with Terminology will be reliable.

The first aim of the research was to test the reliability of the measure, Confidence with Racial Terminology. I predicted that our measure of Confidence with Terminology would be reliable and correlate as expected with the other predictor variables. As presented in

Table 10, the reliability between the items in the Confidence with Racial terminology measure was α = .840, suggesting good reliability. This supports the first hypothesis, and gives confidence in using this measure in analysis and studies moving forward. I must also note that this is a considerable improvement from the first rendition of the Confidence with Terminology measure used in Study 1 (α = .711).

Relationship between variables

H1b: The measure of Confidence with Terminology will correlate as expected with the other related variables.

The second aim of the research was to examine the relationships between the main variables, specifically the relationship between the components of interracial interaction, the components of social norms, and Confidence with Terms (H1b) and with the main outcomes (Inter-Group Anxiety, Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk), (H2-4). The relationships between variables are shown in the Correlation Matrix below (Table 11).

The relationships between Confidence with Terminology and the other variables was assessed. Confidence with Terminology related positively with Prior Contact, $r = .17$, $p = .022$ and Current Contact, $r = .41$, $p < .001$. Participants with more prior experience and current experience with interracial contact were more confident with racial terminology. Confidence with Terminology had a negative relationship with Social Norms for talking about race in the Family, $r = -.31$, $p < .001$, Friends, $r = -.35$, $p < .001$ and Peers, $r = -.28$, $p < .001$. This suggests that individuals who thought family, friends and peers were more supportive of discussions about race were more likely to be confident in using correct racial terminology.

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Table 11:
Correlation Matrix

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Prior Contact		.333**	-.156*	-.214**	.204**	.172*	-.131†	-.103
2. Current Contact			-.132†	-.241**	-.271**	.411**	-.330**	-.322**
3. Family Social Norms				.528**	.308**	-.313**	-.082	.268**
4. Friend Social Norms					.278**	-.348**	.112	.290**
5. Peer Social Norms						-.275**	.048	.184*
6. Confidence in Terms							-.416**	-.512**
7. Intergroup Anxiety								.265**
8. Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk								

† $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

H2: Current and previous contact will be negatively correlated with intergroup anxiety and concern for social appropriateness for race talk.

The relationships between the predictor variables and the outcome variables was then examined. Prior Contact correlated marginally and negatively with Intergroup Anxiety, r = -.13, p = .083 and had no significant correlation with Concern for social appropriateness for race talk, r = -.10, p = .175. This suggests that the more prior experience the participant had, the less they experienced intergroup anxiety. Prior experience was unrelated to participants' Concern for social appropriateness for race talk.

Current Contact had negative correlations with Intergroup Anxiety, r = -.33, p < .001, and Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk, r = -.32, p < .001. This suggests that the more current contact experiences that the participant had the less intergroup anxiety they experienced and reduced concern for social appropriateness for race talk.

H3. Social norms for discussing race will be positively correlated with intergroup anxiety and concern for social appropriateness for race talk.

Social Norms for talking about race among Family, Friends, and Peers had no significant correlation with Intergroup Anxiety, r = -.08, p = .281; r = .11, p = .140 and r = .05, p = .527 respectively, suggesting that social norms held by the family, friends, or peers concerning race talk is unrelated to participants intergroup anxiety.

Social Norms for talking about race among Family, Friends and Peers had significant and positive correlations with Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk, r = .27, p < .001, r = .29, p < .001 and r = .18, p = .015, respectively. The more participants agreed that their family, friends and peers were uncomfortable discussing race, the more they themselves were concerned about the social appropriateness of race talk.

H4. Confidence with terminology will be negatively correlated with intergroup anxiety and concern for social appropriateness for race talk.

Confidence with Terminology had negative correlations with Intergroup Anxiety, r = -.42, $p < .001$. and Concern for social appropriateness for race talk, r = -.51, $p < .001$. This suggests that increases in confidence with terminology were associated with reduced intergroup anxiety and less belief that race talk is inappropriate.

Predictors of confidence in inter-ethnic interactions.

The third aim of the research was to test whether prior contact, current contact, social norms and confidence with terminology predicted the indicators of confidence with inter-ethnic interactions. In this study, the proxies for confidence in inter-ethnic interactions were: Intergroup Anxiety and Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk. It was hypothesised that individuals with more contact (current and prior) will have less anxiety, and believe race talk is appropriate. I predict that participants with increased negative perceptions of social norms will have more anxiety and more belief that race talk is inappropriate. Participants with increased confidence with terminology are predicted to have less anxiety and believe race talk is appropriate. Multiple regression was used to test these hypotheses.

H5: Interracial Interaction, Social Norms and Confidence with Terminology will significantly predict the outcome variables so that previous contact, current contact and confidence with terminology will negatively predict intergroup anxiety and concern for social appropriateness for race talk. Social norms will positively predict intergroup anxiety and concern for social appropriateness for race talk.

The first analysis examined if interracial interaction and social norms predict participants' intergroup anxiety. Prior contact, current contact, social norms for talking about race (family, friend and peers) and confidence with terminology were entered as predictors of Intergroup Anxiety in a regression. Current Contact was found to be a significant negative

predictor; with β = -.322, $p < .001$. Social Norms for talking about race among family was also found to be a significant negative predictor with β = -.197, $p = .024$. This is in the opposite direction than expected: I predicted that more negative social norms about discussing race would predict higher intergroup anxiety, but here we found that more negative social norms about discussing race among family predicted *reduced* intergroup anxiety. As expected, Confidence with Terminology was also found to be a significant negative predictor of intergroup anxiety with β = -.406, $p < .001$. All other predictors were non-significant. These variables explained 26% of the variance in Intergroup Anxiety, which was significant, $F(6, 168) = 9.85$, $p < .001$. Therefore, it can be concluded that intergroup anxiety is significantly predicted by Current Contact and Confidence with Terminology in the expected direction: those with more current contact and more confidence in terminology express reduced intergroup anxiety. It was also found that Intergroup Anxiety was predicted by Social Norms (Family) for race talk but in the opposite direction than expected. Other indicators of Social Norms (including friends and wider peer networks at University) and Previous Contact did not predict Intergroup Anxiety.

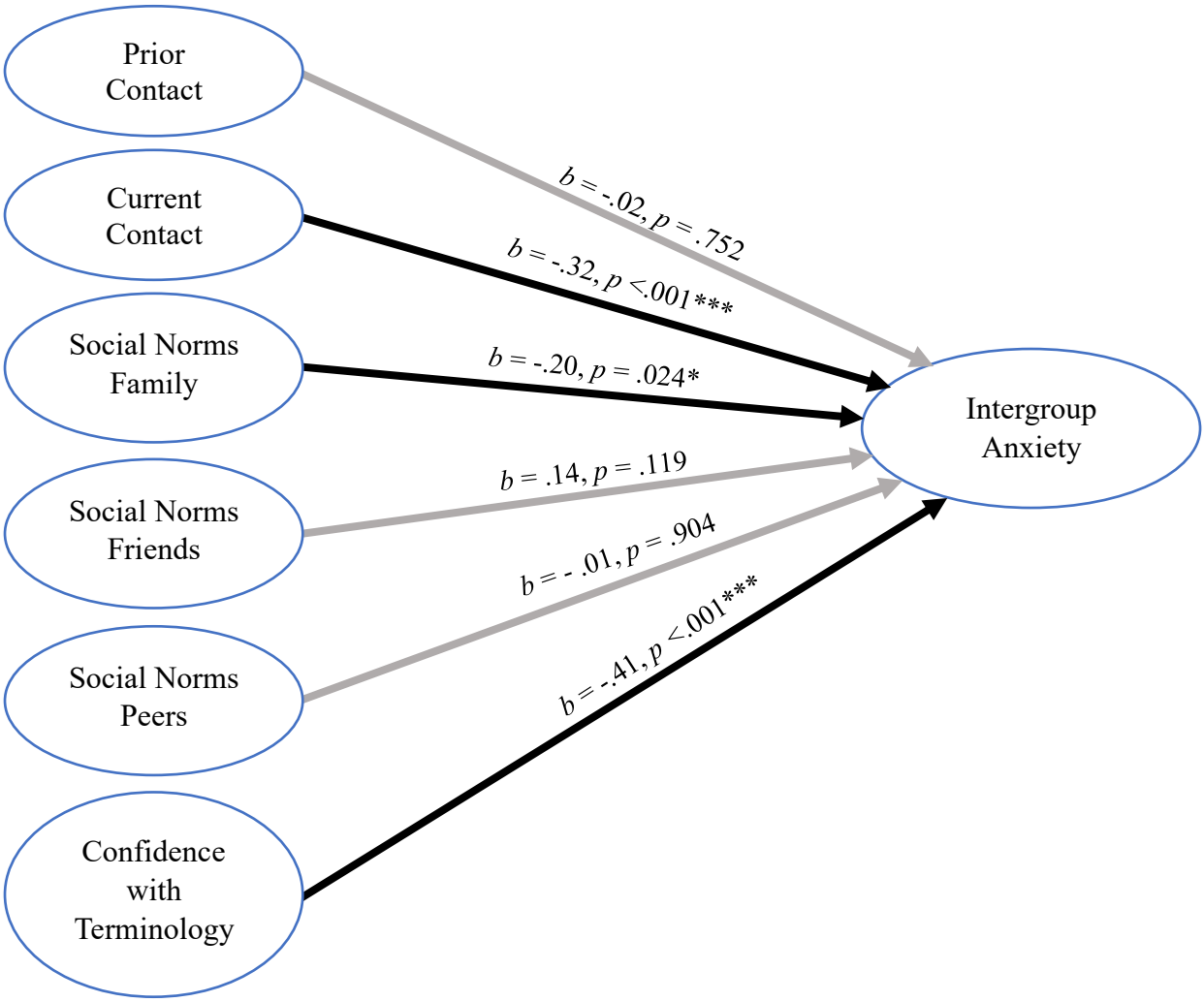
Table 12.

Multiple Regression analysis of Interracial Interaction, Social Norms and Confidence with Terminology as a predictor of Intergroup Anxiety

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*p*
Block 1: R^2 = .11, p < .001			
Prior Contact	-.024	-0.32	.752
Current Contact	-.322	-4.22	<.001
Block 2: R^2 change = .03, p < .001			
Family Social Norms	-.197	-2.27	.024
Friends Social Norms	.137	1.57	.119
Peer Social Norms	-.010	-0.12	.904
Block 3: R^2 change = .12, p < .001			
Confidence with Terminology	-.406	-5.25	.000

Note. N = 168.

Figure 3. Regression Model for Intergroup Anxiety



Note. Significant predictors are show with solid black line. Non-significant predicters are shown with a solid grey line. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Next, it will be analysed whether interracial interaction, social norms and confidence with terminology predicts participants' perceived concern for social appropriateness for race talk. Prior Contact, Current Contact, Social Norms for talking about race: Family, Friend and Peers and Confidence with Terminology were entered as predictors of Concern for social appropriateness for race talk in a multiple regression. Current Contact was found to be a significant and negative predictor; with $\beta = -.324$, $p < .001$. Family and friend social norms for talking about race were found to be marginally significant predictors and in the expected direction: $\beta = .157$, $p = .07$, and $\beta = .146$, $p = .09$, respectively. Confidence with Terminology

was found to be a significant predictor; with β = -.411, $p < .001$. All other predictors were non-significant. These variables explained 29% of the variance in Concern for social appropriateness for race talk, which was significant, $F(6, 168) = 11.746$, $p < .001$. Therefore, it can be concluded that Current Contact and Confidence with Terminology significantly predict perceptions of Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk, while Social Norms among Family and Friends marginally predicted this. Previous Contact and Social Norms among Peers (wider university friendship group) were not significant predictors of perceived Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk.

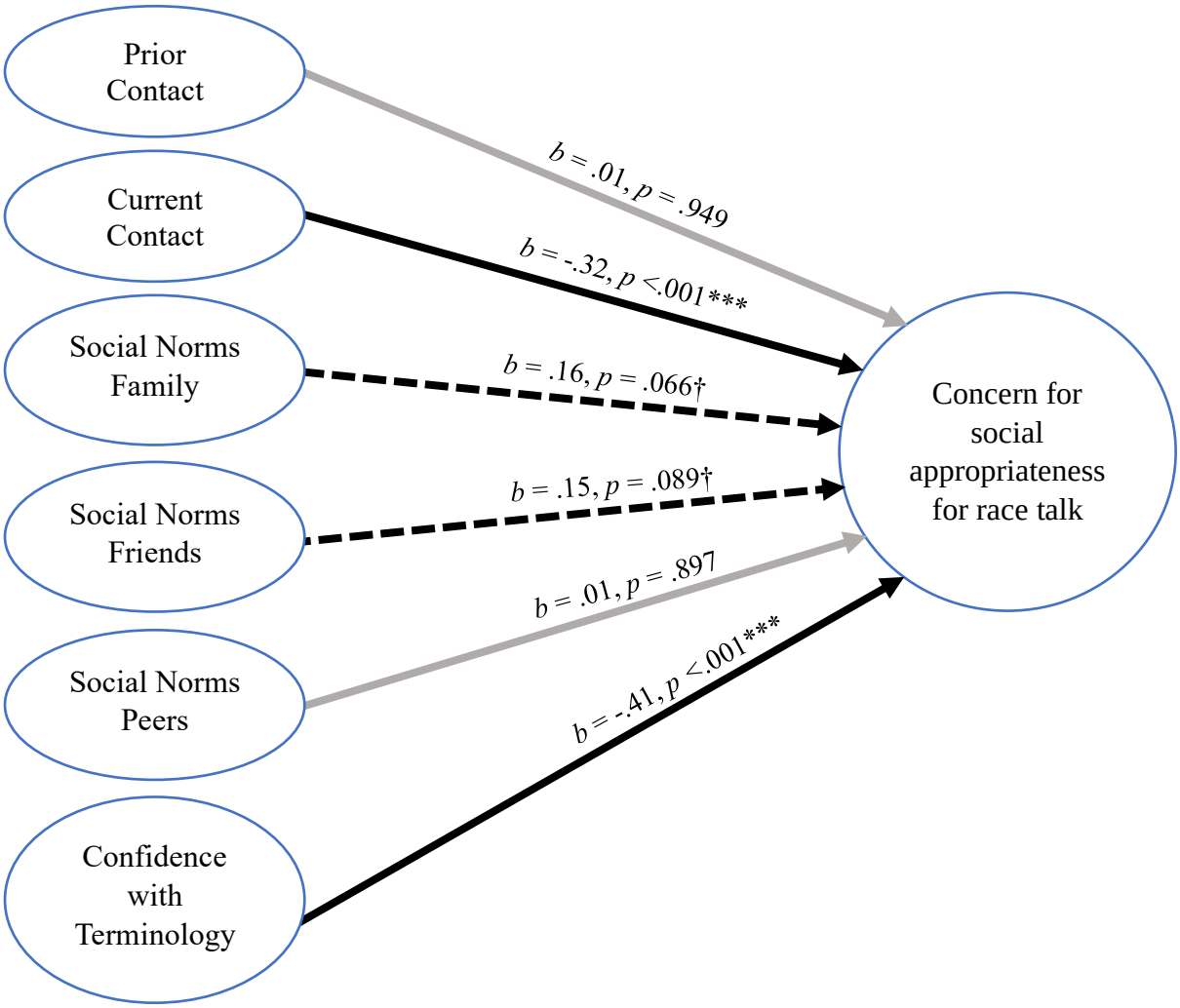
Table 13.

Multiple Regression analysis of Interracial Interaction, Social Norms and Confidence with Terminology as a predictor of Concern for social appropriateness for race talk

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*p*
Block 1: $R^2 = .10$, $p < .001$			
Prior Contact	.005	0.06	.949
Current Contact	-.324	-4.23	<.001
Block 2: R^2 change = .07, $p < .001$			
Family Social Norms	.157	1.85	.066
Friends Social Norms	.146	1.71	.089
Peer Social Norms	.011	0.13	.897
Block 3: R2 change = .12, $p < .001$			
Confidence with Terminology	-.411	-5.44	.000

Note. N = 168.

Figure 4. Regression Model for Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk



Note. Significant predictors are show with solid black line. Marginally significant predictors are shown with a dashed black line. Non-significant predicters are shown with a solid grey line.
† p < .10. * *p* < .05. ** *p* < *.01*. *** *p* < *.001*.

Discussion

The aims of Study 2 were to 1) further develop the measures of confidence in terminology, 2) increase understanding of confidence in interracial interactions by examining predictors of Intergroup Anxiety and Social Appropriateness of Race Talk as proxies for confidence in interracial interactions. Specifically, the aim was to determine if the predictor variables (Interracial Interaction, Social Norms and Confidence with Terminology) predict the key outcomes (Concern about Race Talk and Intergroup Anxiety).

Firstly, the new Confidence with Terminology measure showed increased reliability, and will be used in Study 4 and 5 to explore this issue further.

As expected, Prior contact and Current Contact related negatively with Social Norms for talking about race among Family and Friends, so that more experience with contact related to decreases in negative social norms about race talk. However, Social Norms for talking about race with Peers, was correlated significantly and positively with Prior Contact but negatively with Current Contact. Although the relationship between Current Contact and Peers Social Norms for talking about race supports the hypothesis, Prior Contact does not support this hypothesis. This suggests that the more interracial contact participants have before university, the less supportive wider peer networks at university appear to be in discussing race. Meanwhile, Current Contact is associated negatively with Peer Social Norms, suggesting that more diverse friendship groups at university is associated with more supportive norms for peer talk among one's wider peer network at university. It is possible that participants with a high level of contact prior to university may be used to being surrounded by people who are happy to talk about race, and therefore their peers (general student population) will suffer by comparison. It is interesting that those with diverse current friendship groups also view wider peer networks as being happy to discuss race, which could be driven by the more diverse wider peer network they are surrounded by driven by their diverse current friendship group. Future studies with these measures will be observed closely to see if this relationship occurs again in other samples, and if so, see if we can determine why this relationship occurs.

Prior Contact and Current Contact related positively with Confidence with Terminology. More prior and current contact experiences suggests that the participant had more confidence with racial terminology. Family, friends and peer social norms for talking

about race all had a negative relationship with Confidence with Terminology, suggesting that those who held negative social norms were also less confident with racial terminology.

As expected, current contact significantly predicted Intergroup Anxiety and Concern for social appropriateness for race talk. However, Prior contact was not a significant predictor in either case. Although research literature would suggest that prior contact should influence one's expectations towards interracial interaction and race talk, our results may suggest that prior contact experience may be less important to intergroup anxiety and concern for social appropriateness of race talk than current contact experiences.

Social Norms for talking about race among family was a significant predictor of Intergroup Anxiety, and was only a marginally significant predictor of Concern for social appropriateness for race talk. The relationship between family social norms and intergroup anxiety was in the opposite direction than we expected; suggesting that more negative social norms about discussing race among family predicted reduced intergroup anxiety. A possible explanation for this result may depend on how much the topic of race is discussed, or rather not discussed. If the race talk is seen as a taboo subject, it is likely that the topic of race is not discussed or discussed very rarely. If race is not discussed amongst the family, the parents may have not given their children any expectations, positive or negative, about race talk and interracial interactions. If the children of these families have no negative expectations towards interracial interaction and race talk, it would be understandable that they would experience little to no anxiety on these subjects.

Friends social norms for talking about race was only a marginally significant predictor on concern for social appropriateness for race talk. Friends social norms did not predict intergroup anxiety. Peer social norms for talking about race was not a significant predictor of either of the outcomes. Further research needs to be conducted to determine if this pattern of relationships continues throughout the lifespan, but these results may suggest that friend and

peer social norms may be less important to intergroup anxiety than family social norms. This would support some previous research about the enduring influence of parents' social norms on their children (Denger & Dalege, 2013).

Study 2 extends our knowledge in a number of ways. First, Study 2 provides us with evidence that the new and revised measure, Confidence with Terminology, does relate to other similar antecedents of confidence in interracial interactions. The results suggest that more interracial contact is likely to increase confidence with racial terminology, whereas negative social norms about race talk, increased intergroup anxiety and more concern for social appropriateness of race talk is likely to be associated with decreased confidence with racial terminology, potentially resulting in the disuse or avoidance of racial terminology. Furthermore, Study 2 also provides some insight on how intergroup anxiety fits within the model, suggesting that participants' anxiety with interracial interaction is related to both family norms (supporting Denger & Dalege, 2013) and the participants' current contact experiences. This combination of factors could indicate that participants are utilizing their family's social norms to inform their expectations when entering into interracial interactions, however, they also appear to be receptive to new experiences, revising their expectations depending on if those interracial experiences concluded positively or negatively.

Limitations:

This sample of students/recent graduates from the UK was composed primarily of those of Caucasian descent. Therefore, the model tested in this study may only apply to White participants. This prevents us from knowing the experiences and attitudes of ethnic minority students/recent graduates from the UK. It is important that this this model is tested with members of the ethnic minority to determine if the model works similarly for both race groups or differently by race group, and how. Further studies will seek to gain an equal (as possible) representation of different racial/ethnic groups, so that the experiences of ethnic

majority and minority race members can be compared, and the relationship between the key variables examined in diverse sample. Study 5 aims to resolve this limitation, by testing the model with four different groups: White British, White International, Black and Asian. However, it should be noted that this is an exploratory study with small sample sizes from each of these groups, with the intention of finding early indicators.

Study 3 continues to examine the idea of confidence in contact, and determine its predictors. It builds on Study 2 by testing Bagci's proposed model of cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy (CEFSE; Bagci et al., 2019) in a UK student/recent graduate population, where CEFSE is a proxy for confidence in inter-ethnic interactions. How the expected sources of CEFSE and outcomes of CEFSE (Motivation to make cross-ethnic friends, Persistence to keep those friendships, and the Quantity and Quality of these friendships) relate to CEFSE are also examined. As with Study 2, Study 3 also focuses on the White majority population.

STUDY 3:

Cross Ethnic Friendship Self Efficacy (CEFSE) in a White British Population

Abstract

The purpose of Study 3 was to explore the concept of Cross-Ethnic Friendship Self-Efficacy (CEFSE) within a White British university student sample (N = 175) recruited via Prolific Academic. Specifically, for the first time among adults, a new model of cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy is tested (Bagci et al., 2019) including sources of friendship self-efficacy (Enactive Experiences, Vicarious Experiences, Social Persuasion And Physiological Cues), CEFSE, and expected outcomes of CEFSE, namely students' motivation to make new cross-ethnic friendships, students' persistence to keep those friendships, and the quantity and quality of their cross-ethnic friendships. It is hypothesized that all variables will correlate significantly with each other, that sources of friendship self-efficacy will significantly predict CEFSE, CEFSE will predict the quantity and quality of the students' cross-ethnic friendships, and the relationship between CEFSE and contact will be mediated by motivation and persistence in cross-ethnic friendships. Analyses showed significant correlations between the variables in the expected direction. As expected, sources of self-efficacy significantly predicted CEFSE, CEFSE significantly predicted friendship quality but not quantity, and persistence (but not motivation) mediated the relationship between CEFSE and the quality of the students' cross-ethnic friendships.

Introduction

Throughout this thesis, the main theme is confidence in interracial contact. The previous two studies have focused on Intergroup Anxiety, Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk, Confidence with Racial Terminology, and Strategic Colour Blindness as aspects or indicators of confidence in inter-ethnic interactions. In this study, the focus will change onto another prospective aspect of confidence with interracial contact, termed Cross-Ethnic Friendship Self-Efficacy (CEFSE; Bagci et al., 2019).

Cross-ethnic friendships fit all four of Allport's (1954) criteria for reducing prejudice (Aboud & Sankar, 2007; Davies & Aron, 2016; Kawabata & Crick, 2008; Levin et al., 2003; Titzmann et al., 2015; Turner & Cameron 2016). Friendships are also a more consistent and intimate form of contact (Bagci et al., 2014; Davies & Aron, 2016; Davies et al., 2011; Levin et al., 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2016; Shelton et al., 2009; Swart et al., 2010; Turner & Cameron 2016; Turner & Feddes, 2011) that provides a multitude of benefits to its participants beyond prejudice reduction (See Chapter 2, pg.55). However, studies have demonstrated that cross-group friendships are rare and decline as the participants age (Aboud & Sankar, 2007; Graham et al., 2014; Kawabata & Crick, 2008; Kawabata & Crick, 2011; Schofield et al., 2010; Turner & Cameron, 2016).

In Study 3, I examine CEFSE as a proxy for confidence in intergroup contact with the intention of improving cross-group friendships, and attempt to replicate the findings of Bagci et al. (2019) with an adult sample. Study 4 investigates how CEFSE relates to Confidence with Terminology among a diverse, university student sample. Study 5 tests CEFSE as a potential predictor of SCB behaviour, in addition to Confidence with Terminology and Intergroup Anxiety. Finally, Studies 6 and 7 evaluate the bidirectional nature of CEFSE, quantity and quality of cross-ethnic friendships and social norms both cross-sectionally and longitudinally in first-year university student samples from two UK universities. This

systematic test of CEFSE is the first of its kind among adults, and provides critical insight into the role of confidence in contact as a predictor and outcome of intergroup contact, as well as considering how it relates to confidence in terminology and discussing race.

Aims of Study 3

This study builds on Studies 1 and 2 by examining an additional aspect of confidence in inter-group interactions, namely Cross-Ethnic Friendship Self-Efficacy. The aim of this study is to examine cross ethnic friendship self-efficacy in a White British university student population, and determine the relationships between the sources of self-efficacy, cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy (CEFSE), motivation to engage in new CE friendships, persistence to keep CE friendships, quantity of CE friendships, and quality of CE friendships. Specifically, the CEFSE model (Bagci et al., 2019) will be tested with a UK university student sample for the first time (see Figure 5). I expect that Enactive Experiences, Vicarious Experiences, Social Persuasion and Physiological Cues will predict CEFSE. From there, I expect CEFSE to predict the Quantity and Quality of cross-ethnic friendship, mediated by the Motivation to gain cross ethnic friends and Persistence to keep those friendships.

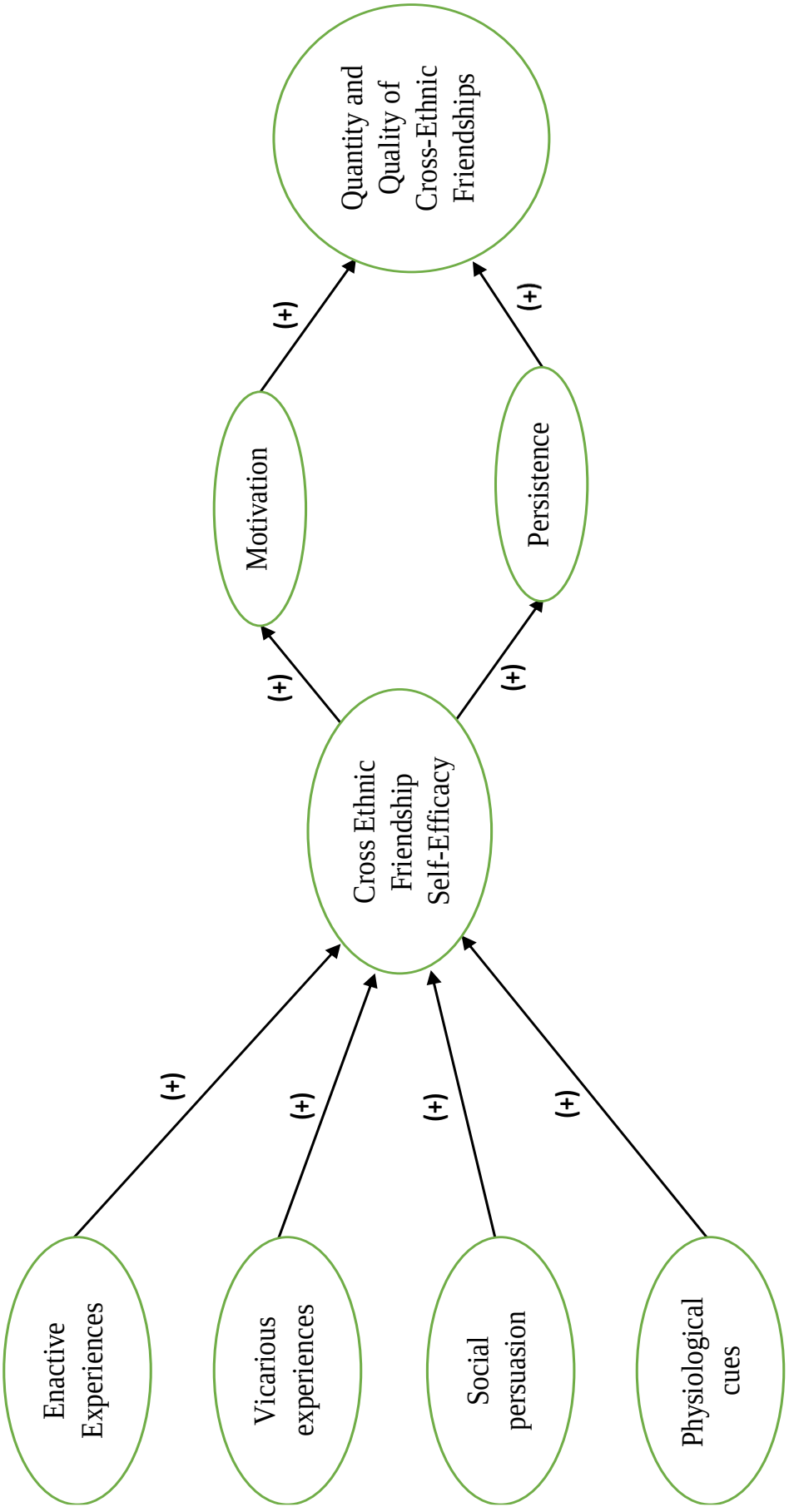


Figure 5. CEFSE Hypothesized Model

Hypotheses

H1: Sources of CEFSE, CEFSE, and outcomes of CEFSE will all correlate positively with each another.

H2: Sources of CEFSE will significantly predict CEFSE.

H3: CEFSE will significantly and positively predict both Quantity and Quality of the participants' cross-ethnic friendships.

H4: CEFSE will predict participants' Quantity and Quality of cross-ethnic friendships, mediated by their motivation to have and persistence to keep these friendships.

Method

Participants

The same participant pool was used in this study as in Study 2, as these measures were assessed simultaneously within the same survey. Therefore, the characteristics of the sample and how they were treated were the same in each study.

I conducted two a priori power analyses in G*Power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2007; Faul et al., 2009) to determine the number of participants we would need in this study to reach power. The first a priori analysis was to calculate N for the relationship of the four sources of CEFSE predicting CEFSE. With an alpha = .05, power = 0.80 and effect size of 0.15, we would need N = 89 participants for this relationship.

The second a priori analysis was to calculate N for the relationship of CEFSE predicting the Quantity and Quality of cross-ethnic friendships. With an alpha = .05, power = 0.80 and effect size of 0.15, we would need N = 60 participants for this relationship.

251 participants were tested but of those, 76 of those participants had to be excluded due to not meeting the inclusion criteria, missing too many attention checks, incomplete data or being a member of the small ethnic minority group. All analyses in this study will also focus on just the 175 Caucasian participants.

This resulting sample was 61.7% female (38.3% male). The ages ranged from 18 -51, with the average age being 25.31 years (*SD* = 6.48). The sample was comprised of Caucasian students from the UK (England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland). The sample consisted of students currently studying for their undergraduate degree or who have graduated within the last 5 years. The sample was taken from universities all around the UK and from various academic departments (See Study 2, Appendix C). The data were collected through the Prolific Academic website.

Table 14.
Demographic Information on Sample: Study 3

N	175
Gender	Female: 61.7% Male: 38.3%
Mean Age	M = 25.31 (SD = 6.48)
Ethnic Background	White British: 163 White Irish: 2 White Scottish: 4 White Welsh: 2 White Other: 4
Highest Level of Education Completed	GCSE: 4 A Level: 57 Foundation Year: 15 Bachelors: 62 Masters: 33 Doctorate: 4
Location of University	London: 23 England: 110 Scotland: 8 N. Ireland: 4 Wales: 14 Unspecified: 16

The reliability of the measures in this study were examined. Means, Standard Deviations, Item Examples, Measure Reliability, Number of Items, and Response Scales for these surveys can be found in Table 15. Many of the scales had acceptable to good reliability scores (.728 - .915). Regarding sources of CEFSE, Enactive Experiences and Vicarious Experiences had relatively poor reliability (.534 and .607 respectively). Physiological Cues

demonstrated good reliability (.790), Social Persuasion was a 2-item scale and so reliability was checked using correlation (r =.12, p = .113) demonstrating poor reliability. Motivation to engage in new CE friendships was also measured using 2 items and demonstrated good reliability (r = .84, p < .001). The measure of Persistence was also reliable (r = .728, p < .001).

Table 15.
Reliability Measures

Measure	***Item Example***	***Mean (SD)***	***Measure Reliability***	***Number of Items***	***Response Scales***
Cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy scale (CEFSE) (Bagci et al., 2019)	*For me, making new friends from other racial/ethnic groups is easy.*	4.03 (.599)	.915	9	1 Strongly Disagree –5 Strongly Agree
Sources of CEFSE: *Enactive experiences,* (Bagci et al., 2019)	*Thinking back to secondary school, I was good at making close friends from racial/ethnic groups other than my own.*	3.36 (.761)	.534	3	1 Strongly Disagree –5 Strongly Agree
Sources of CEFSE: *Vicarious experiences*	*Lots of my friends have close friends who belong to racial/ethnic groups other than their own.*	3.05 (.827)	.607	3	1 Strongly Disagree –5 Strongly Agree
Sources of CEFSE: *Social persuasion*	*Our teachers in secondary school would encourage us to be friends with people from other racial/ethnic groups.*	3.67 (.680)	r = .120	2	1 Strongly Disagree –5 Strongly Agree

Reliability Measures cont.'

Measure	***Item Example***	***Mean (SD)***	***Measure Reliability***	***Number of Items***	***Response Scales***
Sources of CEFSE: *Physiological cues*	*If I was starting to form a friendship with someone who belonged to a racial/ethnic group other than my own I would feel nervous.*	4.11 (.758)	.790	3	1 Strongly Disagree –5 Strongly Agree
CEFSE: Motivation to engage in new CE friendships (Bagci et al., 2019)	*In the future, I would like to make new friends from other racial/ethnic groups as much as I can.*	3.85 (.762)	r = .840	2	1 Strongly Disagree – 5 Strongly Agree
Persistence to keep CE friendships	*After university, I plan to keep my existing relationships with my friends from other racial/ethnic groups.*	3.89 (.664)	.728	3	1 Strongly Disagree –5 Strongly Agree
Quantity Other Racial/Ethnic Groups (Bagci et al., 2019)	*How many friends do you have from other racial/ethnic groups?*	2.11 (1.12)		1	Number of friends that they have from other ethnic groups (1 = 0-2, 2 = 3-5, 3 = 6-10, 4 = 11-20, 5 = 21+).
Quality Other Racial/Ethnic Groups	*How close do you feel to your friends from other racial/ethnic groups?* *How often do you spend time with your friends from other racial/ethnic groups?*	3.27 (1.10)	r = .757	2	Closeness of contact (1 = not very close, 5 = extremely close) Frequency of the contact (1 = not very freq., 5 = very freq).

Procedures

Data were collected through the use of Prolific Academic. Members of the website were pre-screened to fit the purposes of the study. These pre-screeners were being 18 years and older, attending university or having graduated in the last 5 years, being born and raised primarily in the UK, and defining their nationality as British or a nationality that belongs within the UK (English, Irish/Northern Irish, Scottish, Welsh). After being pre-screened, the participants were free to participate in the study. Informed consent was obtained by the participants. Each participant completed a questionnaire that asked them about their interracial experiences, social norms, confidence with terminology, intergroup anxiety and self-efficacy in same race and cross-racial friendships. Only cross-group friendship data is presented here. Their submissions were reviewed to ensure they met the participant criteria, answered the attention checks correctly, and completed the surveys. Information on attention checks can be found in Study 2. Submissions that passed these checks received a £1 payment for their participation.

We obtained ethical approval from the University of Kent to conduct this study. If the participants experienced any distress during the course of the study, they were free to withdraw their participation from it. Additionally, a list of resources was provided on the debriefing sheet for them to seek help or to air any complaints about the study experience or subject matter.

Measures

Friendship Self-Efficacy CEFSE was measured with 'Cross-Ethnic Friendship Self-Efficacy Scale (CEFSE)' by Bagci et al. (2019). This 9-item measure included items that tap into confidence with cross-ethnic friendships. Examples of questions on this measure include 'For me, making new friends from other racial/ethnic groups is easy', 'I don't think I would be able to make new friends with people from racial/ethnic groups other than my own'

(reverse coded), and 'I would find it difficult to get close to a new friend from another racial/ethnic group' (reverse coded). Responses were on a 5-point scale (1 = Strongly Disagree – 5 = Strongly Agree; α= .915). Questions for CEFSE appear in Appendix E. A mean score was computed, in which higher scores mean more friendship self-efficacy.

Sources of CEFSE. Sources of CEFSE was measured with 10 questions to tap into Enactive Experiences, Vicarious Experiences, Social Persuasion, and Physiological Cues (Bagci et al., 2019). Responses were on a 5-point scale (1 = Strongly Disagree – 5 = Strongly Agree). Enactive Experiences consisted of 2 questions. Vicarious Experiences consisted of 3 questions. Social Persuasion consisted of 2 questions. Physiological Cues consisted of 3 questions. Questions for each source of CEFSE appear in Appendix F. A mean score was computed for each of the sources (See Table 15 for reliability scores, correlations and means). Higher scores in each section means more positive enactive experiences, more vicarious experience, more social support for cross-ethnic friendships and more comfort with cross-ethnic friends, respectively.

CEFSE Outcomes. Expected CEFSE Outcomes (Motivation to engage in new CE friendships, Persistence to keep CE friendships, Quantity and Quality of CE friendships) were measured using multiple items, based on surveys used by Bagci and colleagues (2019). Questions for the outcomes of CEFSE appear in Appendix G. Motivation (2 items, *r*= .840) and Persistence (3 items, α= .728) used a 5-point scale (1 = Strongly Disagree – 5 = Strongly Agree). Mean scores were computed for each, and higher scores indicate more motivation and persistence for CE friendships.

Quantity of CE friendships was measured using a single item on a 5-point scale to indicate number of cross-ethnic friends (1 = 0-2; 2 = 3-5; 3 = 6-10; 4 = 11-20; 5 = 21+). Quality of CE friendships was computed as a mean score of two items: closeness of contact and frequency of the contact. Each item was measured on a 5-point scale; (1 = not very close

to 5 = extremely close) for closeness of contact and (1 = not very frequent to 5 = very frequent) for frequency of the contact. Higher scores mean better quality CE friendships.

Demographics. A survey assessing their gender, age, year in university (undergraduate/postgraduate), academic degree, country of birth, and ethnicity was administered. This information is summarized in Table 14.

Results

Main Analyses

H1: Sources of CEFSE, CEFSE, and outcomes of CEFSE will all correlate positively with each another.

See Table 16 for correlations between main variables. Many of the variables correlated significantly with the other variables. CEFSE correlated positively with all the sources of CEFSE: Enactive Experiences, $r = .44$, $p < .001$, Vicarious Experiences, $r = .32$, $p < .001$, Social Persuasion, $r = .32$, $p < .001$, and Physiological Cues, $r = .65$, $p < .001$. It correlated positively with the mediators of CEFSE: Motivation, $r = .52$, $p < .001$, and Persistence, $r = .58$, $p < .001$. Finally, it also correlated positively outcomes of CEFSE: Quantity, $r = .30$, $p < .001$, and Quality $r = .33$, $p < .001$.

Enactive Experiences correlated positively with the other sources of CEFSE: Vicarious Experiences, $r = .52$, $p < .001$, Social Persuasion, $r = .37$, $p < .001$. and Physiological Cues, $r = .28$, $p < .001$. It correlated positively with the mediators of CEFSE: Motivation, $r = .23$, $p = .002$ and Persistence, $r = .32$, $p < .001$. Finally, it also correlated positively with outcomes of CEFSE: Quantity, $r = .16$, $p = .034$, and Quality, $r = .25$, $p = .001$.

Vicarious Experiences correlated positively with the other sources of CEFSE: Social Persuasion, $r = .36$, $p < .001$, and Physiological Cues, $r = .16$, $p = .032$. It correlated

positively with Persistence to keep CE friendships, $r = .21$, $p = .006$ and outcomes of CEFSE: Quantity, $r = .21$, $p = 006$, and Quality, $r = .19$, $p = .010$.

Social Persuasion correlated positively with the other source of CEFSE: Physiological Cues, $r = .27$, $p < .001$. It correlated positively with the mediators of CEFSE: Motivation, $r = .33$, $p < .001$, Persistence, $r = .26$, $p < .001$, and the Quality of CE friendships, $r = .17$, $p = .026$.

Physiological Cues correlated positively with the mediators of CEFSE: Motivation, $r = .33$, $p < .001$, and Persistence, $r = .39$, $p < .001$, and outcomes of CEFSE: Quantity, $r = .18$, $p = .015$ and Quality, $r = .17$, $p = .026$.

CE Motivation correlated positively with CE Persistence, $r = .54$, $p < .001$, and Quality of CE friendships, $r = .22$, $p = .004$.

CE Persistence correlated positively with the outcomes of CEFSE: Quantity, $r = .26$, $p < .001$, and Quality, $r = .38$, $p < .001$.

Quantity of CE friendships correlated positively with Quality of CE friendships, $r = .46$, $p < .001$.

Marginally significant positive relationships between variables were found between CE Motivation and CE Quantity, $r = .14$, $p = .059$.

Non-significant relationships between variables were between Social Persuasion and CE Quantity $r = .06$, $p = .414$, and Vicarious Experiences and CE Motivation, $r = .12$, $p = .118$.

Table 16.
Correlation Matrix.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. CEFSE		.439**	.321**	.323**	.645**	.517**	.575**	.302**	.332**
2. Enactive experiences			.516**	.365**	.278**	.228**	.320**	.160*	.250**
3. Vicarious experiences				.356**	.162*	.119	.209**	.207**	.193*
4. Social persuasion					.268**	.327**	.264**	.062	.168*
5. Physiological cues						.333**	.390**	.184*	.168*
6. CE Motivation							.540**	.143†	.215**
7. CE Persistence								.263**	.382**
8. CE Quantity									.462**
9. CE Quality									

† $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Predictors of confidence in inter-ethnic interactions.

The next aim of the research was to test whether sources of CEFSE predict CEFSE, CEFSE predicts Quantity of CE friendships and CEFSE predicts Quality of CE friendship. Regression was used to test this hypothesis.

H2: Sources of CEFSE will significantly predict CEFSE.

The analysis examined if sources of CEFSE predict participants' CEFSE score. Enactive Experiences, Vicarious Experiences, Social Persuasion and Physiological Cues were entered as predictors of CEFSE in a regression. Enactive Experiences was found to be a significant predictor; with $\beta = .211$, $p = .002$. Physiological cues were also found to be significant; with $\beta = .553$, $p < .001$. All other predictors were non-significant. These variables explained 50% of the variance in CEFSE, which was significant, $F(4, 170) = 42.77$, $p <. 001$. This provides partial support for Hypothesis 2 as two of the expected sources of CEFSE were significant predictors.

Table 17.

Regression analysis of sources of CEFSE as a predictor of CEFSE

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*p*
Enactive Experiences	.211	3.19	.002
Vicarious Experiences	.101	1.56	.121
Social Persuasion	.062	1.03	.307
Physiological Cues	.553	9.64	< .001

Note. N = 170. $R^2 = .502$, $p <.001$

H3: CEFSE will significantly and positively predict both Quantity and Quality of the participants' cross-ethnic friendships.

Next, analysis was conducted to examine if CEFSE predicts the quantity and quality of participants' cross-ethnic friendships. CEFSE was entered as a predictor of Quantity in a regression. CEFSE was a significant predictor of cross-ethnic friendship quantity, with β = .302, $p < .001$. This variable explained 9% of the variance in Quantity, which was significant, $F(1, 173) = 17.33$, $p <. 001$.

Table 18.

Regression analysis of CEFSE as a predictor of Quantity

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*p*
Quantity	.302	4.162	< .001

Note. N = 173. $R^2 = .091$, $p =<.001$

Next the analysis examined if CEFSE predicts quality of the participants' cross-ethnic friendships. CEFSE was entered as a predictor of Quality in a regression. The predictor was significant; with $\beta = .332$, $p < .001$. The variable explained 11% of the variance in Quality, which was significant, $F(1, 173) = 21.40$, $p <.001$. As expected, greater CEFSE predicted higher quantity and quality of cross-ethnic friendships.

Table 19.

Regression analysis of CEFSE as a predictor of Quality

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*p*
Quality	.332	4.626	<.001

Note. N = 173. $R^2 = .110$, $p =<.001$

Mediations

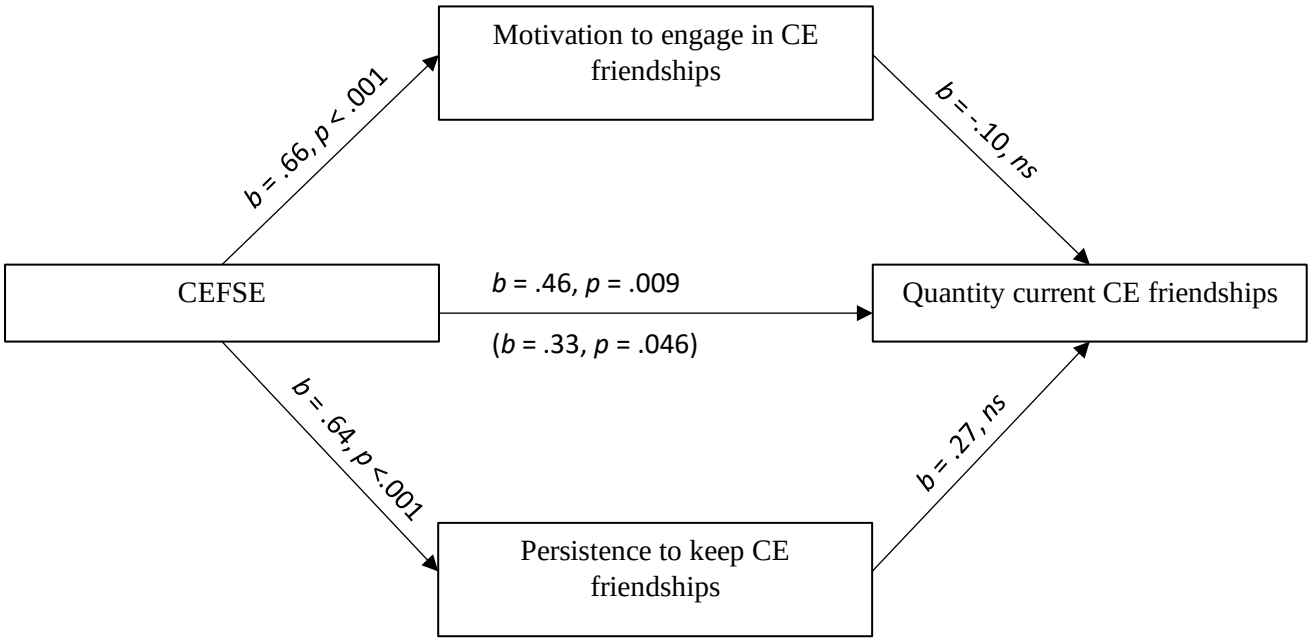
H4: CEFSE will predict participants' Quantity and Quality of cross-ethnic friendships, mediated by their motivation to have and persistence to keep these friendships.

To test Hypothesis 4, a mediation analysis was conducted using Hayes (2018) PROCESS macro (model 4; 5000 bootstraps), with CEFSE as the predictor variable, motivation to engage in new CE friendships and persistence to keep CE friendships as mediators, and quantity and quality of current CE friendships as outcome variables. The results are diagrammed in Figure 6 (for Quantity) and Figure 7 (for Quality).

The results showed that the relationship between CEFSE and quantity of CE friendships was not mediated by motivation to engage in new CE friendships [$F(3, 171) = 6.76$, $p = .439$]. The indirect effect of motivation to engage in new CE friendships on Quantity of CE friendships was not statistically significant [Effect = -.068, 95% C.I. (-.245, .115)]. The relationship between CEFSE and quantity of CE friendships was not mediated by persistence to keep CE friendships either, [$F(3, 171) = 6.76$, $p = .095$]. The indirect effect of persistence to keep CE friendships on Quantity of CE friendships was not statistically significant [Effect = .171, 95% C.I. (-.015, .365)].

This means the hypotheses were not supported in regards to quantity of CE friendships. CEFSE significantly predicted motivation and persistence but when put in a mediation analysis, motivation and persistence did not significantly predict quantity of cross-ethnic friendships. Thus, higher CEFSE levels predict higher levels of motivation and persistence in CE friendships, but neither motivation or persistence lead to higher quantity of CE friendships.

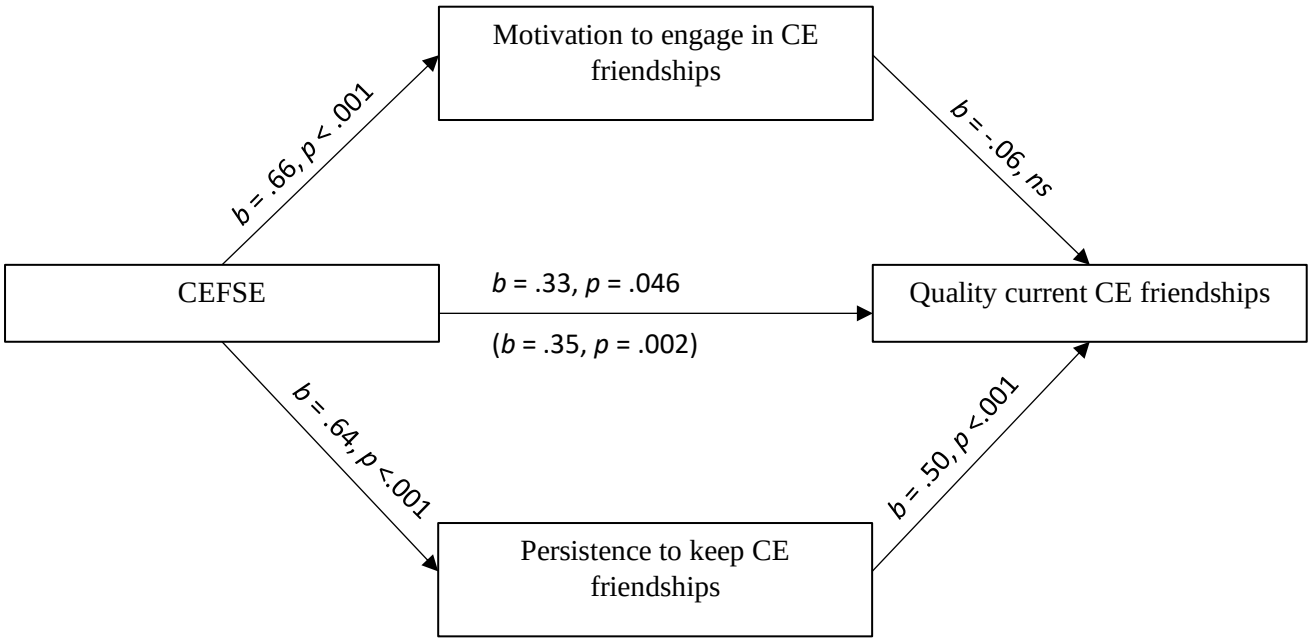
Figure 6. Mediation Model: Quantity



However, the results showed that the relationship between CEFSE and quality of CE friendships was mediated by persistence to keep CE friendships [$F(3, 171) = 11.32$, $p = .001$]. The indirect effect of persistence to keep CE friendships on Quantity of CE friendships was statistically significant [Effect = .318, 95% C.I. (.122, .523)]. The relationship between CEFSE and quality of CE friendships was not mediated by by motivation to engage in new CE friendships [$F(3, 171) = 11.32$, $p = .646$]. The indirect effect of motivation to engage in new CE friendships on Quantity of CE friendships was not statistically significant [Effect = -.038, 95% C.I. (-.205, .123)].

The hypotheses here were partially supported. With regards to quality of cross-ethnic friendship, CEFSE again predicted motivation and persistence. However, in this case, persistence (but not motivation) predicted cross-ethnic friendship quality. Thus, higher CEFSE levels predict higher levels of motivation and persistence in CE friendships, but only persistence leads to higher quality of CE friendships.

Figure 7. Mediation Model: Quality



Discussion

The aims of this study were to 1) examine cross ethnic friendship self-efficacy in a White British university student population, 2) determine the relationships between the sources of self-efficacy, cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy scale (CEFSE), mediators of CEFSE, and outcomes of CEFSE.

Evidence in the Correlation Matrix (Table 16) supports the hypothesis that the components of CEFSE would relate with one another. Almost all the variables correlated with each other significantly or marginally significantly and positively. Enactive Experiences and Physiological Cues were the only sources of CEFSE that significantly predicted CEFSE. As expected, and as found in Bagci et al. (2019), CEFSE did significantly and positively predict both quantity and quality of cross-ethnic friendships. CEFSE predicted the quality of cross ethnic friendships, mediated by persistence to keep cross-ethnic friendships. This

suggests that higher CEFSE predicts higher levels of persistence to keep cross-ethnic friendships, which leads to higher quality of those friendships.

Overall, this study provides further evidence to support the CEFSE model, and replicates some of the findings of Bagci et al. (2019) with their adolescent sample. Similar to Bagci et al. (2019), Study 3 found that the sources of CEFSE, CEFSE and quality of cross-ethnic friendships correlated significantly with one another. Both studies found that enactive experiences and physiological cues predicted CEFSE, and that social persuasion did not. And finally, both studies found that CEFSE significantly predicted quality of cross-ethnic friendships through persistence. This study provides further evidence for the importance of exploring CEFSE, and underlines the importance of further study of this variable in relation to other aspects of confidence in inter-ethnic interactions.

However, the current research findings deviated from Bagci et al. (2019) in some important ways. In the Bagci study, they found that social persuasion did not predict CEFSE. In this study, it was also found that social persuasion did not predict CEFSE, but additionally it was also found that vicarious experiences did not predict CEFSE either. Vicarious experience is a measure of vicarious or extended contact, and taps into the extent that participants' friends have friends from racial/ethnic groups different from their own racial/ethnic group. We know that vicarious or extended contact can impact self-efficacy in young people (Mazziotta, Mummendey, & Wright, 2011; Stathi et al., 2011). One possible explanation for this could be the differences in testing samples. In Bagci et al. (2019), they tested a diverse sample of UK adolescents. As discussed further in the limitations section of this study, only White British university students were included in the current study. The lack of vicarious experiences as a predictor of CEFSE may be attributed to this change in sample characteristics, so that this may be more reflective of how CEFSE may function slightly differently in a White British only sample, as compared to an overall diverse sample. It is

possible that among the White British only sample, vicarious experiences are less likely to be an effective source of cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy among adults. Furthermore, here I am testing adult participants. It is possible that for adults, self-efficacy is derived from their own personal experiences, rather than their observations of friends. Future studies (such as Study 5) will aim to test a diverse sample of students to further examine the CEFSE model.

The findings of the current research can also be considered within the wider literature (Anderson & Betz, 2001; Bandura, 1977; Bandura, 2001; Stathi et al., 2011). Anderson and Betz (2001) found Enactive Experiences and Physiological Cues to be indicative of social self-efficacy, and Social Persuasion and Vicarious Experiences not, similar to the results of this study. Lent et al. (1991) found only Enactive Experiences to be indicative of self-efficacy, but not Vicarious Experiences, Social Persuasion or Physiological Cues. Looking even further back into the literature, Bandura (1977) discussed how he thought Enactive Experiences, Vicarious Experiences, Social Persuasion and Physiological Cues influenced self-efficacy. He saw Enactive Experiences as being the strongest predictor of self-efficacy, since participants could rely on their own real experiences to assess their ability to successfully complete a task. This seems to be true of all the studies discussed in this section. The next predictor he thought was good at influencing self-efficacy was Physiological Cues, another predictor that was within the personal control of the participant by changing their interpretations of their physical responses to interracial interaction. Bandura put the least emphasis on Vicarious Experiences and Social Persuasion as he saw them as weaker predictors of self-efficacy. In his view, these sources were more vulnerable to change. In the case of Vicarious Experiences, the participants' views towards the out-group are dependent on the relationship between the in-group member and their out-group friend being positive. These views are likely to degrade if the friendship between the in-group and out-group member deteriorated. In regards to Social Persuasion, statements supporting the participant's

self-efficacy skill could easily be disproven with enough evidence of previous continued failure (Bandura, 1977). Comparing the current study to these papers, the results do not seem to deviate far from the extended literature on self-efficacy.

Importantly, the analysis also revealed that CEFSE significantly predicts cross-ethnic friendship quality and quantity. Participants with higher CEFSE reported having more cross-ethnic friendships, and had cross-ethnic friendships of higher quality, as found in Bagci et al. (2019) and consistent with other previous research on self-efficacy and contact (Stathi et al., 2011). As in Bagci et al. (2019), CEFSE also predicted increased motivation for new cross-ethnic friendships, and persistence in cross-ethnic friendships. Participants with higher CEFSE were more motivated to form new cross-ethnic friendships, and were more committed to maintaining those cross-ethnic friendships over time. Crucially neither motivation or persistence predicted quantity of cross-ethnic friendships. This may be because motivation refers to forming new CE friendships, and persistence may be more likely to be important for high quality cross-ethnic friendships. The current measure of quantity of cross-ethnic friendships includes friendships of varying degrees. This fits the findings, as the impact of CEFSE on quality of cross-ethnic friendships was mediated by persistence; that is CEFSE impacts on quality of friendship via increased commitment to those friendships. This is in line with Bagci et al. (2019).

Limitations

This study was very useful in shedding light on the relationship between CEFSE and cross-ethnic friendship in a White British university student population. However, there are a number of limitations. As noted in Study 2, the sample of students/recent graduates from the UK was limited to those of Caucasian descent. This was useful for understanding the unique experience of that group, but prevented study of the experiences and attitudes of a diverse range of students/recent graduates from the UK.

Another limitation of this study was that this study (Study 3) and Study 2 use the same, singular data set across the two studies. This method of using one data set over multiple studies is subject to a few weaknesses. Most notably, if an error occurred in the original dataset (due to mistake in transcribing the data, a miscalculation of a variable, file corruption, etc), both sets of results would be affected detrimentally. Additionally, this method could be subject to HARKing (Hypothesising After the Results are Known) and p-hacking (Raaij, 2018).

When electing to present the results of this dataset into two separate studies, the choice was made with the intention of making the material more understandable than if it were presented in one larger chapter. Furthermore, both studies analyse two distinct topics. Study 2 investigates the influence of Interracial Interaction, Social Norms, Confidence with Terminology on Intergroup Anxiety and Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk. Study 3 examines CEFSE, its sources, and quantity and quality of cross-ethnic friendships. Neither study is related to each other conceptually outside of its use of the same dataset and participant pool. When these criteria (comprehensive, singular study would have been too incomprehensible, studies had different purposes) were present in other studies, some researchers reasoned that it was acceptable to create separate studies from a singular dataset (Fine & Kurdek, 1994). Although precautions were made to avoid the weaknesses of using singular datasets and increase the comprehension of the material, future studies will aim to refine our research questions to avoid creating multiple articles from the same dataset.

A final limitation of this study was the reliabilities of the scale items. Some of our reliability scales differed from those seen in Bagci et al. (2019). Primarily, we seemed to differ from them on Enactive Experiences, Vicarious Experiences and Social Persuasion. In Bagci et al, (2019), the reliability scores for Enactive Experiences, Vicarious Experiences and Social Persuasion were also not high. Both studies have considerably poor reliability scores

on these scales so it is a weakness that is endemic to both studies. Further studies should be conducted to improve these measures, by adding onto the number of items of these scales, or the addition of related measures.

Study 4 extends Study 3, by overcoming some of the limitations in the following ways. Firstly, it tests the CEFSE model with a diverse university student population. Secondly, it builds on Studies 1-3 by bringing Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE together and testing the relationship between them. Confidence with Terminology is expected to be an additional source of CEFSE and the CEFSE model is expected to fit this diverse sample.

STUDY 4:

Confidence in Terminology as a source of CEFSE in a diverse sample

Abstract

The purpose of Study 4 was to explore the concept of cross ethnic friendship self-efficacy (CEFSE) within a diverse sample of UK students (N = 174). Specifically, in this study the model of cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy (Bagci et al., 2019) including sources of friendship self-efficacy (Enactive experiences, Vicarious experiences, Social persuasion and Physiological Cues), CEFSE, and expected outcomes of CEFSE, namely students' motivation to make new cross-ethnic friendships, students' persistence to keep those friendships, and the quantity and quality of their cross-ethnic friendships, is tested. In addition, a new potential source of CEFSE is tested: confidence in terminology. It is hypothesised that the model will fit a diverse sample and results will be similar to that of Study 3 and Bagci et al. (2019): all variables will correlate significantly with each other, sources of friendship self-efficacy (Enactive Experiences, Vicarious Experiences, Social Persuasion and Physiological Cues) will significantly predict CEFSE, CEFSE will predict the Quantity and Quality of the students' cross-ethnic friendships, and the relationship between CEFSE and contact will be mediated by Motivation and Persistence in cross-ethnic friendships. In addition, it is expected that Confidence with Terminology will significantly predict CEFSE and as such will be a significant source of this variable. It is expected that the model will be supported for all racial/ethnic groups studied here. Analyses showed significant correlations between the variables in the expected direction. As expected, original sources of self-efficacy (Enactive Experiences, Vicarious Experiences, Social Persuasion and Physiological Cues) significantly predicted CEFSE, but contrary to expectations Confidence with Terminology did not predict CEFSE. CEFSE significantly predicted friendship Quantity and Quality. Motivation (but not Persistence) mediated the relationship between CEFSE and the Quantity of the students' cross-ethnic friendships. Persistence (but not motivation)

mediated the relationship between CEFSE and the Quality of the students' cross-ethnic friendships.

Introduction

Study 3 examined the relationship between the sources of CEFSE, CEFSE, and the outcomes of CEFSE for the first time in a university student population, focused primarily on White British students. The findings of Study 3 replicated Bagci et al. (2019). Study 3 found that sources of CEFSE, CEFSE, and outcomes of CEFSE were significantly and positively correlated. Of the sources of CEFSE tested, Enactive Experiences and Physiological Cues predicted White British participants' CEFSE, whilst Social Persuasion did not. CEFSE significantly predicted the Quantity and Quality of cross-ethnic friendships that the participants had. Finally, CEFSE predicted the Quality of the participants' cross-ethnic friendships through Persistence to keep cross-ethnic friendships.

However, unlike Bagci et al. (2019) the other sources of CEFSE did not significantly predict CEFSE. Although vicarious experiences did predict CEFSE in Bagci et al. (2019), this source did not predict CEFSE in Study 3. This may be due to the difference in sample (in Study 3 the sample was all White British adults whereas Bagci and colleagues' study includes a racially/ethnically diverse group of adolescents). This highlights the importance of testing the cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy model among minority and majority individuals. I aim in Study 4 to see if sources of CEFSE, CEFSE and outcomes of CEFSE relate similarly in the diverse university student sample.

In addition, the role of Confidence with Terminology as a source of CEFSE will be examined. Study 1 found that Confidence with Terminology correlated positively with current contact, and correlated negatively with Social Norms for discussing race among Family and Friends and Concern for Social Appropriateness of Race Talk. That is, individuals that were more confident with terminology reported having more current contact with racial/ethnic outgroups, were less likely to think the norms for discussing race were negative, and were less likely to think discussing race is inappropriate. Meanwhile, Study 2

found that confidence in terminology negatively and significantly predicted Concern for Social Appropriateness for Race Talk, and Intergroup Anxiety. This suggests that those with more confidence with terminology have reduced anxiety about interactions with racial/ethnic outgroup members, and replicates the link between Confidence with Terminology and Concern for Social Appropriateness of Race Talk identified in Study 1. Research has shown that minority group members are suspicious of those who avoid referring to race, and colour-blind approaches that avoid reference to race when relevant have a detrimental effect on inter-racial interactions (Gullett & West, 2016; Hugenberg et al., 2007; Norton et al., 2006; Tropp et al., 2006). This suggests that those with more knowledge and confidence in talking about race, and using the correct terms, will be more confident in making friends with other racial/ethnic groups as they will feel better prepared for successful inter-ethnic interactions. It is plausible that individuals with more confidence in using the correct terminology when referring to race will be more confident about maintaining and forming new cross-ethnic friendships.

Hypotheses

H1: Confidence with Terminology, sources of CEFSE, CEFSE, and outcomes of CEFSE will all correlate positively with each another.

H2: Sources of CEFSE, including Confidence with Terminology, will significantly predict CEFSE.

H3: CEFSE will significantly and positively predict both Quantity and Quality of the participants' cross-ethnic friendships.

H4: The relationship between CEFSE and Quantity and Quality of cross-ethnic friendships, will be mediated by motivation to have and persistence to keep cross-ethnic friendships.

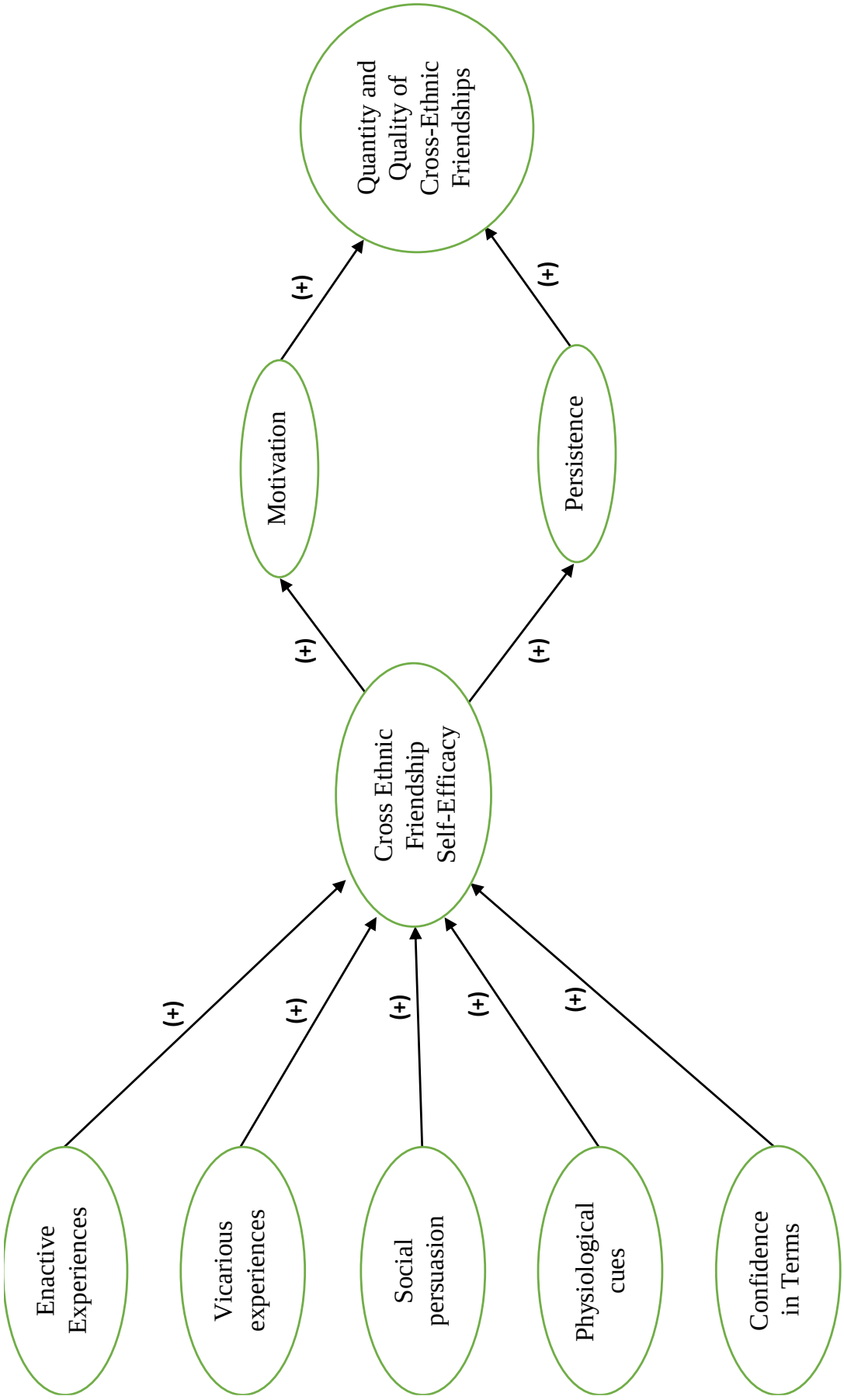


Figure 8. CEFSE with Confidence with Terminology Hypothesized Model

Method

Participants

I conducted two a priori power analyses in G*Power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2007; Faul et al., 2009) to determine the number of participants we would need in this study to reach power. The first a priori analysis was to calculate N for the relationship of the four sources of CEFSE and Confidence with Terms predicting CEFSE. With an alpha = .05, power = 0.80 and effect size of 0.15, we would need N = 95 participants for this relationship.

The second a priori analysis was to calculate N for the relationship of CEFSE predicting the Quantity and Quality of cross-ethnic friendships. With an alpha = .05, power = 0.80 and effect size of 0.15, we would need N = 60 participants for this relationship.

This study included 193 participants. Of those, 19 participants had to be excluded (4 for having previously participated in Study 1, 5 for disregarding instructions, 1 for unsuitable understanding of English, 8 for being mixed race individuals, and 1 for not indicating their race). The sample was mostly female (78.7%), and was comprised of both home and international students. The ages ranged from 18 - 29 years (M_{age} = 19.59, *SD* = 1.52). The sample was undergraduate students from various stages in their degrees (1st year: 56%, 2nd year: 35%, 3rd year: 7%, 4th year or more: 2%), from various degree programmes (see Table 20). Psychology students participated in exchange for class credits given by the Research Participation Scheme (RPS). Because students in other academic departments cannot take part in the RPS program, they instead participated in exchange for £6 cash payment.

In order to understand the ethnic makeup of the sample, participants were asked for their ethnic/racial background. Using the British Social Attitudes Survey for guidance, participants were divided into 4 racial groups. The White British group consisted of White British, White Irish, White Scottish, and White Welsh participants. The White International group consisted of participants who classified themselves as White Other. The Black group

consisted of Black African, Black Caribbean and Black Other participants. The Asian group included those as Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, and Asian Other participants. Mixed race participants were removed from the analysis because they did not fit into the previously defined categories, and did not number enough participants to make a large racial group appropriate for analysis.

Table 20.
Demographic Information on Sample: Study 4

Race Category	White British	White International	Black	Asian
N	47	41	45	41
Gender (% Female)	78.7%	75.6%	86.7%	73.2%
Mean Age	19.57 (*SD*=1.41)	19.98 (*SD*=2.22)	19.36 (*SD*=1.11)	19.49 (*SD*=1.08)
Race Mentioned (% Yes/No)	Yes: 85.1% No: 14.9%	Yes: 73.2% No: 26.8%	Yes: 88.9% No: 11.1%	Yes: 75.6% No: 24.4%
Year of Study	1st: 26 2nd: 17 3rd: 4	1st: 27 2nd: 11 3rd: 2 4th: 1	1st: 23 2nd: 18 3rd: 3 4th: 1	1st: 22 2nd: 15 3rd: 3 4th: 1
Subject Studying	Actuarial Science Anthropology Psychology Criminology Drama Financial Mathematics French History Language and Linguistics Law Literature Philosophy Psychology Sociology	Criminology Cultural Studies Film Financial Economics International Business International Relations Law Literature Politics Psychology Wildlife Conservation	Bioengineering Comparative Literature Computer Science Criminology Cultural Studies and Media Economics Electrical Engineering English Language German Health and Social Care History International Business International Relations Law Politics Psychology Social Policy Social Sciences Sociology	Accounting and Finance Actuarial Science Biomedical Science Criminology Cultural Studies and Media Digital Arts Economics Financial Mathematics Law Literature Mathematics Psychology Social Anthropology
Country of Birth	United Kingdom: 47	United Kingdom: 5 Other: 36	United Kingdom: 29 Other: 16	United Kingdom: 10 Other: 31

Many of the scales had acceptable to good reliability scores (.751 - .886). Regarding Sources of CEFSE, reliability was mixed. Enactive Experiences, Vicarious Experiences and Physiological Cues had poor reliability (.653, .446, .698 respectively). Social Persuasion was a two-item scale so a correlation between their respective items was conducted. The correlation between these items was examined (r =.12, p = .129). CEFSE was reliable (.886). The reliability of outcomes of CEFSE was also mixed, Persistence had poor reliability (.478), and motivation, which was tested using a correlation between the 2 items, was good (r = .75, p < .001).

Table 21.
Reliability Measures

Measure	***Item Example***	***Mean (SD)***	***Measure Reliability***	***Number of Items***	***Response Scales***
Confidence with Racial Terminology	*How hesitant are you when referring to racial group membership?*	2.89 (.704)	.852	4	1 Not (emotion) – 4 Very (emotion)
Cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy scale (CEFSE) (Bagci et al., 2019)	*For me, making new friends from other racial/ethnic groups is easy.*	4.01 (.655)	.886	9	1 Strongly Disagree –5 Strongly Agree
Sources of CEFSE: *Enactive experiences*	*Thinking back to secondary school, I was good at making close friends from racial/ethnic groups other than my own.*	3.78 (.828)	.653	3	1 Strongly Disagree –5 Strongly Agree
Sources of CEFSE: *Vicarious experiences*	*Lots of my friends have close friends who belong to racial/ethnic groups other than their own.*	3.10 (.853)	.446	3	1 Strongly Disagree –5 Strongly Agree

Reliability Measures cont.'

Measure	***Item Example***	***Mean (SD)***	***Measure Reliability***	***Number of Items***	***Response Scales***
Sources of CEFSE: *Social persuasion*	*Our teachers in secondary school would encourage us to be friends with people from other racial/ethnic groups.*	3.69 (.776)	*r* = .115	2	1 Strongly Disagree –5 Strongly Agree
Sources of CEFSE: *Physiological cues*	*If I was starting to form a friendship with someone who belonged to a racial/ethnic group other than my own I would feel nervous.*	4.10 (.767)	.698	3	1 Strongly Disagree – 5 Strongly Agree
CEFSE: Motivation to engage in new CE friendships	*In the future, I would like to make new friends from other racial/ethnic groups as much as I can.*	4.07 (.760)	*r* = .751	2	1 Strongly Disagree – 5 Strongly Agree
Persistence to keep CE friendships	*After university, I plan to keep my existing relationships with my friends from other racial/ethnic groups.*	4.10 (.580)	.478	3	1 Strongly Disagree –5 Strongly Agree
CE Quantity	*How many friends do you have from other racial/ethnic groups?*	2.70 (1.23)		1	Number of friends that they have from same ethnic group (1 = 0-2, 2 = 3-5, 3 = 6-10, 4 = 11-20, 5 = 21+).
CE Quality	*How close do you feel to your friends from other racial/ethnic groups?*	3.64 (1.14)	*r* = .836	2	closeness of contact (1 = not very close, 5 = extremely close)
	How often do you spend time with your friends from other racial/ethnic groups?				frequency of the contact (1 = not very freq., 5 = very freq).

Procedures

The data for this study was collected simultaneously with Study 5. Informed consent was obtained by the participants. Each participant completed questionnaires that tapped into measures outlined below. Their submissions were reviewed to ensure they answered the attention checks correctly and completed the surveys.[2] Upon completion of both tasks, psychology students received class credits given by the Research Participation Scheme (RPS) of the psychology department at the author's institution and students from other academic departments received £6 cash payment for their participation. We obtained ethical approval from the University of Kent to conduct this study. If the participants experienced any distress during the course of the study, they were free to withdraw their participation from it. Additionally, a list of resources was provided on the debriefing sheet for them to seek help or to air any complaints about the study experience or subject matter.

Measures

Measures of CEFSE, sources of CEFSE and outcomes of CEFSE were administered. These measures were identical to those used in Study 3. The Confidence with Terminology measure were also administered. This was identical to the measure used in Study 2. Survey items assessing their gender, age, year in university (undergraduate/postgraduate), academic degree, country of birth, and ethnicity was administered. Means, Standard Deviations, Item Examples, Measure Reliability, Number of Items, and Response Scales for these surveys can be found in Table 21.

[2] To ensure that the students paid attention during the questionnaire, a series of 9 attention checks were used. These attention checks usually appeared after major sections of the survey, most notably asking if the previous section of questions referred to their time before or after starting university, if the questions about social norms applied to family, friends or peers, or if the questions were in context to the same or other racial/ethnic group members. Participants that missed 5 or more attention checks had their data removed and were not paid for their participation.

Results

Main Analyses

Relationship between variables

H1: Confidence with Terminology, sources of CEFSE, CEFSE, and outcomes of CEFSE will all correlate positively with each other.

See Table 22 for correlations between main variables. Many of the variables correlated significantly with the other variables. Only significant correlations will be reported.

Confidence with Terminology correlated positively with Enactive Experiences, r = .31, p < .001, and CE friendship Quantity, r = .19, p = .010.

CEFSE correlated positively with all the sources of CEFSE: Enactive Experiences, r = .48, p < .001, Vicarious Experiences, r = .38, p < .001, Social Persuasion, r = .32, p < .001, and Physiological Cues, r = .60, p < .001. It correlated positively with the expected mediators of CEFSE: Motivation, r = .27, p < .001, and Persistence, r = .38, p < .001. Finally, it also correlated positively with outcomes of CEFSE: Quantity, r = .38, p < .001, and Quality, r = .54, p < .001.

Enactive experiences correlated positively with the other sources of CEFSE: Vicarious Experiences, r = .45, p < .001, Social Persuasion, r = .21, p = .006, physiological cues, r = .28, p < .001, and confidence in terminology (r = .31, p < .001). It correlated positively with the mediators of CEFSE: Motivation, r = .17, p = .023, and Persistence, r = .25, p = .001. Finally, it also correlated positively with outcomes of CEFSE: Quantity, r = .48, p = .034, and Quality, r = .42, p = .001.

Vicarious Experiences correlated positively with the other sources of CEFSE: Social Persuasion, r = .27, p < .001, and Physiological Cues, r = .21, p = .007. It correlated

positively with Persistence to keep CE friendships, r = .22, p = .003, and outcomes of CEFSE: Quantity, r = .34, p < .001, and Quality, r = .31, p < .001.

Social persuasion correlated positively with the mediators of CEFSE: Motivation, *r* = .32, *p* < .001, and Persistence, *r* = .29, *p* < .001, and outcomes of CEFSE: Quantity, *r* = .24, *p* = .001, and Quality of CE friendships, *r* = .20, *p* = .009.

Physiological cues correlated positively with the mediators of CEFSE: Persistence, *r* = .23, *p* = .002, and outcomes of CEFSE: Quantity, *r* = .20, *p* = .007, and Quality, *r* = .38, *p* < .001.

CE Motivation correlated positively with CE Persistence, *r* = .48, *p* < .001, and outcomes of CEFSE: Quantity, *r* = .32, *p* < .001, and Quality of CE friendships, *r* = .31, *p* < .001.

CE Persistence correlated positively with the outcomes of CEFSE: Quantity, *r* = .28, *p* < .001, and Quality, *r* = .42, *p* < .001.

Quantity of CE friendships correlated positively with Quality of CE friendships, *r* = .49, *p* < .001.

Table 22.
Correlation Matrix.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Confidence with Terms		.076	.313**	.077	.038	.066	-.044	.087	.194*	.037
2. CEFSE			.477**	.381**	.316**	.603**	.268**	.384**	.378**	.536**
3. Enactive experiences				.452**	.207**	.281**	.172*	.262**	.477**	.424**
4. Vicarious experiences					.270**	.206**	.079	.223**	.341**	.306**
5. Social persuasion						.132†	.322**	.292**	.239**	.198**
6. Physiological cues							.042	.231**	.204**	.383**
7. CE Motivation								.482**	.320**	.313**
8. CE Persistence									.279**	.418**
9. CE Quantity										.485**
10. CE Quality										

† $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Predictors of confidence in inter-ethnic interactions.

H2: Sources of CEFSE, including confidence in terminology, will significantly predict CEFSE.

Next the analysis examined if sources of CEFSE predict participants' CEFSE score. Enactive Experiences, Vicarious Experiences, Social Persuasion, Physiological Cues and Confidence with Terminology were entered as predictors of CEFSE in a regression. Enactive Experiences was found to be a significant predictor; with $\beta = .270$, $p < .001$. Social Persuasion was also found to be significant; with $\beta = .164$, $p = .004$. Physiological Cues were found to be significant; with $\beta = .487$, $p < .001$. Vicarious Experiences were found to be marginally significant; with $\beta = .119$, $p = .056$. All other predictors (i.e. confidence with terminology) were non-significant. These variables explained 52% of the variance in CEFSE, which was significant, $F(5, 167) = 35.67$, $p <. 001$. This provides partial support for Hypothesis 2 as the expected sources of CEFSE were significant predictors, but not Confidence with Terminology.

Table 23.

Regression analysis of sources of CEFSE and Confidence with Terminology as a predictor of CEFSE

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*P*
Enactive Experiences	.270	4.14	< .001
Vicarious Experiences	.119	1.92	.056
Social Persuasion	.164	2.91	.004
Physiological Cues	.487	8.62	< .001
Confidence with Terms	-.059	-1.05	.297

Note. N = 167. $R^2 = .516$, $p <.001$

H3: CEFSE will significantly and positively predict both Quantity and Quality of the participants' cross-ethnic friendships.

Next the analysis examined if CEFSE predicts the quantity and quality of participants' cross-ethnic friendships. CEFSE was entered as a predictor of Quantity in a regression. CEFSE was a significant predictor of cross-ethnic friendship quantity, with $\beta = .378$, $p < .001$. This variable explained 14% of the variance in Quantity, which was significant, $F(1, 172) = 28.60$, $p <. 001$.

Table 24.

Regression analysis of CEFSE as a predictor of Quantity

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*P*
Quantity	.378	5.35	< .001

Note. N = 172. $R^2 = .143$, $p =<.001$

The analysis we next tested whether CEFSE predicts quality of the participants' cross-ethnic friendships. CEFSE was entered as a predictor of Quality in a regression. The predictor was significant; with $\beta = .536$, $p < .001$. The variable explained 29% of the variance in Quality, which was significant, $F(1, 172) = 69.38$, $p <.001$. As expected, greater CEFSE predicted higher quantity and quality of cross-ethnic friendships.

Table 25.

Regression analysis of CEFSE as a predictor of Quality

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*P*
Quality	.536	8.329	<.001

Note. N = 172. $R^2 = .287$, $p <.001$

Mediations

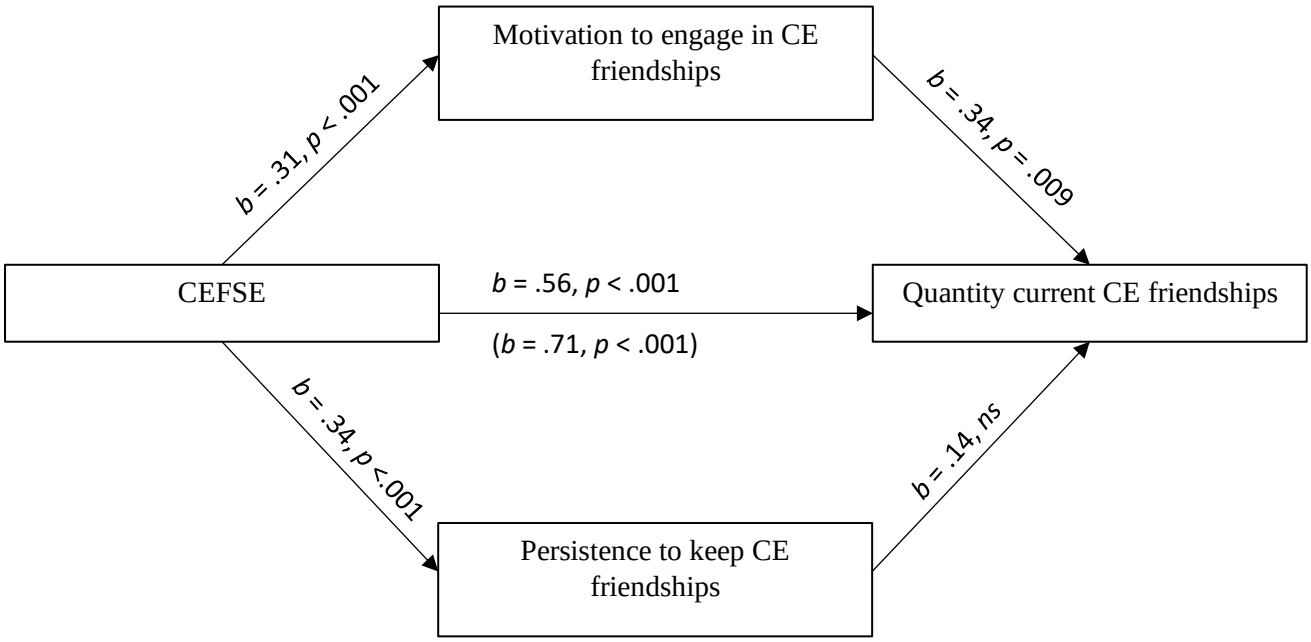
H4: CEFSE will predict participants' Quantity and Quality of cross-ethnic friendships, mediated by their motivation to have and persistence to keep these friendships.

To test Hypothesis 4, a mediation analysis was conducted using Hayes (2018) PROCESS macro (model 4; 5000 bootstraps), with CEFSE as the predictor variable, Motivation to engage in new CE friendships and Persistence to keep CE friendships as mediators, and Quantity and Quality of current CE friendships as outcome variables. The results are diagrammed in Figure 9 (for Quantity) and Figure 10 (for Quality).

The results showed that the relationship between CEFSE and Quantity of CE friendships was mediated by Motivation to engage in new CE friendships [$F(3, 170) = 13.89$, $p = .009$]. The indirect effect of Motivation to engage in new CE friendships on Quantity of CE friendships was statistically significant [Effect = .106, 95% C.I. (.014, .245)]. The relationship between CEFSE and Quantity of CE friendships was not mediated by Persistence to keep CE friendships [$F(3, 170) = 13.89$, $p = .439$]. The indirect effect of Persistence to keep CE friendships on Quantity of CE friendships was not statistically significant [Effect = .046, 95% C.I. (- .084, .175)].

The hypotheses here was partially supported. CEFSE significantly predicted both Motivation and Persistence. When put in a mediation analysis, Motivation (but not Persistence) predicted cross-ethnic friendship Quantity. Thus, higher CEFSE levels predict higher levels of motivation and persistence in CE friendships, but only motivation leads to a larger quantity of CE friendships. This finding differs from the findings of Study 3 and Bagci et al. (2019), which did not have either mediator predicting quantity of CE friendships.

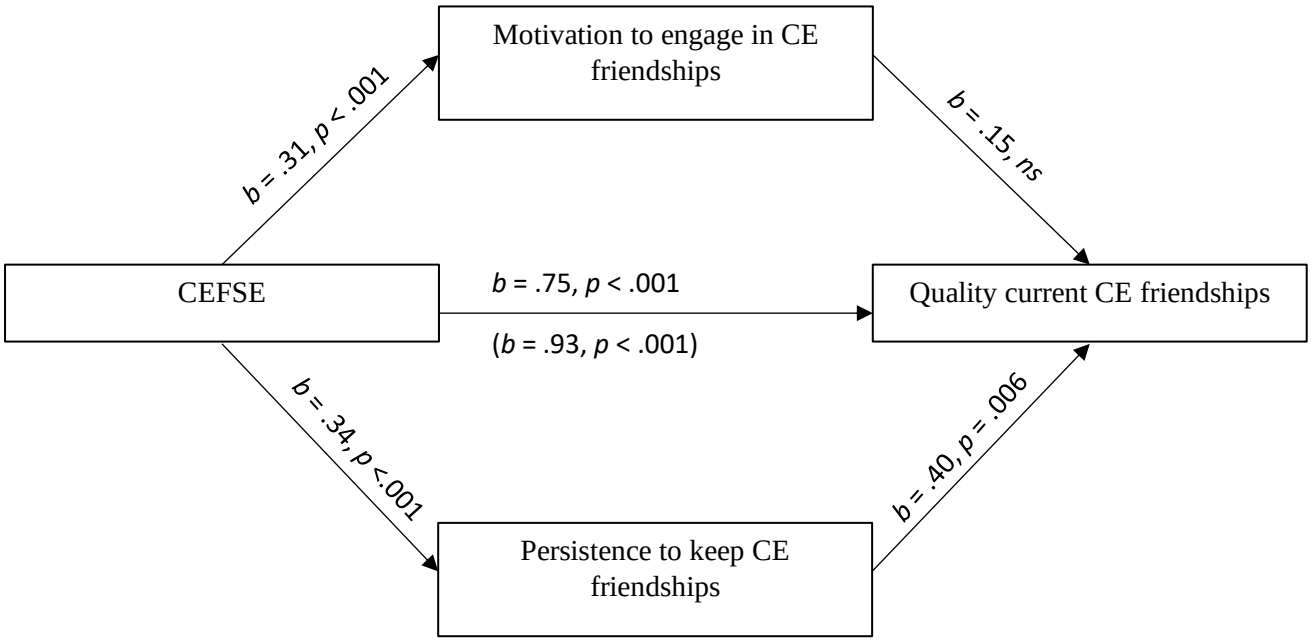
Figure 9. Mediation Model: Quantity



However, the results showed that the relationship between CEFSE and Quality of CE friendships was mediated by Persistence to keep CE friendships [$F(3, 170) = 30.20$, $p = .006$]. The indirect effect of Persistence to keep CE friendships on Quality of CE friendships was statistically significant [Effect = .137, 95% C.I. (.023, .276)]. The relationship between CEFSE and Quality of CE friendships was not mediated by Motivation to engage in new CE friendships [$F(3, 170) = 30.20$, $p = .165$]. The indirect effect of Motivation to engage in new CE friendships on Quality of CE friendships was not statistically significant [Effect = .046, 95% C.I. (- .019, .130)].

The hypothesis here was partially supported. With regards to quality of cross-ethnic friendship, CEFSE again predicted Motivation and Persistence. However, in this case, Persistence (but not Motivation) predicted cross-ethnic friendship Quality. Thus, higher CEFSE levels predict higher levels of Motivation and Persistence in CE friendships, but only Persistence leads to higher Quality of CE friendships.

Figure 10. Mediation Model: Quality



Discussion

The aims of this study are to 1) examine cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy in a racially diverse university student population, 2) determine the relationships between the sources of self-efficacy, cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy scale (CEFSE), and outcomes of CEFSE and 3) explore if Confidence with Terminology fits within this model as an additional source of CEFSE.

Evidence in the Correlation Matrix (Table 22) partially supports the first hypothesis. Most of the sources of CEFSE, CEFSE, and outcomes of CEFSE positively and significantly correlated to one another, much like they did in Study 3. However, in this study, I added the Confidence with Terminology measure to observe how it correlated to the CEFSE-related variables. Confidence with Terminology only correlated significantly and positively with Enactive Experiences and Quantity of cross-ethnic friendship. All other correlations between Confidence with Terminology and other variables related to CEFSE were not significant.

As expected, Enactive Experiences, Social Persuasion and Physiological Cues significantly predicted CEFSE. Vicarious Experiences were a marginally significant predictor of CEFSE. However, Confidence with Terminology was not a significant predictor of CEFSE. CEFSE did significantly and positively predict both Quantity and Quality of cross-ethnic friendships.

The mediation analysis revealed that CEFSE predicted the Quantity of cross-ethnic friendships, mediated by Motivation to engage in new cross-ethnic friendships. This suggests that higher CEFSE levels predict more motivation to initiate and gain cross-ethnic friendships, which would result in a larger quantity of CE friendships. Additionally, it was found that CEFSE predicted the Quality of cross-ethnic friendships, mediated by Persistence to keep cross-ethnic friendships. This suggests that higher CEFSE predicts higher levels of persistence to keep cross-ethnic friendships, which leads to higher quality of those friendships. All other mediations conducted were not significant.

Many of the findings are consistent with Study 3, demonstrating the fit of this model with diverse ethnic backgrounds. As in Study 3, CEFSE predicted Quantity and Quality of cross-ethnic friendships, and the importance of Persistence as a mediator was highlighted, which is also consistent with Bagci et al (2019). It makes sense that current friendship Quality will be predicted by Persistence, rather than Motivation for new cross-group friendships.

One result in this study was not in agreement with Study 3, regarding the mediational relationship between Motivation to engage in new cross-ethnic friendships and the Quantity of cross-ethnic friends. In Study 3, CEFSE did not predict Quantity of cross-ethnic friendships through either Motivation or Persistence. However, in Study 4, it was found that CEFSE did predict Quantity of cross-ethnic friendships through Motivation. This difference could be due to differences in the characteristics of the samples. Study 3 studied only White

British students/recent graduates from all around the UK, whereas Study 4 studied a diverse sample of students from a south-eastern UK university both located near London and which prides itself on its ethnically and internationally diverse student body.

One of the aims of Study 4 was to examine whether Confidence with Terminology is a source of CEFSE. It was predicted that individuals who are more confident in terminology will have more confidence in their ability to form and maintain cross-ethnic friendships. However, Confidence with Terminology was found to not be a source of CEFSE. It was, however, correlated with Enactive Experiences and Quantity of cross-ethnic friendships. This suggests that individuals who were more confident in terminology were more likely to have had more experience with inter-ethnic interactions, and have more cross-ethnic friendships. Perhaps confidence in terminology increases the frequency of positive and successful intergroup interactions. Alternatively, it is possible that when one has more inter-ethnic friendships and experience, this develops one's confidence in using correct terminology. The cross-sectional nature of this study means that it is not possible to test these competing predictions, though I do begin to tease apart the relationship between cross-group friendship self-efficacy and Quantity and Quality of inter-ethnic contact in Study 6 and 7.

It is also possible that this measure of Confidence with Terminology is too limited in scope. It does not consider how comfortable or confident individuals are discussing issues of racial/ethnic inequality, politics surrounding racial terminology, and race in general (Bulmer & Solomos, 2018; Aspinall, 2007; Sigelman et al., 2005). Future research should include measures of confidence with race talk more generally, as opposed to just terminology.

In this study, I used the terms CEFSE and cross-ethnic friendships in reference to friendships with members from another ethnic group. I did not specify who was classified as "a cross-ethnic group member" for each race group, and neither did I assess the participants for what type of persons they were visualizing whilst completing measures on cross-ethnic

group relations. This may have introduced some error into the assessment of CEFSE and Confidence with Terminology, as Confidence With Terminology is more likely problematic for cross-ethnic friendships involving a majority racial/ethnic group member and a minority racial/ethnic group member, than either a majority-majority racial/ethnic group friendship or a minority-minority racial/ethnic group friendship (Tropp & Bianchi, 2007). It is also important to consider the possibility that each racial/ethnic subgroup may, consciously or unconsciously take into consideration a range of positive and negative stereotypes of the other racial/ethnic subgroups, cultural narratives and the power and status placement of their racial/ethnic subgroup within the racial hierarchy when completing measures assessing cross-ethnic group friendships (Bikmen, 2011; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). These interactions were not considered in the scope of this study, but would be an integral objective to assess cross-ethnic friendships along specific intergroup dimensions in future studies.

Further studies should examine the CEFSE model within different ethnic groups and tease apart the different forms of cross-ethnic friendship. Studies should seek to gain an equal (as possible) representation, so that we can compare the experiences of the ethnic majority and minority race members, and if the variables relate the same way they did in the Caucasian sample. It is essential that we understand the distinct experiences of minority students, CEFSE and cross-ethnic friendship. It is likely that they will experience different barriers, anxieties and concerns compared with ethnic majority students (Hewstone & Swart, 2011; Shelton 2003).

Study 5 builds on Study 4 by investigating how CEFSE and Confidence with Terminology (aspects of confidence in interethnic interactions) predict outcomes of strategic colour blindness. Specifically, Study 5 will examine these relationships in a racially/ethnically diverse sample, and conduct an exploratory investigation of the relationships between these variables within different racial/ethnic groups.

STUDY 5:

Confidence in Terminology and CEFSE predicting SCB

Abstract

The purpose of Study 5 was to explore the relationship between Confidence with Terminology, CEFSE, and Strategic Colour Blindness. A diverse sample of UK students (N = 174) completed measures of SCB, Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE. It was hypothesised that the sample will exhibit SCB behaviour, evidenced by a negative correlation between number of questions required, and times race was referenced in the task. It is expected that Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE will predict all three indicators of SCB. Individuals lower in CEFSE and with less Confidence with Terminology will be more likely to exhibit SCB. As expected across the sample, there was evidence to support the presence of Strategic Colour Blindness, as found in Study 1 (i.e. a negative correlation between referring to race and questions required to complete the task). Confidence with Terminology significantly predicted Times Race Mentioned, one of the indicators of SCB. CEFSE only marginally predicted Times Race Mentioned. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were unrelated to both Number of Questions asked and Point When Race was Mentioned in the task. This suggests that Confidence with Terminology does influence willingness to mention race in the task, but not the other indicators of SCB. CEFSE was unrelated to indicators of SCB. In regards to testing the expected relationship between variables within different racial/ethnic groups, early indicators suggest that CEFSE and Confidence with Terminology was a marginally significant predictor of Times Race Mentioned in the White International participant group, and that Confidence with Terminology was a marginally significant predictor of Number of Questions asked in the Black and Asian participant groups. Further directions for research are discussed.

Introduction

In Studies 1 through 4, the concepts of SCB, Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were examined separately. In this study, the relationship between the Confidence with Terminology, CEFSE and SCB outcomes are examined together not only in a university student population, but in a student sample that is racially diverse.

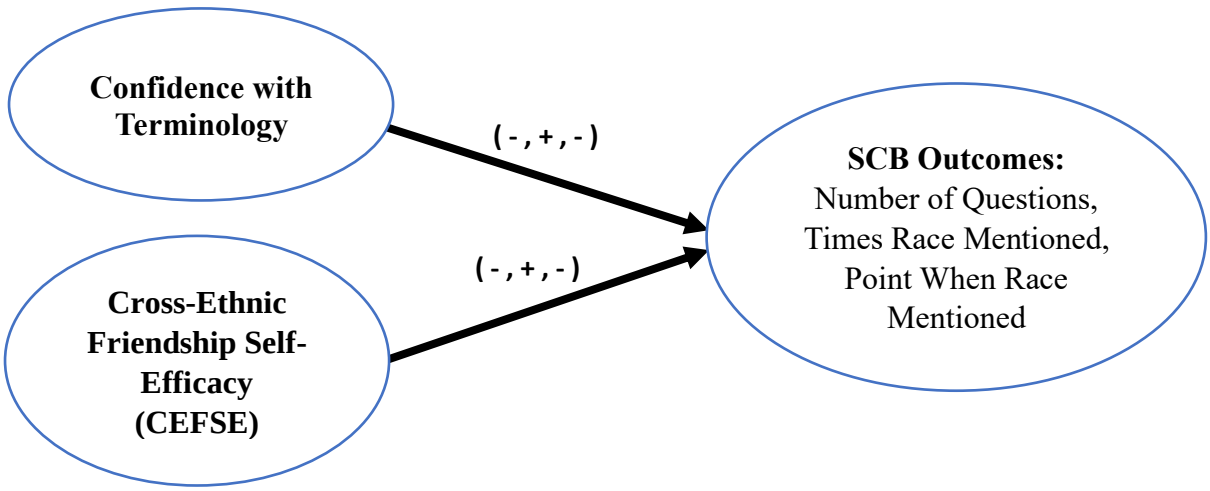
In addition to studying a diverse sample, Study 5 will investigate the relationship between these variables within each individual race group (White British, White International, Black, Asian). This will provide some preliminary insights into how Confidence with Terminology, CEFSE and SCB outcomes may manifest in the larger populations. It is important to study the differences between minority and majority experiences, as different factors may influence how racial/ethnic groups respond to the same stimuli/situation (Aboud & Sankar, 2007; Bagci et al., 2014; Bagci et al., 2019; Bikmen, 2011; Hewstone & Swart, 2011; Kawabata & Crick, 2008; Levin et al., 2003; Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Saenz et al., 2007; Saenz, 2010; Shelton, 2003; Swart et al., 2010; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008; Tropp & Bianchi, 2006; Tropp & Bianchi, 2007; Tropp et al., 2006; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005; Turner & Cameron, 2016). Majority group members may be concerned with appearing racist, either by being misunderstood or believing that the minority group holds negative stereotypes about the majority (Aboud & Sankar, 2007; Bikmen, 2011; Shelton, 2003; Shelton et al., 2010; Tropp & Bianchi, 2007; Tropp et al, 2006; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005; Trawalter et al., 2012; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008; Turner & Cameron, 2016). Minority group members fear discrimination, victimization, and rejection from the majority group or reinforcing the majority group's negative stereotypes about the minority (Bikmen, 2011; Richeson & Shelton 2007; Shelton, 2003; Shelton et al., 2010; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008; Tropp & Bianchi, 2006; Tropp & Bianchi, 2007; Tropp et al., 2006; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005; Turner & Cameron, 2016).

Aims of Study 5

The first aim of this study is to build upon the evidence provided in Study 1. In study 1, there was evidence of Strategic Colour Blindness (SCB) in a UK sample. This study will expand on this finding, and remedy some methodological errors experienced in Study 1. Until this point, I have not been able to examine CEFSE, SCB or other key variables separately among majority and minority groups. In Study 5, the models are tested among four ethnic/racial groups: White British, White International, Black and Asian. This is an exploratory investigation of SCB and its predictors in different ethnic/racial group, with the intention of finding early indicators. In addition, improvements were made to the measure of SCB used in Study 1 by changing one of the target stimuli and by not video recording the SCB task.

The study's second aim is to test what factors may contribute to the exhibition or absence of SCB behaviour. In Study 1, I looked into the influence of interracial interaction, social norms, and confidence with terminology. In this study, I looked more specifically into Confidence with Terminology and cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy (CEFSE).

Figure 11. Predictors of SCB Hypothesized Model



Hypotheses

H1: Participants will exhibit Strategic Colour Blindness (SCB). Number of Questions required in the task and Times Race Mentioned will be negatively correlated, indicating SCB as participants sacrificing task efficiency in order to avoid referring to race (Norton et al., 2006) leading them to ask more questions to complete the task compared with those that refer to race.

H2: Confidence with Terminology will correlate positively with CEFSE.

H3: The predictors (Confidence with Terminology, CEFSE) will correlate as expected with the SCB outcomes: Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE will relate negatively with Number of Questions and Point when Race Mentioned and positively with Times Race Mentioned.

H4: Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE will significantly predict SCB outcomes: Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE will negatively predict Number of Questions and Point when Race Mentioned and positively predict Times Race Mentioned.

H5: The above model will apply to all ethnic/racial groups. I do not have any specific predictions across these race groups, as I am exploring each groups' early indicators of SCB.

Method

Participants

I conducted an a priori power analyses in G*Power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2007; Faul et al., 2009) to determine the number of participants we would need in this study to reach power. With an alpha = .05, power = 0.80 and effect size of 0.15, we would need N = 72 participants to study the overall relationship of Confidence with Terms and CEFSE predicting the outcomes of SCB.

193 participants were tested. Of those, 19 participants had to be excluded (4 for participating in Study 1, 6 for insufficient understanding of the Political Correctness Task, 9

for being of Mixed race or undisclosed race). This resulted in the final participant count being 174 participants. The sample was mostly female (78.7%), and was comprised of both home and international students. The ages ranged from 18 - 29 (M_{age} = 19.59, *SD* = 1.52). The sample was undergraduate students from various stages (*M* = 1.54, *SD* = 0.70; 1st year: 56.3%, 2nd year: 35.1%, 3rd year: 6.9%, Other: 1.7%), and from various departments. Psychology students participated in exchange for class credits given by the Research Participation Scheme (RPS) of the psychology department at the author's institution. Because students in other academic departments cannot take part in the RPS program, they instead participated in exchange for £6 cash payment. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four photo arrangement conditions in the Political Correctness Task portion of the study. More information regarding the demographics of the participants can be seen in Table 26. For the purposes of this study, I compared the performance and attitudes between different racial groups, and tested my predictions in each group, although the sample size means these findings should be treated with some caution. Using the British Social Attitudes Survey for guidance, the White British group consisted of White British, White Irish, White Scottish, and White Welsh participants. Participants that classified themselves as White Other were assigned to the White International group. Participants that classified themselves as Black Caribbean, Black African, or Black Other were assigned to the Black group. Participants that classified themselves as Indian, Pakistani, Chinese and Asian Other were assigned to the Asian group. All other denominations were excluded from this study, as mixed-race participants belonged to multiple racial groups and those with undisclosed races could not be assigned a racial group.

Table 26.
Demographic Information on Sample: Study 5

Race Category	White British	White International	Black	Asian
N	47	41	45	41
Gender (% Female)	78.7%	75.6%	86.7%	73.2%
Mean Age	19.57 (*SD*=1.41)	19.98 (*SD*=2.22)	19.36 (*SD*=1.11)	19.49 (*SD*=1.08)
Race Mentioned (% Yes/No)	Yes: 85.1% No: 14.9%	Yes: 73.2% No: 26.8%	Yes: 88.9% No: 11.1%	Yes: 75.6% No: 24.4%
Year of Study	1st: 26 2nd: 17 3rd: 4	1st: 27 2nd: 11 3rd: 2 4th: 1	1st: 23 2nd: 18 3rd: 3 4th: 1	1st: 22 2nd: 15 3rd: 3 4th: 1
Subject Studying	Actuarial Science Anthropology Psychology Criminology Drama Financial Mathematics French History Language and Linguistics Law Literature Philosophy Psychology Sociology	Criminology Cultural Studies Film Financial Economics International Business International Relations Law Literature Politics Psychology Wildlife Conservation	Bioengineering Comparative Literature Computer Science Criminology Cultural Studies and Media Economics Electrical Engineering English Language German Health and Social Care History International Business International Relations Law Politics Psychology Social Policy Social Sciences Sociology	Accounting and Finance Actuarial Science Biomedical Science Criminology Cultural Studies and Media Digital Arts Economics Financial Mathematics Law Literature Mathematics Psychology Social Anthropology
Country of Birth	United Kingdom: 47	United Kingdom: 5 Other: 36	United Kingdom: 29 Other: 16	United Kingdom: 10 Other: 31

The reliability of the measures in this study was also examined. Means, Standard Deviations, Item Examples, Measure Reliability, and Number of Items for all these surveys can be found in Table 27.

Table 27.
Reliability Measures

Measure	***Item Example***	***Mean (SD)***	***Measure Reliability***	***Number of Items***	***Response Scales***
Confidence with Racial Terminology:	*How hesitant are you when referring to racial group membership?*	2.61 (.704)	.852	4	1 Not (emotion) –4 Very (emotion)
Cross-ethnic friendship self-efficacy scale (CEFSES) (Bagci et al., 2019)	*For me, making new friends from other racial/ethnic groups is easy.*	4.01 (.655)	.886	9	1 Strongly Disagree –5 Strongly Agree

Procedures

Participants were welcomed to the laboratory and asked to take a seat across from the experimenter. Informed consent was obtained from all the participants. Once the consent form was signed, the camera was turned on and the study began. The experiment was completed in two phases: the Political Correctness Task phase and the questionnaire phase. We obtained ethical approval from the University of Kent to conduct this study. If the participants experienced any distress during the course of the study, they were free to withdraw their participation from it. Additionally, a list of resources was provided on the debriefing sheet for them to seek help or to air any complaints about the study experience or subject matter.

Design

Political Correctness Task Phase:

Phase 1 consisted of the Political Correctness Task. The procedures for this task were carried out identically to the procedures used in Study 1, with some minor exceptions made in order to address limitations found with its use in Study 1. For instance, target photo number three was replaced with a similar, but less distinct stimulus (Target photos given upon request). The predetermined photos were arranged to create four conditions for the study. These conditions were Condition 1: Photo 1, 2, 3, 4; Condition 2: Photo 4, 3, 2, 1; Condition 3: Photo 3, 1, 4, 2; and Condition 4: Photo 2, 4, 1, 3. After finishing all four trials, the participants were verbally asked about why the participant did or did not use race to play the game. The task was video recorded, and was turned off before the start of the questionnaire phase.

The dependent variables for this task were 1) the number of (overall) questions it took to identify the target photo, 2) whether or not the participant mentioned race, and 3) if so, when did they mention race i.e. which question. This test is already a well-used measure in Strategic Colour Blindness, so the purpose of it was to compare these results with the survey data collected.

Questionnaire Phase

Once the Political Correctness Task was complete, participants completed the next section of the experiment on Qualtrics via a laptop computer provided by the investigator. The questionnaires used were the Confidence with Terminology scale (version used in Studies 2 and 4, and not interview-style/video-recorded in this study), CEFSE measures (Bagci et al., 2019) and a demographics survey assessing their gender, age, year in university (undergraduate/postgraduate), academic degree, country of birth, and ethnicity. Means,

Standard Deviations, Item Examples, Measure Reliability, Number of Items and Response scales for all these surveys can be found in Table 27.

Measures

Measures of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were administered. The measure of Confidence with Racial Terminology was identical to that used in Study 2 and 4. The measure of CEFSE was identical to that used in Studies 3 and 4 (Bagci et al., 2019).

SCB Outcomes Three measures were used to measure SCB outcomes: Number of Questions, Times Race Mentioned, and Point when Race Mentioned. Number of Questions was a mean score of the number of questions it took to complete each trial, Times Race Mentioned was the number of times out of four that race was mentioned in the task. The criteria for what was considered acknowledging race in this study was very conservative. Only direct references to race such as Black, White, African-American, Caucasian, and other similar terminology were considered acknowledging race. Other references suggesting racial differences (dark-skinned, light-skinned, blue eyes, blonde hair, etc.) were not considered as acknowledging race.

Point when Race Mentioned was a mean score of when the race question was asked each trial, if it was asked. By necessity analysis using this measure included only those people who mentioned race in at least one trial.

Results

Preliminary Analysis

First, the number of questions required to complete each of the tasks was examined, as done in Norton et al., (2006). The mean Number of Questions to complete the task and the average Point when Race Mentioned for each photo are shown in Table 28.

Table 28.
Target Photo Means and SDs

Photo	Mean Number of Questions	*SD*	Point Race Mentioned Mean	*SD*
1	5.10	.745	2.36	1.81
2	5.71	1.04	2.32	1.66
3	6.13	.991	2.29	1.83
4	5.05	1.04	1.74	1.60

Main Analyses

Political Correctness Task

H1: Participants will exhibit Strategic Colour Blindness (SCB). Number of Questions required in the task and Times Race Mentioned will be negatively correlated, indicating SCB as participants sacrifice task efficiency in order to avoid referring to race (Norton et al., 2006) leading them to ask more questions to complete the task compared with those that refer to race.

The total number of questions it took to find the target photo in the Political Correctness Task ranged from 4 to 12, averaging (M = 5.50, SD = 0.57) questions to complete the task. This is similar to the results attained in Study 1 (M = 5.38, SD = 0.73), and to the American sample (M = 6.28, SD = 0.42) used in Norton et al. (2006).

Importantly, the number of questions to complete the task and whether the participant mentioned race or not were significantly negatively correlated, r = -.208, p = .006. According to Apfelbaum, this suggests that those participants that mentioned race tended to ask fewer questions than those participants that did not mention race. This study indicates that there is evidence of SCB in this UK sample, and again this is similar behaviour to what was shown in Study 1, r = -.28, p = .029.

Race was acknowledged consistently by 81% (141) of the participants. Again, this is similar to the results in Study 1 (77%) and the American sample (93%) (Norton et al., 2006).

For those participants that did mention race during the tasks, Point when Race Mentioned did not significantly correlate with Number of Questions asked, $r = -.04$, $p = .600$. Point when race mentioned did, however, correlate significantly and negatively with Times Race Mentioned, $r = .62$, $p < .001$. This suggests that the more times race was mentioned in the task, the earlier the participants asked the race question in the task.

I can therefore conclude that there is evidence of SCB in this UK sample, supporting the hypothesis.

Relationship between variables

H2: Confidence with Terminology will correlate positively with CEFSE.

See Table 29 for correlations between main predictors. Confidence with Terminology does not relate significantly with CEFSE.

H3: The predictors (Confidence with Terminology, CEFSE) will correlate as expected with the SCB outcomes: Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE will relate negatively with Number of Questions and Point when Race Mentioned and positively with Times Race Mentioned.

Again, see Table 29 for correlations between the predictors and the three SCB outcomes. Confidence with Terminology correlated positively with Times Race Mentioned, $r = .21$, $p < .005$. It did not relate significantly with Number of Questions and Point when Race Mentioned. CEFSE did not relate to any of the SCB outcomes.

Table 29.
Correlation Matrix

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Number of Questions		-.208**	-.040	.099	.028
2. Times Race Mentioned			.624**	.210**	-.110
3. Point when Race Mentioned				.136†	-.031
4. Confidence with Terms					.076
5. CEFSE					

† p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01

H4: Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE will significantly predict SCB outcomes: Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE will negatively predict Number of Questions and Point when Race Mentioned and positively predict Times Race Mentioned.

Analyses examined if Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict average Number of Questions required to complete the SCB tasks. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Number of Questions in a regression. All predictors were non-significant. These variables explain 1% of the variance in Number of Questions, which was not significant, $F(2, 171) = 0.95$, $p = .389$. This provides no support for Hypothesis 4 as none of the variables were significant predictors.

Table 30.
Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Number of Questions

Predictor	*B*	*t*	*P*
Confidence with Terms	.101	1.33	.186
CEFSE	-.036	-.467	.641

Note. N = 171. $R^2 = .011$, $p = .389$

The next analysis examined if Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict Times Race Mentioned. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Times Race Mentioned in a regression. Confidence with Terminology was found to be a significant positive predictor of times race mentioned; with $\beta = .220$, $p = .004$. CEFSE was found to be a marginally significant and negative predictor; with $\beta = -.127$, $p = .091$. These variables explained 6% of the variance in Times Race Mentioned, which was significant, $F(2, 171) = 5.48$, $p < .005$. This provides partial support for Hypothesis 4 as one of the expected variables was a significant predictor.

Table 31.

Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Times Race Mentioned

Predictor	*B*	*t*	*p*
Confidence with Terms	.220	2.96	.004
CEFSE	-.127	-1.70	.091

Note. N = 171. $R^2 = .060$, $p = .005$

Next analysis tested if Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict Point When Race Mentioned. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Point When Race Mentioned in a regression. All predictors were non-significant. These variables explained 1% of the variance in CEFSE, which was not significant, $F(2, 138) = 0.60$, $p = .551$. This provides no support for Hypothesis 4 as none of the variables were significant predictors.

Table 32.

Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Point When Race Mentioned

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*p*
Confidence with Terms	-.091	-1.08	.283
CEFSE	.020	0.24	.811

Note. N = 138. R^2 = .009, *p* = .551

H5: The above model will apply to all racial/ethnic groups.

Given the null findings above, and the need to explore findings within the different ethnic and racial groups, the model was tested within these groups separately. As stated earlier in this study, an a priori power analysis determined the number of participants I would need to reach power was N = 72. If I used this original N of 72, and multiplied it by the number of racial/ethnic groups tested (4), we would need N = 288 to properly assess these relationships amongst racial/ethnic groups. Due to the limits of the size of our participant pool, this could not be achieved. Each racial/ethnic group instead achieved about 40-45 participants per group. It should be noted that although these findings should be treated with caution, they did provide early indications of how we could expect the model to fit amongst each of these populations.

White British

The analysis examined whether Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict Number of Questions required to complete the SCB tasks. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Number of Questions in a regression. All predictors were non-significant. These variables explain 16% of the variance in Number of Questions, which was not significant, $F(2, 44) = 1.49$, $p = .236$. This provides no support for Hypothesis 5 as the regression was not significant.

Table 33.

Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Number of Questions in White British participants

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*P*
Confidence with Terms	-.164	-1.13	.267
CEFSE	.193	1.33	.192

Note. N = 44. $R^2 = .164$, $p = .236$

Next analysis tested if Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict Times Race Mentioned. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Times Race Mentioned in a regression. All predictors were non-significant. These variables explained 5% of the variance in Times Race Mentioned, which was not significant, $F(2, 44) = 1.21$, $p =. 307$. This provides no support for Hypothesis 5 as the regression was not significant.

Table 34.

Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Times Race Mentioned in White British participants

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*P*
Confidence with Terms	.224	1.53	.134
CEFSE	-.050	-.338	.737

Note. N = 44. R^2 = .052, *p* = .307

Next, analyses were carried out to explore if Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict Point When Race Mentioned. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Point When Race Mentioned in a regression. All predictors were non-significant. These variables explained 5% of the variance in CEFSE, which was not significant, $F(2, 37) = 0.89$, $p = .421$. This provides no support for Hypothesis 5 as none of the variables were significant predictors.

Table 35.

Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Point When Race Mentioned in White British participants

Predictor	B	*t*	*p*
Confidence with Terms	-.212	-1.317	.196
CEFSE	-.035	-.221	.826

Note. N = 37. R^2 = .046, *p* = .421

White International

First it was tested if Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict Number of Questions. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Number of Questions in a regression. All predictors were non-significant. These variables explain 2% of the variance in Number of Questions, which was not significant, $F(2, 38) = 0.32$, $p = .727$. This provides no support for Hypothesis 5 as none of the expected variables were significant predictors.

Table 36.

Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Number of Questions in White International participants

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*p*
Confidence with Terms	-.054	-.335	.740
CEFSE	-.112	-.694	.492

Note. N = 38. $R^2 = .017$, $p = .727$

The next analysis examined if Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict Times Race Mentioned. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Times Race Mentioned in a regression. CEFSE was found to be a marginally significant predictor; with $\beta = -0.29$, $p = .066$. Confidence with Terminology was found to be a marginally significant predictor; with $\beta = .26$, $p = .101$. These variables explained 13% of the variance in Times Race Mentioned, which was marginally significant, $F(2, 38) = 2.92$, $p = .066$. This provides partial support for Hypothesis 5 as the expected variables were marginally significant predictors.

Table 37.

Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Times Race Mentioned in White International participants

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*p*
Confidence with Terms	.255	1.68	.101
CEFSE	-.287	-1.89	.066

Note. N = 38. R^2 = .133, *p* = .066

I analysed if Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict Point When Race Mentioned. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Point When Race Mentioned in a regression. All predictors were non-significant. These variables explained 2% of the variance in CEFSE, which was not significant, $F(2, 27) = 0.26$, $p = .771$. This provides no support for Hypothesis 5 as none of the variables were significant predictors.

Table 38.

Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Point When Race Mentioned in White International participants

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*P*
Confidence with Terms	-.073	-.382	.706
CEFSE	-.111	-.577	.568

Note. N = 27. R^2 = .019, *p* = .771

Black

This analysis examined if Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict Number of Questions. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Number of Questions in a regression. Confidence with Terminology was found to be a marginally significant predictor; with β = -0.27, p = .079. These variables explain 7% of the variance in Number of Questions, which was not significant, $F(2, 42) = 1.68$, p = .199. This provides partial support for Hypothesis 5 as one of the expected variables (Confidence with Terminology) was a marginally significant predictor.

Table 39.

Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Number of Questions in Black participants

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*P*
Confidence with Terms	-.267	-1.80	.079
CEFSE	-.041	-.275	.785

Note. N = 42. R^2 = .074, p = .199

I analysed if Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict Times Race Mentioned. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Times Race Mentioned in a regression. All predictors were non-significant. These variables explained 6% of the variance in Times Race Mentioned, which was marginally significant, $F(2, 42) = 1.35$, p =. 269. This provides no support for Hypothesis 5 as none of the variables were significant predictors.

Table 40.

Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Times Race Mentioned in Black participants

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*p*
Confidence with Terms	.197	1.32	.195
CEFSE	-.156	-1.04	.305

Note. N = 42. R^2 = .061, *p* = .269

This analysis examined if Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict Point When Race Mentioned. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Point When Race Mentioned in a regression. All predictors were non-significant. These variables explained 5% of the variance in CEFSE, which was not significant, $F(2, 37) = 0.89$, $p = .420$. This provides no support for Hypothesis 5 as none of the variables were significant predictors.

Table 41.

Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Point When Race Mentioned in Black participants

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*p*
Confidence with Terms	-.001	-.006	.995
CEFSE	.214	1.333	.191

Note. N = 37. R^2 = .046, *p* = .420

Asian

I analysed if Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict Number of Questions. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Number of Questions in a regression. Confidence with Terminology was found to be a marginally significant predictor; with β = -0.32, p = .068. All other predictors were non-significant. These variables explain 10% of the variance in Number of Questions, which was not significant, $F(2, 38) = 2.00$, p = .149. This provides partial support for Hypothesis 5 as one of the expected variables (Confidence with Terminology) was a marginally significant predictor.

Table 42.

Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Number of Questions in Asian participants

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*p*
Confidence with Terms	.320	1.88	.068
CEFSE	-.030	-.176	.861

Note. N = 38. R^2 = .095, p = .149

Next it was analysed if Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict Times Race Mentioned. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Times Race Mentioned in a regression. All predictors were non-significant. These variables explained 3% of the variance in Times Race Mentioned, which was marginally significant, $F(2, 38) = 0.50$, p =. 608. This provides no support for Hypothesis 5 as none of the expected variables were significant predictors.

Table 43.

Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Times Race Mentioned in Asian participants

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*P*
Confidence with Terms	.178	1.003	.322
CEFSE	-.077	-.433	.668

Note. N = 38. R^2 = .026, *p* = .608

We analysed if Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predict Point When Race Mentioned. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were entered as predictors of Point When Race Mentioned in a regression. All predictors were non-significant. These variables explained 0% of the variance in CEFSE, which was not significant, $F(2, 28) = 0.39$, $p = .962$. This provides no support for Hypothesis 5 as none of the variables were significant predictors.

Table 44.

Regression analysis of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE as a predictor of Point When Race Mentioned in Asian participants

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*P*
Confidence with Terms	.037	.175	.862
CEFSE	-.057	-.272	.788

Note. N = 28. R^2 = .003, *p* = .962

Discussion

The aims of Study 5 were to 1) build on the results uncovered in Study 1, and 2) determine whether SCB is predicted by Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE and examine this model in different racial or ethnic groups.

As predicted, analysis showed that UK participants showed similar behaviour to the American sample in Norton et al. (2006) and our UK sample in Study 1. As expected, UK participants did exhibit colour blind behaviours on the task, as shown by the negative correlation between the number of questions required, and whether or not race was acknowledged. This suggests those that refer to race less tend to ask more questions and those that refer to race more tend to ask less questions.

Confidence with Terminology was unrelated to CEFSE. This suggests that confidence with terminology is unrelated to confidence in one's ability to form and maintain cross-ethnic friendships, and that these may be two separate research entities entirely.

Across the whole sample, Confidence with Terminology did not correlate with the Number of Questions the participant asked in the task, nor the point at which race was mentioned in the task. However, Confidence with Terminology did positively correlate with Times Race Mentioned, suggesting that the more confident the participant was with racial terminology, the more likely they were to mention race across the tasks. Across the whole sample, CEFSE did not significantly relate to any of the SCB outcomes, suggesting that CEFSE has little to nothing to do with the number of questions participants ask in the Political Correctness Task, how many times they mention race in the task, or when they mention race in the task.

After conducting analyses, only Confidence with Terminology significantly predicted Times Race Mentioned in the Political Correctness Task, suggesting that more confidence with terminology increased the times that race was mentioned in the task. CEFSE only

marginally predicted the Times Race was Mentioned in the task, suggesting it is less important in predicting SCB. Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE were not significant in predicting number of questions asked in the task or when race was mentioned in the task, suggesting these predictors and outcomes to be unrelated to one another. These findings highlight the importance of Confidence with Terminology, and to some extent CEFSE, for SCB behaviours. These findings support previous findings that those more confident with race talk and interracial interaction tend to exhibit less SCB behaviour, which would include mentioning race more often (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Norton et al., 2006).

The overall model of Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE predicting SCB outcomes was also applied to each race group to analyze if it applied to them in the same way as the overall analysis. Although these findings should be treated with caution due to the small sample sizes, analyses revealed that CEFSE and Confidence with Terminology were marginally significant and positive predictors of number of Times Race Mentioned in the White International participants. It suggests that White international participants with higher CEFSE and Confidence with Terminology were more likely to refer to race, and less likely to engage in SCB. This suggests that for them confidence in interethnic interactions and terminology may lead individuals to be more comfortable referring to race in situations when it is relevant (i.e. not engage in SCB).

Analyses also revealed that Confidence in Terminology was a marginally significant predictor of number of questions asked in the Black and Asian participant groups. However, it acted differently in each group. In the Black group, it was a negative predictor. This suggests that the Black participants with more confidence with terminology were likely to ask fewer questions on the task, and thus may be less likely to engage in SCB. Conversely, in the Asian group, Confidence with Terminology was a positive predictor of number of questions

asked. This suggests that the Asian participants with more confidence with terminology were likely to ask more questions on the task, and thus may be more likely to engage in SCB.

Limitations and Steps Forward

Study 5 improved on Study 1 by testing a larger, more diverse sample of students. Study 1 examined SCB in a diverse sample and due to small sample size, it was not possible to examine SCB sufficiently or in each racial/ethnic group separately. By combining the racial/ethnic groups, the data may have melded the views of the two groups together, reducing the effects of the relationships between the independent and dependent variables, and losing their valuable insight in the process.

Study 5 aimed to begin tackling this issue by testing a larger sample of students and splitting up the minority groups during data analysis. Therefore, analysis in Study 5 was able to examine expected relationships between variables within Caucasian, Black and Asian groups separately and search for preliminary indicators of SCB within racial/ethnic groups. This action allowed me to find marginally significant relationships between Confidence with Terminology and Number of Questions asked in our Black and Asian groups, a relationship shared by each of these groups but neither of the White groups. Additionally, it was discovered that the relationships between Confidence with Terminology and Number of Questions asked behaved differently in each minority group; Confidence with Terminology negatively predicted Number of Questions in the Black group and positively in the Asian group. This suggests that the more confidence the participant had with racial terminology, the less questions that were asked in the Political Correctness Task in Black participants, and the more questions that were asked in the Asian group. Although interpretation of these results should be considered with caution, it has shown evidence that factors influence the racial/ethnic groups differently.

Following in line with the changes made between Study 1 and 5, another possible area for improvement was found. In Study 5, I controlled the size of the groups to have fairly equal numbers of White British, White International, Black and Asian race groups. The analyses were able to reveal some interesting initial findings between the four racial/ethnic groups. However, due to the low numbers of participants achieved in the minority groups, I could not split them up by home or international student status, and the sample sizes were too small to form reliable conclusions. To improve upon this issue, it will be necessary to increase the number of participants, especially those in the minority groups, so I can reliably assess the different experiences and attitudes of White British students, White International students, Black British students, Black International students, Asian British students, and Asian International students and form reliable conclusions about their SCB behaviours, and the predictors of this behaviour in these samples.

This study has made considerable improvements over its first iteration in Study 1, and thus had revealed some promising results with this sample. Study 5 found early indicators that the racial/ethnic groups may respond differently to the SCB task, as evidenced by Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE having marginally significant relationships with Times Race Mentioned in the White International participant group, and Confidence with Terminology having a marginally significant relationship with Number of Questions asked in the Task. To further investigate these relationships, I aim to diversify my experimenters and control for the effect of the experimenter's race on participant performance. In this study, the primary researcher differed from the minority racial/ethnic groups in that they, the experimenter, was of Caucasian/White descent. The patterns of behaviour shown by the minority racial/ethnic groups are reasonable because previous studies on SCB suggest that SCB is more likely to be exhibited in cross-ethnic interactions (Norton et al., 2006; Pauker et al., 2015). Therefore, it is vital that future studies on SCB behaviour include experimenters of

Black and of Asian descent to overtly test the SCB model in both our White British and White International groups. These modifications to this study should provide a more thorough understanding of SCB and its antecedents across and within racial/ethnic groups.

As in Study 1, the 'answerer' in the SCB task was the White experimenter. One could argue that this introduced bias as the experimenter would know the hypotheses, however when completing the SCB task the participant had not yet completed the surveys, so the experimenter would not have any expectations about how they would respond on the SCB task. However, the race of the experimenter could have had differing effects depending on the race of the participant. It could be expected that minority groups may show more SCB behaviour when completing this task with a white 'answerer'. Study 5 represents a good start in studying SCB behaviour in different race groups, but future research is needed to examine this phenomenon thoroughly by increasing sample size across the racial/ethnic groups, diversifying the race of our experimenters whilst still controlling for gender.

Studies 6 and 7 builds on the previous studies presented here by extending the study of the relationships between CEFSE, Quantity and Quality of cross-ethnic friendships, and Social Norms into the context of British-international student friendships. I have touched on this concept a bit in Study 5, when I examined the attitudes and experiences of White British (home) students and White International students separately, acknowledging that although these groups share the same racial/ethnic group, they may differ in their attitudes and experiences based on their status as a home or international student. Studies 6 and 7 will expand its view to examine British-international friendships, rather than specific racial/ethnic groups. Crucially, Studies 6 and 7 will also examine the bidirectional relationship between self-efficacy, cross group friendship Quantity and Quality and Social Norms by assessing these relationships longitudinally, building on the cross-sectional studies examining CEFSE to date.

STUDY 6:

Cross-sectional analysis of the relationship between Contact Self-Efficacy, Norms for cross-group interaction and Quality and Quantity of cross-group friendships in the context of British-international cross-group friendships among White British students

Abstract

Study 6 and Study 7 examine CGF self-efficacy in the context of British-international student friendships, thus extending previous research by testing the role of self-efficacy for cross-group friendships in a different context. Study 6 is the first part of a two-part, longitudinal study exploring the relationship between Quantity and Quality of international friendships, perceived British social norms for cross-group interaction with international students, and CGF self-efficacy for British-international student friendships. I studied these relationships in White British students. Study 7 provides a longitudinal analysis of the relationship between the key variables allowing me to examine the direction of the relationship between confidence in inter-ethnic relations and contact. Study 6 provides a cross-sectional snapshot of the relationship between these variables at Time 1 of data collection. Study 6 and 7 build on previous studies on Interracial Interaction, Social Norms for discussing race, and CEFSE by measuring the relationship of these variables with one another over time, and with a larger sample of students from two UK universities. Furthermore, a different measure of self-efficacy (Stathi et al., 2011) is used. In Study 6, the sample includes 209 UK university students. It is hypothesised that Quantity and Quality of friendships with international students, British Social Norms for interactions with international students, and CGF self-efficacy will all significantly and positively correlate with one another. It is also predicted that CGF self-efficacy will significantly and positively predict Quantity and Quality of friendships with international students and British Social Norms. As expected, all the variables correlated significantly and positively with one another, and CGF self-efficacy positively predicted Quantity and Quality of international friendships and British social norms. This suggests that the more self-efficacy the participants has in cross-group friendships, they are more likely to have more and better-quality friendships with international students, and more positive social norms towards international students.

Introduction

Since Study 3, this thesis has been investigating friendship self-efficacy (specifically CEFSE) and its relationships to various other variables (Study 3: sources of CEFSE, outcomes of CEFSE; Study 4 and 5: Confidence with Racial Terminology). These relationships have been studied both in White British only samples (Study 3) and in diverse samples (Studies 4 and 5). The purpose of this study (Study 6) and Study 7 will be to study the relationship between CGF self-efficacy, Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships, and British social norms cross-sectionally (Study 6) and longitudinally (Study 7) within a White British first-year university student sample from two UK universities.

Many researchers have either called for or have studied the relationship between intergroup contact, social norms and cross-group friendships longitudinally (Davies & Aron, 2016; Pettigrew 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Schofield et al., 2010; Swart et al., 2011; Titzmann et al., 2015; Turner & Cameron 2016; Turner & Feddes 2011).

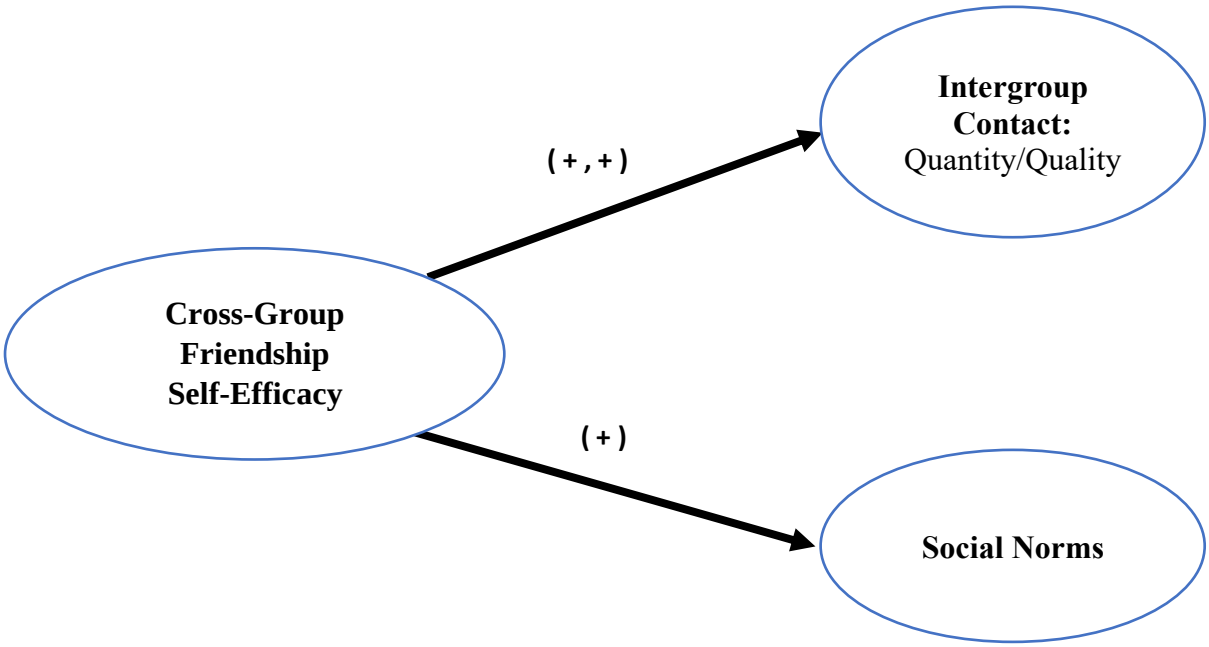
In studying these concepts longitudinally, it allows us to test the bidirectional nature of CGF self-efficacy, contact and social norms. Previous research suggests a cyclical relationship with one another (Bagci et al., 2019; Bandura, 1977; Davies et al., 2011; Kawabata & Crick 2011; MacInnis & Page-Gould, 2015; Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Davis, Purdie & Pietrzak, 2002; Swart et al., 2011; Turner & Cameron, 2016; Vezzali, Turner, Capozza & Trifiletti, 2018). An example of this is that people with more CGF self-efficacy may have more high quality and quantity of cross-group friends. More contact and positive experiences with these cross-group friends will then strengthen that individual's cross-group friendship self-efficacy and thus, the cycle repeats. Indeed, this is what is proposed by Turner and Cameron (2016) in their model of confidence in contact. There they predict that confidence in contact will predict positive inter-group interactions, and that these will further improve confidence in contact through a feedback effect. This makes sense as belief in one's

ability to form cross-group friendships and have positive and successful interaction across different groups, is likely to improve as a result of positive experiences of contact. In fact, this has been shown in this thesis in Study 3 and 4, where Enactive Experience was found to be a significant predictor of CEFSE, a proxy for confidence in contact.

Another change I am applying in this study is to examine the cross-group friendships between British and international students, rather than focusing specifically on cross-ethnic friendships. It is important to study cross-group friendships in different intergroup contexts, as cross-national friendships with wide differences in cultural practices, attitudes, language and experiences are just as important as cross-ethnic friendships, which may be more likely to share some cultural practices as many of these later friendships may occur in the same country. It is important to understand the predictors of high quantity and quality cross-group friendships in this context, and if these predictors coordinate with the predictors of quantity and quality of cross-ethnic friendships. This change in scope adds to my thesis as well, as it makes the cross-group friendship self-efficacy model and its findings more generalisable to a larger audience.

Therefore, in this study, I intend to study the following model hypothesized in Figure 12. I expect CGF self-efficacy to predict the Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships and British social norms. As Study 6 is just looking at this model cross-sectionally, whether the Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships and Social Norms also predict CGF self-efficacy will not be examined until Study 7.

Figure 12. Cross-Sectional Hypothesized Model



Hypotheses

H1: Quantity of international friends, Quality of international friendships, British Social Norms for British-international student relations and British CGF self-efficacy will all correlate significantly with each another: CGF self-efficacy will correlate positively with Quantity and Quality of international friendships and with British Social Norms.

H2: CGF self-efficacy will significantly and positively predict friendship Quantity, Quality and Social Norms.

Method

Participants

340 participants were tested and their characteristics are reported in Table 45. International students and minority students were removed from further analysis. The following analysis will therefore only report on the attitudes and characteristics of White British students (N = 209).

Once the analysis was reduced down to focus on White British students, 38.8% (81) of the students were from the University of Kent, whilst 61.2% (128) were from the University of East Anglia. The mean age was 19.33 years (*SD* = 3.45) and 83.7% female. 84.2% of the students had both parents born in the UK. 96.2% did not have dual nationalities. When asked their political leanings, 47.9% expressed liberal political leanings, 39.4% moderate political leanings, 12.5% conservative political leanings and 0.5% indicated no political leanings. When asked which political party they support in the UK, 36.4% supported Labour, 18.7% supported Conservative, 10% supported Green, 0.5 supported UKIP, 6.7% supported Liberal Democrats, 4.8% supported other parties, and 23% expressed no support for any political party.

Table 45.
Demographic Information on Sample: Study 6

	British		International	
N	287		53	
University	Kent: 137 East Anglia: 150		Kent: 34 East Anglia: 19	
Age	19.17 (*SD*=3.06)		18.90 (*SD*=1.36)	
Gender (% Female)	83.3%		77.4%	
British Citizenship	Yes: 285 No: 1 Missing: 1		Yes: 1 No: 52	
Dual Nationalities	Colombia France Germany Hungary Indian Irish Jamaica Kurdistan	Malaysia Nepal Netherlands Philippines Poland Portugal Trinidad & Tobago Turkey	Canada Hong Kong Romanian USA UK	
Both UK Parents	Yes: 197 No: 87 Missing: 3		No: 53	
Languages	Albanian Arabic Cantonese Chinese Croatian French German Hindi Hungarian Italian Japanese	Mauritian Creole Nepalese Portuguese Punjabi Russian Serbian Sign Language Spanish Tagalog Turkish Urdu	Arabic Bulgarian Cantonese Creole Finnish French German Greek Italian Lithuanian Malay	Mandarin Norwegian Polish Portuguese Romanian Russian Spanish Swahili Swedish Tamil Turkish
Ethnicity	Black: 21 East Asian: 1 Latin/South American: 4 South Asian: 11 White: 209 Other: 28 Missing: 13		Arabic groups: 4 Black: 3 East Asian: 4 Latin/South American: 1 Pacific Islander: 1 White: 31 Other: 6 Missing: 3	

Descriptive Statistics Cont.'

	British	International
Uni Hall Residence	Yes: 235 No: 51 Missing: 1	Yes: 42 No: 11
Live with International Students	Yes: 62 No: 41 Missing: 184	
Political Stance (Liberal- Conservative)	Liberal: 134 Moderate:117 Conservative: 33 Missing: 3	Liberal: 30 Moderate: 18 Conservative: 5
UK Political Party	Labour: 116 Conservative: 48 Green: 23 UKIP: 1 LibDem: 18 Other: 12 Missing: 69	Labour: 8 Conservative: 4 Green: 8 LibDem: 5 Other: 7 Missing: 21

The reliability of the measures in this study was also examined. Means, Standard Deviations, Item Examples, Measure Reliability, and Number of Items for all these surveys can be found in Table 47. The scales had acceptable to good reliability scores (.738 - .895).

Table 46.
Time 1 Reliability Measures

Measure	***Item Example***	***Mean (SD)***	***Measure Reliability***	***Number of Items***	***Response Scales***
Intergroup Contact - Quantity of Contact (adapted Voci & Hewstone, 2003)	*In everyday life, how often do you encounter foreign students?*	4.87 (1.45)	.881	4	1 None– 7 A lot
Intergroup Contact - Quality of Contact (adapted Voci & Hewstone, 2003)	*Please describe your experience of contact with foreign students by marking a point between each of the following pairs of adjectives:*	3.04 (.933)	.738	5	1– 7 superficial to deep natural to forced unpleasant to pleasant competitive to cooperative intimate to distant experience with opposite group
Social Norms – Capozza et al. (2013)	*In general, how friendly are British people to foreign students?*	5.35 (.978)	.895	6	1 Not friendly at all Not at all– 7 Very friendly Very much
Contact Self-Efficacy – (Stathi, Crisp & Hogg, 2011)	*I would feel confident talking to foreign students*	5.02 (1.05)	.810	6	1 Strongly Disagree – 7 Strongly Agree

Procedures

Data for Time 1 was collected via paper surveys distributed to first-year undergraduate lecture class in October 2016. Informed consent was obtained from the participants. We obtained ethical approval from the University of Kent to conduct this study. If the participants experienced any distress during the course of the study, they were free to withdraw their participation from it. Additionally, a list of resources was provided on the

debriefing sheet for them to seek help or to air any complaints about the study experience or subject matter.

Measures

Quantity of Contact Quantity of Contact was measured with the 'Intergroup Contact -Quantity of Contact' scale adapted by Voci and Hewstone (2003). This 4-item measure assesses how much contact British participants have had with international students, and the quantity of international friendships that were held by the British participants. Examples of questions on this measure include 'In everyday life, how often do you encounter foreign students' and 'How many foreign students do you know'. Responses were on a 7-point scale (1 = None – 7 = A lot; α= .881). A mean score was computed, in which higher scores mean more contact with international students, and more international friends.

Quality of Contact Quantity of Contact was measured with the 'Intergroup Contact - Quality of Contact' scale adapted by Voci and Hewstone (2003). This 5-item measure assesses the Quality of international friendships that were held by our British participants. Examples of questions on this measure include "Please describe your experience of contact with foreign students by marking a point between each of the following pairs of adjectives:" 'Superficial to Deep'(reverse coded), 'Natural to Forced' 'Unpleasant to Pleasant'(reverse coded), 'Competitive to Cooperative'(reverse coded), and 'Intimate to Distant' (See Appendix J, Quality of Contact, for an example). Responses were on a 7-point scale (α= .738). A mean score was computed, in which higher scores mean more positive friendship quality.

Social Norms Social Norms was measured with 'Norms – Ingroup Norms' scale by Capozza et al. (2013). This 6-item measure assesses the social norms that were held by our British participants. Examples of questions on this measure include 'In general, how friendly are British people to foreign students' and 'How friendly do you think your British friends

are to foreign students'. Responses were on a 6-point scale (1 = Not friendly at all/Not at all/Not happy at all – 7 = Very friendly/Very much/Very happy; α= .895). A mean score was computed, in which higher scores mean more positive social norms held by British participants.

Contact Self-Efficacy Contact Self-Efficacy was measured with the 'Contact Self-Efficacy' scale by Stathi et al. (2011). This 6-item measure assesses the amount of contact self-efficacy regarding contact with international students. Examples of questions on this measure include 'I would feel confident talking to foreign students' and 'I would be worried that I might not handle myself well in social gatherings with foreign students' (reverse coded). Responses were on a 6-point scale (1 = Strongly Disagree – 7 = Strongly Agree; α= .810). A mean score was computed, in which higher scores mean more contact self-efficacy.

Results

Main Analyses

H1: Quantity of international friends, Quality of international friendships, British Social Norms and CGF self-efficacy will all correlate significantly with each another: CGF self-efficacy will correlate positively with Quantity and Quality of international friendships and British Social Norms.

All variables were significantly correlated with one another. CGF self-efficacy correlated positively with Quantity of friendships with international students, $r = .38$, $p < .001$, negatively with Quality of friendships with international students, $r = -.49$, $p < .001$, and positively with Social Norms, $r = .51$, $p < .001$.

Table 47.
Time 1 Correlation Matrix

	1	2	3	4
1. International friends Quantity		.439**	.239 **	.384**
2. International friends Quality			.425 **	.489**
3. Social Norms				.506**
4. CGF self-efficacy				

† p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01

H2: CGF self-efficacy will significantly and positively predict Friendship Quantity, Quality and Social Norms.

It was first examined if CGF self-efficacy predicts the Quantity of friendships with international students. CGF self-efficacy was entered as predictor of Quantity of friendships with international students in a regression. CGF self-efficacy was found to be a significant positive predictor; with $\beta = .384$, $p < .001$. CGF self-efficacy explained 15% of the variance in Quantity of friendships, which was significant, $F(1, 205) = 35.37$, $p <. 001$. Therefore, it can be concluded that CGF self-efficacy has a significant relationship with Quantity of international friendships.

Table 48.
Regression analysis of Time 1 CGF self-efficacy as predictor of Time 1 International friends Quantity

Predictor	*B*	*t*	*p*
CGF self-efficacy	.384	5.95	< .001

Note. N = 205. $R^2 = .147$, $p < .001$

Time 1 CGF self-efficacy was entered as predictor of Time 1 Quality of friendships with international students in a regression. CGF self-efficacy was found to be significant; with $\beta = .489$, $p < .001$. CGF self-efficacy explained 24% of the variance in Quality of friendships, which was significant, $F(1, 204) = 64.16$, $p <. 001$. Therefore, it can be concluded that CGF self-efficacy has a significant relationship with Quality of international friendships.

Table 49.

Regression analysis of Time 1 CGF self-efficacy as predictor of Time 1 International friends Quality

Predictor	*B*	*t*	*p*
CGF self-efficacy	.489	8.01	< .001

Note. N = 204. $R^2 = .239$, $p < .001$

Time 1 CGF self-efficacy was entered as predictor of Time 1 Social Norms in a regression. CGF self-efficacy was found to be significant; with $\beta = .506$, $p < .001$. CGF self-efficacy explained 26% of the variance in Social Norms, which was significant, $F(1, 205) = 70.46$, $p <. 001$. Therefore, we can conclude that CGF self-efficacy has a significant influence on Social Norms.

Table 50.

Regression analysis of Time 1 CGF self-efficacy as predictor of Time 1 Social Norms

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*p*
CGF self-efficacy	.506	8.39	< .001

Note. N = 202. $R^2 = .256$, $p < .001$

Discussion

The aim of this study was to determine the relationships between the Quantity and Quality of friendships, Social Norms and CGF self-efficacy at one time point. It was found that CGF self-efficacy correlated significantly and positively with Quantity of international friendships, Quality of international friendships and British Social Norms. As follows, CGF self-efficacy positively and significantly predicted Quantity, Quality and Social Norms.

CGF self-efficacy positively predicting Quantity and Quality of international friendships is a pattern repeated both in previous research literature on CEFSE (Bagci et al., 2019) and in my own studies (Study 3 and 4). This pattern has been consistent across different contexts: in cross-ethnic friendships [with racially diverse adolescents in Bagci et al. (2019), White British university students in Study 3, and racially diverse university students in Study 4] and cross-nationally (with White British university students and their friendships with international students in Study 6). In regards to Social Norms, all the previous studies [Bagci et al. (2019); my studies 3 and 4] assessed the relationship of Social Norms [Social Persuasion in Bagci et al. (2019), Studies 3 and 4] predicting cross-group friendship self-efficacy. This study has provided evidence that CGF self-efficacy can also predict Social Norms, suggesting a possible cyclical relationship between these two variables.

Study 7 will investigate these relationships further, and determine if these factors influence each other bidirectionally. To test this, I need to continue this study longitudinally. By testing these factors longitudinally, I shall be more able to determine the direction of the relationships between CGF self-efficacy, Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships, and Social Norms (either CGF self-efficacy to the other factors, the other factors to CGF self-efficacy, or both directions.

STUDY 7:

Longitudinal analysis of the relationship between Contact Self-Efficacy, Norms for cross-group interaction and Quality and Quantity of cross-group friendships in the context of British-international cross-group friendships among White British students

Abstract

Study 7 is the second part of a two-part, longitudinal study exploring the relationship between Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships, Social Norms for cross-group interactions, and CGF self-efficacy among British students, and in the context of British-international student friendships. Study 7 extends Study 6 by examining the longitudinal relationship between these variables. A sample of UK university students (N = 120) completed measures of CGF self-efficacy, cross-group friendship Quantity and Quality, and social norms for cross-group interaction four months after I tested participants at Time 1. It is hypothesised that Quantity and Quality of friendships with international students, Social Norms for intergroup interactions, and CGF self-efficacy for friendships with international students will all significantly correlate with one another. I also predict that CGF self-efficacy will significantly and positively predict the Quantity and Quality of friendships with international students and perceived British Social Norms for intergroup interactions. I used cross-lagged panel analysis to test the bidirectional nature of the relationship between the variables across Time 1 and Time 2. Based on the confidence in contact model, we also expect that Time 1 CGF self-efficacy will predict Time 2 Quantity and Quality of international friendships and Social Norms. As expected, all the variables correlated significantly with one another, and CGF self-efficacy positively predicted Quantity and Quality of international friendships and British Social Norms. This suggests that the more self-efficacy the participant has in cross-group friendships, the more likely they are to have more, higher quality friendships with international students and more positive social norms towards international students. Time 1 CGF self-efficacy significantly predicted Time 2 Quality of international friendships. Time 1 British Social Norms significantly predicted Time 2 Quantity and Quality of international friendships at Time 2. This suggests that more CGF self-efficacy at Time 1 results in better Quality friendships at Time 2. Also, it suggests

that more positive social norms the participant has at Time 1 results in more, higher quality friendships at Time 2. The reverse of these statements, that Time 1 friendship Quantity and Quality and Social Norms predicts Time 2 CEFSE was not found, thus suggesting I did not find a bidirectional relationship within this data.

Introduction

This study is a continuation of the research started in Study 6. The aim of this study is to study the relationship between Quantity and Quality of friendships, social norms and CGF self-efficacy at the second time-point cross-sectionally, then compare the relationship between the variables longitudinally over Time 1 and Time 2.

Hypotheses

H1: The cross-sectional relationship between variables will behave in a similar manner to that seen in Time 1. All of the variables will correlate positively and significantly with each other. CGF self-efficacy will significantly and positively predict Friendship Quantity, Quality and Social Norms.

H2: Time 1 CGF self-efficacy will significantly and positively predict Time 2 Friendship Quantity, Quality and Social Norms.

Method

Participants

The same set of first year students at both the University of Kent and the University of East Anglia were tested as at Time 1. The data were compiled and matched across the two timepoints. Once this was completed, 157 participants were left whom have completed both Time 1 and Time 2 surveys. Characteristics of this group of students appears in Table 51. In line with Study 6, international students and minority students represented in the sample were removed from further analysis. After making these adjustments, the percentage of respondents that did not join the second wave of the study was 43%. The following analysis will therefore only report on the attitudes and characteristics of White British students (N = 120).

Once I focused on White British student data, 58.3% (70) of the students were from the University of Kent, whilst 41.7% (50) were from the University of East Anglia. The mean

age was 18.97 years (*SD* = 1.51) and 85% female. 93.4% did not have dual nationalities. When asked their political leanings, 45% expressed liberal political leanings, 29.2% moderate political leanings, 23.4% conservative political leanings and 2.5% indicated no political leanings. When asked which political party they support in the UK, 35% supported Labour, 25.8% supported Conservative, 14.2% supported Green, 7.5% supported Liberal Democrats, 7.5% supported other parties, and 10% expressed no support for any political party.

Table 51.
Demographic Information on Sample: Study 7

	British	
N	157	
University	Kent: 102 East Anglia: 55	
Age	18.92 (*SD*=1.33)	
Gender (% Female)	86.0%	
British Citizenship	Yes: 157	
Ethnicity	Black: 10 East Asian: 2 Latin/South American: 1 South Asian: 10	White: 120 Other: 13 Missing: 1
Both UK Parents	Yes: 71 No: 31 Missing: 55	
Uni Hall Residence	Yes: 129 No: 28	
Live with International Students	Yes: 60 No: 20 Missing: 77	
Political Stance (Liberal- Conservative)	Liberal: 70 Moderate:53 Conservative:31 Missing: 3	
UK Political Party	Labour: 66 Conservative: 34 Green: 19	LibDem: 9 Other: 14 Missing: 15

The reliability of the measures in this study was examined. Means, Standard Deviations, Item Examples, Measure Reliability, Number of Items and Response scales for all these surveys can be found in Table 52. Many of the scales had acceptable to good reliability scores (.766 - .917).

Table 52.
Time 2 Reliability Measures

Measure	***Item Example***	***Mean (SD)***	***Measure Reliability***	***Number of Items***	***Response Scales***
Intergroup Contact - Quantity of Contact (adapted Voci & Hewstone, 2003)	*In everyday life, how often do you encounter foreign students?*	4.83 (1.46)	.917	4	1 None– 7 A lot
Intergroup Contact - Quality of Contact (adapted Voci & Hewstone, 2003)	*Please describe your experience of contact with foreign students by marking a point between each of the following pairs of adjectives:*	2.86 (.904)	.766	5	1– 7 superficial to deep natural to forced unpleasant to pleasant competitive to cooperative intimate to distant experience with opposite group
Social Norms – Capozza et al. (2013)	*In general, how friendly are British people to foreign students?*	5.52 (.879)	.890	6	1 Not friendly at all Not at all– 7 Very friendly Very much
Contact Self-Efficacy – (Stathi, Crisp & Hogg, 2011)	*I would feel confident talking to foreign students*	5.21 (.983)	.825	6	1 Strongly Disagree – 7 Strongly Agree

Procedures

Data for Time 2 was collected via surveys on Qualtrics and distributed to the same first-year undergraduate lecture class tested at Time 1. Time 2 data was collected in February 2017. Informed consent was obtained from the participants. Surveys consisted of measures to be completed by both British and International students, some to be completed by British students, and some to be completed by international students. Instructions in the survey guided students on which surveys to complete based on their status as a home or an international student. We obtained ethical approval from the University of Kent to conduct this study. If the participants experienced any distress during the course of the study, they were free to withdraw their participation from it. Additionally, a list of resources was provided on the debriefing sheet for them to seek help or to air any complaints about the study experience or subject matter.

Measures

Measures of Quantity and Quality of friendships with international students, Social Norms, and Contact Self-Efficacy were administered. These measures were identical to those used in Study 6.

Results

Main Analyses

Relationship between variables

H1: The Time 2 cross-sectional relationship between variables will behave in a similar manner to that seen in Time 1. All of the variables will correlate positively and significantly with each other. CGF self-efficacy will significantly and positively predict Friendship Quantity, Quality and Social Norms.

The data was first examined cross-sectionally at Time 2, to ensure that each time-point acted the same as the Time 1 cross-section. All variables at Time 2 were significantly

correlated with one another. CGF self-efficacy correlated positively with Quantity of friendships with international students, $r = .35$, $p < .001$, Quality of friendships with international students, $r = .44$, $p < .001$, and positively with Social Norms, $r = .38$, $p < .001$. This pattern was also found in the Time 1 cross-section.

Table 53.
Time 2 Correlation Matrix

	1	2	3	4
1. International friends Quantity		.440**	.294**	.349**
2. International friends Quality			.498**	.444**
3. Social Norms				.383**
4. CGF self-efficacy				

† $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Time 2 CGF self-efficacy was entered as predictor of Time 2 Quantity of friendships with international students in a regression. CGF self-efficacy was found to be significant, with $\beta = .349$, $p < .001$. CGF self-efficacy explained 12% of the variance in quantity of friendships, which was significant, $F(1, 118) = 16.37$, $p < .001$. Therefore, it can be concluded that CGF self-efficacy was a significant predictor of quantity of international friendships. This pattern was also found in the Time 1 cross-section.

Table 54.

Regression analysis of Time 2 CGF self-efficacy as predictor of Time 2 International friends Quantity

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*p*
CGF self-efficacy	.349	4.05	< .001

Note. N = 118. R^2 = .122, $p < .001$

Time 2 CGF self-efficacy was found to be a significant predictor of Time 2 CGF Quality; with β = .444, $p < .001$. CGF self-efficacy explained 20% of the variance in Quality of friendships, which was significant, $F(1, 118) = 28.91$, $p < .001$. Therefore, it can be concluded that CGF self-efficacy has a significant influence on Quality of international friendships. This pattern was also found in the Time 1 cross-section.

Table 55.

Regression analysis of Time 2 CGF self-efficacy as predictor of Time 2 International friends Quality

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*p*
CGF self-efficacy	.444	5.38	< .001

Note. N = 118. R^2 = .197, $p < .001$

Time 2 CGF self-efficacy was also found to be a significant and positive predictor of Time 2 Social Norms for inter-group interaction; with β = .383, $p < .001$. CGF self-efficacy explained 15% of the variance in Social Norms, which was significant, $F(1, 118) = 20.31$, $p < .001$. Therefore, it can be concluded that CGF self-efficacy is an important predictor of cross-group friendships. This pattern was also found in the Time 1 cross-section.

Table 56.

Regression analysis of Time 2 CGF self-efficacy as predictor of Time 2 social norms

Predictor	*β*	*t*	*P*
CGF self-efficacy	.383	4.51	< .001

Note. N = 118. R^2 = .147, $p < .001$

Cross-Lagged Effects

H2: Time 1 CGF self-efficacy will significantly and positively predict Time 2 Friendship Quantity, Quality and Social Norms.

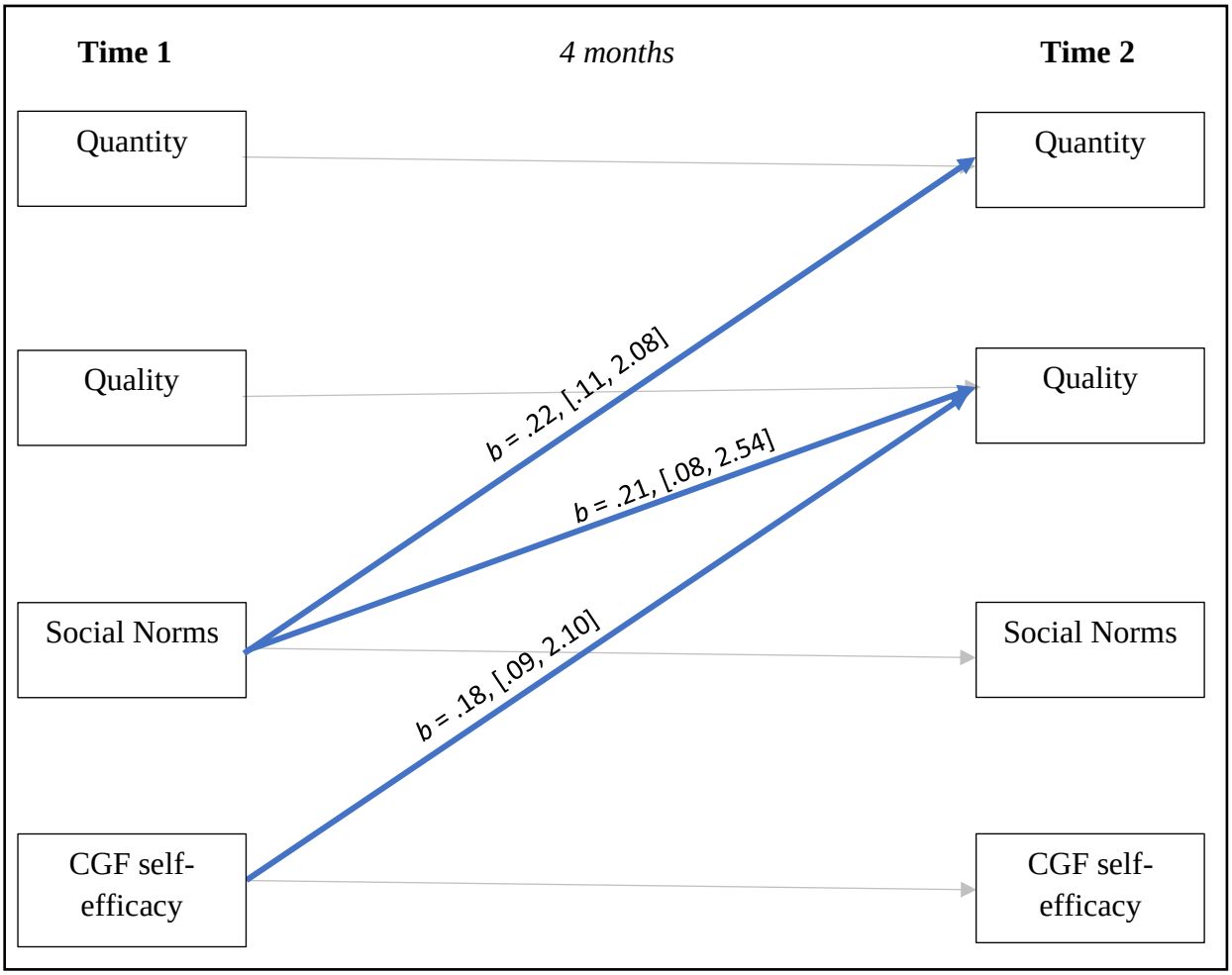
After ensuring that both Time 1 and Time 2 cross-sections behaved similarly to one another, I moved forward with studying the data longitudinally. Cross-lagged panel analyses were conducted using multiple regression analysis to test my longitudinal model and establish the direction of the observed effects: whether CGF self-efficacy predicts Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships and British Social Norms (forward path), Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships and British Social Norms predict CGF self-efficacy (reverse path), or both directions, accounting for the effect of each variable on itself over time (autoregressive paths). For Study 7, I used a two-wave panel model using only responses collected near the beginning of the Autumn term (October 2016, T1) and four months later in the Spring term (February 2017, T2).

The hypothesized longitudinal relationships between CGF self-efficacy, Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships, and Social Norms was tested.

The resulting model was saturated, $\chi2(22) = 295.52$, $\chi2 / df = 13.43$, CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00, and explained 30% of the variance in Quality of cross-group friendships. All autoregressive paths were significant (βs > .26). As expected, CGF self-efficacy at T1 predicted Quality of cross-group friendship (β = .18) four months later (T2). Social Norms at T1 predicted Quantity (β = .22) and Quality (β = .21) of cross-group friendship four months

later (T2). CGF self-efficacy did not predict Quantity (β = .21 [.11, 1.91]) or Social norms (β = .03 [.08, .30]) at T2. None of the reverse paths were significant, supporting the hypothesized direction of the relationships; CGF self-efficacy at T1 predicting Quality of cross-group friendships at T2.

Figure 13. Cross-lagged Mplus Analysis



Note. Panel model showing autoregressive (in gray) and cross-lagged (in blue) paths for White British participants (Study 7, n = 120). Standardized coefficients are reported; only significant paths are shown.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to determine the relationships between Quantity and Quality of friendships, Social Norms and CGF self-efficacy at one time point and over time.

CGF self-efficacy correlated significantly and positively with Quantity of international friendships and British Social Norms and negatively with Quality of international friendships. As follows, CGF self-efficacy positively predicts Quantity and Quality of international friendships and Social Norms. Time 1 CGF self-efficacy significantly and positively predicted Quality of CGF at Time 2.

Limitations and Next Steps

A limitation of this study is that the participant pool was constrained to White British participants. This limits the perspective to only this group, and is not generalizable to the different race or national groups. Future studies should try to test a wider sample of participants, in order to obtain more international and minority students' perspectives. Acquiring more international students would for the study of the relationship between CGF self-efficacy, Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships, and international student Social Norms, and compare how these interactions compare to those of British students. Diversifying the race groups within each national group would also deepen knowledge of CGF self-efficacy and contact.

Another limitation of this study was its use of two timepoints in my longitudinal study. This limited the analysis to a cross-lagged panel analysis using multiple regression analysis to test my longitudinal model. In future studies, researchers should test more timepoints (at least 3 timepoints total over the span of a year) which would allow them to test mediations and continue to observe if these variables have a bidirectional relationship with one another.

The next step for this study is to examine other aspects in conjunction with CGF self-efficacy, such as Confidence with Terminology, empathy (Al Ramiah et al., 2013; Bagci et al., 2014; Capozza et al., 2013; Kawabata & Crick, 2008; Kawabata & Crick 2011; Schofield et al., 2010; Swart et al., 2010; Titzmann et al., 2015; Turner et al., 2008; Turner & Feddes, 2011), perspective-taking (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Swart et al., 2010; Titzmann et al., 2015; Turner & Cameron, 2016), fear of rejection (Bagci et al., 2019; Barlow, Louis, & Hewstone, 2009; Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002; Page-Gould et al., 2008; Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Mendes, 2014; Shelton et al., 2009) and the merging of self-identity with other-identity (Cappozza et al., 2013; Davies & Aron, 2016; Page-Gould, Mendes & Major, 2010). Other researchers and literature on contact and self-efficacy have suggested that these areas would be fruitful avenues to explore alongside the relationship between CGF self-efficacy and Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships.

Chapter 10

Summary, Discussion, and Future Directions

Summary of Results

Study 1

This study found evidence of SCB in a student sample from the UK. The initial version of the Confidence with Racial Terminology measure had a moderate reliability score ($\alpha = .711$) and correlated significantly with some of the more established predictors: Interracial Interaction (Current Contact) and Social Norms (Family and Friends Social Norms). In this study, Interracial Interaction, Social Norms and Confidence with Terminology did not predict SCB. However, methodological and stimuli issues were identified in this study and the improvements were implemented in Study 5.

Study 2

Improvements were made to the Confidence with Racial Terminology measure and tested in this study. The measure's reliability score improved considerably ($\alpha = .840$), and it correlated significantly with all of the other variables in this study, including: Interracial Interaction (Prior Contact, Current Contact), Social Norms (Family, Friends, and Peer Social Norms), Intergroup Anxiety, and Concern for social appropriateness for race talk. Current Contact and Confidence with Terminology correlated negatively with Intergroup Anxiety and Concern for social appropriateness for race talk. Social Norms positively correlated with Concern for social appropriateness for race talk. Current Contact, Family Social Norms and Confidence with Terminology significantly predicted Intergroup Anxiety. Current Contact and Confidence with Terminology significantly predicted Concern for social appropriateness for race talk.

Study 3

Bagci et al.'s (2019) CEFSE model was tested in a sample of White British students/recent graduates from across the UK. Many of the variables (Sources of CEFSE, CEFSE, Outcomes of CEFSE) correlated significantly and positively with one another. Enactive Experiences and Physiological Cues were the only significant predictors of CEFSE in this sample. CEFSE significantly and positively predicted the Quantity and Quality of cross-ethnic friendships. Additionally, CEFSE predicted the Quality of cross-ethnic friendships through the participants' persistence to keep such friendships.

Study 4

In this study, CEFSE was tested with a racially diverse sample of university students in the UK. The study also tested if Confidence with Terminology was a source of CEFSE. Confidence with Terminology correlated positively with Enactive Experiences and Quantity of cross-ethnic friendships. However, Confidence with Terminology did not predict CEFSE. Enactive Experiences, Social Persuasion, and Physiological Cues significantly predicted CEFSE. Vicarious Experiences was only a marginally significant predictor of CEFSE. CEFSE significantly and positively predicted the Quantity and Quality of cross-ethnic friendships. CEFSE predicted the Quality of cross-ethnic friendships through the participants' persistence to keep such friendships, replicating Study 3 and Bagci et al. (2019). Additionally, contrasting Study 3, Study 4 found that CEFSE predicted the Quantity of cross-ethnic friendships through the participants' motivation to engage in such friendships.

Study 5

Again, SCB was found in this racially diverse student sample in the UK. Confidence with Terminology did not correlate to CEFSE. Of the SCB outcomes, Confidence with Terminology positively predicted the Times Race was Mentioned in the Political Correctness Task. CEFSE only marginally predicted the Times Race was Mentioned in the task, and did

not predict any other SCB outcomes. When looking into each race group individually, I found that CEFSE in White International participants had a marginally significant influence on Times Race Mentioned. These findings suggest that for White International participants at least, CEFSE may predict SCB so that those who are more confident in their ability to form cross-group friendships are more likely to refer to race in the task. I also found that Confidence with Terminology in the Black and Asian participant groups had a marginally significant influence on Number of Questions asked in the task. For the Black and Asian participants, Confidence with Terminology may predict SCB behaviour, but more research should be done to reliably determine the direction of this relationship in each race group. It should be noted, however, that the small sample size means this finding should be treated with caution, but it is indicative of a potential trend for future exploration.

Study 6

This study was one of two interrelated studies, looking at the relationship between CGF self-efficacy, the Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships, and British Social Norms for British-international student relations cross-sectionally in a sample of first-year undergraduates from two UK universities. All variables correlated significantly. CGF self-efficacy positively predicted Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships, and British Social Norms.

Study 7

This study was a continuation of the study discussed in Study 6, looking at the relationship between CGF self-efficacy, Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships, and British Social Norms longitudinally. All variables correlated significantly. CGF self-efficacy positively predicted the Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships and Social Norms. When entered into a cross-lagged effects analysis, Time 1 CGF self-efficacy significantly predicted Time 2 Quality of cross-group friendships, while Time 1 Quantity and Quality of

Friendships did not predict Time 2 CGF self-efficacy. Time 1 Social Norms significantly predicted Time 2 Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships, and the reverse of this did not occur. This provides partial support for Turner and Cameron (2016)'s confidence in contact model as it suggests CGF self-efficacy predicts later friendships Quality, but it does not support their proposed 'feedback loop' where CGF leads to greater CGF self-efficacy.

Interpretation of Findings

Strategic Colour blindness

Through these studies, some cross-cultural evidence for SCB have come to light. In both Study 1 and Study 5, SCB behaviours were found in diverse student samples. Number of Questions asked and the proportion of students who acknowledged race in the task was similar in both studies, and similar to the results obtained in Norton et al. (2006). To my knowledge, this is the first time that SCB has been uncovered in the UK.

As shown in Study 5, Confidence with Terminology significantly predicted Times Race was Mentioned in the task. This means that when people felt more confident about using racial terminology, they were more likely to refer to race in situations in which it was relevant. A major component of SCB is avoiding the use of race, regardless of its appropriateness to the situation at hand. These results have provided initial evidence that Confidence with Terminology may be a potential avenue in which to decrease SCB. By bolstering the participants' knowledge and confidence with using racial terminology appropriately, this evidence suggests that this would increase the likelihood the participants would mention race in future interactions. This provides some evidence that Confidence with Terminology and SCB are related concepts, and more research should be conducted to further define how these concepts interact with one another.

Additionally, in both Study 1 and 5, a new indicator of SCB was tested, Point when Race was Mentioned in the task. Point when Race Mentioned did not correlate with the

Number of Questions asked in either study. This suggest that the when the race question is asked does not affect the participants' performance on the task, thus not appearing to contribute much beyond the other indicators of SCB. Future research should be conducted to further investigate this relationship, and determine if this concern with political correctness and limited use of referencing race produces results similar to or distinct from that of SCB.

Finally, future studies should seek to improve the investigation of SCB by adding more investigators from other racial backgrounds to confirm that all the racial groups studied exhibit SCB, but more likely when the investigator is of a different race from the participants. Apfelbaum's studies found SCB more markedly in interracial interactions, and I would like to reproduce these interracial interactions with all of our participant groups by having a more diverse group of experimenters testing them.

Confidence with Terminology

Confidence with Terminology was a novel addition in the study of confidence with contact. Across the studies, Confidence with Terminology related significantly with other variables: Interracial Interaction, Social Norms, Intergroup Anxiety, Concern for social appropriateness for race talk, Times Race was Mentioned in the Political Correctness Task, Enactive Experiences, and Quantity of cross-ethnic friendships. Confidence with Terminology was shown to significantly correlate with other established antecedents of confidence with contact. Confidence with Terminology was shown to be a significant predictor of SCB as outlined above. This provides evidence that Confidence with Terminology has important relationships with many variables within my concept, confidence with contact. Further research should be conducted to explore this topic more extensively.

When Confidence with Terminology was examined in conjunction with CEFSE, I found no relationship between the two. The version of CEFSE used in these studies looked primarily at the maintenance and persistence of cross-ethnic friendships, and Confidence with

Terminology may not be needed much in this stage of the relationship. Is it possible then, that Confidence with Terminology is more crucial in the initiation of a possible friendship? Future research should look into this possibility.

Another direction to investigate is looking into areas that can expand and improve this measure, such as adding measures that assess equality and the politics around terminology and category usage (Aspinall, 2007; Bulmer & Solomos, 2018; Sigelman et al., 2005). This direction is discussed more in-depth in the Limitations and Future Directions section of this chapter.

Cross-Ethnic Friendship Self Efficacy

The studies with CEFSE (Studies 3 and 4) have provided further evidence in support of Bagci et al.'s (2019) model and the wider self-efficacy literature. In regards to the sources of CEFSE, Enactive Experiences and Physiological Cues were consistently the strongest predictors of CEFSE in both studies, which was in line with a majority of the self-efficacy literature. Study 4 found that Social Persuasion also predicted CEFSE, which did not align with Study 3 or Bagci et al. (2019), but had some precedence in the self-efficacy literature. In both studies, Vicarious Experience was not a strong predictor of CEFSE, which did not align with Bagci et al. (2019) but aligned with the self-efficacy literature presented by Bandura (1977).

Studies 3, 4, 6 and 7 also provided evidence in support of Bagci et al.'s (2019) model in regards to CEFSE predicting the Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships. In each of these studies, CEFSE (or CGF self-efficacy in Studies 6 and 7) significantly predicted the Quantity and Quality of cross-ethnic (cross-group) friendships, so that the more confidence the participants had in their ability to create and maintain cross-group friendships, the greater quantity and better quality of these friendships the participants had. This pattern was also found across contexts, in both cross-ethnic (Studies 3 and 4) and cross-national friendships

(Studies 6 and 7). Study 7 provided some longitudinal evidence of this pattern as well, with CGF self-efficacy predicting the quality of British-international friendships. I did not find evidence for the bidirectional relationship been CEFSE, Quantity and Quality of cross-group friendships and Social Norms in the longitudinal study, but examining these variables over a longer time period may provide a better opportunity to find this relationship, as theorized by Turner and Cameron (2016). Future research should continue to conduct longitudinal research on CEFSE to further explore its possible bidirectional nature, and potential mediators between CGF self-efficacy, friendship Quantity and Quality, and Social Norms.

A novel finding discovered in this thesis is that CEFSE, SCB and Confidence with Terminology are likely separate concepts from one another. CEFSE did not correlate with SCB (Study 5) or Confidence with Terminology (Study 4 and 5). These concepts may provide distinct contributions to confidence with contact, but they do not appear to work together towards this goal.

Limitations and Future Directions

This thesis has made considerable progress in examining confidence in interracial contact and its antecedents, however, there are further considerations that can be utilized to improve future research in this area.

The first limitation to acknowledge relates to the ever-changing, flexible nature of terminology (Aspinall, 2007; Bulmer & Solomos; Deaux, 2012; Orelus, 2013; Philogene, 2012; Rattansi, 2007; Sigelman et al., 2005). A number of studies have documented how terminology differs by country, time period, demographic region, community type, who can say what words and other such characteristics (Sigelman et al., 2005; Tropp et al., 2006). Sigelman et al. (2005) observed how preference for the racial label “Black” or “African-American” differed considerably over time, by the residential and regional location of the participant, the participants’ age, and their history of cross-racial/cross-ethnic contact. Tropp

et al. (2006) discussed how references to racial group membership was seen differently by the majority and minority racial/ethnic group member depending on the source of the racial reference (from an in-group or an out-group member), often being interpreted negatively when an out-group member references race. Due to this feature of racial terminology, future studies should move away from investigating racial terminology specifically, and expand our inquiries into related issues like equality and social politics surrounding racial terminology (Aspinall, 2007; Bulmer & Solomos, 2018; Sigelman et al., 2005; Tropp et al., 2006).

Another limitation to consider is the difference between ethnicity and race. Many researchers have used these terms interchangeably, or concurrently (as discussed by Santos, 2015). However, Song (2018) highlights an important critique to this practice and its implications on research. She discussed how there are important differences, and hence research implications, between interethnic relationships and interracial relationships. Interracial relationships would refer to relationships between different racial groups, such as an interracial friendship would be a friendship between a Black person and a White person. In contrast, interethnic relationships would refer to relationships between different ethnic groups, groups that may differ culturally but be members of the same racial group. An example of an interethnic friendship would be a friendship between a White British person and White French person, both sharing the same racial background but have distinct cultural/ethnic backgrounds. This difference between race and ethnicity, and how participants interpret these concepts may contribute some error to my studies. Unless this distinction is specified in the research, a participant could classify themselves as being mixed/of mixed heritage in reference to either their ethnic or racial background. This confusion within the data could obscure important differences in experiences and attitudes between these groups and affect how resources are allocated to these groups. This research did not make a distinction between these terms, but future research could benefit from this clarification and

reveal more details about discrimination and prejudice between different racial groups (Black, White, Asian) and different ethnic groups (Jews, Gypsies, Irish travelers, Eastern European groups, etc.) (Song, 2018).

The research scope of this thesis focused primarily on colour-blind ideology and behaviour. Although examining this ideology is a good place to start, it did not assess how the factors were influenced by multicultural ideologies, which comes with its own benefits and detriments (Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013). Additionally, there may possibly be a different type of multiculturalism in development, as referenced first by Stevens, Plaut, and Sanchez-Burks (2008), but also has been mentioned in Apfelbaum et al. (2012), Babbitt et al. (2016) and Gullett and West (2016). These articles discussed a new ideology that steps away from the possible "us versus them" implication that traditional multiculturalism may endorse. Instead, the new multicultural ideology aims to celebrate the differences and contributions of *ALL* racial and ethnic groups, including those of the majority group (Babbitt et al., 2016). This is an interesting development in the research literature, and I will continue to follow further research on this topic. A future direction related to these ideologies would be to investigate multiculturalism's influence on the development of cross-group friendship, CEFSE, confidence with racial terminology and how its results may compare to colour-blind ideology.

A necessary factor we should acknowledge in this thesis are the characteristics and experiences of our participants across studies. In all of our studies, participant groups were collected from current students and recent graduates of university (within the last five years). These groups are characterized by being academically educated, likely differentiating them from the general populace in regards to their racial attitudes and experiences with racially/ethnically diverse people. The university environment may provide these groups with

more opportunities to have contact experiences with racially/ethnically diverse and/or international individuals.

Additionally, our participant groups varied in university location and university cultures. In Studies 1, 4 and 5, participants were current students from the University of Kent, a university in the southeast of England that prides itself on its sizable and diverse international student population. In Studies 2 and 3, participants were students and recent graduates from various universities across the UK (England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales), each with their different university cultures and ethnic/racial composition of its student body. Finally, in Studies 6 and 7, participants were current 1st year students from the University of Kent and University of East Anglia, both universities in the south east of England with suitably diverse student bodies. In reviewing these characteristics, we could expect that the participant samples collected from across the UK in Studies 2 and 3 may more closely reflect the experience levels found in the general populace. In contrast, we could expect that the participant samples in Studies 1, 4, 5, 6 and 7 may be biased towards these participants having more experience with ethnically/racially diverse people considering their proximity to London.

To assess this line of thought, I conducted a series of one sample t-tests of participants' prior and current contact experience across Studies 1-5, comparing their scores to the midpoint on the scale.[3] In Study 1, University of Kent students scored significantly higher than the midpoint on the scale (4) in both prior contact ($t(60) = 3.32$, $p = .002$) and current contact ($t(57) = 17.28$, $p < .001$). This suggests that this sample had a moderate amount of experience with racial/ethnic minorities before attending university, and that this amount of contact experience increased substantially whilst at University.

[3] Studies 6 and 7 assessed contact through the quantity and quality of cross-ethnic friendship the participants had. Due to these scales not having an established midpoint, and not being able to compare to the prior and current contact measures used in Studies 1-5, we did not run one sample t-tests on these studies.

In Study 2 and 3, students and recent graduates from across the UK scored significantly lower than the midpoint on the scale (4) on prior contact ($t(174) = -3.44$, $p = .001$); and significantly higher than the midpoint on the scale on current contact ($t(174) = 11.80$, $p < .001$). This suggests that this sample have less experience with racial/ethnic minorities before attending university, but this amount of contact experience increased markedly whilst at University.

In Study 4 and 5, a different group of University of Kent students scored significantly higher than the midpoint on the scale (4) in both prior contact ($t(173) = 3.61$, $p < .001$) and current contact ($t(173) = 7.82$, $p < .001$). This suggests that this sample had a moderate amount of experience with racial/ethnic minorities before attending university, and that this amount of contact experience increased considerably whilst at University.

Looking at these statistics together, we can see that University of Kent students had slightly more experience with diverse people before university. The university students and graduates obtained from across the UK likely express experience levels closer to the general populace, in that they had less experience with diverse people before university and gained substantial experience whilst at university. Future research should expand its focus to groups outside university students and young adults, so as to test the generalizability of our results within the general populace. We should examine how these concepts relate to each other in different groups of people (children/older adults/elderly) and in situations that may present or prevent opportunities to interact with racially/ethnically diverse others (workplaces, etc).

Finally, it is essential that future research examines the phenomenon studied here in diverse samples, and not, as I have done in some of the studies, focus on White and British students. This will provide an opportunity to thoroughly study various concepts within confidence with contact: SCB, CEFSE, and Racial Terminology.

Future research should also focus on utilizing experimental designs to determine if manipulating some of these factors (primarily Confidence with Terminology) could improve performance on the SCB task, thus decreasing strategically colour-blind behaviours and improving interracial interactions.

Implications and Interventions

The findings uncovered in this thesis have many practical implications in a multitude of fields. My findings on SCB and confidence with terminology would be very beneficial in the spheres of business and law, helping inform their policies and procedures in dealing with issues regarding race relations. A better understanding of racial terminology can provide a common language for us to begin constructive conversations about race and equality, thus hopefully increasing people's confidence and willingness to discuss and tackle racial issues. Confidence with racial terminology, in conjunction with increased positive contact and knowledge about SCB and its pitfalls, can help us move away from ineffective colour blind policies to more multicultural and/or race-conscious policies (Apfelbaum et al., 2012).

CEFSE would likely have the most impact in the field of education, encouraging students to build their skills and confidence interacting with ethnically/racially diverse people, thus increasing the amount and quality of the cross-group friendships they create and maintain. Much of the research I discussed in this thesis suggests that teaching these skills would be most beneficial at younger ages, preferably beginning in childhood. However, these skills can continually be nurtured and developed with further experience gained through adolescence and young adulthood, with schools and universities structuring these experiences in line with Allport's (1954) contact criteria. Fostering these cross-ethnic friendships and skills to successfully maintain these relationships can help improve race relations in the long-term.

My findings can inform possible interventions to help people improve their confidence with contact. Likely the most fruitful of these interventions would be to improve participants' self-efficacy in creating and maintaining cross-ethnic friendships. As stated, encouraging the development of CEFSE in children and adolescents would be most beneficial; giving this group the confidence to approach diverse others, expect positive interactions with diverse others, and handle negative contact situations more constructively if they should arise. However, these skills can still be encouraged through adulthood, with organizations and social groups aiming to provide opportunities for their members to experience, learn and practice skills that improve their CEFSE.

Another intervention that should be explored is improving confidence with contact would be the use of frames, as exhibited in Apfelbaum et al., (2010). In this study, experimenters used stories with colour blind or multicultural frames to exhibit how each frame produced different results in regards to recognizing racism and seeking help or confronting it. Colour blind frames prevented the students in this study from recognizing even explicit incidences of racism, thus not seeking help from authority figures or challenging the actions of the offender. Multicultural frames, on the other hand, produced positive results, allowing students to detect more subtle cases of racism, intervene and get help from authority figures (Apfelbaum et al., 2010). Tactics such as these have already been implemented successfully by the Frameworks Institute in their own projects (Frameworks Institute, 2020). Therefore, this may be a good avenue to help others understand the negative effects of SCB, better recognize racism and learn how to intervene to stop it.

Finally, we should explore the possibility of creating an intervention that would improve participants' confidence with racial terminology and discussing issues of ethnic/racial inequalities. Although the creation of a glossary of appropriate racial terminology is unlikely due to the flexible, ever-changing nature of racial terminology,

acknowledging the history behind certain racial terms and keeping up-to-date with its current use would still provide beneficial information for people and organizations to utilize in their intergroup interactions and discussions. With further research and development, we could include fields related to racial terminology, such as discussions on inequality and constructive ways in which it can be resolved, in this intervention, further improving the knowledge and confidence the people have with conversations about race.

Reflections

Since the first submission of this thesis in January 2020, many poignant events have occurred that relate extremely close to the topics covered in this thesis. The deaths of Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor, George Floyd, Rayshard Brooks and a number of other African Americans have occurred since February 2020. These deaths, and the situations in which they have occurred, have sparked waves of protests against racism and police brutality not only in the United States, but worldwide. The Black Lives Matter movement has gained traction across the globe and has garnered mainstream attention to much needed conversations about race, racism, why we must have these types of conversations, and what steps should we take to move forward. Although these events are providing opportunities for people to open up and talk about important issues about race and inequalities that still linger in American society, it has also resulted in considerable backlash. From my perspective as a researcher and an American, observing the some of the people's reactions against the messages presented by Black Lives Matter provides textbook examples of colour blind ideology, in the form of the counternarrative "All Lives Matter." Instead of this statement representing a support for racism (as some would accuse), it is more likely that this statement reflects a desire to uphold the previously accepted colour blind status quo (still practiced in multiple domains in the US), especially as a way to manage an already chaotic world during the rise of COVID-19. This conflict between ideologies on how to manage intergroup

relations exhibits why research such as that found in this thesis, and the possible avenues in which to improve intergroup relations is so crucial right now.

Additionally, within the past few months, a number of major leaders of the Civil Rights Movement in the US have also passed on due to old age: Reverend Joseph E. Lowery, C. T. Vivian and John Lewis. These men were integral to the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, and passionately pursued their work in improving civil rights up to the very end. In light of their passing, it is important now more than ever for us to continue their work, and provide organizational, political and social leaders with the best research possible to make informed decisions for the benefit of both minority communities and the overall community at large.

Though we are still in the very early stages of navigating this newest civil rights movement in the midst of a pandemic, I would hope that research such as mine and that of other researchers in the realms of race relations (strategic colour blindness, multiculturalism, contact self-efficacy, racial terminology, conversations on equality for all racial/ethnic groups, and so on) may inform social policy and produce beneficial outcomes in our journey towards a better future for all.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to explore Confidence in Contact and its possible antecedents (Interracial Contact, Social Norms, Confidence with Racial Terminology, Intergroup Anxiety, and CEFSE). To do this, a series of studies assessing the attitudes and experiences of university students in the UK were conducted. I began studying Confidence in Contact by investigating Strategic Colour Blindness, and what were the qualities of those participants that were confident talking about race as compared to those that were not. Later studies expanded the scope of research into confidence with racial terminology, intergroup anxiety and CEFSE, other contributors to Confidence in Contact. Of the results obtained, I find that

one of the most interesting findings uncovered was that the new predictor, Confidence with Racial Terminology, related significantly to many of the other predictor variables and predicted one of the indicators of SCB. Although there are some improvements that can be made to the measure, finding that such a new and previously untested variable performed so well in these studies provides promising evidence for its use in improving Confidence with Contact by increasing participants' knowledge and confidence in using appropriate racial terminology. Another interesting finding we discovered is evidence of SCB in the UK, providing some credence to the generalizability and cross-cultural applications of SCB outside of the US. Another intriguing finding is learning that CEFSE did not relate with Confidence with Terminology or SCB, but did provide plenty of evidence for its use in improving confidence with contact through cross-group friendships and self-efficacy. This would suggest that each of these variables make unique contributions to improving Confidence with Contact, even if they do not relate to each other as expected. This work contributes to the field by expanding the research literature into two encouraging areas, Confidence with Terminology and CEFSE. One area brought attention to a previously unresearched but potentially useful intervention to improve confidence with contact through the use of appropriate racial terminology; the other provided further evidence for Bagci et al.'s (2019) CEFSE model, and extended it into new participant populations and longitudinally. Each of these areas have contributed to knowledge of how to potentially improve confidence with contact. With all the interracial and intercultural conflicts being experienced around the world in recent years, it is vital that we understand what increases confidence in contact, and implement interventions to foster more, better quality cross-group friendships.

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Appendix A

Interview items

Questions	Response Scale			
How confident are you when talking about race?	1 not confident	2 slightly confident	3 quite confident	4 very confident
How nervous are you when talking about race?	1 not nervous	2 slightly nervous	3 quite nervous	4 very nervous
How hesitant are you when referring to racial group membership?	1 not hesitant	2 slightly hesitant	3 quite hesitant	4 very hesitant
How uncertain are you about terminology used to refer to different racial groups?	1 not uncertain	2 slightly uncertain	3 quite uncertain	4 very uncertain
Are you confident about the terminology used to refer to different racial groups in the UK?	1 not confident	2 slightly confident	3 quite confident	4 very confident
Are you confident about the terminology used to refer to different racial groups amongst your peers from other countries?	1 not confident	2 slightly confident	3 quite confident	4 very confident
If so, why is this?	Open-ended question			
Is it important to use appropriate racial terms?	No	sometimes	Important	very important
Why is this?	Open-ended question			
How much do you agree with the following statement?" People make too big a deal out of terminology used to refer to race."	1 not at all	2 agree a little	3 Agree	4 strongly agree
Why is this?	Open-ended question			
Is it a particular thing with the terminology or reasoning 4 it?	Open-ended question			
Who makes a big deal out of it?	Open-ended question			

Interview Items cont.'

Questions	Response Scale			
Do you know the appropriate racial terms to use when talking to members outside your racial group?	1 No	2 sometimes	3 Often	4 Always
If you were taught the appropriate racial terms to use in these situations, would you be more likely talk about racial issues?	1 not at all	2 a little more likely	3 more likely	4 much more likely
Would you be more comfortable talking about racial issues if you knew the appropriate racial terms?	1 not at all	2 a little more comfortable	3 more comfortable	4 much more comfortable

Appendix B

Questionnaire items

Please answer the following questions about what you think about others' feelings.

Prior Contact

	Entirely Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Agree	Mostly Agree	Entirely Agree
I was living in a racially or ethnically diverse neighbourhood.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
In school, almost everyone had the same racial of ethnic background as me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I had several friends in class from different racial or ethnic backgrounds.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
My family did not have many friends from other racial of ethnic backgrounds.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I was living in a large city.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I knew the values and religious beliefs of other racial or ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I knew the arts and crafts of other racial or ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Current Contact

	Entirely Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Agree	Mostly Agree	Entirely Agree
I have daily interactions with people from other racial/ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I have become close friends with several students from other racial/ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Most of the students I interact with from different racial/ethnic groups, are just acquaintances	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I only interact with students from different racial/ethnic groups when it is necessary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
In my friendship group, there is at least one person from a different racial/ethnic group than me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I spend a lot of time together with students from different racial/ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel comfortable when socializing with people from different racial/ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel anxious when interacting with people from different racial/ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Family Social Norms

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
My family are uncomfortable talking about race.	1	2	3	4	5	6
My family freely talks about race.	1	2	3	4	5	6
My family bring up race in their everyday conversations.	1	2	3	4	5	6
My family never bring up race or race-related topics.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Friends Social Norms

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Where I live, my friends are uncomfortable talking about race	1	2	3	4	5	6
Where I live, my friends freely talk about race.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Where I live, my friends bring up race in their everyday conversations.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Where I live, my friends never bring up race or race-related topics.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Peers Social Norms

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
At university, my peers are uncomfortable talking about race.	1	2	3	4	5	6
At university, my peers freely talk about race.	1	2	3	4	5	6
At university, my peers bring up race in their everyday conversations.	1	2	3	4	5	6
At university, my peers never bring up race or race-related topics.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Concern for social appropriateness for race talk

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I worry that asking about someone's race makes me appear prejudiced.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I try to avoid mentioning someone's race in conversations, so that other people don't think I am prejudiced.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Talking about race or someone's racial identity is not at all connected to prejudice.	1	2	3	4	5	6
It is silly to worry about whether you might be labelled as prejudiced, if you are just using race to describe someone.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Gender

- ❍ Male
- ❍ Female
- ❍ Other

You are a ...

- ❍ Undergraduate
- ❍ Postgraduate

Age: _____

Year of Study: _____

What subject are you studying: _____

Country of Birth: _____

How long have you lived in the UK: _____

What is your ethnic background? Below are categories derived from the British Social Attitudes Survey. These are typically used in the UK Census and social surveys. Please choose the appropriate label in the table below indicating your ethnic background.

White British	Indian
White Irish	Pakistani
White Scottish	Chinese
White Welsh	Asian Other
White Other	Black Caribbean
White and Black Caribbean	Black African
White and Black African	Black Other
White and Asian	Any other ethnic group
Mixed Heritage Other	I'd prefer not to say

If you responded as any Other category above, could you please specify your ethnic background?

Appendix C

List of Universities and Degree Programs

University Attended	
Abertay University	University of Birmingham
Aberystwyth University	University of Bristol
Anglia Ruskin University	University of Brighton
Bangor University	University of Cambridge
Birmingham City University	University College Birmingham
Bournemouth University	University College London
Bradford University	University of Chichester
Brighton Institute of Modern Music	University of Central Lancashire
Brunel University London	University of Cumbria
Cardiff University	University College London
De Montfort University	University for Creative Arts
Dundee And Angus College	University of Durham
Durham University	University of East Anglia
Glasgow Caledonian University	University of East London
Goldsmiths University	University of Edinburgh
Hertfordshire University	University of Exeter
Imperial College London	University of Greenwich
Kaplan University	University of Glamorgan
King's College London	University of Glasgow
Lancaster University	University of Huddersfield
Leeds Beckett University	University of Hull
Leeds Metropolitan University	University of Kent
Lincoln University	University of Leeds
Manchester Metropolitan University	University of Leicester
Middlesex University	University of Lincoln
Newcastle University	University of Liverpool
Northbrook College	University of London
North Highland College	University of Manchester
Northumbria University	University of Northampton
Nottingham Trent University	University of Nottingham
Open University	University of Portsmouth
Oxford Brookes University	University of Reading
Plymouth University	University of Salford
Royal Holloway, University of London	University of Sheffield
SAE Institute London	University of Southampton
Sheffield Hallam University	University of Surrey
Southampton University	University of Sussex
Staffordshire University	University of West London
Sunderland University	University of Westminster
Surrey Institute of Art and Design	University of The West of England
Swansea University	University of The West of Scotland
Teesside University	University of Winchester
The University of Law	University of York
University of Aberdeen	Queen's University, Belfast
University of Bath	Queen Mary University of London

Subject Studying/Studied	
Accounting/Accountancy	Learning Support
Aerospace Engineering	Marine Environmental Management
Applied Psychology	Marketing
Astrophysics	Marketing Management
Archaeology	Mathematics
Bioinformatics	Mechanical Engineering
Biological Science	Media
Biology Medicine	Microbiology
Biomedical Science	Museum Studies
Business	Natural Sciences
Business Management	Network Management and Design
Chemical Engineering	Neuropsychology
Chemistry	Nursing
Clinical/Educational Psychology	Open Degree
Computer Science/Computing/IT	Paediatric Nursing
Computer Games Development	PGCE
Contemporary Occupational Therapy	Philosophy
Creative Writing	Physician Associate Studies
Dietetics	Physics
Digital Media	Politics
Economics	Primary Education
Education	Psychology
Electronic Engineering	Public Health
Engineering	Public Health Nursing
English	Publishing
English Literature	Religious Studies
Environmental Science	Research
Fashion	Science
Film and Television Production	Science Communication
Fine Art	Social Work
Food Bioscience	Sociology
Forensic Studies	Software Engineering
French	Song writing
Geography	Sports Management
Health Psychology	Surveying
History	Teaching
Illustration	Tourism
Information Science	Translation
International Business	Video Game Design
International Development	Web Development
International Relations	Zoology
IT Management	Not Disclosed
Law	

Appendix D

Stephan & Stephan (1985) Intergroup Anxiety Measure

In a hypothetical situation, how would you feel if you were the only person among a group of strangers all of whom were people from a different racial/ethnic group than yourself?

	Not at all						Very much
Awkward	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Defensive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Self-conscious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Relaxed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix E

Bagci et al., (2019) CEFSE Measure

Friendships with other ethnic groups (ability)

Are you confident in making friends with people from different racial/ethnic backgrounds to yours? What do you think friendships with people from other racial/ethnic backgrounds would be like? Please answer the following questions as truthfully as you can, thinking about your own ability to make friends with people from other racial/ethnic groups.

How much do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
For me, making new friends from other racial/ethnic groups is easy	1	2	3	4	5
I am confident I would be able to get close to a new friend from another racial/ethnic group	1	2	3	4	5
I believe I would have fun with a new friend from another racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
I don't think I would be able to make new friends with people from racial/ethnic groups other than my own	1	2	3	4	5
Being included in a friendship group with people from lots of other racial/ethnic backgrounds is easy.	1	2	3	4	5
I would find it difficult to get close to a new friend from another racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe I could easily trust a new friend from another racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe I could find many things in common with new friends from another racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
I am sure I could share secrets with a new friend from a racial/ethnic group other than my own.	1	2	3	4	5

Now, we are interested in what you think about making new friends with people from the same racial/ethnic group as you. Are you confident in making friends with people from the same racial/ethnic background as you? What would that friendship be like? Please answer the following questions as truthfully as you can, thinking about your own ability to make friends with people from your racial/ethnic group.

How much do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
For me, making new friends from the same racial/ethnic group as me is easy.	1	2	3	4	5
I am confident I would be able to get close to a new friend from the same racial/ethnic group as me.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe I would have fun with a new friend from the same racial/ethnic group as me.	1	2	3	4	5
I don't think I would be able to make new friends with people from the same racial/ethnic group as me.	1	2	3	4	5
Being included in a friendship group with people from the same racial/ethnic background as me is easy.	1	2	3	4	5
I would find it difficult to get close to a new friend from the same racial/ethnic group as me.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe I could easily trust a new friend from the same racial/ethnic group as me.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe I could find many things in common with new friends from the same racial/ethnic group as me.	1	2	3	4	5
I am sure I could share secrets with a new friend from the same racial/ethnic group as me.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix F

Bagci et al., (2019) Sources of CEFSE Measure

Friendships with other ethnic groups (thoughts)

Now we want to know your thoughts about friendships with other people from another racial/ethnic group.

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
Thinking back to secondary school, I was good at making close friends from racial/ethnic groups other than my own.	1	2	3	4	5
Even though I had the chance to make friends from other racial/ethnic groups in the past, I didn't do this.	1	2	3	4	5
I am still very close with the friends I made in secondary school who belong to racial/ethnic groups other than my own.	1	2	3	4	5
Lots of my friends have close friends who belong to racial/ethnic groups other than their own.	1	2	3	4	5
I know few people with friends from other racial/ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5
My parents have a lot of friends from other racial/ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
Our teachers in secondary school would encourage us to be friends with people from other racial/ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
My parents would support me if I wanted to make new friends from other racial/ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5
If I was starting to form a friendship with someone who belonged to a racial/ethnic group other than my own I would feel nervous.	1	2	3	4	5
If I was starting to form a friendship with someone who belonged to a racial/ ethnic group other than my own I would feel comfortable.	1	2	3	4	5
I would become anxious if I had to work on a school project with a new friend from another racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix G

Bagci et al., (2019) Outcomes of CEFSE Measure

Current friendship group

Think about the friends you have now. How many friends do you have from your own racial/ethnic group and other racial/ethnic groups? Please tick your answer.

	0-2	3-5	6-10	11-20	21 and more
I have this many friends from the same racial/ethnic group as me….	1	2	3	4	5
I have this many friends from other racial/ethnic groups….	1	2	3	4	5

How close do you feel to your friends from your own racial/ethnic group and other racial/ethnic groups? Please circle the number to match your answer.

	Not close at all				Very close
Friends from the same racial/ethnic group as me	1	2	3	4	5
Friends from other racial/ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5

How often do you spend time with your friends from your own racial/ethnic group and other racial/ethnic groups? Please circle the number to match your answer.

	Not very frequently				Very frequently
Friends from the same racial/ethnic group as me….	1	2	3	4	5
Friends from other racial/ethnic groups….	1	2	3	4	5

Now we want to know your thoughts about new friendships with other people from another racial/ethnic group.

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
In the future, I would like to make new friends from other racial/ethnic groups as much as I can.	1	2	3	4	5
I will do my best to be included in friendship group with people from many racial/ethnic backgrounds.	1	2	3	4	5
Even though I may have different views from my friends from other racial/ethnic groups, I would work to maintain these friendships.	1	2	3	4	5
After university, I plan to keep my existing relationships with my friends from other racial/ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
I wouldn't mind if I lost touch with my friends from other racial/ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5

Please now think about individuals from other racial/ethnic groups. Please answer how much you agree with the following statements IN GENERAL.

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
I really like people from other racial/ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
I trust people from other racial/ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
People from other racial/ethnic groups are usually friendly	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix H

Survey Items

Quantity of Contact

We would first like to ask you some questions about your experiences with people of other nationalities. We use the term 'foreign student' herein to refer to someone who studies in Britain but was born in another country.

	None						A Lot
1. In everyday life, how often do you encounter foreign students?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. In everyday life, how frequently do you interact with people who are foreign students to Britain?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. In everyday life, how much contact do you have with foreign students?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. How many foreign students do you know?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Quality of Contact

Please describe your experience of contact with foreign students by marking a point between each of the following pairs of adjectives:

1. Superficial	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Deep
2. Natural	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Forced
3. Unpleasant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Pleasant
4. Competitive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Cooperative
5. Intimate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Distance

Social Norms

In general, how friendly are British people to foreign students?

Not friendly at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very friendly

How friendly do you think your British friends are to foreign students?

Not friendly at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very friendly

How much do your British friends like foreign students?

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very much

In general, how friendly are foreign students to British people?

Not friendly at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very friendly

In general, how happy would foreign students be to spend time with British people?

Not happy at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very happy

How happy do you think foreign students would be to be friends with British people?

Not happy at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very happy

Contact Self-Efficacy

Please think about having an interaction with a foreign student in the future, and answer the following questions.

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
1. I would feel confident talking to foreign students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. I would feel confident asking foreign students a question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. I would be worried that I might not handle myself well in social gatherings with foreign students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. I would find it difficult to hold a conversation with foreign students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I would feel comfortable requesting information from foreign students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I would feel I have common topics of conversation with foreign students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7