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The Impact of Intergroup Suspicion on Ethnic Minorities' Sense of Identity Compatibility

and Belonging at University

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Psychology

by

Kathy Espino-Pérez

Committee in charge:

Professor Brenda N. Major, Chair

Professor Diane Mackie

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September 2018

The dissertation of Kathy Espino-Pérez is approved.

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Brenda Major, Committee Chair

September 2018

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My grandmother was an orphan and never had the opportunity to receive formal education, nor did she ever learn how to read. My mother has very limited access to education and only attended some elementary school. It is remarkable that only two-generations later, I am the first woman in my family to earn a college, masters, and PhD. I am thankful to my grandmother for surviving the harsh conditions of poverty and raising my mother (and helping raise me) so lovingly. I am grateful to my courageous mother who crossed the border when she was 16. How brave it was of her to come to an entirely different country where few spoke her native tongue! These women taught me how to be courageous, resilient, and built me with armor strong enough to endure any challenge.

I am also grateful to my Tío Luis who passed away during my doctoral training. He, and my other family members in Mexico, taught me what it meant to have a loving family support me and encourage me to pursue higher education. He made me learn to weave my Mexican and American, scientific and female, and other identities together and make them compatible.

I am also thankful for Alison Blodorn, Tessa Dover, and Jeff Hunger who helped nurture me as a first, second, and third year graduate student. They became my academic family and helped me survive graduate school. Finally, I am grateful to my committee members for their endless support and encouragement. This dissertation would not have been possible without the community of scholars, family, and friends who supported me.

VITA OF KATHY ESPINO-PEREZ
September 2018

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FIELD OF STUDY

Major Field: Psychology

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ABSTRACT

The Impact of Intergroup Suspicion on Ethnic Minorities' Sense of Identity Compatibility

and Belonging at University

by

Kathy Espino-Pérez

This longitudinal study examined whether individual differences in intergroup

suspicion at college entry predicted a sense of belonging at the end of racial/ethnic minority

students' freshman year. More specifically, I first tested whether the quantity of interactions

with Whites, vs. Latinxs, along with identity compatibility, mediated the relationship

between suspicion and sense of belonging. I also tested whether the perceived quality of

interactions with Whites, vs. Latinxs, along with identity compatibility, mediated the

relationship between suspicion and sense of belonging. No support for the mediation model

was found such that initial levels of suspicion did not indirectly predict decreased sense of

belonging through either the quantity or perceived quality of interactions with Whites and

decreased identity compatibility. I also tested whether the quantity and/or quality of

interactions with Whites moderated the relationship between initial levels of suspicion in

predicting both identity compatibility and sense of belonging. Neither the quality or quantity

of interactions with Whites interacted with suspicion to predict identity compatibility or

sense of belonging at the end of students' freshman year. Though my theoretical models were

not supported, results from this study pose interesting questions for future research. This

research contributes to the existing literatures on cross-group friendships, cross-group

interactions, and sense of belonging among racial/ethnic minority populations in college.

Keywords: intergroup interactions, sense of belonging, transition to college

The Impact of Intergroup Suspicion on Ethnic Minorities' Sense of Identity Compatibility

and Belonging at University

Interracial interactions are often fraught with difficulty for both Whites and

racial/ethnic minorities. Whites, for example, may be concerned with appearing racist and, as

a consequence, desire to be both liked and viewed as unprejudiced by racial/ethnic minorities

(Devine & Monteith, 1993; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998; Bergsieker,

Shelton, & Richeson, 2010). Furthermore, though Whites high in the desire to appear

nonprejudiced may be liked more than those low in the desire to appear nonprejudiced by

racial/ethnic minority perceivers, the desire to appear nonprejudiced increases anxiety and

makes Whites enjoy interracial interactions less (Shelton, 2003). Racial/ethnic minorities also

contend with threats when engaged in or anticipating an interracial interaction. When

interacting with Whites, racial/ethnic minorities must grapple with the threat of confirming

group-based stereotypes (Steele & Aronson, 1995), concerns about being a target of

prejudice (Major, Quinton, & McCoy, 2002; Miller & Kaiser, 2001; Steele, Spencer, &

Aronson, 2002; Kaiser, Vick, & Major, 2006), and attributional ambiguity – a psychological

state of uncertainty concerning the motives underlying both positive and negative treatment

that occur in interracial interactions (Crocker & Major, 1989; Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, &

Major, 1991; Major, Sawyer, & Kunstman, 2013).

The current dissertation examined the impact of suspicion concerning Whites'

authenticity in interracial interactions on Latinx college students' identity compatibility and

feelings of belonging during their first year at a 4-year university. The goals of the current

project were two-fold. First, I examined whether individual differences in intergroup

suspicion assessed upon entering college (Time 1) predicted: (a) perceived identity

compatibility between a students' racial/ethnic background and their new identity as a college student and (b) sense of belonging with other UCSB students assessed at the end of students' freshman year (Time 2). Second, I explored whether the quantity and/or quality of White friendships vs. the quantity and/or quality of Latinx friendships assessed at the end of the academic year (Time 2), more strongly mediated the hypothesized negative relationship between intergroup suspicion and compatibility and sense of belonging at university. I also test an alternative model in which the number and/or quality of White friendships vs. the number and/or quality of Latinx friendships moderated the negative relationship between compatibility and sense of belonging.

Following, I first review literature discussing the issues in interracial interactions that both Whites and racial/ethnic minorities experience. Next, I discuss the literature examining identity compatibility and sense of belonging among racial/ ethnic minorities in college, reviewing evidence that friendship development with Whites, more so than racial/ethnic in-group members, predicts both greater social adjustment and an increased sense of belonging for racial/ethnic minority students. Fourth, I outline several theoretical models I tested to examine whether racial/ethnic minorities' number and/or quality of White friendships (a) *mediates* the relationship between intergroup suspicion and identity compatibility and sense of belonging, or (b) *moderates* the relationship between intergroup suspicion and identity compatibility and sense of belonging. Finally, I discuss the methods and specific predictions concerning all of my major dependent variables.

Interracial interactions

        Although intergroup contact is heralded as a panacea to reduce intergroup prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), there are numerous obstacles Whites and racial/ethnic minorities confront when engaging in contact across racial/ethnic boundaries.

        Whites' experiences in interracial interactions. Given the change in social norms that prohibit the expression of prejudice (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002), the fear of appearing prejudiced has become a central concern for Whites in interracial interactions. Whites vary in the extent to which they are apprehensive of being viewed as racist (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998) and, as a consequence, aim to be perceived as moral and liked by their racial/ethnic minority interaction partners (Bergsieker et al., 2010). Unfortunately, Whites' impression management desires to appear nonprejudiced increases their anxiety and leads to decreased enjoyment of interracial interactions (Shelton, 2003).

        Whites often hold more negative implicit attitudes about racial/ethnic minorities than their positive, explicit attitudes and behavior let on (Nosek et al., 2007). In fact, the fear of being labeled as prejudiced often leads Whites to overcorrect their attitudes towards racial/ethnic minorities. For example, White participants evaluated a substandard essay more positively when they believed that the author was Black rather than White (Harber, 1998). After an interracial interaction, White participants reported greater liking of and ascribed more positive traits to cross-race (i.e., Black) relative to same-race (i.e., White), interaction partners (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell, 2001; Blascovich, Mendes, & Seery, 2002; Mendes, Blascovich, Lickel, & Hunter, 2002). This work suggests, in part, that Whites are excessively positive in their evaluations of racial/ethnic minorities.

Although some Whites' overly positive behavior reflects genuine positivity and concerns about *being* nonprejudiced, others' positivity disguises bias. In a study employing a false-feedback paradigm, White participants were told that they were either high or low in prejudice and then provided with cash payment for completing the experiment (Dutton & Lake, 1973). Upon exiting the experimental session, a Black panhandler (i.e., a confederate) was seated outside. Individuals told that they were high, relative to those that were told they were low, in prejudice provided more money to a Black panhandler. In another more recent study, teachers were told that they were taking part in a training program developed to provide students with feedback on their writing (Harber, Stafford, & Kennedy, 2010). After being told the cover story, participants completed an ostensibly unrelated survey on social issues. This survey manipulated the salience of egalitarian ideals. In the egalitarian boost condition, participants answered questions such as 'The Confederate flag should not fly over government buildings' that were meant to reinforce pro-minority views. In the egalitarian threat condition, participants answered questions such as 'People should be allowed to fly the Confederate flags on their own front lawns' to threaten their egalitarian views. The control condition asked questions regarding shopping. Next, trainees read a poorly written essay by either a Black or White student. Results revealed that participants who experienced a threat to their egalitarian ideals were less likely to provide critical feedback to a substandard essay ostensibly written by a Black, relative to a White, student. Research suggests those most likely to overcorrect their negative attitudes are also those who are more biased against racial/ethnic minorities (Voraeur & Turpie, 2004). In social contexts where Whites' prejudice may be evaluated, White participants high in prejudice 'shine,' or exhibit more prosocial behavior (i.e., increased levels of eye contact, responsiveness, and positive regard) whereas

White participants low in prejudice 'choke' and exhibit less prosocial behavior (Vorauer & Turpie, 2004). Findings from these studies suggest that being labeled as prejudiced is aversive for Whites, and Whites may engage in prosocial behaviors to redress negative emotions that arise from being labeled as prejudiced. Further, Whites high in prejudice are most likely to engage in excessive prosocial, positive behaviors towards racial/ethnic minorities.

In short, there are several individual difference factors that guide Whites' positive behavior during interracial interactions – (1) the genuine motivation to *be* nonprejudiced and (2) the motivation to adhere to social norms to *appear* nonprejudiced.

Racial/ethnic minorities' experiences in interracial interactions. Like Whites, racial/ethnic minorities experience evaluative concerns in interracial social interactions. However, the source of minorities' concern is distinct from that of Whites. Because Whites' evaluations of racial/ethnic minorities may be perceived to be "predictive or diagnostic of [minorities'] social standing and outcomes" (Vorauer, 2006, p. 863), minorities may be particularly vigilant and attuned to both the valence and authenticity of Whites' reactions. This increased vigilance may come as a result of existing status hierarchies in the United States. Whites in the United States have higher social status, increased access to resources and power. As a result, Whites' evaluations of minorities wield a heavy influence on minorities, who are of lower social status and have limited access to resources and power. Though all minorities experience some level of evaluative concern, these evaluative concerns may differ across several factors.

One factor that contributes to minorities' interpretations of interracial interactions is attributional ambiguity. Attributional ambiguity is the psychological state of uncertainty that

occurs when more than one plausible explanation for an event exists (Crocker & Major, 1989; Kelley, 1973) and can arise from minorities' interactions with Whites. Given strong social and legal norms prohibiting the expression of prejudice (Pearson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2009), contemporary prejudice toward ethnic minorities is often characterized by its subtlety. However, even Whites' positive treatment of racial/ethnic minorities is often perceived as attributionally ambiguous.

In one study purportedly investigating friendship development, Black participants were randomly assigned a White interaction partner (i.e., confederate; Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991). Attributional ambiguity was manipulated by informing participants that the blinds to a one-way mirror were either up (where their race was visible to their White interaction partner) or down (where their race remained unknown to their White partner). Black participants then completed a personal information form that their White interaction partner would use to evaluate them. After completing and sharing the feedback with their interaction partner, the White interaction partner provided the Black participant with either positive or negative interpersonal feedback. Results revealed that when provided with negative feedback, Black participants experienced larger decrements in self-esteem when their race was not known relative to when it was known. However, when provided with positive feedback, Black participants experience larger decrements in self-esteem when their race was, relative to when their race was not, known.

Crocker and colleagues (1991) theorized that Black participants in the 'race-known' condition had higher self-esteem than those in the 'race-unknown' condition after receiving negative feedback because those in the 'race-known' condition could attribute the negative feedback to their race. Attributing negative feedback to one's racial group membership

instead of blaming the self has been found to be a self-esteem protecting strategy (Crocker & Major, 1989). This pattern was reversed for participants who received positive interpersonal feedback – those in the 'race-unknown' condition experienced higher levels of self-esteem compared to those in the 'race-known,' condition. This may be because participants in the race-known condition were uncertain whether the positive interpersonal feedback they received was genuine, i.e., a function of Whites' genuine liking or simply an opportunity for Whites' to disguise their bias.

Minorities differ in their chronic experience of attributional ambiguity in interracial interactions. The Suspicion of Whites' Motives Index (SOMI; Major, Sawyer, & Kunstman, 2013) assesses the extent to which racial/ethnic minorities are suspicious of the motives underlying Whites' positive behaviors toward minorities, specifically, the extent to which they perceive positive feedback from Whites to stem from more from *external* motives to appear nonprejudiced than from internal motives to be nonprejudiced. The Perceived External Motivation Subcale (PEMS; Major et al., 2013) assesses the extent to which minorities believe Whites are externally motivated to behave positively toward minorities. The Perceived Internal Motivation Subscale (PIMS; Major et al., 2013), assesses the extent to which minorities believe Whites are internally motivated to behave positively toward minorities. One study found that Latinxs who score higher on the PEMS subscale regarded a White student's positive evaluation of a Latinx peer's weak essay as less authentic and rated the Latinx peer's essay (but not a comparable essay written by a White student) more negatively compared to Latinxs who scored lower on the PEMS (Major et al., 2013). Other studies showed that the more Latinxs perceived Whites as externally (vs. internally) motivated (i.e., scored higher on the SOMI), the more likely they were to react negatively to

and regard positive interpersonal feedback from a White peer directed toward themselves as inauthentic (Major et al., 2016). Finally, it appears as though scoring higher on PEMS relative to PIMS may serve a functional utility – minorities high in SOMI were more accurate in assessing White levels of external motivation when viewing videos of Whites engaging in a dyadic interracial interaction with a Black peer (LaCosse, Tuscherer, Kunstman, Plant, Trawalter, & Major, 2015) and individuals high in SOMI were more likely to accurately discriminate between authentic (i.e., Duchenne) and fake smiles (Kunstman, Tuscherer, Trawalter, & Lloyd, 2016). The current study examined the extent to which individual differences in chronic suspicion regarding the authenticity of Whites' positive behavior toward minorities, assessed with the SOMI, predicted adjustment to university among lower income and/or first-generation Latinx college students matriculating to a predominately White university.

Transitions Challenge Sense of Fit in New Environments

Individuals are likely to experience increased levels of uncertainty and attributional ambiguity during important transitions in life (Kenny & DePaulo, 1993). The transition to college is a new and important life experience for many. Racial/ethnic minority students may experience increased attributional ambiguity during the transition to college for a number of reasons. First, because their presence is often atypical on college campuses, racial/minority college students may be especially sensitive to cues regarding their fit. Second, though Whites may be perceived to be experts and their evaluations may be diagnostic of racial/ethnic minorities' 'fit' in the historically White institution of higher education (Vorauer, 2006), racial/ethnic minorities may be uncertain of the motives underlying Whites' behavior and evaluations in interracial interactions. As a result, racial/ethnic minorities may

be especially vigilant to cues regarding both the valence and authenticity underlying Whites'

evaluations during interracial interactions. Suspicion regarding Whites' motives for positive

behavior may subsequently affect minorities' sense of fit during their first-year of college.

Though there are many ways to assess fit, two measures that assess fit during the transition to

college are identity compatibility and sense of belonging.

Identity compatibility. Individuals derive self-worth from group memberships

(Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Groups distinguish themselves from others via the stereotypes,

traits, and behaviors that are associated with them; these dimensions include, but are not

limited to, physical appearance (e.g., skin color; Morland, 1969) or behaviors (e.g., speaking

French or Spanish; Giles & Powesland, 1975; Wilton, Sanchez, & Chavez, 2013).

Individuals eagerly engage in group-typical behaviors not only to establish their membership

in groups and conform (Asch, 1956), but also to avoid social 'death' and exclusion

(Greenberg, Psyzczynski & Solomon, 1986; Kerr & Levine, 2008), maintain self-esteem

(Josephs, Markus, & Tafarodi, 1992; Baumeister & Leary, 1995), even if the behaviors may

be personally costly (Guendelman, Cheryan, & Monin, 2011). However, individuals often

possess more than one group identity; an individual's multiple social identities may prescribe

stereotypes, traits, and behaviors that may not be compatible with one another.

Identity compatibility assesses individuals' integration of aspects of their existing

identity with changes in identity that may occur in a new environment (Ethier & Deaux,

1994). There are many ways that ethnic minority students such as Latinxs, particularly those

who are first-generation, and/or low-income, may find their racial/ethnic background and

home context incompatible with the new college environment. First, Latinx first-generation

college students often come from a predominately Latinx neighborhoods; college may be the

first that they engage with White students on a regular basis (Weaver, 2007). Second, students who are low-income may feel they do not fit the new environment because of their lower socio-economic status. Third, students who are first-generation college students may have a different interdependent set of cultural values and priorities (Stephens, Fryberg, Markus, Johnson, & Covarrubias, 2012; Stephens, Townsend, Markus, & Phillips, 2012; Jury, Smeding, Stephens, Nelson, Aelenei, & Darnon, 2016) than higher SES students whose parents received a college degree. Fourth, in settings where intelligence and work ethic are highly valued, as to be expected in a college environment, racial/ethnic minorities may be particularly sensitive to the stereotypes surrounding their racial/ethnic identity and the identity of the larger student group (Cohen & Steele, 2002; Steele, 1997; Steele, Spencer & Aronson, 2002). Thus, Latinx students may have many reasons why they may perceive their multiple identities as incompatible with the new college environment.

Experiencing a lack of identity compatibility is highly aversive because individuals are motivated to maintain a stable and positive self-view. One way to mitigate the negative effects of identity incompatibility is to engage in self-verification processes. Individuals can, for example, spend more time attending to self-consistent vs. self-inconsistent information, engage in strategies to elicit self-consistent feedback from interaction partners, and recall more self-consistent v. self-inconsistent information concerning past behavior (Swann & Read, 1981; Markus, 1977). Because social identity is maintained by social relationships (Abrams, 1992), and first-generation, Latinx students are entering an environment where the prior network of friends may no longer be available to sustain, verify, and/or affirm their prior identity, Latinxs may be unable to self-verify and are, consequently, particularly susceptible to experiencing identity incompatibility.

Prior work has indexed identity compatibility by measuring the degree to which racial/ethnic minority students view their home and racial/ethnic background as being similar to v. different from, or 'incompatible,' with their college identity (Ethier & Deaux, 1994). Ethier and Deaux (1994) assessed identity compatibility (which they labeled perceived identity threat) with items such as 'I feel that my ethnicity is incompatible with the new people I am meeting and the new things I am learning,' and 'I cannot talk to my friends at school about my family or my culture' among Latinx college students at Ivy League universities. They found that Latinx students who weakly identified with their racial/ethnic group at the beginning of college perceived the college environment as less compatible with their racial/ethnic background at the end of their first year. Conversely, students who entered a college environment with a strong ethnic identity found the college environment as more compatible with their racial/ethnic background. Ethier and Deaux (1994) posited that individuals low in racial/ethnic identity did not have a place to 'remoor' their racial/ethnic identity in a university environment, and thus, found the university to be less compatible with their identities. However, students who entered the university with high levels of ethnic identification 'remoored,' and affirmed their place on campus by joining racial/ethnic cultural clubs.

Another study investigated identity compatibility among first-year, low socioeconomic status (SES) students enrolled in a high-status university in Britain. This study found that social class was positively related with identity compatibility, such that those who entered the university self-identified as low socioeconomic status also viewed themselves as being less compatible with university life (Jetten, Iyer, Tsivrikos, & Young, 2008). Furthermore, identity compatibility assessed at Time 1 was positively related to

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identification with the university student group after being at the university for two months (i.e., at Time 2) such that the less individuals initially viewed themselves as compatible with college life, the less likely they were to identify with the university student group two months after entering university. Findings from this study suggest that possessing an identity that is perceived as incompatible with university life - in this case belonging to a lower socioeconomic group – leads to lower levels of identification with the university, which could reduce a sense of belonging.

An important point of departure between the two studies described and the present study is context. In both Ethier and Deaux's (1994) and Jetten and colleagues' (2008) studies, identity compatibility was measured among low-status university students enrolled in high-ranking universities. The lack of identity compatibility exhibited by these students is clear in the mismatch between students' and the universities' status. Data for the current dissertation project was collected at UC Santa Barbara. UC Santa Barbara is a unique place that may encourage greater levels of identity compatibility among low-status students and the university. Though UCSB is one of 62 universities recognized by the Association of American Universities as providing excellent training in academic research and teaching (Association of American Universities, 2018), UCSB was recently recognized as a Hispanic Serving Institution by the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, 2015). Hispanic Serving Institutions are defined as colleges or universities in which Hispanic enrollment comprises a minimum of 25 percent total enrollment of undergraduates and graduate students. Additionally, for freshmen during the 2016-2017 academic year, the three largest demographic groups represented were 40% White, 26% Chicano/Latino, 26% Asian/Pacific Islander and 26% of our students,

irrespective of their race/ethnicity are the first in their immediate families to go to college. The racial demographics of the faculty at UC Santa Barbara are also diverse faculty at UCSB is 59.4% White, 17.3% Latinx, and the rest are non-resident alien, Asian, Black/African-American, or other / unknown (Anonymous, 2018). Thus, though UCSB is a high-ranking, elite institution, the racial/ethnic diversity that is present in both the student and faculty levels (relative to other comparable universities) may lead students to experience a greater sense of identity compatibility than that reported in prior studies.

I posit that identity incompatibility is both an important outcome and predictor variable. I predict that intergroup suspicion will be negatively related to compatibility between first-generation Latinx students' ethnic and new college identity, such that Latinx students entering UC Santa Barbara with higher levels of intergroup suspicion will experience lower levels of compatibility between their ethnic and college identity at the end of their first year. Further, like Jetten and colleagues' (2008) study, I predict that identity compatibility will predict an increased sense of belonging at UC Santa Barbara, such that the more individuals feel their ethnic identity is compatible with their identity as a university student, the more they will come to feel they belong at the university. In the next section, I discuss why decreased levels of identity compatibility might lead to lower levels of sense of belonging among Latinx students.

Belonging. The need to belong is an essential human motivation (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; MacDonald & Leary, 2005). Social belonging is also an important factor in determining academic and social outcomes for historically underrepresented groups (Walton & Cohen, 2007; Walton & Cohen, 2011; Walton, Logel, Peach, Spencer & Zanna, 2015). For example, at-risk students who participate in extracurricular activities with friends are less

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likely to drop out of school (Mahoney & Cairns, 1997), and social connectedness predicts both academic achievement and engagement among primary school children (Furrer & Skinner, 2003). Latinx students high in intergroup suspicion may perceive the lack of Latinxs on predominately White campus like UCSB as a cue indicating both their lack of fit (i.e., incompatibility) and lack of belonging (Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Crosby, 2008).

Several studies have employed different intervention techniques to increase a sense of belonging among underrepresented groups. In one study, Black, Latinx, and White computer science students were randomly assigned to list either two or eight friends that 'were likely to fit in well at' their university's computer science department (Walton & Cohen, 2007). For racial/ethnic minority students, describing eight friends who fit in well in computer science may be more difficult and threatening, and may decrease a sense of belonging more than students asked to list only two friends, consistent with the fluency effect (Song & Schwarz, 2008). Results supported this hypothesis – racial/ethnic minority students who were asked to list two friends felt a greater sense of belonging and anticipated more success in computer science relative to racial/ethnic minority students asked to list eight friends. White students, on the other hand, experienced no changes in sense of belonging or projected success as a function of the friend listing condition. Another study aimed to increase students' sense of belonging by providing racial/ethnic minority students with an excerpt purportedly written by senior students at their university (Walton & Cohen, 2011). Students in the social belonging condition read an essay that normalized feelings of social isolation by describing it as a universal experience among all students that wanes with time. Students in the control condition read an essay purportedly written by a senior student that discussed changes in

social-political attitudes. Results revealed that racial/ethnic minority students in the social-belonging condition exhibited increases in GPA that persisted up to 3-years post-experimental manipulation. Furthermore, it was a change in construal that predicted increases in GPA – racial/ethnic minority students in the belonging, relative to the control condition, attributed daily hassles and social exclusion to factors other than their racial group membership.

In another study, women in their first year of a rigorous engineering program were recruited and randomly assigned to one of three conditions (Walton et al., 2015). The *social belonging* intervention was designed to make women's worries about being able to succeed and fit in dissipate and reframe their concerns as a universal experience. The social belonging intervention also highlighted everyone's need to be treated with respect and need to fit in to a predominately male culture. Needing to be treated with respect and fitting into a predominately male culture is often seen as a concern that only women entering predominately male fields experience. However, by reframing this concern as one that is universal, women in the social belonging condition experienced less threat. Creating a sense of identity compatibility with men, in terms of framing threat as a universal experience, may have served as a precursor to social belonging for women in STEM. The *self-affirmation* condition, on the other hand, described how successful students in engineering incorporate broader aspects of their self-identity into their daily lives, and how this strategy helps students maintain a balance between their professional and personal lives. A third condition was simply a control condition where, depending on the cohort, participants either read about improving study skills or completed outcome measures. While both the social belonging and self-affirmation interventions ultimately improved women's GPA and attitudes towards

engineering, they did so through different processes. More specifically, women who were exposed to a social belonging, relative to a self-affirmation, intervention facilitated social integration in engineering by making more male friends relative to those in the self-affirmation condition.

Though the studies summarized above manipulated social belonging as an independent variable, evaluating the outcome measures of these studies can provide some insight into possible predictors of sense of belonging. First, as noted in Walton and colleagues' (2015) study, the social belonging manipulation may have instilled a sense of identity compatibility among women and men's social identity concerns. This increased sense of identity compatibility between women and men in STEM may have led women to experience a greater sense of belonging. Second, increasing a sense of belonging led women to make friends with dominant group members in their field – men – which subsequently increased their sense of belonging. I propose that perceptions of identity compatibility are a precursor to an increased sense of belonging. In the next section, I discuss why the quality and/or quantity of friendships with majority group members, more so than racial/ethnic minorities, might increase identity compatibility and subsequently increase a sense of belonging among first-generation Latinx college students.

Friendships with majority group members. Perceived social support, very generally, buffers individuals' mental and physical health (Bolger, Zuckerman, & Kessler, 2000). Some social psychologists speculate that it is a specific type of social support – in-group friendships – that predict racial/ethnic minorities' sense of belonging in predominately White settings (Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Dasgupta, 2011; Cohen & Garcia, 2005). Other scholars, in contrast, propose that while in-group contact may have positive benefits for

underrepresented minorities, it may also have unintended negative consequences when compared to outgroup contact (Akcinar, Carr, & Walton, 2011). For example, racial/ethnic minorities who develop friendships with other racial/ethnic minorities may feel more of a sense of belonging, as outlined in the Ethier and Deaux (1994) study; Akcinar, Carr, and Walton (2011) contend, however, that this sense of belonging may be limited to the confines of racial/ethnic cultural clubs and may not extend to a general sense of belonging on campus. Furthermore, interventions designed to alleviate threat among racial/ethnic minorities and women in underrepresented fields typically do not use successful in-group members as exemplars; instead, many interventions encourage racial/ethnic minorities and women to reframe obstacles as being universally experienced, and not a consequence that can be uniquely attributed to their racial/gender group membership (Walton & Cohen, 2007). Finally, relying solely on in-group members as a source of social support and a sense of belonging might increase the salience of group-based differences that lead to intergroup tension (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009; Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011).

Other scholars suggest that positive interactions with majority group members play an important role in racial/ethnic minorities' sense of belonging on college campuses. For example, higher levels of contact with Whites prior to entering college among racial/ethnic minority students is related to better academic and social adjustment at college (Graham, Baker, & Wapner, 1985; Chavous, Rivas, Green, & Helaire, 2002). One study examined whether prior interracial contact led to greater college adjustment in a predominantly White institution (PWI) among Black college students (Graham, Baker, & Wapner, 1985). In this study, participants were asked whether the racial composition of their home neighborhood

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and friend group was mainly Black, integrated (50% Black, 50% White) or mainly White.

Next, participants completed measures related to academic, social, and psychological

adjustment at three different time periods during the academic year (Baker & Siryk, 1986).

The academic adjustment subscale measured adjustment to the scholarly demands of college

life and contained items such as 'Recently I have had trouble concentrating when I try to

study'; the social subscale measured how well students were adapting to and making friends

while at college and included items such as 'I am meeting as many people and making as

many friends as I would like at (college name)…'; the personal/adjustment subscale assessed

the extent to which students experience psychological or somatic symptoms in response to

the transition to college and includes items such as 'I have been feeling tense and nervous

lately'.

Results from this study found that Black students who had more White friends in high

school experienced better academic and social outcomes in college. By the beginning of

senior year of college, 83% of students who had attended predominantly Black high schools

had dropped out of college relative to 27% of those who had attended integrated or 38% of

students who came from predominately White schools. Furthermore, 63% percent of students

with mainly Black friends in high school had discontinued attending college, relative to 38%

of those with integrated friends and 20% with mainly White friends in high school. These

findings suggest that social connections made with majority group members may help

racial/ethnic minority students during the transition to college.

In another study, Black students at a predominately White institution participated in a

cross-sectional study that investigated the relationship of prior interracial contact to identity

compatibility and academic outcomes (Chavous, Rivas, Green, & Helaire, 2002). Participants

first completed a scale to assess the percentage of minority friends and percentage of Black people that lived in their neighborhood. Chavous and colleagues (2002) also measured participants' identity compatibility with a modified version of Ethier and Deaux's (1994) Perceived Threat Scale and assessed students' socioeconomic status. Participants were grouped into three different clusters – (1) low cross-group contact, low affluence, (2) low cross-group contact, high affluence, and (3) high cross-group friendship, high affluence. Results from their study showed that Black students who had less contact with Whites but were affluent experienced lower levels of identity compatibility relative to Blacks in the affluent and high contact group. However, those who were nonaffluent and had low contact experienced the least amount of identity compatibility relative to the other two groups. Several limitations of this study exist. First, this study was cross-sectional. Second, students were grouped into 'clusters,' to simplify their data analysis strategy. The current proposal will improve on this study by (a) following a group of students longitudinally, and (b) using continuous predictor and outcome variables instead of grouping students into clusters.

Individual differences among racial/ethnic minorities may moderate the effectiveness of cross-group friendships. For example, one study showed that although the number of White friends was unrelated to ratings of belonging among Black students low in RS-race, the number of White friends among Black students high in RS-race was positively related to belonging (Mendoza-Denton & Page-Gould, 2008; Study 1). A second study showed that among high RS-race, but not among low RS-race Latinx students randomly assigned to develop a cross-race, rather than a same-race, friendship expressed higher levels of satisfaction with the university (Mendoza-Denton & Page-Gould, 2008; Study 2).

Experimental manipulations that increase contact with high status outgroups have also been shown to have positive effects on underrepresented minorities. For example, in another study, women were randomly assigned to either a control condition or to a condition in which they shook hands with a male confederate before completing a difficult math task. Results revealed that those who shook hands with a male confederate were more motivated and outperformed women who did not shake hands with a male confederate (Akcinar & Walton, in prep). In another study, in anticipation of taking an evaluative math test, women completed a few practice problems and were told that they would receive feedback on their performance (Carr, Walton, & Dweck, in prep). Participants then received tips that were ostensibly provided by either a male peer taking a similar exam or tips that were computer generated. Results revealed that women who received the tip from a male peer outperformed those who received computer generated feedback on a subsequent task; this effect was mediated by women's social connections to the male peer. The results of these studies provide evidence that friendship with majority group members, whether they are White students or men, increases: academic and social adjustment, university satisfaction, belonging, and increases motivation and performance.

The literature I have reviewed on racial/ethnic minorities' friendships with Whites suggests that (a) friendships with Whites, and not solely in-group members, are positively related to identity compatibility and sense of belonging among underrepresented groups on a university campus, and (b) individual differences among racial/ethnic minorities moderate the relationship between quality and/or quantity of White friends, identity compatibility, and sense of belonging. I now turn to my predictions.

General Predictions

I predict that relative to ethnic minority students low in initial levels of intergroup suspicion, ethnic minority students high in initial levels of intergroup suspicion at the start of their first year at college (Time 1) will report less identity compatibility (IDC) and, subsequently, less of a sense of belonging at the university at the end of their first year of college (Time 2), controlling for initial levels of IDC and sense of belonging at Time 1. That is to say, the more that Latinx students are suspicious of the motives of Whites upon entering the university, (a) the less that they will feel that their racial/ethnic background is compatible with college life and consequently (b) the less they feel as though they belong at UCSB at the end of their freshmen year. Further, I examined the role that friendships with White students (vs. Latinx students) play in the hypothesized relationships. I predict that cross-group friendships may be more powerful predictors of IDC and sense of belonging than ingroup friendships because (a) increasing *outgroup* friendships, specifically, contributes to a sense of belonging (Walton et al., 2015) and (b) the development of outgroup friendships can buffer racial/ethnic minorities' from the negative physiological consequences of negative intergroup experiences (Page-Gould, Berry Mendes, & Major, 2010). Below, I describe two sets of predictions I tested that diverge based on whether quality and/or quantity of White friendships are used as a mediator or moderator.
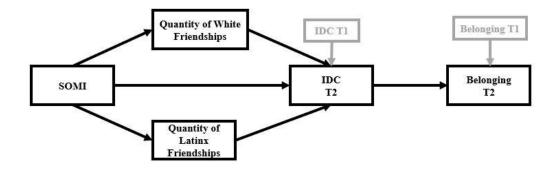
Predictions with quantity of White vs. Latinx interactions as simultaneous mediators. In one set of analyses I used serial mediation to test Hypothesis 1: that initial levels of intergroup suspicion indirectly affects sense of belonging at Time 2 through the quantity of friendships developed with Whites (at Time 2; Mediator 1a) more so than

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quantity of friendships developed with Latinxs (at Time 2; Mediator 1b) at the end of the

year and levels of identity compatibility (at Time 2; Mediator 2) (See *Figure 1*).

Figure 1.

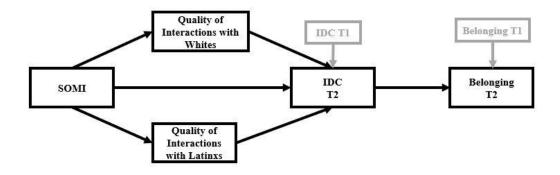Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Quantity of White vs.
Latinx Friendships and Identity Compatibility

Predictions with perceived quality of interactions with Whites vs Latinxs as

simultaneous mediators. I also used serial mediation to test Hypothesis 2: that initial levels

of intergroup suspicion indirectly affects sense of belonging at Time 2 through perceived

quality of interactions with Whites (Mediator 1a), more so than perceived quality of

interactions with Latinxs (Mediator 1b) at the end of the year and levels of identity

compatibility (at Time 2; Mediator 2) (See *Figure 2*).

Figure 2.

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Perceived Quality of
Interactions with Whites vs. Latinxs and Identity Compatibility
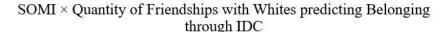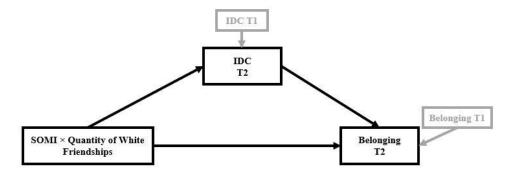

Both models predict that compared to those higher in initial levels of suspicion, those

low in initial levels of suspicion will develop more friendships with Whites and/or

(Hypothesis 1) or have higher quality interactions with Whites (Hypothesis 2) at Time 2, and

through these interactions will experience higher levels of IDC at Time 2 and, subsequently a

greater sense of belonging at Time 2. In contrast, I predict that initial levels of suspicion will

be unrelated to either the quantity of Latinx friendships developed or the perceived quality of

interactions with Latinxs (Time 2; Mediator 1b), even though the quantity or quality of

interactions with Latinx at the end of the year may be positively related to levels of identity

compatibility (at Time 2; Mediator 2). Importantly, I predict that only the quantity of White

friendships and evaluations of interactions with Whites, and not the quantity of Latinx

friendships or the evaluations of interactions with Latinxs at the end of the year (Time 2;

Mediator 1a) will mediate the relationship between intergroup suspicion in predicting

identity compatibility and sense of belonging. These predictions are consistent with evidence

showing that it is not ingroup, but majority group friendships, that may foster a sense of

belonging among underrepresented minorities on college campuses (Ackinar, Carr, &

Walton, 2011; Walton & Cohen, 2007; Graham, Baker, & Wapner, 1985; Chavous, Rivas,

Green, & Helaire, 2002; Mendoza-Denton & Page-Gould, 2008; Akcinar & Walton, in prep;

Carr, Walton, & Dweck, in prep).

Predictions with quantity of White friendships as a moderator. I also tested an

alternative hypothesis, Hypothesis 3: that having more interactions with Whites *moderates*

the relationship between individuals' initial levels of intergroup suspicion and sense of

belonging. However, I maintain that changes in IDC mediate the relationship between the

SOMI × Quantity of White friendships in predicting changes in sense of belonging. This

model specifies that the quantity of White friendships (at Time 2) more strongly predicts

increases in sense of belonging at Time 2 among individuals high, relative to those low, in

intergroup suspicion. Further, this relationship is explained by increased IDC (See *Figure 3*).

Figure 3.

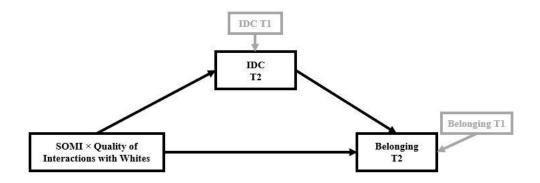SOMI × Quantity of Friendships with Whites predicting Belonging through IDC

Predictions with evaluations of interactions with Whites as a moderator. I also

tested Hypothesis 4: that having better quality interactions with Whites *moderates* the

relationship between individuals' initial levels of intergroup suspicion and sense of

belonging. However, I maintain that changes in IDC mediate the relationship between the

SOMI × Evaluation of interactions with Whites interaction in predicting changes in sense of

belonging. This model specifies that the quality of interactions with Whites more strongly

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predicts increases in sense of belonging at Time 2 among individuals high, relative to those low, in intergroup suspicion. Further, this relationship is explained by increased IDC (See *Figure 4*).

Figure 4.

SOMI × Quality of Interactions with Whites predicting Belonging through IDC

Both hypotheses 3 and 4 are consistent with evidence that those high in initial levels of Race-Rejection sensitivity benefit the most from making White friends (Mendoza-Denton & Page-Gould, 2008; Studies 1 & 2).

Method

Participants

Three-hundred incoming, freshmen Latinx students were recruited to participate in this study. All had been identified by the University's Registrar's Office as self-identifying as Latinx, and as (a) low-income, and/or (b) first in their family to attend college (i.e., first-generation college students). Two hundred and seventy-five (186 female, 88 male, 3 missing; $M_{age} = 18, SD = .20$) self-identified Latinx students actually completed Time1 measures. Of 275 students who completed measures at Time 1, 264 students reported their college generational status and family income. Of these 264 students, 168 (63.63%) were the first in

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their families to go to college, and 178 (67.42%) were classified as low-income using the federal definition of low income (income less than 50K for a family of four). First-generation, low income students were the largest subsample within our study, making up 44% of our sample ($N = 117$). The next highest group of students represented approximately 23.10% of our sample and were continuing generation, low-income students ($N = 61$). First generation, higher income and continuing generation, higher income students made up 19.32% and 13.26% of our sample, respectively (See *Appendix A and Appendix B* for Venn diagrams representing these relationships).

All participants were asked to participate at two different times during the academic school year. They received monetary incentives equivalent to $40 (cash or Amazon gift card) for participating at Time 1 and $40 at Time 2. Of the students who had participated at Time 1, 234 (~85% retention rate; 166 female, 67 male, 1 non-binary, 43 missing; $M_{age} = 18.60, SD = .51$) completed the questionnaire at Time 2.

Overview of time point data collection.

Time 1. Participants received a recruitment email up to two weeks prior to the beginning of the Fall 2016 quarter. In this email, we invited them to participate in a "Transition to College Study." The purpose of this study was described as an attempt to understand the various psychological, social, physiological and demographic factors that influence how students succeed in their transition to college. In the invitation email, participants were asked to schedule a time to come in to the lab.

Upon arriving to their scheduled lab session, participants read a consent form that described the tasks they were to complete. The first portion involved a survey that included measures of baseline intergroup suspicion (SOMI), identity compatibility (IDC) and sense of

belonging at UCSB, as well as measures of control variables (e.g., RS-race). The second portion of the study involved collecting various biometric data (e.g., height, weight, waist-to-hip ratio, etc.) that was unrelated to the current investigation. Upon providing informed consent, participants were provided with a unique 3-digit code that was used to track their responses throughout the 3 data collection time points. The entire data collection process during Time 1 took approximately 1.5 hours to complete.

Time 2. Participants who completed Time 1 were contacted again during last three weeks of the spring quarter and scheduled to arrive at the lab to complete survey and biometric data collection that included measures of their social circle network, IDC, and sense of belonging as well as other measures not relevant to the current paper. Data collection took no longer than 1.5 hours to complete.

Upon completing the experiment at each of the different time points, participants were compensated and thanked for their participation. At the end of data collection at Time 2, participants were debriefed and provided with our contact information in case they decided to rescind their consent.

Measures

    Independent variables.

    Suspicion of Whites' Motives Index. The Suspicion of Whites' Motives Index
(SOMI; Major, Sawyer, & Kunstman, 2013) assesses the extent to which racial/ethnic
minorities perceive positive feedback from Whites to stem more from *external* motives to
appear nonprejudiced relative to *internal* motives to a commitment to being egalitarian (See
Appendix C for full scale). The scale has two subscales. The Perceived External Motivation
Scale (PEMS; Major et al., 2013) assesses the extent to which minorities believe Whites are
externally motivated to behave positively toward minorities. The Perceived Internal
Motivation Scale (PIMS; Major et al., 2013) assesses the extent to which minorities believe
Whites are internally motivated to behave positively toward minorities. All items on this
scale begin with the following stem: "When White people act in a nonprejudiced way toward
members of racial/ethnic minority groups, it is because…". A sample item from the PEMS is
"…they want to avoid negative reactions from others." A sample item from the PIMS is "…it
is important to their self-concept to be unprejudiced." All items on this scale are measured on
a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale. Mean scores on the PIMS scale (*M*=
4.942, *SD* = 1.055) were subtracted from mean scores on the PEMS scale (*M*= 4.533, *SD* =
1.284)[1] to create a Suspicions of Motives Index (SOMI; Major et al., 2013). Higher scores on
this scale indicate higher levels of suspicion that Whites' positive behavior toward
racial/ethnic minorities is more externally than internally measured. This scale was measured
at Time 1 and exhibited good reliability (α = .753); SOMI scores ranged from -6.00 to 4.80
(*M* = -.409, *SD* = 1.649).[1]

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[1] The correlation between PIMS and PEMS was *r* = .015, *p* = .807.

Dependent variables.

Identity compatibility. I assessed Identity Compatibility (IDC) at Time 1 and Time 2 with 8 items adapted from Ethier and Deaux's (1990) Perceived Threat scale and Jetten, Iyer, Tsivrikos, and Young (2008) Identity Incompatibility scale (See *Appendix D* for full scale). Some of the items included were : 'I often feel like a chameleon, having to change my colors depending on the ethnicity of the person I am with'; 'I cannot talk to friends about what it will be like at the university'; 'I feel that my racial/ethnic background is incompatible with the new people I am meeting and the new things I am learning'. Items were answered on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*a great deal*). It showed high reliability (Time 1 α = .896; Time 2 α = .832). At Time 1, IDC scores ranged from 1.44 to 7 (*M* = 5.367, *SD* = 1.211). At Time 2, IDC scores ranged from 1.00 to 7.00 (*M* = 5.561, *SD* = 1.184)[2].

Sense of Belonging. I measured sense of belonging at UCSB with 5 items adapted from Good, Rattan and Dweck (2012) at Time 1 and Time 2. This 5-item scale (Time 1 α = .888; Time 2 α = .911) includes the following items: 'I feel a connection with UCSB'; I feel that I belong at UCSB' (See *Appendix E* for full scale*)*. Items were answered on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale, where higher scores indicate a higher sense of belonging at UCSB. At Time 1, sense of belonging scores ranged from 1.60 to 7 (*M* = 5.619, *SD* = 1.184). At Time 2, sense of belonging scores ranged from 1.20 to 7 (*M* = 5.543, *SD* = 1.227).[3]

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[2] Note that sense of identity compatibility is quite high and increases from Time 1 to Time 2 (see *Table 2*). The unique nature of UCSB – being a Hispanic Serving Institution – may have contributed to the high levels of IDC among our sample.

[3] Note that sense of belonging is quite high among our sample, though it does not increases from Time 1 to Time 2 (see Table 2). The unique nature of UCSB – being a Hispanic Serving Institution – may have contributed to the high levels of sense of belonging among our sample.

Proposed Mediators / Moderators.

Friend network at UCSB. I assessed the racial/ethnic background of each students' friend network at Time 2 by asking them to estimate the percentage of their friends who belonged to different racial/ethnic groups with the estimates required to add up to 100%. Participants were provided with 3 pre-filled out boxes for the following racial/ethnic groups: Hispanic/Latinx, White, and friends who belong to all other racial/ethnic groups (See *Appendix F*). At Time 2, 39 of 234 participants reported having no White friends, whereas only 5 of 234 participants reported having no Latinx friends. Participants' percentage of White friends ranged from 0 to 95% ($M = 22.708\%$, $SD = 23.829\%$) and their percentage of Latinx friends ranged from 0 to 100% ($M = 55.387\%$, $SD = 30.143\%$).

Social circle network inventory. The Social Circle Network Inventory (Trawalter, Adam, Chase-Lansdale, & Richeson, 2012) asks students to list the initials of 5 individuals with whom they had the most contact with in the past week., (a) the race/ethnicity of each individual, (b) the relationship the student had with each individual, and the (c) the quality of the interactions students had with each individual. Responses to these questions were used to quantify students' typical level of same-race and interracial contact as well as the perceived quality of each instance of contact (See *Appendix G* for full scale).

Of the White interaction partners reported ($N = 228$), nearly all (95%) were White peers (e.g., friends, classmates, teammates, roommates) and only 5% were White professors or TAs. Virtually all (99.288) of the 562 Latinx interaction partners mentioned were Latinx peers (e.g., friends, classmates, teammates, roommates).

Evaluations of interactions with Whites. I created a composite score for ratings of quality of interactions with all Whites by averaging responses to the following three items (α

= .879): Overall, how genuine was/were your interaction(s) with [White individual] during this past week? Overall how positive was/were your interaction(s) with [White individual] during the past week? And overall, how much do you trust [White individual] to treat you with respect? All items were answered on a 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*) scale. Only 54% (N = 126) of 234 participants reported White individuals as among those with whom they had the most contact during the past week. Evaluations of interactions with Whites ranged from 2.33 to 5 (M = 4.336, SD = .633).

Evaluation of interactions with Latinxs. I also created a composite score for ratings of quality of interactions with all Latinxs by averaging responses to the same three items (α = .904): Overall, how genuine was/were your interaction(s) with [Latinx individual] during this past week? Overall how positive was/were your interaction(s) with [Latinx individual] during the past week? And overall, how much do you trust [Latinx individual] to treat you with respect? 92% (N = 216) of 234 participants reported engaging with Latinx individuals during the past week. Evaluations of interactions with Latinxs ranged from 1.67 to 5 (M = 4.508, SD = .550).

The Impact of Race Rejection Sensitivity. Past research has shown that ethnic minorities high in Race Rejection Sensitivity (RS-race) are more likely than those low in RS-race to avoid interracial interactions as a way of indirectly decreasing the likelihood of experiencing discrimination (Mendoza-Denton & Page-Gould, 2008). Of interest to the current study, African-American university students higher in RS-race felt more alienated, less welcome at the university, had greater levels of interpersonal difficulty with their roommates, felt less of a sense of belonging on campus and expressed less trust in the

university at the end of their first year at a predominately White institution compared to African-American students lower in RS-race (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002).

I tested the proposed theoretical model both with and without controlling for RS-race in order to examine whether Latinxs' intergroup suspicion concerning Whites' authenticity leads to decreased levels of identity compatibility and sense of belonging over and above RS-race. RS-race was assessed with a 12-item scale (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002) that measures racial/ethnic minorities' levels of anxiety and concern about being a target of discrimination (*See Appendix H*). This scale describes six different situations and then assesses individual's level of concern/anxiety and expectations of being treated unfairly based on one's racial/ethnic background in each situation. For example, individuals are asked to 'Imagine that you are in class one day and the professor asks a particularly difficult question. A few people, including yourself raise their hands to answer the question.' Respondents are asked: 'How concerned/anxious would you be that the professor might not choose you because of your race / ethnicity?' on a scale from 1 (*very unconcerned*) to 6 (*very concerned*). The second question, which assesses expectations of being rejected based on one's racial/ethnic background, asks 'I would expect that the professor might not choose me because of my race/ethnicity' on a scale from 1 (*very unlikely*) to 6 (*very likely*). Responses to the two-paired concern/anxiety questions are multiplied. Higher scores indicate a heightened level of concern/anxiety and expectations about being treated unfairly based on one's racial group membership. At Time 1, scores on the RS-race scale ($\alpha = .880$) ranged from 1 to 36 ($M = 8.482$, $SD = 7.480$). I report the findings of the analyses controlling for RS-race in *Appendix H.*

Results

Descriptive Analyses

I first computed descriptive statistics on the key predictor and outcome variables (SOMI, IDC and sense of belonging) at Time 1 and Time 2 and examined bivariate relationships among these variables at both time points (see *Table 1*). Second, I tested for changes in IDC and sense of belonging over time (see *Table 2*). Third, I tested for differences on the social network variables percent White vs. Latinx friends Time 2 and quality of White vs. Latinx interactions (see *Table 3*). Fourth, I examined the bivariate relationships among the key predictor, outcomes, and the social network variables at Time 2 (see *Table 4*).

As shown in *Table 1,* SOMI scores at the start of college were negative, indicating that on average, students perceived Whites as more internally than externally motivated to avoid prejudice. As expected, SOMI scores were negatively correlated with both IDC and with a sense of belonging at the university at the beginning and at the end of the school year. *Table 1* indicates that on average, IDC and sense of belonging were also quite high both at the beginning and end of the school year. As shown in *Table 2*, students' feelings of IDC increased significantly over the school year, whereas their sense of belonging at UCSB remained stable. With regard to social networks, *Table 3* reveals that participants' networks were composed of a higher percentage of Latinx, relative to White, friends. Interactions with Latinx, relative to White, interaction partners were also evaluated more positively. *Table 4* shows that initial levels of suspicion were negatively, whereas initial levels of IDC were positively, related to percent White friends at the end of the academic year. Initial levels of sense of belonging were only marginally related to percent White friends at the end of the academic year. Initial levels of suspicion were also negatively related to evaluations of White

interaction partners and initial levels of IDC were positively related to evaluations of White interaction partners, though the relationship between IDC and evaluations of White interaction partners was stronger at the end of the school year. The same pattern was found for sense of belonging and evaluations of White interaction partners. For more information related to how strong the relationship is between SOMI, IDC, sense of belonging and Latinx variables, please see *Table 4*.

Analytic Plan

Below I describe, in greater detail, the models involved in the proposed parallel, serial, and moderated mediation models. I conducted each of these analyses two times. The first analysis was run controlling for initial levels of IDC and sense of belonging. Controlling for initial levels if IDC and sense of belonging is a more conservative test but allowed me to test for changes in IDC and sense of belonging over time as a function of suspicion and social network. Second, conducted the same analyses also controlling for initial levels of RS-race.

Also, please note the change in sample size across different hypothesis tests. 98.71% ($N = 231$) of participants at Time 2 reported their percent of White & Latinx friends. Thus, all analyses involving percent of White and/or percent of Latinx friends will have a sample size of 231. 47% ($N = 110$) of our sample reported having interactions with White partners during the last week at Time 2. Thus, all analyses involving interactions with Whites will have a sample size of 110.
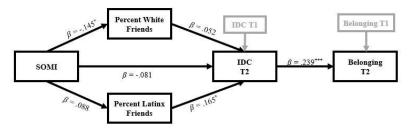
Parallel, serial mediation. I used the PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) macro to conduct a series of parallel, serial mediation to test the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. The first model tested the hypothesis that intergroup suspicion (SOMI) indirectly affects sense of belonging at Time 2 by affecting the *quantity* of White, and not Latinx, friendships which in turns affects levels of IDC at Time 2. Specifically, I predicted that compared to those high in initial levels of suspicion, individuals low in initial levels of suspicion would develop a higher percentage of friendships with Whites which would lead to an increase in IDC over time and consequently an increase in sense of belonging at the university by end of their freshmen year. Alternatively, I predicted that initial levels of suspicion would have no effect on the quantity of Latinx friendships. However, I predicted that the quantity of Latinx friendships would predict higher levels of IDC, and consequently, an increased a sense of belonging at the university at the end of students' freshman year. Results are shown in *Figure 5* below.[4]

Figure 5.

Test of Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Percent White vs. Percent Latinx Friends and IDC

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Percent White Friends at Time 2 and Compatibility is not significant, $\beta = -.002$, [-.009, .003]

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Percent Latinx Friends at Time 2 and Compatibility is not significant, $\beta = .004$, [-.002, .012]

Results failed to support my first hypothesis. As predicted, SOMI was negatively related to the percent of White friends developed at Time 2 ($\beta = -.145$, $p = .046$), however, percent of White friends did not predict changes in IDC from Time 1 to Time 2 ($\beta = .052$, p

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[4] This theoretical model was also tested using PEMS and PIMS independently. For the results of these theoretical models, please see *Appendix I* for PEMS and *Appendix J* for results with PIMS.

= .481). Increases in IDC from Time 1 to Time 2 predicted increases in sense of belonging (β

= .239, $p <$ .001). The indirect effect of SOMI on sense of belonging through percent of

White friends at Time 2 and IDC was not significant, β = -.002, [-.009, .003].

Also as predicted, SOMI did not predict percent of Latinx friends (β = .088, p =

.202). Also consistent with hypotheses, percent of Latinx friends predicted increases in

identity compatibility from Time 1 to Time 2 (β = .165, p = .032), and increases in IDC from

Time 1 to Time 2 predicted increases in sense of belonging (β = .239, $p <$ .001). However,

the indirect effect of SOMI on sense of belonging through percent of Latinx friends at Time 2

and IDC was not significant, β = .004, [-.002, .012]. See *Figure 5*.
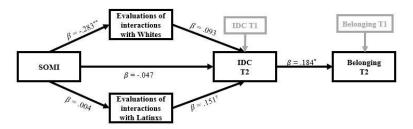
Hypothesis 2. My second hypothesis was that intergroup suspicion (SOMI) indirectly

affects sense of belonging at Time 2 by affecting the *quality* of White, and not Latinx,

interactions which in turns affects levels of IDC at Time 2. Specifically, I predicted that

compared to those high in initial levels of suspicion, individuals low in initial levels of

suspicion would evaluate their interactions with Whites more positively and would

experience an increase in IDC over time and would consequently show an increase in sense

of belonging at the end of their freshmen year. Alternatively, I predicted that initial levels of

suspicion would have no effect on the evaluations of interactions with Latinxs. However, I

predicted that the evaluation of interactions with Latinxs would predict higher levels of IDC,

and consequently, an increased a sense of belonging at the university at the end of students'

freshman year. Results are shown in *Figure 6* below[5].

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[5]Analyses were also conducted on the separate items that constituted the composite. Please see Appendix *K, L,* and *M* for theoretical models with results.

Figure 6.

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Evaluations of White vs.
Latinx Interactions and IDC

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Evaluations of interactions with Whites at Time 2
and Compatibility is not significant, β = -.005, [-.025, .007]

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Evaluations of interactions with Latinxs at Time 2
and Compatibility is not significant, β = .0001, [-.011, .008]
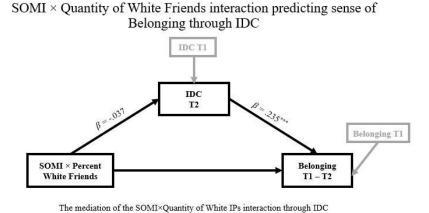
Results failed to support my second hypothesis. As predicted, SOMI was negatively related to the evaluations of White interaction partners at Time 2 (β = -.283, p = .007), however, evaluation of White interaction partners did not predict changes in IDC from Time 1 to Time 2 (β = .093, p = .447). Increases in IDC from Time 1 to Time 2 predicted increases in sense of belonging (β = .184, p = .025). The indirect effect of SOMI on sense of belonging through evaluations of White interaction partners at Time 2 and IDC, however, was not significant, β = -.005, [-.025, .007].

Also as predicted, SOMI did not predict evaluations of Latinx interactions (β = .004, p = .977), evaluation of Latinx interaction partners did not predict changes in IDC from Time 1 to Time 2 (β = .151, p = .108). Increases in IDC from Time 1 to Time 2 did predict increases in sense of belonging (β = .184, p = .025). The indirect effect of SOMI on sense of belonging through evaluations of Latinx interactions at Time 2 and IDC was not significant, β = .0001, [-.011, .008]. See *Figure 6*.

Moderated mediation models. I used the PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) macro model 8 to test the following two hypotheses with a moderated mediation analysis.

Hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 3 was that intergroup suspicion would interact with quantity (percentage) of White friends to predict increased sense of belonging at Time 2. Further, this relationship will be explained through an increase in IDC at Time 2. Specifically, I predicted that the relative *quantity* of White friendships at Time 2 more strongly predicts increases in sense of belonging at Time 2 among individuals high, relative to those low, in intergroup suspicion. I further predicted that this relationship would be explained through increased IDC. Results are shown in *Figure 7* below.
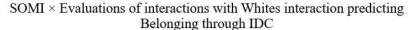
Figure 7.

SOMI × Quantity of White Friends interaction predicting sense of Belonging through IDC

The mediation of the SOMI×Quantity of White IPs interaction through IDC is not significant, $\beta = -.009$, [-.035, .017]

Results failed to support my third hypothesis: the SOMI × Percent of White friends interaction did not significantly predict IDC ($\beta = -.037$, $p = .469$). IDC, however, did predict sense of belonging, as shown above ($\beta = .235$, $p < .001$). The mediation of the SOMI × Quantity of White friends interaction through IDC was not significant, $\beta = -.009$, [-.035, .017]. See *Figure 7*.
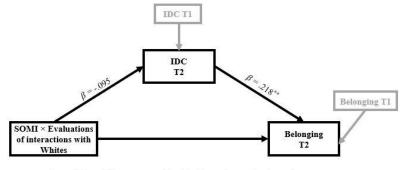
Hypothesis 4. Hypothesis four was that intergroup suspicion would interact with quality (evaluation) of interactions with Whites to predict increased sense of belonging at Time 2. Further, I hypothesized this relationship would be explained through an increase in IDC at Time 2. Specifically, I predicted that the *quality* of interactions with Whites at Time 2

more strongly predicts increases in sense of belonging at Time 2 among individuals high, relative to those low, in intergroup suspicion. I further predicted that this relationship would be explained through increased IDC. Results are shown in *Figure 8* below.

Figure 8.

SOMI × Evaluations of interactions with Whites interaction predicting Belonging through IDC

The mediation of the SOMI×Quality of White IPs interaction through IDC is not significant, β = -.021, [-.075, .017]

Results failed to support my fourth hypothesis: the SOMI × Quality of White IPs interaction did not significantly predict changes in IDC, (β = -.095, p = .202). Increases in IDC, however, did predict increases in sense of belonging, (β = .218, p = .004). The mediation of the SOMI×Quality of White friends interaction through IDC was not significant, β = -.021, [-.075, .016]. See *Figure 8*.

Analyses Controlling for RS-race.

Hypothesis 1 controlling for RS-race. The first model tested the hypothesis that intergroup suspicion (SOMI) indirectly affects sense of belonging at Time 2 by affecting the *quantity* of White, and not Latinx, friendships which in turns affects levels of IDC at Time 2. I tested this model controlling for RS-race to examine whether Latinxs' intergroup suspicion concerning Whites' authenticity leads to decreased quantity of White friends, levels of identity compatibility and sense of belonging over and above RS-race. RS-race was a significant covariate in Step 1 of the model concerning quantity of White friendships. RS-

race was negatively related to the percent of White friends students developed, (β = -.161, p = .013); once RS-race was included in the model, intergroup suspicion no longer predicted the percent of White friends students developed (β = -.091, p = .242). This finding indicates that of the two variables, intergroup suspicion and RS-race, RS-race is a more powerful predictor of the percent of White friends developed within in our sample. However, RS-race was not a significant covariate in any other steps of the model (ps > .13) and did not ultimately change the nonsignificant indirect effect of suspicion on sense of belonging through percent White friends and IDC, β = -.001, [-.008, .003]. See *Appendix N.*

RS-race was also a significant covariate in Step 1 of the model concerning quantity of Latinx friendships. RS-race was positively related to the percent of Latinx friends students developed, (β = .205, p = .003); once RS-race was included in the model, intergroup suspicion did not predict percent of Latinx friends developed (β = .019, p = .801). However, RS-race was not a significant covariate in any other steps of the model (ps > .13) and did not ultimately change the nonsignificant indirect effect of suspicion on sense of belonging through percent Latinx friends and IDC, β = .0008, [-.006, .009]. See *Appendix N.*

Hypothesis 2 controlling for RS-race. My second hypothesis was that intergroup suspicion (SOMI) indirectly affects sense of belonging at Time 2 by affecting the *quality* of White, and not Latinx, interactions which in turns affects levels of IDC at Time 2. I tested this model controlling for RS-race to examine whether Latinxs' intergroup suspicion concerning Whites' authenticity leads to decreased evaluations of interactions with Whites vs. Latinxs, levels of identity compatibility and sense of belonging over and above RS-race. RS-race was not a significant covariate in any steps of the model (ps > .457) and did not ultimately change the nonsignificant indirect effect of suspicion on sense of belonging

through evaluations of interactions with Whites and and IDC, β = -.005, [-.025, .008] or the nonsignificant indirect effect of suspicion on sense of belonging through evaluations of interactions with Latinxs and IDC, β = .0002, [-.011, .009]. See *Appendix O*.

Hypothesis 3 controlling for RS-race. Hypothesis 3 was that intergroup suspicion would interact with quantity (percentage) of White friends to predict increased sense of belonging at Time 2. Further, this relationship will be explained through an increase in IDC at Time 2. I tested this model controlling for RS-race to examine whether Latinxs' intergroup suspicion concerning Whites' authenticity leads to decreased quantity of White friends, levels of identity compatibility and sense of belonging over and above RS-race. RS-race was not a significant covariate in any steps of the model (*ps* > .144); including RS-race as a covariate in the model and did not ultimately change the nonsignificant mediation of the SOMI × Quantity of White friends interaction through IDC on sense of belonging, β = -.010, [-.036, .017]. See *Appendix P*.

Hypothesis 4 controlling for RS-race. Hypothesis four was that intergroup suspicion would interact with quality (evaluation) of interactions with Whites to predict increased sense of belonging at Time 2. I tested this model controlling for RS-race to examine whether Latinxs' intergroup suspicion concerning Whites' authenticity leads to decreased evaluations of interactions with Whites, levels of identity compatibility and sense of belonging over and above RS-race. RS-race was not a significant covariate in any steps of the model (*ps* > .426); including RS-race as a covariate in the model and did not ultimately change the nonsignificant mediation of the SOMI × Evaluations of interactions with Whites interaction through IDC on sense of belonging, β = -.022, [-.077, .018]. See *Appendix Q*.

Discussion

The current study examined the effects of individual differences in suspicion of Whites' motives on changes in identity compatibility and sense of belonging among Latinx students during their first year in college. Contrary to predictions, suspicion did not indirectly affect sense of belonging through the *quantity* or *quality* of White (or Latinx) friendships and identity compatibility. No evidence for the moderated mediation models were found.

I first hypothesized that individual differences in intergroup suspicion would indirectly affect a sense of belonging at the university at the end of students' freshman year through both the *quantity* of White, and not Latinx, friendships and levels of IDC at Time 2 (Hypothesis 1). As predicted, suspicion of Whites' motives was significantly and more strongly related to the percent of White, relative to Latinx, friends developed by our sample over the school year. Participants higher in suspicion developed fewer White friendships than those lower in suspicion. This is the first study to show that individual differences in suspicion predicts the quantity of White friendships racial/ethnic minority students develop.

Minorities high, relative to those low, in suspicion may develop less friendships with Whites because interactions with Whites may lead minorities to experience uncertainty. Recall that suspicion is assessed by the degree to which participants perceive Whites' positive behavior as being externally, relative to internally, motivated to either appear or be nonprejudiced. Though intergroup suspicion scores ranged from -6 (*not at all suspicious*) to 4.8 (*extremely suspicious*), a bulk of our sample (~51%) had suspicion scores that were between -1 (*somewhat nonsuspicious*) to 1 (*somewhat suspicious*). In other words, most of our sample did not always attribute Whites' positive behavior to internal or external reasons, but may have reported experiencing chronic uncertainty regarding the motives of Whites.

While interacting with Whites, individuals high, relative to those low, in intergroup suspicion may experience increased levels of cognitive depletion while trying to disambiguate motives for Whites' positive behavior. Indeed, within our sample, suspicion was positively related to the extent to which participants reported experiencing cognitive and physical depletion after interacting with Whites. Participants high in suspicion were more likely to agree with statements such as "After interacting with White people, I feel mentally exhausted," and "After interacting with White people, I feel physically tired." However, factors other than cognitive depletion may help explain why individuals high in suspicion have fewer White friends. Future work should examine whether cognitive depletion after interacting with Whites, or other factors, mediate the relationship between intergroup suspicion and decreased levels of friendships with Whites.

Contrary to my predictions, the number of White friends students developed was unrelated to levels of identity compatibility. The non-significant relationship between percent of White friends and identity compatibility may be due to the unique nature of UC Santa Barbara. Past research examining predictors of identity compatibility among underrepresented populations were conducted at elite, predominately White institutions (PWIs; Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Jetten, Iyer, Tviriskos, & Young, 2008). In predominately White institutions, racial/ethnic minority students are limited in the types of friendships they can make. The relationship between the percent of White friends racial/ethnic minorities develop may be more strongly related to identity compatibility and sense of belonging at institutions that are predominately White and/or have smaller racial/ethnic minority populations. When forming friendships with racial ingroup members is not an option,

developing friendships with White students may be a sufficient replacement for ingroup friendships to establish identity compatibility and sense of belonging.

At minority serving institutions, like UCSB, forming friendships with racial outgroups may not be necessary to establish a sense of identity compatibility and sense of belonging. Indeed, few participants reported developing friendships with Whites – approximately 75% of our sample reported having Whites make up less than 35% of their friendship network. In addition, our sample indicated high levels of both identity compatibility and belonging. Future research should investigate whether this effect would hold at non-minority serving institutions.

On the other hand, percent of Latinx friends developed was positively related to identity compatibility and subsequently predicted sense of belonging. This finding is consistent with work showing that racial minorities often increase their sense of identity compatibility within a college context by forming more ingroup, rather than outgroup, friendships (Dasgupta, 2011; Cohen & Garcia, 2005). The ingroup friendships participants in our sample developed may have allowed racial minorities to affirm their racial identity on campus, and subsequently increased their sense of belonging. This effect may be limited to minority serving institutions, however. Future work should investigate whether the positive benefits of ingroup friendships hold in non-minority serving institutions.

My second hypothesis, that intergroup suspicion would indirectly affect sense of belonging through the perceived quality of interactions with Whites, and not Latinxs, and identity compatibility, was not supported. As predicted, individuals high in intergroup suspicion evaluated their interactions with White partners more negatively relative to those low in intergroup suspicion. Intergroup suspicion was unrelated to evaluations of interactions

with Latinxs. To understand this finding, it may be helpful to review the items that created the composite of evaluations of White interactions. The 'evaluations of White interactions' composite was based on three individual items: (1) perceived genuineness and (2) positivity of the interaction, as well as (3) how much participants trusted their White interaction partner to treat them with respect. When examined individually, intergroup suspicion was unrelated to the perceived positivity of the interaction. That is to say, individuals low and high in intergroup suspicion perceived the interactions to be equally positive. Participants high, relative to those low, in intergroup suspicion, however, perceived interactions with Whites to be less genuine and reported less trust that their partner would treat them with respect.

When meeting new people, individuals often try to put their best foot forward and behave positively. This is certainly true for Whites in cross-race interactions (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell, 2001; Blascovich, Mendes, & Seery, 2002; Mendes, Blascovich, Lickel, & Hunter, 2002). Though suspicion had no effect on the perceived positivity of the interactions with Whites, individuals high and low in suspicion may have made different attributions for the positive nature of their interactions with Whites. Individuals low in suspicion may have attributed the positive interaction to Whites' genuine positive feelings towards them and trusted their White interaction partners to treat them with respect. Individuals high in suspicion, on the other hand, may have attributed this positivity to factors other than genuine positive emotions and did not trust their partner to treat them with as much respect. These findings show how minorities' chronic beliefs about Whites' genuineness and positivity may influence their day to day interactions with Whites. What remains unclear, however, is whether individuals low vs. high in suspicion seek out interactions with different kinds of White individuals. In other words, do individuals low in

suspicion seek out and befriend Whites who are genuine? Do individuals who are high in suspicion seek out and befriend Whites who disguise their bias with a smile? Future research should investigate whether individuals low vs. high in suspicion engage in attentional biases when interacting with Whites, such that those low in suspicion only augment the positive and genuine aspects of their interactions, whereas those low in suspicion discount genuine aspects of their interaction.

Neither evaluation of White or Latinx interaction partners were related to identity compatibility. I operationalized evaluations of interaction partners by having participants indicate: the 5 individuals with whom they had the most contact with in the past week, the extent to which the interaction was positive and genuine, and how much they trusted their partners to treat them with respect. This operationalization of quality of interactions with racial outgroup vs. ingroup members merely provided us with a snapshot of the quality of individuals' interactions. The individuals participants listed may have not overlapped with the individuals participants considered their friends. Participants may not consider their day to day interactions to give them an index of fit in the new college environment, but rather, may use their more long-standing friendships as an index of fit. As reported above, the types of friendships that individuals develop, moreso that day-to-day interactions, predict identity compatibility and sense of belonging. Ultimately, participants rated both their interactions with Whites and Latinxs extremely positively. Future work should examine whether the length of the relationship along with evaluations of interactions of specific interaction partner is more closely linked to identity compatibility and sense of belonging among first-generation, low-income Latinx college students.

Identity compatibility predicted sense of belonging, such that the stronger the enmeshment of racial/ethnic and college identity among our sample, the higher their sense of belonging at the university. One may speculate that this finding suggests that identity compatibility and sense of belonging are multicollinear; that is to say, both variables are extremely highly correlated because they are both measuring the same latent construct and this is why identity compatibility predicts sense of belonging. Exploratory analyses show that the correlation between identity compatibility and sense of belonging is significant, but still relatively low ($r = .303$, $p < .001$); identity compatibility only accounts for 9% of the variance in sense of belonging. Further, identity compatibility and sense of belonging are theoretically distinct constructs. Identity compatibility assesses the extent to which individuals are able to integrate aspects of their existing identity (in this case, racial/ethnic identity) with changes in an identity that may occur in a new environment (i.e., college student identity); sense of belonging, on the other hand, assesses the extent to which individuals feel identified with and accepted in a specific environment or by specific groups of people (in this case, UCSB and UCSB students). Individuals who integrate their racial/ethnic identity with their new college student identity are more likely to feel accepted and welcome at UCSB. These individuals may be able to present multiple facets of themselves, their racial/ethnic pride and pride of being a college student, both at UCSB and in their neighborhood and home environments. Individuals who are unable to integrate their racial/ethnic identity with their new college student identity experience less acceptance and report lower levels of belonging at UCSB. This may be the case because they may feel as though they have to inhibit their racial/ethnic identity while at UCSB, and may feel as though they have to inhibit their college student identity when they are back in their neighborhood

and home environments. Future work may examine whether integration of various identities at both school and home leads to positive academic outcomes for racial/ethnic minority students. For example, do students who feel as though they can exhibit both their racial/ethnic and school identities perform better at university relative to those whose identities are not integrated? Does lack of identity compatibility lead to dropping out or poorer academic performance?

Speaking more generally, there are a number of reasons why the model examining evaluations of White and Latinx interaction partners may have not been significant. First, though our final sample consisted of about 234 racial/ethnic minority students, only 126 students listed at least one White interaction partner in the week prior to their experimental session. The fact that this index of quality of interactions with Whites nearly halved our sample severely underpowers the statistical model tested. However, the fact that this model was at least partially supported is promising. This statistical model provides evidence that intergroup suspicion shapes the way racial/ethnic minorities perceive their interactions with Whites.

Future work should investigate whether racial/ethnic minorities low, versus high, in intergroup suspicion (1) seek out and/or (2) avoid interactions with White people. There is some evidence in the current study to support these two claims. Initial levels of intergroup suspicion were negatively related to both the quantity and quality of interactions with Whites (See *Table 4)*. It may be the case that individuals low in suspicion seek out interactions with Whites, whereas individuals high in suspicion avoid interactions with Whites. This would be consistent with work showing that some individuals avoid environments where they anticipate being negatively stereotyped (Pinel, 1999). An alternative hypothesis might be that

individuals low and high in suspicion do not differ in the degree to which they seek out interactions with Whites, but differ in the types of White people they interact with. For example, individuals low in suspicion may seek out Whites with egalitarian beliefs, whereas individuals high in suspicion may attract Whites who attempt to appear egalitarian through a process similar to the self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton, 1948).

My third hypothesis, that intergroup suspicion interacts with quantity of White friends to predict sense of belonging through identity compatibility, was not supported. This lack of significance may be due to the fact that there was such little variability in the contact our sample had with Whites. On average, and irrespective of levels of intergroup suspicion, students reported having very few White friends (~23%). At first blush, this result contradicts findings from Mendoza-Denton and Page-Gould (2008), who found that forming friendships with Whites helped Black students higher in the anxious expectation and concern about being a target of prejudice (RS-race) establish a sense of belonging at a PWI. However, Mendoza-Denton and Page-Gould (2008) designed a cross-group friend *intervention* where participants were randomly assigned to interact and develop a friendship with a White peer. This experiment carefully controlled the environment and the topics of conversation that occurred between the racial/ethnic minority and White participants. Outside of the lab, too many variables may both limit and constrain minorities' interactions with Whites.

My fourth hypothesis, that that intergroup suspicion interacts with quality of interactions with Whites to predict sense of belonging through identity compatibility, also was not supported. Quality of White interactions did not affect the direction or the strength of the relationship between suspicion and identity compatibility. Our data provide evidence that suspicion shapes, but does not interact with, the perceptions of interactions with Whites.

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Future work should examine whether racial/ethnic minorities' perceptions of interactions with Whites are accurate. Though prior work shows that racial/ethnic minorities are accurate at perceiving static cues, such as an authentic or disingenuous smiles (Kunstman, Tuscherer, Trawalter, & Lloyd, 2016), relatively little is known about how accurate minorities are at perceiving Whites' intentions and behaviors in a cross-group interaction in real time. A potential area for future research is to examine how accurate racial/ethnic minorities are at perceiving internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice among Whites in real-time, and how these perceptions may shape racial/ethnic minorities' attributions of Whites' behavior.

Implications and Future Directions

Though my hypotheses – (1) that intergroup suspicion indirectly affects a sense of belonging through both *quantity* of White, and not Latinx, friendships and levels of IDC ; (2) intergroup suspicion indirectly affects a sense of belonging through evaluations of White, and not Latinx, interactions and IDC; (3) IDC would mediate the intergroup suspicion by quantity of White friends interaction to predict sense of belonging; and (4) IDC would mediate intergroup suspicion by quality of interactions with Whites to predict sense of belonging – were not supported, my dissertation does pose interesting questions that may be answered in future research. First, this research is among the first to show that individual differences in intergroup suspicion predicts the quantity of interactions racial/ethnic minority students develop. Second, this research shows how minorities' chronic beliefs about Whites' genuineness and positivity in cross-race interactions may influence their interpretations of their day to day interactions with Whites. Third, we found that the extent to which

racial/ethnic minorities felt as though their identities were compatible with the university predicted their sense of belonging.

One possible avenue for future work would be to examine the antecedents of intergroup suspicion. We do not know, from this data, whether avoiding White friendships is a strategy to avoid prejudice or whether it is a way of avoiding counterexamples of biased White individuals among those high in suspicion. One might speculate that individuals high in suspicion have more experience with discrimination and are apprehensive of any interactions with Whites; individuals high in suspicion may fear that having a White friend may, at some point, provide an opportunity for Whites to display their prejudice. Alternatively, individuals high in suspicion may simply have a cognitive bias in that they perceive all Whites as having underlying prejudice. This research would be important in clarifying how suspicion develops, whether suspicion allows individuals to accurately detect Whites' racial bias, or whether suspicion leads to a cognitive bias among racial/ethnic minority perceivers. This would also help explain the influence of suspicion on racial/ethnic minorities' attributions of positive interactions with Whites.

Though many studies have examined the consequences of increases a sense of belonging among underrepresented groups, very limited work has investigated the benefits of increasing identity compatibility. Results from the current study shed light on the importance of identity compatibility in predicting as sense of belonging, and thus, may be a fruitful area of future research. Promoting identity compatibility for individuals making important transitions in life, like college students, would allow individuals to maintain prior identities and integrate newfound identities into their self-concept. Some studies that create a common ingroup identity to increase a sense of belonging in the moment (Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio,

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Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994), but this common ingroup identity may lead to deleterious outcomes in the future. Indeed, invoking a common ingroup identity is reminiscent of work showing that Whites who are exposed to a colorblind, relative to a multiculturalist, ideology are more likely to express racial bias (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). However, integrating and acknowledging multiple identities has been shown to have positive consequences. For example, minorities are more psychologically engaged and perceive less racial bias when Whites' endorse multiculturalist, vs. colorblind, ideologies (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009). Allowing and even encouraging individuals to integrate multiple aspects of their identities when transitioning to a new stage of life is beneficial for individuals' psychological well-being. Reminding individuals of their multiple social identities increases their creativity (Steffens, Goclowska, Cruwys, & Galinsky, 2015; Gaither, Remedios, Sanchez, & Sommers, 2015), decreases their susceptibility to stereotype threat (Rydell & Boucher, 2010), and protects them from experiencing hits to self-esteem when threats to the self are made (Cohen & Sherman, 2014). Though not the core focus of this work, institutions like universities may wish to promote identity compatibility to instill a greater sense of belonging among racial/ethnic minorities and other underrepresented groups on campus.

This research contributes to the existing literatures on cross-group friendships, cross-group interactions, and sense of belonging among racial/ethnic minority populations in college. Results from this study also provide fruitful areas for future work. It is my hope that results from this study will inspire researchers to develop interventions to help racial/ethnic minority students successfully make the transition to college.

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Table 1
Correlations Among Key Predictor and Outcome Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. SOMI T1	—				
2. IDC T1	-.262***	—			
3. Belonging T1	-.161**	.514***	—		
4. IDC T3	-.212**	.527***	.148*	—	
5. Belonging T3	-.133*	.178**	.502***	.303***	—
M	-.409	5.367	5.619	5.561	5.543
SD	1.649	1.211	1.184	1.184	1.227
Range	-6 to 4.80	1.44 to 7	1.60 to 7	1 to 7	1.20 to 7
α	.753	.896	.888	.832	.911
N	273	271	273	234	234

†$.05 < p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$
SOMI = Suspicion of Motives Index
IDC = Identity Compatibility

Table 2

Paired Samples T-Tests among Key Dependent Variables

	Time 1		Time 2		
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	t-test
Identity Compatibility	5.384	1.214	5.564	1.124	-2.398[*]
Belonging	5.655	1.154	5.538	1.228	1.505

[*]$p < .05$

Table 3

Paired Samples T-Tests among Key Mediating/Moderating Variables at Time 2

| | White | | Latinx | | |
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	t-test
Percent Friends	22.669	23.449	55.551	30.159	-10.083***
Proportion Interaction Partners	.198	.230	.573	.321	-11.420***
Evaluations of Interactions	4.308	.751	4.531	.560	-2.848***

***$p \leq .001$
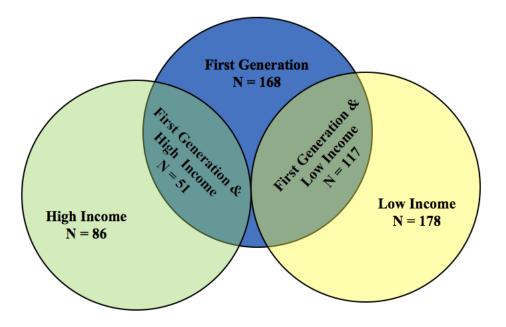
Table 4

Correlations among key Predictor, Outcome, and Mediating/Moderating Variables

Variables	6	7	8	9
1. SOMI T1	-.148*	.091	-.199*	-.014
2. IDC T1	.189**	-.148*	.188*	.156*
3. Belonging T1	.110†	-.074	.311***	.326***
4. IDC T3	.045	.039	.265**	.251***
5. Belonging T3	-.004	-.005	.324***	.264***
6. Percent White Friends	—	-.727***	.078	-.001
7. Percent Latino Friends		—	-.078	.107
8. Evaluation of White Interaction Partners			—	.504***
9. Evaluation of Latinx Interaction Partners				—

†.05 < p <.10, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001
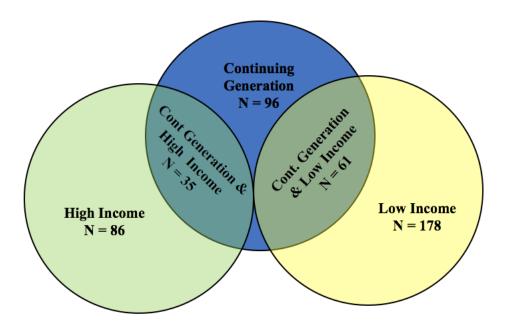
Appendix A

Venn Diagram Overlap of First Generation students with Low vs. High Family Incomes

First Generation
N = 168

First Generation &
High Income
N = 51

First Generation &
Low Income
N = 117

High Income
N = 86

Low Income
N = 178

Appendix B

Venn Diagram Overlap of Continuing Generation students with Low vs. High Family Incomes

Appendix C

Suspicion of Whites' Motives Index (Major, Sawyer, & Kunstman, 2013)
Please use the scale below to indicate your level of agreement with the following statements.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						**Strongly Agree**

When White people act in a nonprejudiced way toward members of racial/ethnic minority groups, it is because…
PIMS
> …it is personally important to them not to be prejudiced.
> …it is in accordance with their personal values to be unprejudiced.
> …they believe it is wrong to use stereotypes about members of racial/ethnic minority groups.
> …they are personally motivated by their beliefs.
> …it is important to their self-concept to be unprejudiced.

PEMS
> …they want to avoid negative reactions from others.
> …they feel pressure from others to act unprejudiced.
> …they think other people would be angry with them if they acted prejudiced.
> …they want to avoid disapproval from others.
> …they are trying to act "politically correct."

Appendix D

Identity Compatibility (Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Jetten, Iyer, Tsivrikos, & Young, 2008)

Please use the scale below to respond to the following statements.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						**A great deal**

I feel that my racial/ethnic background may be incompatible with the new people I am meeting and the new things I am learning. (R)
I don't think I will be able to talk to my friends at school about my family or my racial/ethnic cultural background. (R)
I feel that I may have to change myself to fit in at UCSB. (R)
I may try not to show parts of me that are 'ethnically' based while at UCSB. (R)
I often feel like a chameleon, having to change my colors depending on the ethnicity of the person I am with. (R)
My racial/ethnic background is compatible with university life.
My ethnicity is compatible with university life.
I'm afraid my present life is incompatible with my new identity as a university student. (R)
I cannot talk to my friends about what it will be like at university. (R)
My racial/ethnic background is compatible with university life.

Belonging (Good, Rattan, & Dweck, 2012)

Please use the scale below to indicate your level of agreement with the following statements.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						**Strongly Agree**

I feel that I belong at UCSB.
I consider myself a member of UCSB.
I feel like I am part of the UCSB community.
I feel a connection with UCSB.
Based on my academic credentials, I deserve to be at UCSB.

Friend Network at UCSB

Please estimate the percentage of friends at UCSB who belong to different racial/ethnic groups. Feel free to leave some boxes blank if you do not have friends who do not belong to racial/ethnic groups indicated. Make sure that the sum of your percentages estimates are equal to 100.

Please estimate the percentage of your UCSB friends that are Caucasian/European American. _____

Please estimate the percentage of your UCSB friends that are Hispanic/Latino. _____

Please estimate the percentage of your friends that belong to any other racial/ethnic minority groups. _____

Appendix G

Social Circle Network Inventory: Evaluations of Interactions with Whites/Latinxs (Trawalter, Adam, Chase-Lansdale, & Richeson, 2012)

1	2	3	4	5
Not at All				**Very Much**

Overall, how genuine was/were your interaction(s) with [White/Latinx individual]

during this past week?

Overall how positive was/were your interaction(s) with [White/Latinx individual]

during the past week?

Overall, how much do you trust [White/Latinx individual] to treat you with respect?

Race-Rejection Sensitivity (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002)

Each of the items below describes new situations that people encounter. Some people are concerned about these new situations and others are not. Please imagine yourself in each situation and circle the number that best indicates how you would feel.

Scenario 1: Imagine that you are in class one day, and the professor asks a particularly difficult question. A few people, including yourself, raise their hands to answer the question.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unconcerned					**Very Concerned**
How concerned/anxious would you be that the professor might not choose you because of your race/ethnicity?					

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unlikely					**Very Likely**
I would expect that the professor might not choose me because of my race/ethnicity.					

Scenario 2: Imagine that you are in a store, trying to pick out a few items. While you're looking at the different brands, you notice one of the store clerks glancing your way.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unconcerned					**Very Concerned**
How concerned/anxious would you be that the clerk might be looking at you because of your race/ethnicity?					

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unlikely					**Very Likely**
I would expect that the clerk might continue to look at me because of my race/ethnicity.					

Scenario 3: Imagine you have just finished shopping for new clothes, and you are leaving the store carrying several bags. It's closing time and several people are filing out of the store at once. Suddenly, the alarm begins to sound, and a security guard comes over to investigate.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unconcerned					**Very Concerned**
How concerned/anxious would you be that the guard might stop you because of your race/ethnicity?					

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unlikely					**Very Likely**
I would expect that the guard might stop me because of my race/ethnicity.					

Scenario 4: Imagine that you and your friend are in a restaurant, trying to get the attention of your waitress. A lot of other people are trying to get her attention as well.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unconcerned					**Very Concerned**
How concerned/anxious would you be that she might not help you because of your race/ethnicity?					

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unlikely					**Very Likely**
I would expect that the woman might not help me because of my race/ethnicity.					

Scenario 5: Imagine you're driving down the street, and there is a police barricade just ahead. The police officers are randomly pulling people over to check drivers' licenses and registrations.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unconcerned					**Very Concerned**
How concerned/anxious would you be that an officer might pull you over because of your race/ethnicity?					

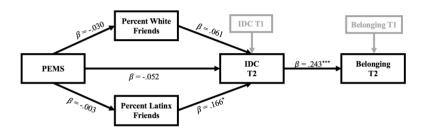| 1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unlikely					**Very Likely**

Scenario 6: Imagine that you're standing in line for the ATM, and you notice the woman at the machine glances back while she's getting her money.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unconcerned					**Very Concerned**
How concerned/anxious would you be that she might be suspicious of you because of your race/ethnicity?					

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Unlikely					**Very Likely**
I would expect that she might be suspicious of me because of my race/ethnicity.					

Appendix I

Indirect Effect of PEMS on Belonging through Percent White vs.
Percent Latinx Friends and IDC
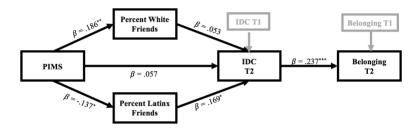
Indirect Effect of PEMS on Belonging through Percent White Friends at Time 2 and Compatibility is not significant, β = -.0004, [-.005, .003]

Indirect Effect of PEMS on Belonging through Percent Latinx Friends at Time 2 and Compatibility is not significant, β = -.0001, [-.007, .007]

Appendix J

Indirect Effect of PIMS on Belonging through Percent White vs. Percent Latinx Friends and IDC
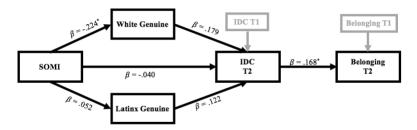
Indirect Effect of PIMS on Belonging through Percent White Friends at Time 2 and Compatibility is not significant, $\beta = .002$, [-.0041, .0112]

Indirect Effect of PIMS on Belonging through Percent Latinx Friends at Time 2 and Compatibility is not significant, $\beta = -.006$, [-.015, .0001]

Appendix K

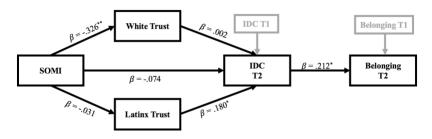Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Evaluation of White vs. Latinx Genuineness in Interactions and IDC
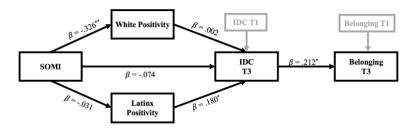
Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through evaluations of White genuineness at Time 2 and Compatibility is not significant, β = -.007, [-.027, .001]

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Evaluations of Latinx genuineness at Time 2 and Compatibility is not significant, β = .001, [-.007, .009]

Appendix L

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Evaluation of White vs.
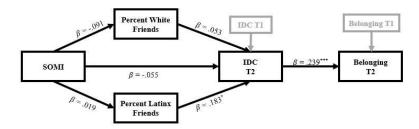Latinx Positivity and IDC

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through White Positive at Time 2 and Compatibility is not significant, β = -.0034 [-.017, .003]

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Latinx Positive at Time 2 and Compatibility is not significant, β = .0005 [-.010, .004]

Appendix M

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Evaluation of White vs.
Latinx trust and IDC

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through White Trust at Time 2 and Compatibility is not
significant, $\beta = -.0001$, [-.018, .025]

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Latinx Trust at Time 2 and Compatibility is not
significant, $\beta = -.001$, [-.0163, .007]

Appendix N

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Percent White vs. Percent Latinx Friends and IDC (Controlling for RS-race)
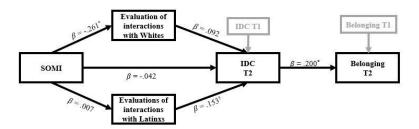
Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Percent White Friends at Time 2 and Compatibility is not significant, $\beta = -.001$, [-.008, .003]

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Percent Latinx Friends at Time 2 and Compatibility is not significant, $\beta = .0008$, [-.006, .009]

Appendix O

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Evaluation of
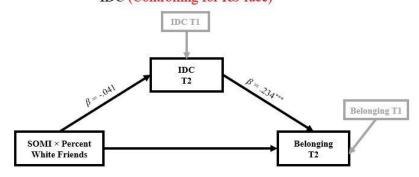interactions with Whites vs. Latinxs and IDC (Controlling for RS-race)

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Evaluations of interactions with Whites at Time 2
and Compatibility is not significant, $\beta = -.005$ [-.025, .008]

Indirect Effect of SOMI on Belonging through Evaluations of interactions with Latinxs at Time 2
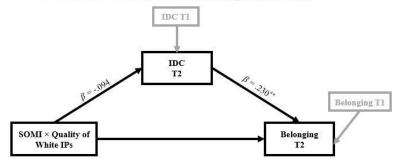and Compatibility is not significant, $\beta = .0002$ [-.011, .009]

SOMI × Percent White friends interaction predicting Belonging through
IDC (Controlling for RS-race)

The mediation of the SOMI × Percent White friends interaction through
IDC is not significant, $\beta = -.010$, [-.036, .017]

Appendix Q

SOMI × Evaluations of interactions with Whites interaction predicting
Belonging through IDC (Controlling for RS-race)

The mediation of the SOMI × Evaluations of interactions with Whites
interaction through IDC is not significant, $\beta = -.022$, [-.077, .018]